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# ENCYCLOPEDIA of RACE & RACISM

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JOHN HARTWELL MOORE Editor in Chief



*Encyclopedia of Race and Racism*

# *Encyclopedia of Race and Racism*

VOLUME 1  
**a-f**

**John Hartwell Moore**  
EDITOR IN CHIEF

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## Encyclopedia of Race and Racism

John Hartwell Moore, Editor in Chief

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## *Introduction*

Race and racism are two distinct concepts which have separate histories. The term *race* was borrowed by human biologists from general biology, and simply means a local kind or variety within a *species*, especially applied to those common plants and animals which were of interest to early naturalists and philosophers such as Herodotus (484–425 BCE), Aristotle (384–322 BCE), Lucretius (99–55 CE) and Albertus Magnus (1193–1280). With the discovery of genes in the early twentieth century, a species was defined more precisely as a group which shares an inventory of genes, freely exchanging genetic material among themselves, but not with other species. A race, then, might represent a minor adaptation to local conditions within the species. A species of butterflies, for example, might include “races” which present different patterns of camouflage on their wings in different parts of their range where the vegetation and assortment of predators and other butterflies are different. Arctic races of mammals tend to be whiter than southern varieties, while races of forest mammals tend to be more emphatically striped or spotted than races of the same species living on the plains. A single species, then, might consist of several component local races, all of which are mutually fertile with one another.

Members of the human species are highly variable in appearance, which should be expected in a species with a wide—in this case world-wide—distribution. For reasons explained in this encyclopedia, regional populations of humans have adapted themselves to local conditions of climate, nutrition, and diseases, so that some human groups are darker in color than others, some taller, some shorter, some with curly hair, and some with straight hair.

These variations in appearance among human populations, seemingly trivial in the eyes of early observers, were suddenly seized upon in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by biologists, anthropologists, historians and even philosophers, who alleged that these superficial traits were far from trivial, but signified deep and profound differences among human populations in their psychology, temperament, and even moral structure. And thus the ideology of *racism* was invented, the belief that human races were not just different from one another, but that some were superior to others. Not surprisingly, the persons who invented racism were themselves members of the race that they alleged was superior—the white race—Nordic and European. Carolus Linnaeus (1707–1778), Johann Blumenbach (1752–1840), and Arthur de Gobineau (1816–1882) are usually “credited” with inventing racism, if we can use that word, and they alleged further that their taxonomy of racism was not based on mere opinion but was “scientific,” based on careful methods of observation and analysis.



And thus the phrase “scientific racism” has survived to describe a field of study which is not truly scientific, but pretends to be. As the reader will see in example after example in this encyclopedia, the use of numbers and statistics does not automatically mean that an assertion is logical or correct by scientific standards.

It is not mere coincidence that racism was invented during the time that tens of thousands of Africans were being captured, enslaved, and transported in chains to the Americas to work as field hands and manual workers for European owners. And it is interesting and important to note that the institution of chattel slavery, in which human beings were considered as mere property, was put into place before scientific racism was invented. Chattel slavery in North America was put into law in Virginia in 1640, but Linnaeus’s *Systema Naturae* was not published until 1735, Blumenbach’s *Natural Varieties of Mankind* in 1775, and Gobineau’s *The Inequality of Human Races* not until 1853. Thus racism was practiced for about one hundred years in North America before scientific racism was put into print to justify what was already a highly developed institution.

Although racism is a recent invention, with its assertions about inherent human inequality, slavery was a very old institution in the Mediterranean region of the Old World. Sumeria, Egypt, Greece, and Rome all maintained vast numbers of slaves, which they had acquired by various means. The Spartans, for example, subdued neighboring Laconians and forced them into slavery. The Romans captured slaves from Britain to Carthage, and likewise created a slave-based economy. But these slaves were not marked by their outward physical appearance—in fact, their physiognomy was very much like that of their owners. Greek and Roman slaves had to wear collars or distinctive dress to differentiate themselves from other members of society.

Blackness in ancient times was not equated with the status of slave. In Rome there were prominent black men, like Emperor Septimius Severus, Consul Lusius Quietus, and a Roman general who became Saint Maurice, the patron saint of medieval chivalry. But according to Plato, there were invisible, inherent differences among men which led some to be kings and others to be slaves. Plato tried to capture the essence of the supposed inequalities among men (leaving aside his allegations about female inferiority) in a supposed dialogue between his teacher Socrates and Socrates’s student Glaucon, included in Plato’s *Republic*. Author Stephen Chorover has called this fragment of philosophy “the most frightening document in European history.”

The dialogue consists in part of an analogy between human character and metallurgy. According to Plato, although all Greeks might look alike on the surface, they were different inside. Some were essentially “golden” in their intelligence and character, while others were silver, brass, iron, wood, or lead. Those with golden spirits, the children of golden parents, were destined to be monarchs or “philosopher-kings.” Those who were brass or iron would become soldiers, craftsmen and tradesmen, while those who were wood or lead, would be slaves. The frightening part of this idea is the notion of an invisible inner self, an early forerunner of the notion of intelligence, and hence of “intelligence quotient” (IQ), which emerged as the foremost rationale for racism in the twentieth century. Plato is clearly a forerunner of the idea that human character and intelligence are innate, are inherited from parents to children, and can be measured by specialists such as philosophers, or in modern times, by psychologists.

The study of race, and of racism, presently requires at least two general and somewhat different approaches, one from science and the other from the humanities. It is up to scientists to test the biological assertions of racist theory—that human groups, regional populations, “races,” are significantly different from one another in their mental, artistic, and physical abilities. The struggle between racist and antiracist biologists has been continuous since the invention of racism. But it seems that as soon as one racist allegation is refuted, others spring forward. Much of this encyclopedia is devoted to examinations of particular propositions and how they have been criticized in the last three hundred years.

Even if all racist assertions about human inequality are refuted, it remains to explain how and why these assertions were generated in the first place, and what functions these beliefs served in human society. As the reader will see in this encyclopedia, the perspective loosely called “post-modernism” has provided a critical vocabulary for explaining how opinions and ideologies are “socially constructed” or “culturally constructed” in a particular time or place. It is not enough simply to refute the supposedly scientific biological assertions of racist individuals; it is also necessary to explain how and why people came to believe these propositions, and who was promoting them.

Racism is not merely a psychological disorder, then, curable by hearing the biological facts. Racism not only poisons minds, it also lines the pockets of certain well-placed elites. American farmers, contractors, store owners, and manufacturers, for example, reap enormous profits from the difference between what they pay workers of color and what they would have to pay white workers to do the same jobs. In the past, some of the greatest advances in human rights have been on those occasions when racism, by various means, was made to be unprofitable. When industrial capital expanded into the South after World War II, for example, industrialists did not want to build factories with dual facilities for whites and blacks, and so they joined the struggle for integration.

The nearly four hundred articles in this encyclopedia are roughly of two kinds—biological and historical. But many articles are both historical and biological, and overlap with one another in the coverage of a particular geographical region, historical figure, or topic. For example, “civil rights,” “migration,” and “people of color” are mentioned in several places, in different contexts. To help the reader navigate among overlapping articles, we have listed “Related Topics” at the end of each article. Each article also contains a list of suggested readings where the reader can find more information and more references to the topic under discussion. All articles are signed by authors who are prominent in their fields. All of them are well published, and their other books and articles can be found in local libraries.

This project began in 2004 with a discussion among Macmillan editors concerning the need for a new reference source which would “fit a wide range of the social sciences, from history to multicultural studies to sociology and psychology,” but would also be “appropriate for the high school curriculum.” That is, the publisher wanted a kind of “one-stop” reference for students in high school and college to lead them to other inter-related sources in the subjects of race and racism.

There followed a telephone call from editorial director H el ene Potter to me, asking me to serve as editor in chief of the proposed volumes on the basis of my research in both the scientific and humanist sides of race and racism and based on the distribution of topics I had included in the on-line course syllabus which had guided my teaching of a college class called “Race and Racism” for more than twenty years.

The next step was the selection of a board of editors, who would solicit articles for particular fields of scholarship, their own specialties, and edit the manuscripts they solicited. Our first meeting was at Macmillan offices in New York City on September 2–4, 2004. The editors are as follows, along with their institutional affiliations, and primary responsibilities as editors.

Russell Adams, Department of Afro-American Studies, Howard University, history of American slavery, anti-slavery, and civil rights.

J. Keith Akins, Sociology Department, New Mexico State University, racist organizations, criminology.

Karen Brodtkin, Anthropology Department, University of California—Los Angeles, ethnicity, social theory, feminism.

Gregory R. Campbell, Department of Anthropology, University of Montana, Missoula, Native Americans, national minorities.

Kevin Cokley, Department of Educational Psychology and Center for African and African American Studies, University of Texas, Austin.

Patricia Hill Collins, Emeritus African American Studies, University of Cincinnati, Sociology, University of Maryland – College Park, feminism, sociology, history of racism.

Alan Goodman, Department of Natural Science, Hampshire College, biological anthropology, sports.

Faye Harrison, Department of Anthropology, University of Florida, politics, feminism, ethnicity.

Antoinette T. Jackson, Anthropology Department, University of South Florida, slavery, plantation communities, socio-economic structures; heritage studies.

Leonard Lieberman, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Central Michigan University, human variation, history of scientific racism.

Kenneth B. Nunn, Levin College of Law, University of Florida, race and law, constitutional law, civil rights.

Denise Segura, Sociology Department, University of California—Santa Barbara, Hispanic topics, feminism.

We must note here the passing of our dear friend, Len Lieberman, during the course of editing this encyclopedia. Len was a notable figure in the struggle against racism, among other things serving as editor of the memorial volume for Ashley Montagu, entitled *Race and Other Misadventures* (1996, with Larry Reynolds).

Our project editors at Macmillan have been Nicole Watkins, Rachel Kain, and Mark Mikula. Hélène Potter has not only served as our editorial director, but also as our intellectual guide, when we needed one.

**John Hartwell Moore**  
*Department of Anthropology, University of Florida*  
August 15, 2007

#### SUGGESTED READING

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RAP MUSIC

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SOCIAL WELFARE STATES

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## Thematic Outline

The following classification of articles arranged thematically gives an overview of the variety of entries and the breadth of subjects treated in the encyclopedia. Along with the index and the alphabetic arrangement of the encyclopedia, the thematic outline should aid in the location of topics. It is our hope that it will do more, that it will direct the reader to articles that may not have been the object of a search, that it will facilitate a kind of browsing that invites the reader to discover new articles, new topics, related, perhaps tangentially, to those originally sought.

1. African American Culture
2. Associations and Organizations
3. Business, Labor, and Economics
4. Children and Youth
5. China
6. Citizenship
7. Civil Rights and Social Activism
8. Colonialism
9. Concepts and Constructs
10. Controversial Organizations and Individuals
11. Cultural Groups
12. Education
13. Film
14. Gender and Sexuality
15. Genetic and Biological Concepts
16. Genocide
17. Health
18. History
19. Immigration

20. Latino/Hispanic Culture
21. Legal Cases, Individuals, and Issues
22. Literature
23. Native American Culture
24. Performing Arts
25. Popular Culture
26. Religion and Spirituality
27. Slavery and Freedom
28. Sports

### 1. AFRICAN AMERICAN CULTURE

- Abolition Movement
- Affirmative Action
- African Diaspora
- American Anti-Slavery Society
- American Colonization Society and the Founding of Liberia
- American Negro Academy
- Antiracist Social Movements
- Association for the Study of Negro Life and History
- Birth of a Nation, The*
- Baseball
- Basketball
- Black Civil War Soldiers
- Black Codes
- Black Consciousness
- Black Feminism in the United States
- Black Popular Culture
- Black Reconstruction
- Black-White Inter-marriage
- Boxing
- Brown v. Board of Education*
- Civil Rights Acts
- Civil Rights Movement
- Civil War Politics and Racism
- Colonialism, Internal
- Dance
- Emancipation Proclamation
- Felony Disenfranchisement
- Freedmen's Bureau
- Hip-Hop Culture
- Hoaxing
- League of Revolutionary Black Workers
- NAACP
- NAACP: Legal Actions, 1935–1955
- New Deal and Old Racism
- Niagara Movement
- Occupational Segregation
- Olympic Games of 1904
- Olympic Games of 1936
- Pan-Africanism
- Plantations
- Plessy v. Ferguson*
- Racial Purity (U.S.), 1900–1910
- Race Riots (U.S.), 1900–1910
- Race Riots (U.S.), 1917–1923
- Racial Desegregation (U.S.)
- Racial Slave Labor in the Americas
- Rap Music
- Scottsboro Boys
- Sickle Cell Anemia
- Slave Codes
- Slave Trade Ideology
- Slavery and Race
- Slavery, Racial
- Soldiers of Color
- Southern Politics, 1883–1915
- Southern Poverty Law Center
- Tourism and National Heritage (U.S.)
- Track and Field
- Triangular Slave Trade



Urban League  
Voting Rights Act of 1965

**Biographies**

Allen, Richard  
Baker, Ella  
Baldwin, James  
Bates, Daisy  
Bethune, Mary McLeod  
Chisholm, Shirley  
Davis, Angela  
Douglass, Frederick  
Du Bois, W. E. B.  
Forten, James  
Fortune, Timothy Thomas  
Garnet, Henry Highland  
Garvey, Marcus  
Hamer, Fannie Lou  
Houston, Charles Hamilton  
Johnson, Mordecai Wyatt  
King, Martin Luther, Jr.  
Lorde, Audre  
Malcolm X  
Marshall, Thurgood  
Mays, Benjamin E.  
Powell, Adam Clayton, Jr.  
Remond, Charles Lenox  
Rustin, Bayard  
Sheppard, William  
Singleton, Benjamin “Pap”  
Smith, James McCune  
Stowe, Harriet Beecher  
Trotter, William Monroe  
Truth, Sojourner  
Turner, Henry McNeal  
Turner, Nat  
Vesey, Denmark  
Walker, David  
Washington, Booker T.  
Wells-Barnett, Ida B.  
White, Walter Francis  
Wilkins, Roy

**2. ASSOCIATIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS**

Afrikaner Broederbond  
American Anti-Slavery Society  
American Colonization Society  
and the Founding  
of Liberia  
American Negro Academy  
Association for the Study of Negro Life  
and History  
Freedmen’s Bureau  
Jewish Defense League  
League of Revolutionary Black  
Workers  
NAACP  
NAACP: Legal Actions, 1935–1955  
Southern Poverty Law Center  
Texas Rangers  
Urban League

**3. BUSINESS, LABOR, AND ECONOMICS**

African Economic Development  
Braceros, Repatriation, and Seasonal  
Workers  
Chain Gangs  
Day Laborers, Latino  
Farmworkers  
Labor Market  
Labor Market, Informal  
Labor, Cheap  
League of Revolutionary Black Workers  
Occupational Segregation  
Pay Equity  
Sweatshops  
Transnational Labor Organizing  
Underemployment  
Undocumented Workers  
United Farm Workers Union  
Workfare and Welfare

**Biographies**

Chávez, César Estrada  
Corona, Bert  
Galarza, Ernesto  
Huerta, Dolores  
Singleton, Benjamin “Pap”

**4. CHILDREN AND YOUTH**

Children, Racial Disparities and Status  
of  
*El Plan de Santa Barbara*  
Gangs and Youth Violence

**5. CHINA**

China-U.S. Relations and Chinese  
Americans  
Chinese Americans after World War II  
Chinese Diaspora  
Chinese Immigration and Exclusion  
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**6. CITIZENSHIP**

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Citizenship and “The Border”  
Illegal Alien

**7. CIVIL RIGHTS AND SOCIAL ACTIVISM**

Affirmative Action  
American Indian Movement (AIM)  
Anti-Apartheid Movement  
Anti-Indian Social Movements  
Antiracist Social Movements  
Apartheid  
Civil Rights Acts  
Civil Rights Movement  
Global Environment Movement  
Intelligence Project  
Latino Social Movements

Niagara Movement  
Pan-Africanism  
Southern Poverty Law Center  
Voting Rights Act of 1965  
Zapatista Rebellion

**Biographies**

Baker, Ella  
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Bates, Daisy  
Bethune, Mary McLeod  
Biko, Stephen Bantu  
Chisholm, Shirley  
Davis, Angela  
Douglass, Frederick  
Du Bois, W. E. B.  
Forten, James  
Fortune, Timothy Thomas  
Galarza, Ernesto  
Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand  
Garvey, Marcus  
Hamer, Fannie Lou  
Johnson, Mordecai Wyatt  
King, Martin Luther, Jr.  
Lorde, Audre  
Malcolm X  
Mandela, Nelson  
Mays, Benjamin E.  
Powell, Adam Clayton, Jr.  
Rustin, Bayard  
Trotter, William Monroe  
Washington, Booker T.  
Wells-Barnett, Ida B.  
White, Walter Francis  
Wilkins, Roy

**8. COLONIALISM**

Africa: Belgian Colonies  
Africa: British Colonies  
Africa: French Colonies  
Africa: German Colonies  
Africa: Italian Colonies  
Africa: Portuguese Colonies  
Colonialism, Internal  
Pan-Africanism  
White Settler Society

**Biographies**

Cuffe, Paul  
Dew, Thomas Roderick  
Garvey, Marcus  
Sheppard, William  
Turner, Henry McNeal

**9. CONCEPTS AND CONSTRUCTS**

Anthropology, History of  
Aversive Racism  
Biracialism  
Black Consciousness  
Black-White Inter-marriage  
Blood Quantum  
Body Politics  
Capitalism

Color-Blind Racism  
 Critical Race Theory  
 Cultural Deficiency  
 Cultural Racism  
 Demographics and Race  
*El Mestizaje*  
 Ethnocentrism  
 Everyday Racism  
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 Great Chain of Being  
 Hoaxing  
 Illegal Alien  
 Implicit Racism  
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 IQ and Testing: Origin and Development  
 IQ and Testing: Culture, Education,  
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 Racial Desegregation  
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 Racial Hierarchy: Overview  
 Racial Hierarchy: Races Ranked by  
 Early Scientists  
 Racial Hierarchy: Disproven  
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 Social Class and Mortality  
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 Social Psychology of Racism  
 Social Welfare States  
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 Symbolic and Modern Racism  
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 Tourism and National Heritage (U.S.)  
 Transnationalism  
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#### 10. CONTROVERSIAL ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS

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 English Skinheads

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 Nation of Islam and New Black Panther  
 Party  
 National Alliance  
 National States Rights Party  
 Neo-Nazis  
*Organisation Armée Secrète* (Secret  
 Army Organization)  
 Second Klan  
 Texas Rangers  
 White Citizens’ Councils and the  
 Council of Conservative Citizens

**Biographies**  
 Chamberlain, Houston Stewart  
 Dixon, Thomas, Jr.  
 Duke, David  
 Herrnstein, Richard J.  
 Jensen, Arthur  
 Nott, Josiah  
 Rockwell, George Lincoln  
 Stoddard, T. Lothrop  
 Swift, Wesley  
 Tillman, Benjamin “Pitchfork”  
 Watson, Thomas E.

#### 11. CULTURAL GROUPS

Arabs and Arab Americans  
 Australian Aborigine Peoples  
 Black Indians  
 Brazilian Racial Formations  
*Burakumin*  
 Cagots  
 Canadian Racial Formations  
 Caribbean Racial Formations  
 Central Americans  
 Cuban Racial Formations  
 Dalits  
 Haitian Racial Formations  
 Indigenismo in Mexico  
 Irish Americans and Whiteness  
 Latin American Racial  
 Transformations  
 Latinos  
 Mexicans  
 Puerto Ricans  
 Roma  
 South African Racial Formations  
 Triracial Isolates  
 United Kingdom Racial Formations  
 White Racial Identity

#### 12. EDUCATION

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 Education, Racial Disparities  
 IQ and Testing: Overview  
 IQ and Testing: Origin and  
 Development  
 IQ and Testing: Culture, Education,  
 and IQ Scores  
 IQ and Testing: Critiques  
 Standardized Tests

#### Biographies

Bethune, Mary McLeod  
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#### 13. FILM

*Birth of a Nation, The*  
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#### 14. GENDER AND SEXUALITY

Adolescent Female Sexuality  
 African Feminisms  
 Asian-American Feminism  
 Black Feminism in Brazil  
 Black Feminism in the United  
 Kingdom  
 Black Feminism in the United States  
 Chicana Feminism  
 Feminism and Race  
 Gay Men  
 Gender Ideology  
 Heterosexism and Homophobia  
 Hottentot Venus  
 Latina Gender, Reproduction, and  
 Race  
 Lesbians  
 Machismo  
 Motherhood  
 Motherhood, Deficiency in  
 Pornography  
 Reproductive Rights  
 Reproductive Technologies  
 Sex Work  
 Sexism  
 Sexuality  
 Violence against Women and Girls  
 Womanism

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## ABOLITION MOVEMENT

The history of the movement to abolish slavery is virtually coeval with the establishment of racial slavery in the New World. In the Western Hemisphere, millions of enslaved Africans were embedded in the workforces of all of the Americas and the Caribbean Islands from 1502 to 1888. Unlike slavery elsewhere in the modern world, these societies had economies dependent on chattel slavery or the labor of individuals who could be bought, sold, bequeathed, rented, or pawned as if they were inanimate property. Consequently, abolition caused tremendous dislocation in western slave societies. Between the first Quaker disavowal of slavery in Pennsylvania in 1688 and the formal abolition of bondage in Brazil in 1888, the process of abolition covered two centuries, occasioned civil war in Haiti and the United States, and led to bartering for the liberation of slave soldiers in Central America.

### EARLY ANTISLAVERY EFFORTS

The first European protests against certain types of racial slavery occurred in the early colonial era. A few individuals, mostly Dominican and Jesuit priests, were sickened by the Spanish destruction and enslavement of Indian populations, and they recorded their objections to slavery. Among these clerics was Bartolomé de Las Casas, who in 1518 started his long crusade against Indian slavery. These efforts culminated in the famous Valladolid debate of 1550–1551, in which he was opposed by the learned Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda. At bottom, the debate was about which was the morally superior choice

of slave workers in Spanish America: Native Americans or enslaved Africans. Ironically, while Las Casas argued against the enslavement of the Native population, he suggested that Africans, whom he considered hardier workers, replace Indian slaves in the Spanish colonies. Sepúlveda supported the continued use of Native Americans, but as serfs (*encomienderos*) responsible for providing goods and services to their Spanish masters. Spain subsequently employed both arrangements, using Africans as individual slaves and Native Americans as community slaves. Many European colonists used white indentured workers, as well as Native Americans, but eventually enslaved Africans became their primary source of labor. The Atlantic slave trade and establishment of African slavery in the New World, especially in plantation economies that produced staple cash crops for the world market, were an important part of European commercial and geographical expansion in the early modern world. Racial slavery existed in all the American colonies by the end of the seventeenth century, and white settlers developed elaborate slave codes and racist ideas to justify and legitimize it.

With the expansion of Europe and the economic exploitation of overseas settlements, racialist thought became a powerful bulwark of slavery. Montesquieu criticized racial slavery but made an exception for warmer climes. John Locke, who wrote the fundamental constitutions of the colony of South Carolina that established slavery, characterized the state of slavery as outside the social contract but justified the enslavement of Africans as prisoners taken in a “just war.” American slaveholders would use his notion of the right to property to defend chattel slavery. Similarly, while Adam Smith criticized all

forms of servitude in favor of free labor, his notion of individual economic self-interest could justify modern racial slavery. Enlightenment thinkers such as David Hume, Voltaire, Immanuel Kant, and, later, Thomas Jefferson made racially derogatory remarks against Africans. Some Christians, Jews, and Arab Muslims twisted the biblical story of “Ham’s Curse” by claiming that Africans were the descendants of Ham, who had been cursed by God for disrespecting Noah, and that this justified their enslavement. Enlightenment thought about “universal nature,” “natural rights,” and Western religious traditions of sin and punishment bequeathed a mixed heritage to the Americas: It fostered a critical attitude toward slavery but also gave birth to an intellectual racism that saw Africans as less than fully human, thus legitimizing their enslavement by Europeans. Abolitionism was to emerge from this mixture of traditions, with the abolitionists eventually arguing that the slave owners, and not the slaves, were sinners in danger of God’s wrath.

In colonial British North America, a few extraordinary Quakers and Puritans started criticizing slavery and, at times, its racist justifications. One of the first protests against the enslavement of Africans came from four Dutch Quakers in Germantown, Pennsylvania, who sent an antislavery petition to the Monthly Meeting of Quakers in 1688. No action was taken on this petition, at least in part because the Quakers were deeply involved in European commercial expansion. In 1693 the Philadelphia Quaker George Keith published *An Exhortation and Caution to Friends Concerning Buying and Keeping of Negroes*, in which he argued against the abuses of slavery and for the humanity of Africans. Following Keith, other Quakers—such as Robert Piles, John Hepburn of New Jersey, Ralph Sandiford of Philadelphia, and Elihu Coleman of Nantucket, Massachusetts—wrote against slavery and slaveholders. The Puritan Judge Samuel Sewall, in his 1700 pamphlet *The Selling of Joseph*, also condemned slavery as “man stealing,” and hence contrary to the word of the Bible. He concluded, however, that free black people could never be incorporated into “our Body Politick” and must exist “as a kind of extravasat Blood [involuntary resident].”

In 1735 the British philanthropist James Oglethorpe founded the convict colony of Georgia as an alternative to the slavery-based plantation colonies of the South. However, with England’s subsequent permission, white settlers, mainly from South Carolina, successfully introduced slaves and plantation agriculture to Georgia, leading to the first southern antislavery petition, which came from eighteen Scotsmen in Darien, Georgia, in 1739. By 1755, Georgia’s experiment in free labor had come to an end, and like the other southern colonies, it instituted a slave code.

From the 1730s to the 1760s, three Quaker abolitionists, Benjamin Lay, John Woolman, and Anthony Benezet, devoted their lives to the abolitionist effort. Lay, who had been a West Indian slaveholder, came to abhor slavery, and he became known for his dramatic antislavery tactics, such as kidnapping the child of a slaveholder to acquaint him with the grief of slaves. Woolman wrote a pamphlet, *Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes* (1754), in which he presented a strong critique of the racist justifications of slavery. He argued that “Negroes are our fellow creatures” and that justice should take precedence over profit. Benezet, who stayed mainly in Philadelphia, wrote a number of pamphlets against the slave trade, collected antislavery writings and documents on slavery, and corresponded with early British abolitionists such as Granville Sharp. He taught slave children from his home, and in 1770 he set up the Negro School, which eventually served more than 250 pupils, both slave and free. Under Woolman’s and Benezet’s leadership, Quaker meetings passed resolutions against the slave trade and excluded slaveholders from positions of leadership.

Following the American Revolution, a Quaker-led Anglo-American antislavery movement burgeoned during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. This movement led to the abolition of slavery in the northern states of the new American Republic. The British and American prohibition of the Atlantic slave trade occurred in 1807–1808. Revolutionary ideology, with its emphasis on natural rights and a criticism of “political slavery,” furnished the first theoretical challenge to the existence of slavery in the Western world, according to historian David Brion Davis. A few American revolutionaries such as James Otis and Benjamin Rush, who wrote *An Address to the Inhabitants of the British Settlements in America upon Slave Keeping* (1773), wrote and spoke out against racial slavery.

The First Great Awakening (1730–1770) of evangelical Protestant sects (e.g., the Methodists, whose founder John Wesley opposed slavery, and the Baptists) and the rise of religious egalitarianism also led to a questioning of slavery. Many of these sects preached spiritual equality regardless of race. They appealed to the common man and woman in mass revival meetings, leading to what one historian has called “the democratization of American Christianity.” While the famous evangelical preacher George Whitfield defended slavery even as he pleaded for the Christianization of slaves, other ministers—such as the Calvinists Nathaniel Niles and Thomas Cooper and the Methodists Francis Asbury and Thomas Coke—spoke out against slavery. Deacon Benjamin Coleman, of Newbury, Massachusetts, fought against his slave-owning minister on the slavery issue. Among the Congregationalists, New Divinity theologians

such as Jonathan Edwards Jr. and Samuel Hopkins became strong abolitionists. Hopkins not only wrote one of the most effective abolitionist tracts of the period, *A Dialogue Concerning the Slavery of Africans* (1776), he also tried to educate black men to send them back to Africa as missionaries. Another aggressive opponent of slavery and proponent of revolutionary republicanism was the black clergyman Lemuel Haynes of Vermont.

### EARLY EFFORTS OF BLACKS

The role of Africans and African Americans in the abolition movement stood unappreciated for a long time. Africans had obviously opposed slavery from the first moments of enslavement. There were rebellions and runaway slave communities on the African coast, shipboard rebellions during the Atlantic slave trade (known as the “Middle Passage”), and colonial slave revolts and conspiracies in New York (1712 and 1741) and South Carolina (1739). During the American Revolution, blacks brought freedom suits against their masters, ran away in massive numbers, and fought on both sides in often successful efforts to win their freedom.

As early as the 1765 Stamp Act crisis, slaves in Charleston, South Carolina, marched in protest, crying “Liberty!” and alarming their masters. African-American writers such as the slave preacher Jupiter Hammon of Long Island, New York, the poet Phillis Wheatley of Boston, and, more explicitly, the former slave essayist Caesar Sarter of Newburyport, Massachusetts, critiqued the existence of slavery and defied racist pronouncements that claimed Africans were incapable of learning and suited only for hard, physical labor. In the 1770s, groups of slaves in New England petitioned their colonial governments, demanding an end to slavery and the rights of citizenship or transportation back to Africa.

In Massachusetts, early black abolitionists such as Prince Hall, founder of the African Masonic Lodge, and Paul Cuffe, the black Quaker sea captain who inaugurated the first Back-to-Africa movement, headed petition drives. Cuffe, in his petition, applied the slogan “no taxation without representation” in asking for relief from taxation because he did not have the right to vote. The black freedom petitions pointed to the shortcomings of the revolutionary statements of white leaders that did not include African Americans, thus laying the foundations of black abolitionism. Thousands of black loyalists—runaway slaves freed by British proclamations in 1779 and by Virginia governor Lord Dunmore in 1775 for joining the British—left the American colonies to be resettled in Nova Scotia, Canada, and then Africa in their search for freedom.

### REVOLUTIONARY ERA ABOLITIONISM

Antislavery sentiment among African Americans and whites during the Revolutionary era gave birth to the American abolition movement. In 1775 the first abolition organization, the Society for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage, was founded in Philadelphia. The organization was reorganized as the Pennsylvania Abolition Society in 1787. In 1785, the Society for Promoting the Manumission of Slaves was founded in New York. Prominent revolutionary leaders such as Alexander Hamilton and John Jay were members of the society, and Benjamin Franklin would assume the presidency of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society before his death. By the end of the Revolution, all the states had antislavery societies, except for Georgia and South Carolina, the two states most committed to slavery and the slave trade. Whites dominated the organized antislavery movement, and they saw African Americans as the objects of their benevolence. Nonetheless, these societies provided valuable legal and political services to the slaves and free blacks who fought against enslavement, kidnapping, and attempts to bypass emancipation laws. In 1794 all the antislavery societies met in Philadelphia and formed a national antislavery convention. Yet while the Founding Fathers of the new American republic expressed their abhorrence of slavery, many were slave owners themselves, and only those in the North joined antislavery societies. Men such as Thomas Jefferson undermined their antislavery pronouncements with their intense racism, though others, such as Thomas Paine, George Mason of Virginia, Luther Martin of Maryland, and Gouverneur Morris of Pennsylvania, were unequivocal in their condemnation of slavery.

### NORTHERN ABOLITIONISM

In the North, where slavery was not the mainstay of the economy and society, antislavery sentiment made greater headway. In 1777, Vermont became the first state to abolish slavery in its constitution. In 1780, Pennsylvania passed a gradual emancipation law, which served as a model for similar laws passed in other northern states. Rhode Island and Connecticut, for example, adopted similar laws in 1784. In New Hampshire and Massachusetts, judicial interpretation of the states’ constitutions led to the abolition of slavery in 1783.

In Massachusetts, slaves themselves initiated the emancipation process by suing their masters for freedom. In 1765 Jenny Slew of Ipswich successfully brought her master to court. In 1781, Elizabeth “Mumbet” Freeman won her freedom by suing her master for abuse and appealing to the notion of universal natural rights. A similar case,

## Abolition Movement

*Commonwealth v. Jennison*, brought by Quock Walker, outlawed slavery in Massachusetts.

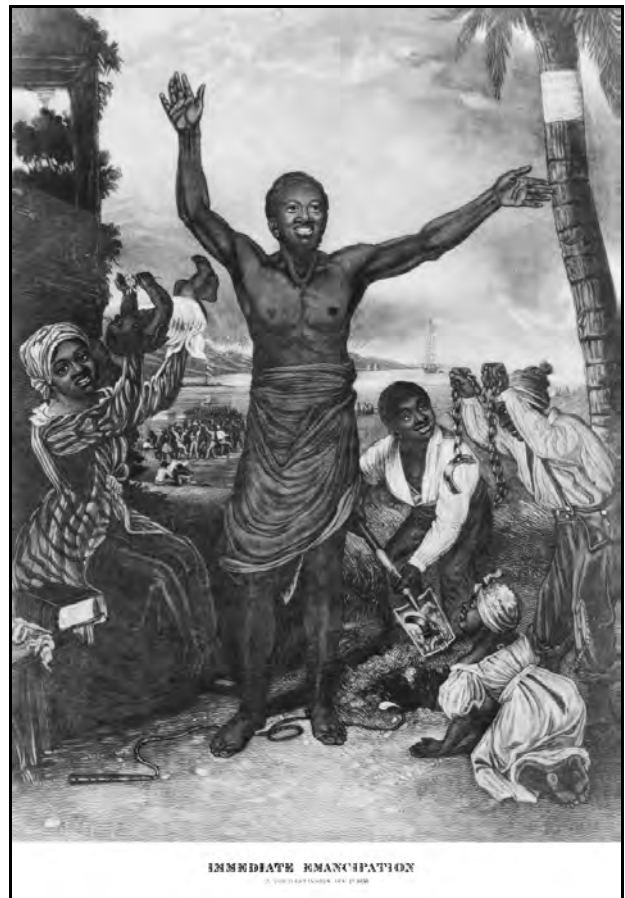
The battle for abolition was more protracted in New York and New Jersey, where slavery was widespread. New York passed its gradual emancipation law in 1799, and New Jersey in 1804. In New York, additional laws had to be passed to prevent masters from selling their slaves in the South and to prevent the kidnapping of free blacks into southern slavery. In 1827 a law freed all remaining slaves in the state. In New Jersey, despite emancipation, a handful of slaves survived to the very eve of the Civil War (fifteen slaves were counted in the 1860 census). However, the Revolution did abolish northern slavery, creating a nation that was half slave and half free.

Abolitionist efforts did not make any headway in the South, however, though Virginia passed a manumission law in 1782 that eased restrictions on individual slaveholders who wanted to emancipate their slaves. In the Upper South, some slaveholders were so influenced by Revolutionary ideas and the decline of the tobacco economy that they freed their slaves, creating a large free black population in Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware. In 1787, the Northwest Ordinance prohibited the expansion of slavery north of the Ohio River. Jefferson's original version of this ordinance would have banned slavery in the Southwest, but it lost by one vote in Congress, thus ensuring the expansion of slavery into Alabama, Mississippi, and the trans-Mississippi West. The continued expansion of slavery in the southern states ensured that there were more slaves in the United States after the Revolution than in the thirteen American colonies before it.

### ABOLITION OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES

More thoroughly than the American Revolution, the Haitian Revolution (1791–1804) sounded the death knell of racial slavery in the New World. What began as a slave rebellion and a fight for the rights of citizenship by Haiti's mixed-race population, who were inspired by the 1789 French Revolution, ended with the abolition of slavery and the founding of the first modern black republic and the second independent nation in the Americas. Led by the remarkable former slave Toussaint Louverture, the Haitian Revolution is the only instance of a successful slave rebellion in world history. It thus inspired generations of black and white abolitionists throughout the nineteenth century.

As early as 1770, Guillaume Thomas François (Abbé) Raynal had published his searing indictment of slavery and the African slave trade in his multivolume history of European colonization. He also predicted a black revolution that would drench the New World in blood. In 1788,



**Immediate Emancipation in the West Indies, August 1, 1838.** The British Parliament passed the Slavery Abolition Act in 1833. In most British colonies, however, slaves underwent a period of enforced “apprenticeship,” which ended in 1838. Alexander Rippingille’s painting, seen here in an engraving by S. H. Gimber, shows slaves in the West Indies celebrating their freedom. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

revolutionaries such as Jean-Pierre Brissot and Honoré Mirabeau founded the French abolition society, Société des Amis des Noirs (Society of the Friends of the Blacks), which included among its ranks Julien Raimond and Vincent Ogé, men of mixed-race origins, who led the mulatto revolt in Haiti, and other luminaries such as the French thinker and mathematician Marquis de Condorcet, the Marquis de Lafayette, and Bishop Henri Grégoire, a champion of black equality. In 1794, under the Jacobins, France abolished slavery, though this decree was later revoked by Napoleon.

The Haitians, some of whom had fought in the American Revolution with Lafayette, defeated the French, including Napoleon’s army that had conquered so much of Europe, the British, and the Spanish. Despite Toussaint’s capture and death, the Haitian Republic declared its



independence in 1804 under the leadership of Jean-Jacques Dessalines. It would not be until the 1848 revolutions in Europe that France and Denmark would abolish slavery in their colonies. By the 1820s the Latin American Wars of Independence had abolished slavery in most Latin American countries, including Mexico. At the end of the Age of Revolution only Brazil, the Spanish colonies of Cuba and Puerto Rico, and the United States South had not abolished racial slavery. The Constitution of the United States not only recognized slavery as a legal institution, it also postponed the abolition of the Atlantic slave trade until 1808.

### THE ABOLITION MOVEMENT IN GREAT BRITAIN

After American independence, a mainly British movement to abolish the slave trade picked up in the 1780s. In 1787 the Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade was founded. English Quakers such as John Fothergill and the indefatigable Granville Sharp, a champion of slaves and free blacks, led the movement to abolish the slave trade. Earlier, in the landmark 1772 *Somerset v. Steuart* case, Sharp had defended a runaway Virginian slave, James Somerset. The Somerset decision was widely interpreted as having abolished slavery in Britain. Sharp also publicized the famous *Zong* slave ship case in which the ship's captain, in order to collect insurance, threw 133 Africans overboard after the outbreak of disease. The anti-slave trade effort was led by Thomas Clarkson, who had published *An Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species* in 1786. Black abolitionists such as Quobna Ottobah Cugoano and Olaudah Equiano (both former slaves) contributed to the cause, first by bringing Sharp's attention to the *Zong* incident, and then by writing popular narratives of their capture and enslavement. Cugoano published *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil and Wicked Traffic of the Commerce of the Human Species*, the first black abolitionist tract, in 1787, and Equiano published *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa* in 1789.

In 1788 the British government regulated the number of slaves that could be carried in a ship and in 1789 William Wilberforce headed the fight against the slave trade in Parliament. At his behest, Parliament formed a select committee, whose hearings on the slave trade still provide the best evidence historians have on the conduct of the trade. Throughout the 1790s Wilberforce and abolitionists such as James Stephens led the fight to end the slave trade. After successive defeats, they were finally successful in 1807, when the law that abolished the British slave trade passed Parliament. Britain would go on to negotiate treaties with France, Spain, and Portugal to end the slave trade, and it used its navy to enforce the law and the treaties.

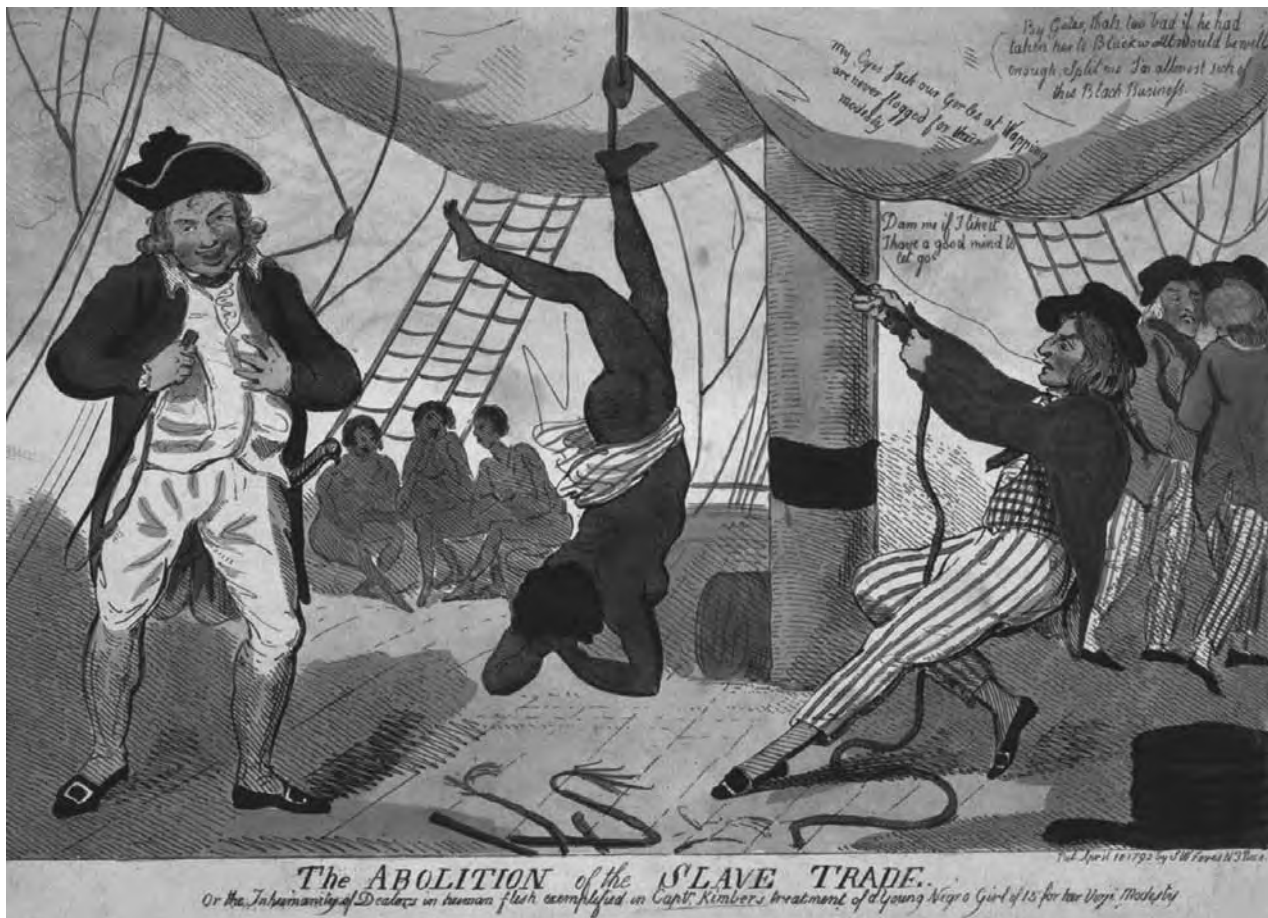
### BLACK ABOLITIONISM IN THE UNITED STATES

Across the ocean, African Americans emerged as strong critics of slavery in the early republic, writing most of the abolitionist pamphlets of the time. In 1794, addressing "those who keep slaves and uphold the practice," Reverend Richard Allen and Absalom Jones, founders of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church, stated, "you . . . have been and are our great oppressors." They implied that America, like Egypt, would be destroyed for its "oppression of the poor slaves" by God, "the protector and avenger of slaves." Daniel Coker, another AME clergyman, wrote in a fictional 1810 dialogue between a slaveholder and a black minister that the slave's right to liberty outweighed the slaveholder's right to property. In his 1813 *Series of Letters by a Man of Colour*, James Forten, a black sail maker and Revolutionary War hero, strongly criticized racial discrimination against free blacks (he was writing in response to a Pennsylvania law that limited the migration of blacks to that state) by appealing to the principles of republicanism.

In the South, where any sort of writing by enslaved blacks was illegal, there were at least four abortive slave rebellions and conspiracies against the tightening and expansion of the slave regime in the United States. In 1800 Gabriel Prosser, inspired by French and American revolutionary ideals, headed a conspiracy of a thousand slaves in Henrico County, Virginia. In 1811 Charles Deslandes, inspired by the Haitian Revolution, sparked a rebellion of 500 slaves about forty miles northwest of New Orleans. In the fighting, federal troops killed sixty blacks in battle, and they executed twenty-one others, including Deslandes. The former slave Denmark Vesey led a failed slave conspiracy in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1822. In 1831 Nat Turner headed a slave rebellion in Southampton County, Virginia, that left nearly sixty whites dead before he and his comrades were captured. An intense white backlash of paranoia and violence followed Turner's rebellion.

### BLACK ABOLITIONISM

Black abolitionism arose more strongly in the 1820s as a response to the 1817 founding of the American Colonization Society (ACS). The colonization movement, which included prominent national politicians from the North and South, proposed to remove all free blacks to Africa, a plan first conceived by Thomas Jefferson. An overwhelming majority of African Americans opposed the colonization movement, believing it to be a racist scheme to strengthen slavery and deny blacks equal citizenship in the United States. Black abolitionists thus developed the "immediatist" program of anticolonization and the immediate abolition of slavery and racial discrimination. In



**Punishment Aboard a British Slave Ship.** George Cruikshank's 1792 engraving, titled *The Abolition of the Slave Trade*, shows Captain John Kimber preparing to whip a female slave for refusing to dance naked on the ship. The abolitionist William Wilberforce brought the matter to Parliament and Kimber was arrested and tried for causing the girl's death. The High Court of Admiralty acquitted him, however, ascribing the girl's death to disease. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

1827, the first black abolitionist newspaper, *Freedom's Journal*, founded by Reverend Samuel Cornish and John Russwurm (who would later change his mind and emigrate to Liberia), espoused this program, as did the Massachusetts General Colored Association (MGCA), a Boston black abolitionist organization founded in 1826.

The famous black abolitionist pamphleteer, David Walker, who was an agent for *Freedom's Journal* and a member of the MGCA, published his *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World* in 1829 in Boston. Walker roundly critiqued colonization and American pretensions to being a republican and Christian country. He demanded an immediate end to slavery and vowed to alert the world of "black sufferings" in this "Republican land of liberty!" Walker died suddenly a year later, but his *Appeal* would be reprinted several times and remained the founding document of black abolitionism. The pioneer black feminist Maria Stewart of Boston, a follower of Walker's, became

the first American woman to speak in public on abolition and black rights.

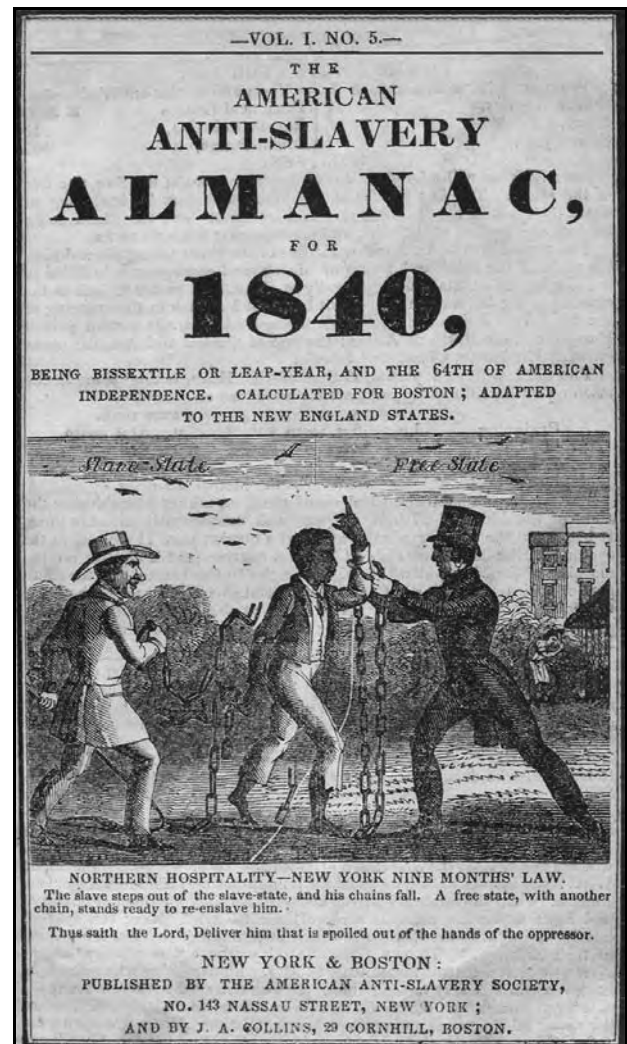
Though not an African American, William Lloyd Garrison, an intrepid political journalist, became an effective spokesman for black freedom and equality. A convert to the agenda and uncompromising rhetorical style of the new black abolitionists, Garrison had earlier met black leaders such as William Watkins, Hezekiah Grice, and James Forten. Through them, Garrison was converted from colonization to immediatism. In 1831, financed mainly by blacks in Boston and Philadelphia, he started publishing an extraordinary newspaper, *The Liberator*, in which he wrote his famous words, "I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—and I will be heard." Garrison's newspaper, which remained the premier voice of abolitionism until the end of the Civil War, was bankrolled by Forten, and African Americans made up 400 of its first 450 subscribers. Garrison also founded the New

England Anti-Slavery Society in 1832, into which the MGCA merged, in the basement of the African Meeting House in Boston, and he formed close personal and professional ties with black abolitionists.

### ABOLITIONISM MATURES

The founding of the American Anti-Slavery Society (AASS) in Philadelphia in 1833 marked the start of the interracial antebellum abolitionist movement and the coming together of three important antislavery groups: African Americans, Quakers, and a handful of radical whites such as Garrison. The Declaration of Sentiments of the AASS, written by Garrison while he was staying in the Philadelphia home of Dr. James McCrummill, a black dentist, committed the new movement to immediatism, anticolonization, blacks rights, and the tactic of "moral suasion." White evangelical Christians such as Theodore Dwight Weld and the wealthy brothers Arthur and Lewis Tappan of New York City would be important converts to Garrisonian abolitionism. The Tappan brothers, along with prominent black abolitionists such as Samuel Cornish, Theodore Wright, and William Hamilton, led the movement in New York. African Americans participated as members of the board of the AASS, and as its agents, but they also retained their separate independent organizations, such as the American Society of Free People of Color, the antislavery Bethel Church Free Produce Society and American Moral Reform Society. The all-black Female Anti-Slavery Society of Salem was founded in 1832, followed by two important interracial female abolitionist organizations, the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society and the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society. Members of these and other groups collectively supported the National Black Conventions that met periodically from 1830 to 1864. The black press was represented by the *Colored American*, *Frederick Douglass' Paper* and the *Anglo-African Magazine*. In Canada, the runaway slave Henry Bibb published *Voice of the Fugitive*, that nation's first black-owned newspaper, from 1851 until 1853 and Mary Ann Shadd Cary published the *Provincial Freeman*.

Women also formed an important part of the new abolition movement. Starting with Lucretia Mott, Lydia Maria Child, and the Grimké sisters, Angelina and Sarah, some women joined the antislavery lecture circuit and societies. Others organized antislavery fairs, picnics, and bazaars, raising hundreds of dollars for the movement. In the 1840s and 1850s, many charismatic white female abolitionists, such as Lucy Stone and Abby Kelley Foster, as well as black female activists, such as Sojourner Truth, Sarah Parker Remond, and Francis Ellen Watkins Harper, lectured for the antislavery societies. However, many clergymen and evangelical Christians were strongly



*The American Anti-Slavery Almanac for 1840.* The American Anti-Slavery Society was founded in 1833; it began publishing its almanac in 1837. The cover of this 1840 edition takes a jab at Northern hypocrisy by depicting a slave being unchained by a "Slave State" while a "Free State" prepares to rechain him. MANUSCRIPTS, ARCHIVES, AND RARE BOOKS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

opposed to abolitionist women who spoke in public or sought leadership positions within the movement. Women were expected to remain silent but active in raising monies and circulating antislavery petitions.

In the 1830s the interracial and radical nature of immediate abolitionism aroused intense opposition in both the North and South. Abolitionist mail was confiscated and burned by proslavery vigilantes in the South, and prominent politicians and merchants—"gentlemen of property and standing"—led mobs against abolitionist

meetings, which were seen as “promiscuous” because they included women and blacks. In 1834 anti-abolition sentiments led to a riot in New York City that resulted in the torching of black churches and the Tappans’ home. In 1837 the abolitionist editor Elijah Lovejoy was killed defending his press in Alton, Illinois. Garrison himself barely escaped the anger of an anti-abolition mob in Boston. Finally, the United States Congress instituted a “Gag Rule,” temporarily silencing Congressional discussion of abolitionist petitions from 1836 to 1844.

Nevertheless by 1838, the AASS, with its large numbers of paid antislavery agents and more than a million pieces of abolitionist literature, comprised 1,346 local antislavery societies with around 100,000 members. A new cadre of black abolitionists, most of them former slaves, became prominent in the movement and the country at large. The most famous of these was Frederick Douglass, whose slave narrative and oratory established him as one of the foremost leaders of the movement. Douglass began his abolitionist career as a Garrisonian, but he split with Garrison over the issue of politics by the early 1850s. While Garrison denounced the Constitution as a “compact with the devil and covenant with hell” and advocated “No Union with Slaveholders,” Douglass supported antislavery parties and saw the constitution as antislavery. Other black abolitionists included the black doctor James McCune Smith, William Cooper Nell, William Wells Brown, James W. C. Pennington, Samuel Ringgold Ward, and Henry Highland Garnet. Pennington and Brown wrote narratives describing their experiences as slaves, while Ward and Garnet became famous orators. Garnet is best remembered for his 1843 *Address to the Slaves*, in which he urged slave resistance.

Most abolitionists in the 1840s and 1850s justified the use of violence in self-defense in controversies over the rendition of fugitive slaves and the kidnapping of free blacks. David Ruggles, the black abolitionist who in 1835 had founded the New York Vigilance Committee to defend fugitive slaves and protect free blacks from kidnappers, stated that self-defense was the first law of nature. The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 mandated citizen participation in chasing and apprehending alleged fugitive slaves anywhere in the nation. Hundreds of fugitives fled to Canada in fear, and this sweeping law gave birth to active opposition among free blacks and abolitionists. In 1851 in Christiana, Pennsylvania, a group of free blacks defended four runaway slaves who were being pursued by their owner, who was from Maryland. The slave owner and a federal marshal were killed in the altercation. In Boston the abolitionist Thomas Wentworth Higginson and others managed to prevent the rendition of a number of runaway slaves. In Syracuse, New York, abolitionists succeeded in rescuing the slave Jerry McHenry, and in Ohio’s Western Reserve district

abolitionist “riots” made the law a dead letter in parts of the North that were strongholds of abolitionists and antislavery politics.

### THE PRELUDE TO CIVIL WAR

Along with physical resistance, political resistance to slavery expanded. The annexation of Texas in 1845 and the Mexican-American War of 1846–1848 made slavery into a national political issue. Many northerners in Congress supported Pennsylvania Representative David Wilmot’s attempt to restrict the expansion of slavery into the newly acquired Mexican territories. In the 1848 presidential elections, the newly formed Free Soil Party made antislavery a potent force in northern politics. Thus, thousands of readers were primed for the 1852 publication of Harriet Beecher Stowe’s antislavery novel, *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*. The novel was America’s first runaway bestseller, with some 300,000 copies being sold in twelve months.

The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 reignited the issue of slavery expansion into the west and led to a fierce and violent contest over the fate of Kansas between free state migrants and southern slaveholders. The antislavery and nonextensionist Republican Party was founded as a result of a new coalition between Free Soilers, Antislavery Whigs and Democrats, and political abolitionists. In the *Dred Scott v. Sandford* case of 1857, the U.S. Supreme Court essentially held that the Constitution did not curtail the rights of slaveholders to move their human property anywhere within the United States. The Court also declared that the rights enunciated in the Constitution did not apply to blacks because they were not American citizens. John Brown’s failed 1859 raid on the federal armory at Harper’s Ferry made him into an abolitionist martyr. The question of slavery became a part of the famous 1858 debates between the antislavery Republican congressman Abraham Lincoln and the Democrat Stephen A. Douglas, who were running against each other for one of the Senate seats from Illinois. The debates made Lincoln a national figure and paved the way for his successful presidential campaign in 1860.

Lincoln’s election led to the secession of the states of the Deep South (South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, Texas, Florida, and Louisiana), and the formation of the Confederacy would spell the doom of slavery. After the Confederates fired the first shot at Fort Sumter, inaugurating the American Civil War, four states from the Upper South (Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas) seceded. Abolitionists such as Wendell Phillips and Frederick Douglass, as well as Radical Republicans in Congress, pressured President Lincoln to make the war for the Union a war against slavery. In 1863 Lincoln not only issued the Emancipation

Proclamation, he also enlisted black men—some 130,000 of them former slaves—into the Union Army. In 1865 the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution finally ended racial slavery in the United States. The war, which cost around 600,000 American lives, resulted in the emancipation of four million enslaved Americans of color. Millions more were peacefully freed when slavery was abolished in Puerto Rico in 1873, in Cuba in 1886, and in Brazil in 1888.

By the end of the nineteenth century, racial slavery had ended in the New World. Among the causes of its demise was a general belief that chattel slavery was both an outmoded and morally unacceptable labor system. The efforts of countless abolitionists and slaves also helped governments to end one of the worst instances of human bondage in world history.

Throughout the Western Hemisphere, even though slavery had ended, the problem of race continued to bedevil former slave societies. Only in the United States did the legacy of abolitionism live on beyond the end of slavery. Following the Civil War, the United States became the only slave society to adopt a policy of systemic reconstruction based on interracial democracy. Unfortunately, the U.S. Reconstruction era, which lasted from 1865 until 1875, was overthrown, and, just as in other former slave societies, freed persons were subjected to new coercions and relegated to second-class citizenship. With the start of the U.S. civil rights movement in the twentieth century, and similar struggles elsewhere, the abolitionist dream of creating a society based on racial justice re-emerged. In the 1960s, civil rights workers, recalling the long history of the struggle for black equality, called themselves “the new abolitionists.” Thus, while the abolitionists succeeded in ending slavery, if not racism, the legacy of their fight for racial justice lived on.

**SEE ALSO** *American Anti-Slavery Society*; *Cuffe, Paul*; *Douglass, Frederick*; *Dred Scott v. Sandford*; *Emancipation Proclamation*; *Forten, James*; *Garnet, Henry Highland*; *Garrison, William Lloyd*; *Indian Slavery*; *Phillips, Wendell*; *Slave Codes*; *Stowe, Harriet Beecher*.

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## Adaptation

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## ADAPTATION

SEE *Human Biological Variation*.

## ADOLESCENT FEMALE SEXUALITY

Public opinion of adolescent female sexuality in American society remains limited by the emphasis on adolescent sexual behaviors and the perceived negative outcomes of these behaviors (namely pregnancy). This understanding is also mired in racial stereotypes and myths about poor and working-class African-American, European-American, Latina, Native-American, and Asian-American girls. Although teen pregnancy and birth rates have steadily declined since 1990, the teen birth rate is two to ten times higher in the United States than in other industrialized nations (United Nations 2005). This appears to justify the U.S. government's spending of millions of dollars on programs to prevent adolescent pregnancy, particularly by promoting abstinence-only programs through the Adolescent Family Life Act passed in 1981 and amendments to the 1996 Welfare Reform Act. On the other hand, in 1994 the National Commission on Adolescent Sexual Health concluded that "society can enhance adolescent sexual health if it provides access to comprehensive sexuality education and affordable, sensitive, and confidential reproductive health care services, as well as education and employment opportunities" (p. 4). While this call for a broader framework than "just say no" was endorsed by forty-eight organizations across a wide spectrum of ideological and religious beliefs, it neglects the complexity of the sexuality of young women of different racial and class backgrounds, as well as the ways in which their ability to act in self-protective ways may be constrained by certain aspects of their culture; by historical, social, political, and economic forces; and by racist stereotypes.

## AFRICAN-AMERICAN ADOLESCENT FEMALES

Explorations of adolescent sexuality are inextricably linked with the constructions of race, gender, and class that permeate the larger society and become embodied in the sexualized image of the black girl. As Joyce Ladner pointed out in her 1971 landmark study of African-American girls in St. Louis, "the total misrepresentation of the black community and the various myths which surround it can be seen in microcosm in the black female adolescent" (p. xxxiii).

The ubiquitous image of the promiscuous black teen mother has always belied the reality. The black girl in the United States is held accountable for the politically convenient crisis of teen pregnancy, even though more babies are born to white adolescent mothers (Roberts 2000). In addition, teen birth rates for African-American females fell by 41 percent, from 116.2 to 68.3, between 1990 and 2002, more than for any other ethnic group (see Table 1). It is true that more African-American high school girls report being sexually active (60.9 %) than do their Latina (46%) and European-American counterparts (43%) (CDC 2003). As a result, the black girl may be considered sexually irresponsible, though in 2000 the National Family Growth Survey found that African-American females aged fifteen to nineteen were also more likely (32%) than Latinas (23%) or European-American females (20%) to have a partner who used a condom. Moreover, the impact of the historical sexual oppression and violence visited upon enslaved African women, and later projected on and internalized within their daughters, has never been presented in the popular media or in government reports as a basis for the disproportionate rate of cumulative AIDS cases among young African-American and Latina females (83% in 2000). While further research in this area is still needed, there is evidence that some African-American female rape survivors recall stories of the rape of their ancestors during slavery, which may contribute to their sense that they do not deserve and cannot expect to be protected from sexual assault (Wyatt 1992). Popular media also does not acknowledge the fact that homicide, often at the hands of an intimate partner, was the second leading cause of death among African-American females aged fifteen to twenty-four in 2002 (CDC 2002). Sexual violence and coercion may also contribute to the fact that the percentage of African-American females having sexual intercourse before age thirteen (6.9%) is more than double the percentage of European-American females (3.4%) (CDC 2003).

## EUROPEAN-AMERICAN ADOLESCENT FEMALES

In contrast to young African-American women, the middle-class European-American adolescent female has been

**Teen Births and Birth Rates by Race and Hispanic Origin of Mother in the United States, 1990 and 2002**

	Total	Non-Hispanic		
		White	Black	Hispanic
<b>Number</b>				
2002	425,493	179,511	101,494	127,900
1990	521,826	249,954	147,521	97,685
% Change	-18	-18	-31	+31
<b>Birth Rate</b>				
2002	43.0	28.5	68.3	83.4
1990	59.9	42.5	116.2	100.3
% Change	-28	-33	-41	-17

SOURCE: Adapted from Ventura, Stephanie J., Abma, J.C., Mosher, W.D., Henshaw, S.K. Recent trends in teenage pregnancy in the United States, 1990–2002. *Health E-stats*. Hyattsville, MD: National Center for Health Statistics. Released December 13, 2006.

**Table 1.**

portrayed as a paragon of asexual virtue, a parallel myth that originated during slavery. As the historian Nell Painter points out, “the sexually promiscuous black girl . . . represents the mirror image of the white woman on the pedestal. Together, white and black woman stand for woman as Madonna and as whore” (Rose 1998, p. 177). Unlike the African-American female who must counter the myth with representations of herself as chaste and superhuman to counteract her mythology, the liberated European-American adolescent female affirms her sexuality by daring to admit she enjoys sex. If the European adolescent female appears too sexual, she too may be marginalized, but the pejorative myth more commonly associated with the urban black girl does not pertain to all white girls, only those designated as “sluts” among them (White 2002).

Beginning in 1997, anecdotal newspaper headlines proclaiming that suburban middle-school girls were having oral sex provoked the anxiety of many European-American parents (Lewin 1997). In 2002, 12 percent of European-American females, 9.9 percent of Latinas, and 5.8 percent of African-American females aged fifteen through nineteen had had oral sex but not vaginal sex (Mosher 2005). These data signaled an alarm that young middle-class European-American women might be choosing oral sex to prevent pregnancy but not protecting themselves from sexually transmitted diseases (Remez 2000). In contrast, in the early 1990s African-American females were targeted for the distribution of Norplant, a long-term hormonal contraceptive that was taken off the market amid controversy in 2002 because it prevented pregnancy without protecting women

from HIV infection (Roberts 2000). Thus, when middle class white girls have sex, there is concern for their health, but when poor and young women of color have sex, there is fear that they will get pregnant.

Socioeconomic class and level of education may be better predictors of early sexual debut and pregnancy for both African-American and European-American young women (Singh 2002). Middle-class European-American girls may have resources, such as access to abortion and adoption, available to them that minimize the consequences of their sexual activity, compared to poor and working-class young women of all races.

### LATINA ADOLESCENT FEMALES

Despite the diversity in racial-identity and national origin that exists among Latinas, data on adolescent sexuality are typically reported for all Latinas as a group. Thus, differences in experiences that might be attributed to skin color or national origin cannot be assessed. In 1996 Deborah Tolman proclaimed that the black girl has been replaced by the more euphemistic “urban girl,” who might also be Latina and is undoubtedly poor, but whose sexuality is still perceived as a singular threat to American values and the economy.

In 2000, Latina adolescents had a lower pregnancy rate than African-American teens (133 vs. 154 per 1,000 women), but they had the highest teen birth rate of all ethnic groups (94 per 1,000 women). The high Latina teen birth rate has been attributed to changing and conflicting cultural norms associated with assimilation, with discrimination in education and employment that contributes to poverty and reduces access to health care, with religious prohibitions on contraceptive use and abortion, and with the lack of culturally and linguistically competent health services, but it can also be traced to a history of class and race-based social policies.

Soon after the Hyde Amendment (passed by the U.S. Congress in 1976) severely restricted public funding for abortion, Rosie Jiménez, who could not afford an abortion from a licensed provider, became the first young woman to die from a back alley abortion since the *Roe v. Wade* decision of 1973. Her face soon adorned posters to repeal the Hyde Amendment, making her a martyr for the Latina reproductive rights movement. This was not the first time the government sought to control the reproductive choice of Latinas, however. It is estimated that one-third of Puerto Rican women of child-bearing age living in the mainland United States and Puerto Rico underwent government authorized forced sterilizations between the 1930s and 1970s (Lopez 1993).

#### NATIVE AMERICAN ADOLESCENT FEMALES

Native Americans represent the smallest racial/ethnic group in the United States, though there are more than 554 federally recognized tribal groups. Despite 1997 guidelines requiring all federally funded research to collect and disseminate data on all racial/ethnic categories, most national studies report data only for whites, blacks, and Hispanics/Latinos (Burrhansstipanov 2000). When data are available, Native Americans are not identified by their tribe and many are counted in other categories due to their mixed heritage. An 1837 Presidential Order calling for the violent removal of the Cherokee Nation to Oklahoma (commonly known as the Trail of Tears) has been compounded through a paper trail that removes the possibility of their descendants being properly acknowledged and counted.

The wholesale removal of Indian children from their families to boarding schools, which was initiated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs with the purpose of eradicating indigenous cultures, resulted in many young people being physically and sexually abused up until the 1970s.

Young Native women who must rely on the federal Indian Health Service have also been subjected to mass

sterilizations without informed consent, and to extreme restrictions on their access to safe reproductive health care, according to a General Accounting Office report spearheaded by Senator James Abourezk of South Dakota. A former Northern Cheyenne chief tribal judge heard the case of two fifteen-year-old Native girls who were sterilized during what they were told were tonsillectomy operations (Smith 2000), and thirty-six Native women under age twenty-one were sterilized in an Indian Health Service hospital between 1972 and 1974 (Akwesasne 1974).

#### ASIAN-AMERICAN AND PACIFIC ISLANDER ADOLESCENT FEMALES

Like their Native American counterparts, young Asian-American women are underrepresented in research reports on adolescent sexuality and reproductive health. Based on the available national data, Asian-American adolescent women have lower pregnancy and birth rates compared to other young women, though the variation across specific Asian ethnic groups frequently goes underreported. For example, despite the popular image of young Asian women as the “model minority,” according to the National Asian Pacific American Women’s Forum (2005), Laotian young women are reported to have the highest teen birth rate (19%) of any racial or ethnic minority group in the state of California in 2000.

Reminiscent of the African women and girls who experienced sexual abuse during the trans-Atlantic slave trade, many young immigrant women in the United States are the victims of modern-day sexual trafficking. The image of women of Asian descent as passive and servile geisha girls, mail-order brides, or sexual exotics is reflected in the high rates of sexual trafficking of young women from some of the poorest Southeast Asian countries (Hynes 2000).

#### LESBIAN, BISEXUAL, AND TRANSGENDER ADOLESCENT FEMALES OF COLOR

Adolescence is a time for young people to explore and establish their sexual identities. Societal and cultural homophobia and heterosexism—and the related discrimination that ensues—can place young people who show signs of, or are perceived as showing signs of, same-sex attraction at increased risk for violence, mental illness, and substance abuse. Young lesbians of color may be at particular risk for rape, pregnancy, and sexually transmitted diseases such as HIV. Lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) youth of color also risk family rejection and violence, as indicated by a survey in which 61 percent of LGBT youth reported they had been victims of violence from family members (Transitions 2002). LGBT youth of color may also experience bullying and harassment in school and in



*New Futures School for Teen Mothers.* *The New Futures School, in Albuquerque, New Mexico, provides an education to pregnant teens and teenage mothers in a supportive environment, preparing them to participate economically in society.* STEPHEN FERRY/GETTY IMAGES.



the community because of both racism and their sexual orientation.

Adolescent sexuality has been framed by the intersection of race, class, gender, and sexual orientation in the public media, in social policies, and in program interventions. A full understanding of adolescent sexuality requires more complete and specific data within and across ethnic groups to correct the myths and stereotypes that continue to demonize, erase or censor adolescent female sexuality. Also necessary is an analysis of how the mechanisms of oppression based on race, gender, class and sexual orientation undermine adolescent sexual and reproductive health. Only through these types of efforts can all adolescents living in America have the opportunity to reconstruct their own sexual identities and exercise their reproductive choice in safe and loving ways.

**SEE ALSO** *Forced Sterilization; Forced Sterilization of Native Americans; HIV and AIDS; Latina Gender, Reproduction, and Race; Motherhood; Reproductive Rights; Sexuality.*

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## AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

*Affirmative action* means taking positive steps to improve the material status of the less advantaged in society, usually through the provision of educational or economic benefits. In the United States, affirmative action usually takes place through the provision of government or private benefits in education, employment, or contracting. Affirmative action is controversial, particularly when the beneficiaries are women or people of color.

Affirmative action can take many forms—ranging from rigid quotas to targeted outreach meant to encourage minorities to apply—but all have in common the effort to increase the number of minorities in educational institutions, in the workplace, or in receiving contracts. Affirmative action programs differ in terms of how much weight they give to race as a factor in decision making and the extent to which they require results. For example, rigid quotas or set-asides that mandate that a certain percentage of beneficiaries be members of designated racial groups are very different from programs that use race as one factor among many in decision making. Likewise, there is a significant difference between the government's setting targets or goals and the government's mandating that there be specific results.

### PROS AND CONS

Several justifications can be offered for affirmative action. Because, by definition, affirmative action involves working to assist society's less-advantaged members, one reason to promote affirmative action policies is to remedy the effects of past discrimination. This remedial justification of affirmative action recognizes that wrongs have been committed in the past and acknowledges a moral obligation to set things right. Opponents of affirmative action do not contest the moral obligation to remediate past harm. Their objection to remedial policies is frequently centered on the claim that specific affirmative action policies will not help those who have in fact been harmed, but will sweep too broadly and provide benefits to those who do not deserve them. Sometimes opponents of affirmative action argue that the harm to be remediated did not occur, or if it did occur—as in the case of racial discrimination in the United States—the harm has dissipated so that remedial measures are no longer necessary.

Another important justification for affirmative action is the so-called diversity rationale. Advocates for the diversity rationale argue that society as a whole benefits when affirmative action is used to maintain diverse schools, workplaces, and businesses. According to this argument, people from different backgrounds, cultures, and genders bring complementary skills that collectively enrich the

places where they work and learn. Some affirmative action opponents reject the diversity argument outright. They claim there is no inherent social benefit to diverse workplaces or schools. Others accept the assertion that diversity is a social benefit, but express doubt over whether racial or gender characteristics provide a meaningful basis on which to assess diversity's social benefit.

This latter claim is related to what is arguably the most important objection to affirmative action. Opponents of affirmative action argue that it is wrong to allocate social benefits on the basis of immutable characteristics, such as race or gender. They claim that affirmative action is itself a form of racial/gender discrimination that discriminates against white males, contrary to historic forms of discrimination that were targeted against women and people of color. Thus the charge is often made that affirmative action is in fact "reverse discrimination." Supporters of affirmative action argue that the claim that affirmative action is discriminatory is overly formalistic. Although admitting that affirmative action does discriminate in a technical sense, supporters claim affirmative action is morally justified because its goal is not to harm the white majority, but to provide social justice for those who have been deprived of opportunity in the past.

### THE ORIGINS OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

The concept of affirmative action can be traced to efforts after the Civil War to remedy the devastating effects of slavery. Government efforts, such as the creation of the Freeman's Bureau, unquestionably were forms of affirmative action in that they provided benefits to racial minorities. The term *affirmative action* apparently was first used in the National Labor Relations Act (29 U.S.C. §§151–169), adopted in 1935. The context was not race, but rather the affirmative duty of employers to remedy discrimination against union members and union organizers. Employers found to have engaged in such discrimination were required to remedy this by taking steps to ensure that the employers were in the same position in which they would have been had there been no discrimination.

The term apparently was first used in the race context by President John F. Kennedy. In 1961, three years prior to the enactment of the first major post-Reconstruction civil rights law, President Kennedy issued an executive order preventing race discrimination by federal agencies. Executive Order 10,925, promulgated in 1961, mandated "affirmative action to ensure that the applicants are employed, and that employees are treated during employment without regard to race, color, creed, or national origin." President Lyndon Johnson extended this policy, though without using the phrase affirmative action, when he issued

Executive Order 11,246, demanding that all executive departments and agencies “shall establish and maintain a positive program of equal employment opportunity.”

The 1964 Civil Rights Act (42 U.S.C. §2000[e]) implemented this prohibition of race discrimination by statute. Title II of the 1964 act prohibited places of public accommodation, such as restaurants or hotels, from discriminating based on race. Title VII prohibited employers from discriminating on the basis of race, gender, or religion. The act did not speak directly to affirmative action, but it did prohibit discrimination and open the door to claims that affirmative action was essential to meet the statutory prohibition against discrimination. It was quickly realized that prohibiting discrimination is not enough to achieve equality. Positive steps toward remedying the legacy of discrimination and enhancing diversity are essential. Thus affirmative action programs of all sorts began to proliferate and flourish in the 1970s.

#### LEGAL TREATMENT OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

U.S. courts have addressed the question of whether the use of affirmative action to help a disadvantaged group is as objectionable as the use of race or gender to harm or subjugate socially disfavored groups. Dominated since the 1980s by conservative judges appointed by Presidents Ronald Reagan and, later, George H. W. Bush, the courts have concluded that “any” use of affirmative action is a form of racial discrimination. In the courts, invidious racial discrimination must meet *strict scrutiny*; that is, it must be necessary to achieve a compelling government purpose. Strict scrutiny is a very rigorous level of judicial review that is rarely met. Indeed, Stanford law professor Gerald Gunther once famously claimed that strict scrutiny was “strict in theory, but fatal in fact.” In *Adarand Constructors, Inc. v. Peña*, in 1995, the Supreme Court said: “All racial classifications, imposed by whatever federal, state, or local governmental actor, must be analyzed by a reviewing court under strict scrutiny.”

Those who are opposed to affirmative action argue that the Constitution requires that the government treat each person as an individual without regard to his or her race; strict scrutiny is used to ensure that this occurs. Justice Clarence Thomas, in *Adarand*, espoused this view: “In my mind, government-sponsored racial discrimination based on benign prejudice is just as noxious as discrimination inspired by malicious prejudice. In each instance, it is racial discrimination, plain and simple.” Moreover, supporters of strict scrutiny for affirmative action argue that all racial classifications stigmatize and breed racial hostility, and therefore all should be subjected to strict scrutiny. Justice Sandra Day O’Connor

stated: “Classifications based in race carry a danger of stigmatic harm. Unless they are strictly reserved for remedial settings, they may in fact promote notions of racial inferiority and lead to politics of racial hostility.”

On the other side of the debate, supporters of affirmative action argue that there is a significant difference between the government’s use of racial classifications to benefit minorities and the government’s use of racial classifications to disadvantage minorities. There is a long history of racism and discrimination against minorities, but no similar history of persecution of whites. Those in favor of affirmative action point to the tremendous continuing disparities between blacks and whites in areas such as education, employment, and public contracting as necessitating remedial action.

Supporters also argue that there is a major difference between a majority discriminating against a minority and the majority discriminating against itself. John Hart Ely explains in a 1974 article:

When the group that controls the decision making process classifies so as to advantage a minority and disadvantage itself, the reasons for being unusually suspicious, and consequently, employing a stringent brand of review are lacking. A White majority is unlikely to disadvantage itself for reasons of racial prejudice; nor is it likely to be tempted either to underestimate the needs and deserts of Whites relative to those of others, or to overestimate the cost of devising an alternative classification that would extend to certain Whites the disadvantages generally extended to Blacks.

In the Rehnquist court of the 1990s the Supreme Court was split, five to four, between these two views. The majority—Chief Justice William Rehnquist, and Justices O’Connor, Antonin Scalia, Anthony Kennedy, and Thomas—adopted strict scrutiny in evaluating racial classifications benefiting minorities. The dissenters—Justices John Paul Stevens, David Souter, Stephen Breyer, and Ruth Bader Ginsburg—would use intermediate scrutiny, a less stringent standard of review.

#### THE SUPREME COURT’S TREATMENT OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

The Court first considered the issue of affirmative action in *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*. Bakke involved a challenge to the University of California at Davis Medical School’s set-aside of sixteen slots in the entering class of one hundred for minority students. There was no majority opinion for the Supreme Court. Four justices—William Brennan, Byron White, Thurgood Marshall, and Harry Blackmun—said that intermediate scrutiny was the appropriate test for racial classifications benefiting

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minorities, and voted to uphold the University of California at Davis Medical School's affirmative action program.

Four justices—Stevens, Warren Burger, Potter Stewart, and Rehnquist—concluded that the affirmative action program violated Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which prohibited discrimination by institutions receiving federal funds. They did not reach the constitutional issue or discuss the level of scrutiny.

Finally, Justice Powell, writing only for himself, said that strict scrutiny should be used for affirmative action. He said that “racial and ethnic distinctions of any sort are inherently suspect and thus call for the most exacting judicial examination.” Powell concluded that the set-aside was unconstitutional, but that it *was* permissible for race to be used as *one* factor in admissions decisions to enhance diversity. Thus, the vote was 5 to 4 invalidating the set-aside—Powell, Stevens, Burger, Rehnquist, and Stewart voting for this conclusion—but 5 to 4 that it is permissible for universities to use race as a factor in admissions to increase diversity—Powell, Brennan, Marshall, White, and Blackmun coming to this conclusion.

Two years later, in *Fullilove v. Klutznick*, the Supreme Court again considered an affirmative action program but did not produce a majority opinion. The Court upheld a federal law that required that 10 percent of federal public works monies given to local governments be set aside for minority-owned businesses. Chief Justice Burger, in an opinion joined by Justices White and Powell, concluded that the affirmative action program was justified to remedy past discrimination, but said that the “opinion does not adopt, either expressly or implicitly, the formulas of analysis articulated in cases such as *University of California Regents v. Bakke*.”

Three Justices Marshall, Brennan, and Blackmun concurred in the judgment to uphold the affirmative action program, but argued again that intermediate scrutiny should be used for racial classifications serving a remedial purpose. Finally, on the other hand, three Justices Stewart, Rehnquist, and Stevens dissented and said that strict scrutiny was the appropriate test. It was not until 1989, in *Richmond v. J. A. Croson Company*, that the Supreme Court expressly held that strict scrutiny should be used in evaluating state and local affirmative action programs. The Court invalidated a Richmond, Virginia, plan to set aside 30 percent of public works monies for minority-owned businesses. Five Justices O'Connor, Rehnquist, White, Kennedy, and Scalia wrote or joined in opinions declaring that strict scrutiny was the appropriate test in evaluating such affirmative action plans. As Justice Marshall lamented in his dissenting opinion: “Today, for the first time, a majority of the Court has adopted strict scrutiny as its standard of Equal

Protection Clause review of race-conscious remedial measures.”

But a year later, in *Metro Broadcasting, Inc. v. Federal Communications Commission*, the Supreme Court held that congressionally approved affirmative action programs only need to meet intermediate scrutiny. The Supreme Court, in a 5 to 4 decision, upheld FCC policies that gave a preference to minority-owned businesses in broadcast licensing. The majority expressly said: “We hold that benign race-conscious measures mandated by Congress, even if those measures are not ‘remedial’ in the sense of being designed to compensate victims of past governmental or society discrimination, are constitutionally permissible to the extent that they serve important governmental objectives within the power of Congress and are substantially related to the achievement of those objectives.”

Justice Brennan wrote the majority opinion in *Metro Broadcasting*, joined by Justices White, Marshall, Blackmun, and Stevens. Justices O'Connor, Kennedy, Scalia, and Rehnquist dissented. Between *Metro Broadcasting*, in 1990, and *Adarand Constructors, Inc. v. Peña*, in 1995, four of the Justices in the majority, but none of the Justices in the dissent, resigned from the Court. In *Adarand*, the four dissenters from *Metro Broadcasting* were joined by Justice Thomas to create a majority to overrule it. The Court thus concluded that “federal racial classifications, like those of a State, must serve a compelling governmental interest, and must be narrowly tailored to further that interest.”

In its affirmative action decisions in the first decade of the 2000s, the Supreme Court reaffirmed that strict scrutiny is the test for affirmative action but held that colleges and universities may use race as a factor in admissions decisions to benefit minorities and enhance diversity. In *Grutter v. Bollinger*, in a 5-4 decision, with Justice O'Connor writing for the majority, the Court upheld the University of Michigan Law School's affirmative action program. The Court ruled that colleges and universities have a compelling interest in creating a diverse student body and that they may use race as one factor, among many, to benefit minorities and enhance diversity. In a companion case, *Gratz v. Bollinger*, the Court, 6-3, invalidated an affirmative action program for undergraduate admissions that added twenty points to the applications for minority students. In an opinion by Chief Justice Rehnquist, the Court ruled that the undergraduate program was not sufficiently “narrowly tailored” to meet the strict scrutiny used for government racial classifications. In essence, the Court adhered to the position articulated by Justice Lewis Powell in *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* a quarter century earlier: Diversity is a compelling interest in education



**Rallying for Affirmative Action.** A Bridgeport University student carries a sign as part of a demonstration outside the U.S. Supreme Court on April 1, 2003, when the Court was hearing arguments on the University of Michigan's admission policy. The Court would later rule that the university can consider race when considering applicants for admission. ALEX WONG/GETTY IMAGES.

and universities may use race as a factor to ensure diversity, but quotas or numerical quantification of benefits is impermissible.

Is this a distinction that makes a difference? Practically speaking, can colleges and universities effectively add points so long as it is not done explicitly and officially? Is there really a difference between a college having a set-aside and a college using race as a factor in admissions decisions and keeping track of the number of minority students to ensure "critical mass"? Colleges and universities long have valued diversity in education; it always has been easier for a person from Wyoming or Montana to get into Harvard or Yale than an applicant with the same qualifications from Boston or New York. Individuals with special skills, like making downfield tackles or shooting jump shots, long have been admitted to college with lower

grades and test scores. These variables generally are not quantified. The Court's affirmative action cases stand for the proposition that racial diversity matters, too, and that it should be treated like other factors considered in ensuring a diverse class. Any quantification, in terms of adding points or using a set-aside, seems arbitrary and inflexible.

The bottom line from the Supreme Court's affirmative action decisions over a quarter of a century is that any use of racial classifications, whether to benefit or disadvantage minorities, must meet strict scrutiny and be shown to be necessary to achieve a compelling government interest. The Court regards remedying past discrimination and enhancing diversity in education as compelling goals. The Court has been clear that it rarely will allow quotas or set-asides, but it will allow educational institutions to use race as one factor in admissions decisions to benefit minorities.

#### POLITICAL AND SOCIAL DEBATES

Affirmative action has been tremendously divisive. Opponents of affirmative action embrace the noble-sounding rhetoric of color-blindness and maintain that it is wrong for a person to lose out on something valuable solely because of his or her race. Supporters of affirmative action point out that it is designed to remedy a long history of discrimination and ensure racial equality in the long term.

One manifestation of the political and social debate is the initiatives that have been adopted across the country limiting affirmative action. In 1996 California voters passed Proposition 209, the so-called California Civil Rights Initiative. The initiative amended the state constitution to bar discrimination or preferences on the basis of race in government contracting, education, or employment. A similar initiative was adopted almost simultaneously in Washington state. In November 2006, Michigan voters passed Proposition 2, which was almost identical to California Proposition 209 in banning discrimination or preference based on race.

These initiatives reflect the public's disapproval of affirmative action. The rhetoric that the government should be color-blind is appealing and allows for people to limit (or eliminate) affirmative action while feeling noble. On the other hand, those who believe that affirmative action is essential to remedy past discrimination and achieve diversity have had a hard time overcoming the impression that such programs are reverse discrimination.

#### THE FUTURE

Affirmative action remains enormously controversial, and political and legal battles over the issue are sure to continue. In the courts, challenges to affirmative action

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programs may gain additional momentum with a change in the composition of the Supreme Court. With the departure of Justice O'Connor from the High Court, opponents of affirmative action are sure to look for test cases to bring the issue back for reconsideration. The Supreme Court has limited, but not ended, affirmative action as reflected in the *Grutter* decision. The survival of government affirmative action programs is a topic likely to be considered again in the years ahead.

**SEE ALSO** *Color-Blind Racism; Labor Market; Symbolic and Modern Racism.*

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## **AFRICA: BELGIAN COLONIES**

Belgium created two colonies in Africa: the entities now known as the Democratic Republic of the Congo (formerly the Republic of Zaire) and the Republic of Rwanda, previously Ruanda-Urundi, a former German African colony that was given to Belgium to administer after the defeat of Germany in World War I. The scramble for colonies was the brainchild of Leopold II, king of Belgium.

### **HISTORY OF BELGIAN COLONIZATION**

Belgium itself had gained independence in 1831 when it broke away from the Netherlands and became a new

nation. The second king of Belgium, Leopold II, was a very ambitious man who wanted to personally enrich himself and enhance his country's prestige by annexing and colonizing lands in Africa. In 1865 he succeeded his father, Leopold I, to the Belgian throne. In 1876 he commissioned Sir Henry Morton Stanley's expedition to explore the Congo region. This exploration led initially to the establishment of the Congo Free State. The new colony comprised a land bigger than western Europe and seventy-four times larger than Belgium, and belonged to Leopold II as a personal possession. He proclaimed himself king-sovereign of Congo Free State at a time when France, Britain, Portugal, and Germany also had colonies in the area. In 1885 Leopold II secured U.S. recognition of his personal sovereignty over the Congo Free State.

Leopold II was absolute ruler of Congo. His rule was brutal and millions of Congolese died as a result. By 1895 the British press started to expose Leopold II's atrocities in Congo. In 1897 a Swedish missionary told a London meeting how Leopold's soldiers were rewarded by the number of Congolese hands they amputated as punishment to native workers for failure to work hard enough. By 1899 the British vice consul confirmed and further reported the brutality of Leopold's misrule in Congo. Finally in 1908, Leopold was forced to hand over the Congo Free State, his personal fiefdom, to the Belgian state.

### **THE ADMINISTRATION OF CONGO BY THE BELGIANS (1908–1960)**

The takeover of the administration by the Belgian government brought some improvements in the lives of the Congolese peoples, who had suffered untold hardships under Leopold II and his private militia. There were slight improvements in the everyday economic and social life of the Congolese that were comparable to conditions in other European colonies in Africa. The Belgian colonial administration built some schools, railways, roads, plantations, mines, industrial areas, and airports. Despite the modest improvements in the lives of the Congolese, the Belgians created two separate societies in the Congo: the whites and the natives. The whites had all the luxuries, and the native Africans lacked everything. It was an apartheid type of social and political system. All the major decisions concerning the Congo were made in Brussels, and the Congolese were not allowed to participate in the running of their own country.

In 1955 some of the few Congolese educated-elites organized a resistance to the lack of democracy and the apartheid policies of the Belgian colonial masters. The main aim of these so-called *évolués* in resisting the Belgian colonial administration was to redress the gross inequality



*Belgian Africa, 1914.* MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. GALE.

that existed between the Europeans and the Africans. They used civil disobedience, strikes, and civil unrest against the Belgian colonialists. This uprising led to the disintegration of the Belgian colonial administration and helped in winning independence for the Congo in 1960.

#### **HISTORY OF BELGIUM COLONIZATION OF RWANDA**

Belgium's other colony, Rwanda, was an independent monarchy until the Germans annexed it in 1899 and made it part of German East Africa. Belgium seized Rwanda and

Burundi from Germany in 1916; two years later, after the defeat of Germany in World War I, Ruanda-Urundi was formally given to Belgium as a League of Nations (later United Nations) trust territory.

#### RACE AND ETHNICITY IN PRECOLONIAL AFRICAN BELGIAN COLONIES

In precolonial Congo, established monarchies and kingdoms maintained order. The most notable of these empires was the Kingdom of Kongo, which was founded in the fourteenth century and centered around present-day western Congo and northern Angola. Other notable empires included the Luba empire, founded in the sixteenth century and centered around Lakes Kisale and Upemba, located in central Shaba; the Lunda kingdom of Mwata, founded in the fifteenth century and centered in southwestern Congo; and the Kuba empire of the Shonga people, founded in the seventeenth century and centered around the Kasai and Sankura rivers in southern Congo. Another notable kingdom was the Lunda kingdom of Nwata Kazembe, founded in the early eighteenth century and centered around the Luapula River near the Congo-Zambia border. There were other small Luba-Lunda states in Congo.

Relations among the Congolese peoples during the precolonial period were largely harmonious. Through intermarriage and socioeconomic contacts, interethnic strife was benign. These kingdoms, especially the Kingdom of Kongo, were comparably wealthy, and when the standard of living is high, people tend to get along well. Nevertheless, there were interethnic wars on some occasions.

In 1482 the Portuguese navigator Diogo Cão became the first European to come to the Congo. The Portuguese established a relationship with the king of Kongo but stayed in the modern Angolan coastal areas. It was not until the eighteenth century that the Portuguese gained substantial influence in Congo. This was the situation until King Leopold II of Belgium made the Congo his personal possession, and it became the only colony owned and run by a single individual.

#### RACE AND ETHNICITY IN PRECOLONIAL RWANDA

Before the European incursion into Rwanda and the Belgian colonization, Rwanda was united under the central leadership of an absolute Tutsi monarchy. The people, although classified as Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa, essentially spoke the same language. They also shared the same culture, ate the same or similar foods, and practiced the same religion.

Precolonial Rwanda under the monarchy was highly stratified. The aristocracy, who were essentially the Tutsi, owned all the land and earned tributes from the farmers,

who were mainly Hutu. Whereas the Hutus were farmers, the Tutsis were cattle herders. The Twa or the “pygmies,” who were the original inhabitants of Rwanda, were outcasts and despised by both the Hutus and the Tutsis. There was social mobility (both upward and downward) in this stratified Rwandese society. A rich Hutu who purchased a large herd of cattle could become a Tutsi, while a Tutsi who became poor would drop into the Hutu caste. Intermarriage was not prohibited in this caste system. Both Hutus and Tutsis served in the king’s military. All the members of the castes seemed to be living in harmony until the Belgians came and brought ethnic conflict with them. These conflicts resulted in many wars and episodes of genocide.

#### ETHNIC RELATIONS DURING THE BELGIAN COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION

The Belgians ruled over Congo from 1909 to 1960, while their rule over Rwanda lasted from 1918 to 1962. In the Congo, the Belgians created an apartheid-like system between the Europeans (Belgians) living in Congo and the Congolese, thereby marginalizing the Congolese in their own society. Among the Congolese, the Belgians used the strategy of divide and rule. They favored certain ethnic groups, especially the ones that would allow them to continue to colonize and plunder the rich natural resources of the Congo.

Before the coming of the Europeans, the Kingdom of Kongo had well-organized political and administrative structures that rivaled those of the Europeans. The economic system of the kingdom was organized into guilds based on agriculture and handicraft industries. The European incursion into the west coast of Africa and the consequent slave raids increased the migrations of refugees into Kongo. These migrations created myriad problems both at the time and in subsequent periods.

When the Belgians took over the administration of Rwanda from the Germans in 1918, they significantly changed the Rwandese system of government and social relations. The Belgians found willing elites to help them rule Rwanda. The Tutsis were willing collaborators to the Belgian colonization. The Belgians, in turn, gave the Tutsis privileged positions in politics, education, and business. The Belgians even took the few leadership positions that the Hutus had and gave them to the Tutsis. Specifically, in 1929, they eliminated all the non-Tutsi chiefs, and as a result the Hutus lost all their representation in the colonial government. A further blow came in 1933, when the Belgians issued identity cards to all Rwandans. These mandatory identity cards removed the fluidity from the Rwandan stratification (caste) system, thereby confining people permanently as Hutus, Tutsis, and “pygmies.” The Belgians empowered the Tutsis so much that their exploitation of the Hutu majority reached new heights. As the



independence of Rwanda became inevitable in the 1950s, however, the Belgians changed course and started to empower the Hutus by increasing their political and economic muscle and providing them access to modern education.

These conflicting measures brought anarchy and led to the creation of extreme groups—from both the majority Hutus and the minority Tutsis—wanting to protect the interests of their respective peoples. It was the activities of these extreme groups that led to the various episodes of genocide that reached appalling heights in 1994 with the killing of nearly one million people, mostly Tutsis and moderate Hutus, by extreme Hutus.

The first wave of genocide by the Hutus against the Tutsis took place earlier, however, under the administration of the Belgians in 1959. Like the 1994 genocide, it started when extremist Tutsis attacked a Hutu leader, and the Hutus retaliated by killing hundreds of Tutsis. In the Western press, this conflict was portrayed as a racial and cultural one, between the tall, aristocratic, pastoral Tutsis, and Hutus who were uneducated peasant farmers. That the Tutsi and Hutu were originally two castes of the same people, speaking a common language, and that the antagonism had been created by Belgian colonial forces for their own purposes, were facts somehow lost in the international dialogue.

To summarize, the ethnic rivalries and tensions in the former Belgian colonies of Congo and Rwanda that escalated following independence and continued into the twenty-first century had their roots in the Belgian colonial administration. It was during the Belgian colonial administration that the foundations for the postcolonial and present-day ethnic tensions and political instability were laid.

#### ETHNIC AND POLITICAL CONFLICTS IN POSTCOLONIAL BELGIAN COLONIES IN AFRICA

In the Congo, political instability started as soon as the Congolese gained their independence from the Belgians in 1960. Congo is a multiethnic country with about two hundred ethnic groups. Most of the ethnic groups speak languages of the widespread Bantu family: Kongo, Mongo, Luba, Bwaka, Kwango, Lulua, Luanda, and Kasai. There are also Nilotic-speaking peoples near Sudan and some “pygmies” in northeastern Congo. Although there were several political parties, the two most prominent were Joseph Kasavubu’s ABAKO, a party based among the Kongo people, and Patrice Lumumba’s Congolese National Movement. After the June 1960 elections, Lumumba became prime minister and Kasavubu the ceremonial president.

Immediately after independence on June 30, 1960, ethnic and personal rivalries—influenced by Belgium, other European nations, and the United States—sent the

newly independent country into political crisis. On July 4, the army rebelled. Seven days later, Moïse Tshombe, the provisional president of Katanga, in a move instigated by the Belgians, declared the mineral-rich Katanga province an independent country. Subsequent political problems led to military intervention by the Belgians, who claimed that they intervened to protect Belgian citizens from attack. On July 14, the United Nations Security Council authorized a force to help to establish order in the Congo, but this force was unable to bring the seceded Katanga province to order. As a result, Lumumba asked the Soviet Union to help him bring Katanga back to Congo. On September 5, President Kasavubu dismissed Lumumba as prime minister. Lumumba in turn dismissed the president, creating a political stalemate.

Joseph Mobutu, who later changed his name to Mobutu Sese Seko, was appointed army chief of staff by Lumumba. Taking advantage of the political conflict between the president and the prime minister, Mobutu encouraged the military to revolt. The United States and Belgium provided the money that Mobutu used to bribe the Congolese army to commit treason against their properly elected government. The United States, Belgium, and other Western governments aided Mobutu in overthrowing the government of Lumumba as part of their cold war rivalry with the communist bloc countries led by the Soviet Union. Mobutu was used as a Western stooge to stop an alleged communist incursion into Africa.

On January 17, 1961, the government of Moïse Tshombe in Katanga, with the full support of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), murdered Lumumba and two of his associates in cold blood. Besides the cold war rivalry, the other main reason for killing Lumumba and supporting the secession in the provinces of Katanga and Kasai was for Belgians to secure controlling interests in the rich mineral resources of the Congo.

After the assassination of Lumumba, many governments ruled Congo in rapid succession: Évariste Kimba, Joseph Ileo, Cyrille Adoula, and Moïse Tshombe. But in 1965, after ruling from behind the scenes for four years, Mobutu finally overthrew Kasavubu in a coup widely believed to be sponsored by the CIA. Mobutu ruled for thirty-one years and pauperized the Congo. Mobutu and his supporters were so corrupt and stole so much money from the Congolese people that his government was described as a kleptocracy, or government by thieves. When Laurent Kabila drove him from power in 1997, Mobutu’s wealth deposited in foreign banks was in excess of \$4 billion.

Despite Mobutu’s dictatorship, relative peace reigned during most of his regime. In 1966 he renamed the Congolese cities of Léopoldville (Kinshasa), Stanleyville (Kisangani), and Elisabethville (Lubumbashi). In 1971, in a continuation of his Africanization policy, the

Congo River was renamed the Zaire River and consequently, Congo was renamed the Republic of Zaire.

In Rwanda, independence brought increased ethnic tensions because of the policies of the Belgian colonial administration. There had been vicious cycles of violence beginning in December 1963 when Hutus killed more than 10,000 Tutsis and sent about 150,000 into exile. The worst of the genocide took place in 1994 when nearly a million Rwandan citizens (mostly Tutsis and some moderate Hutus) were massacred. This well-planned genocide started when the Hutu presidents of Rwanda and Burundi were shot down, allegedly by Tutsi rebel soldiers. Hutus went on a rampage, killing Tutsis in their midst with the aim of exterminating them. The killing stopped only when Paul Kagame, with the help of Uganda, led a Tutsi army that drove the Hutu-led military into exile in neighboring Congo.

The Rwanda genocide of 1994 helped exacerbate ethnic and political tensions in the Congo. As the strategic importance of Mobutu disappeared with the end of the cold war, little or no attention was paid to the Congo. Mobutu in his bid to stay in power for life did not build a strong army. His inability to disarm the ex-Rwandan soldiers and perpetrators of the 1994 genocide who were now living in Congo led to the invasion of the Congo by a combined army of Tutsi-led governments of Rwanda, Burundi, and Uganda and the Congolese rebel leader Laurent Kabila. It was relatively easy for this army to overrun Congo. Mobutu first escaped to Togo and then to Morocco, where he died a few months later from cancer. On reaching Kinshasa in May 1997, Kabila declared himself president and changed the name of Zaire back to the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Kabila's inability to disarm the Hutu militia and to share power with his former Tutsi allies led to war with his allies. In 1998 Rwanda, Burundi, and Uganda jointly invaded Congo, and Angola, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Chad, and the Sudan fought on the side of Kabila's Congo. This conflict has been labeled "Africa's war." Although fighting stopped in 1999, rebel groups continued their attacks on defenseless civilians and the Congolese central government. In 2001, when Kabila was assassinated by one of his bodyguards, he was succeeded by General Joseph Kabila, his son. The new leader signed a peace treaty with the rebel groups and appointed four vice presidents hailing from former rebel groups. In 2006 a new constitution was written and approved for the Third Republic, and elections were conducted with Joseph Kabila emerging as victorious. Rwanda also has a new constitution, and amnesty was granted for most of the Hutu genocide perpetrators. Since the 1994 genocide, Rwanda has successfully conducted both local and national elections.

Several Belgian colonial policies sowed the seeds of racial and ethnic rivalries that led to the killings of millions of Africans and also sent millions more into exile from the former Belgian colonies. First, the post-colonial political leaders of Congo and Rwanda continued the Belgian colonial policies. Second, these leaders exacerbated ethnic rivalries and tensions to stay in power. Third, most of the ethnic tensions in these countries are caused by rapid population growth and the fight for scarce resources by the leaders of the various ethnic groups. Fourth, European and American governments and the multinational business and interests have fueled ethnic conflicts in Africa's former Belgian colonies for their own purposes. For example, Belgian and other foreign interests engineer these conflicts so they can continue to loot the resources of Africa. Finally, the constant interventions of the Belgians in the affairs of their former colonies of Congo and Rwanda have made ethnic and political rivalries worse. In spite of this legacy of the colonial period, political developments in the Congo and Rwanda (peace agreements, new constitutions, and new elections) show that there is a new hope for the former African colonies of Belgium.

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*John Obioma Ukawuilulu*

## AFRICA: BRITISH COLONIES

Colonialism by its very nature has racist connotations. British colonialism in particular was structured as a dictatorship, using violence to pacify the colonial subjects and to maintain order. There was no input from the

colonized in the way that they were governed: The British Colonial Office in London made all the decisions concerning the colonies. The British also tended to choose a preferred ethnic group over all the others in the countries that they colonized. These preferred groups, usually a conservative minority within the country, were supported to the extent that they worked against the interests of their fellow Africans. For example, the British chose the Arab minority to lord it over the majority Africans in the Sudan and favored the Fulani in Nigeria. The British preferred ethnic societies with dictatorial and hierarchical systems like their own, and they recruited members of these ethnicities in disproportionate numbers into the colonial military. At independence, these soldiers often staged coups and removed the democratically elected civilian governments of their countries.

#### HISTORY OF BRITISH COLONIAL RULE IN AFRICA

It is important to note that the advent of British colonization of Africa coincided with the era of scientific racism as represented by social Darwinism (survival of the fittest). The British believed that because they had superior weaponry and were therefore more technologically advanced than the Africans, that they had a right to colonize and exploit the resources of the Africans in the name of promoting civilization. But it is inherently contradictory for an invading force to usher in “civilization.”

Britain had many colonies in Africa: in British West Africa there was Gambia, Ghana, Nigeria, Southern Cameroon, and Sierra Leone; in British East Africa there was Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania (formerly Tanganyika and Zanzibar); and in British South Africa there was South Africa, Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), Nyasaland (Malawi), Lesotho, Botswana, and Swaziland. Britain had a strange and unique colonial history with Egypt. The Sudan, formerly known as the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, was jointly ruled by Egypt and Britain, because they had jointly colonized the area. The joint colonial administration of the Sudan by Egypt and Britain was known as the condominium government. The British system of government affected the type of racial or ethnic problems that all of Britain’s African colonies had during the colonial period, the immediate postcolonial period, and from the 1980s into the twenty-first century.

#### PRECOLONIAL RACIAL AND ETHNIC RELATIONS IN BRITISH COLONIAL AFRICA

Ethnic rivalries were not serious in precolonial Africa. The majority of ethnic nations lived in their independent small polities. There were, however, some large conquering empires: the Bugandan Empire in Uganda; the Zulus in

South Africa; the Mwene Mutapa Empire of the Shona people in Zambia, or Great Zimbabwe; the Benin Empire; the kingdoms of the Yoruba (Ife, Oyo, and Ibadan); the Ashanti in Ghana; the Fulani Empire in northern Nigeria, which even tried to extend into regions of Sierra Leone; the Kanem-Bornu Empire around the Lake Chad area of northern Nigeria; and the Igbo of southeastern Nigeria, who lived in small democratic states with the few exceptions of some representative monarchies. But things changed with the British Empire’s entrance into Africa.

#### TYPES OF BRITISH COLONIAL RULE IN AFRICA

The British employed various systems of governance in their African colonies. These were through the agency of (1) trading companies, (2) indirect rule, (3) the settler rule, and then the unique joint rule of the Sudan with the Egyptians known as the (4) condominium government.

**Trading Companies.** In the early years of colonialism, Britain granted private companies large territories to administer in Africa. Companies such as the United African Company and United Trading Company in West Africa, the Imperial British East Africa Company, and the British South Africa Company were formed by businesspersons who were interested only in exploiting and plundering the rich natural resources of the territories of Africa that they were allowed to govern. Illiterate African leaders were conned into signing over their sovereignty to the British. The British government provided charters for these companies, but the companies themselves paid for the expenses incurred in establishing and administering the colonies. To support their administrations, the companies set up their own systems of taxation and labor recruitment.

The Imperial British East Africa Company, founded in 1888, colonized Kenya for Britain, ruling there until 1893. The British South Africa Company, established in 1889 under the control of Cecil John Rhodes, used excessive force and coercion to colonize and rule Nyasaland (present-day Malawi), Northern Rhodesia (present-day Zambia), and Southern Rhodesia (present-day Zimbabwe); the company reigned over these colonies until 1923. None of these private companies were very profitable, so the British government eventually took them over.

Company rule on behalf of Britain was very harsh on the Africans as the companies practiced an apartheid-like system during their rule. In spite of the numerous blunders of these companies in running colonies in Africa, the British government allowed most of them to rule for a very long time. Interested only in making profits, the companies were ill suited to administer territories or colonies, and they found that doing so was neither easy nor profitable. To

increase their profit margins, they employed racist and draconian policies. Unfortunately, the adverse policies they enacted were continued when the British government took over administration of the colonies. These policies had far-reaching effects that lasted into the postcolonial period.

**Indirect Rule.** Indirect rule, the brainchild of the British colonial administrator Frederick Lugard, became the main system the British used to administer their African colonies. The British used African traditional rulers to work on their behalf and help subjugate their fellow Africans. Although these Africans were nominally “ruling,” the actual decisions rested with the British colonial officers. Lugard first experimented with indirect rule in northern Nigeria where the Fulani had established the Sokoto caliphate and emirship. As the system seemed to have worked in northern Nigeria, Lugard exported the system to southern Nigeria where it failed woefully in the Igbo areas of eastern Nigeria. Still Lugard took the system to East Africa where it again failed. Lugard wrongly believed that all the African societies were monarchies and that those that were not could become so with the establishment of chiefdoms.

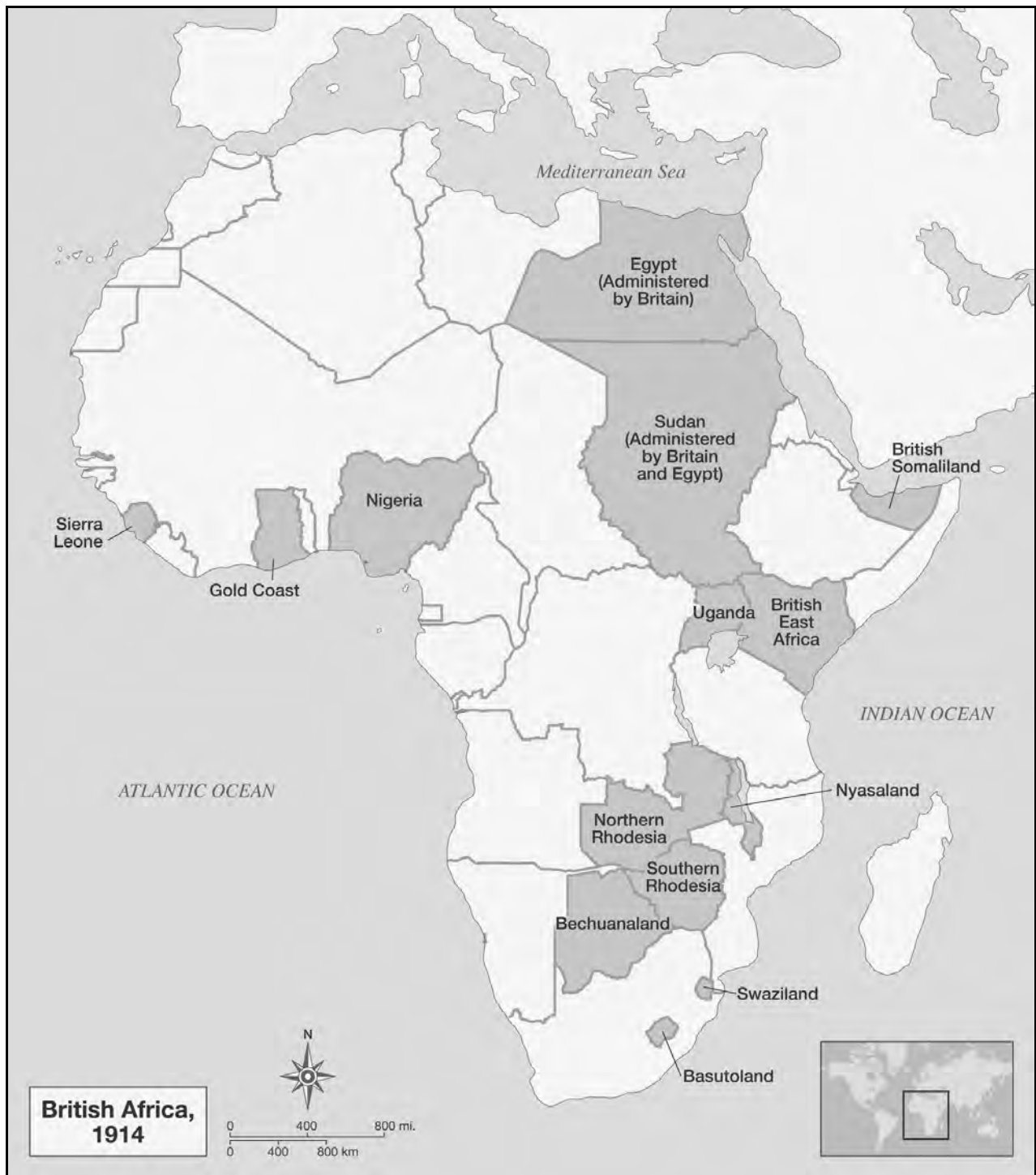
In West Africa, the British had no pretensions about their attitude toward their colonies and colonial subjects. Britain did not want to be paternalistic like the French colonialists, and it did not practice the assimilation policies of the French. Thus, Britain did not attempt to make English persons out of the Africans. Although the British claimed that they used the indirect rule system because they wanted to preserve their colonies’ indigenous cultures, the main reason was to minimize the cost of running the colonies while at the same time maximizing the exploitation of the resources. Britain ended up inventing new cultures for its colonies, thereby destroying the indigenous cultures. The British created new leaders (chiefs) who were invariably corrupt and who did not have the mandate of the Africans and were consequently not respected by the people they governed. Thus, this strategy more often than not failed woefully, as in Igboland in Nigeria.

In northern Nigeria, where the indirect system seemed to have worked, the ethnic relations were horrible. The Fulani emirs were very autocratic and corrupt. Non-Fulani and non-Muslims rioted many times to protest the misrule of the Fulani over them. Another aspect of misrule was the creation of synthetic political groupings by forcing the amalgamation of ethnic groups and native nations that had previously been independent, forming a polity dominated by British interests. Such a situation and the struggle for scarce resources helped to exacerbate ethnic tensions. During British colonialism in Nigeria, there were numerous massacres of minorities. These episodes of genocide have continued into the early twenty-first century.

The British policies in West Africa and East Africa led to the ethnic consciousness or subnationalism of most of the ethnic groups in these colonies. Ethnic rivalries between the major groups in Nigeria—the Igbo, Hausa-Fulani, and Yoruba, who constitute about 65 percent of the population of Nigeria—started during the British colonial period. Some of the ethnic groups, such as the Yoruba, the Igbo, and the Hausa, did not have pan-ethnic consciousness, and they resisted the British colonial structure. In Nigeria, the main political parties formed around ethnic affiliations: The National Convention of Nigerian Citizens, founded by Herbert Macaulay and championed by Nnamdi Azikiwe, was primarily centered in the Igbo-dominated Eastern Region; the Action Group, led by Obafemi Awolowo, was based in the traditional Yoruba area of the Western Region; and the Northern Peoples Congress, led by Ahmadu Bello and Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, was dominated by the Hausa-Fulani and based in the Northern Region. It was in the interest of the British to promote ethnic tensions in their colonies. The creation of antagonistic political parties helped to delay independence agitations within the colonies, and enabled the British to continue their uninterrupted plundering of resources in Africa. The case of Nigeria was similar to the situations of other British colonies in West Africa—Gambia, Sierra Leone, and Ghana.

Under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana may have been spared ethnic rivalries to a considerable extent. In Sierra Leone, the British fomented tensions between the colony of Freetown, which was dominated by former slaves, the Creoles; and the rest of the indigenous population, the Protectorate of Sierra Leone.

**Settler Rule.** Another system of British colonial administration was the settler rule system that occurred where Britain had large populations of European immigrants. These immigrants settled and established direct rule over the colonies in Africa especially in southern and eastern Africa. They planned to make Africa their permanent home. British settler colonies were founded primarily in South Africa, Southern and Northern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe and Zambia), and South-West Africa (Namibia). Settlers from Holland, Britain, Germany, and Portugal colonized these areas. In addition, settler rule was practiced in Kenya, a British colony in East Africa. These settlers, who came to Africa to exploit the natural resources, made sure that laws were enacted or forces created that enabled them to dominate the numerically larger African populations, economically, socially, and politically. In colonies with settler rule, there was harsher treatment of native Africans than in the colonies with the indirect rule system or where there were no sizable white settler populations. West Africa was spared settler rule because of the harsh hot climate and because of malaria. Malaria



*British Africa, 1914.* MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. GALE.

killed so many early European adventurers and colonial agents in West Africa that Europeans nicknamed it the “white person’s grave.”

Settlers regarded themselves to be naturally superior to the “natives,” as the British called their African colonial

subjects. They saw the Africans as people who must be subjected and who were good only for being domestics to the white settlers. The methods of oppression and repression by the European settler populations were not known in precolonial Africa. At least the internal conquerors in

Africa prior to the Europeans did not see themselves as genetically superior to the conquered. The white settlers appropriated to themselves to the exclusion of the Africans all the good and arable lands. These lands were designated "crown property." This practice was notorious in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Zambia, and Kenya. Some of the postcolonial and independent African countries did the same thing; government officials nationalized huge tracts of communal lands and distributed it among themselves, their families, and their cronies. This occurred in Nigeria, for example, when the government passed the Land Use Decree of 1977.

The settler colonies later unilaterally declared independence from Britain. The first British colony in Africa to do this was South Africa. In 1910, after the Boer War (1899–1902), the British gave all administrative and political powers to the European settler population in the provinces of Natal, Cape, Orange Free State, and Transvaal. However, the British removed Swaziland, Basutoland (present-day Lesotho), and Bechuanaland (present-day Botswana) from the Union of South Africa. These provinces became independent countries later.

The settler British colonies in Africa that declared their independence from Britain instituted minority governments. The worst case of minority governments was the apartheid government of South Africa. The South African government under the Boer-led Nationalist Party legalized the separation of the races and the domination of the majority black population by the minority white population. In South Africa whites made up less than 20 percent of the population and the blacks 80 percent. Under the apartheid system, blacks were forced to live on nonarable lands and in urban ghettos or townships. "Miscegenation" and marriages between the races were legally prohibited, and blacks had no rights in the running of the affairs of the country. The white minority government used violence and terrorism against blacks. They arrested, tortured, and killed innocent black men, women, and children. Later the barren lands allotted to blacks were divided into Bantustans and granted nominal independence.

The African National Congress (ANC) was formed in 1912 to fight the racial segregation and the racism of the black majority. Later, other anti-apartheid groups emerged, such as the Pan-African Congress and the black consciousness movement started by Stephen Biko. These groups were banned by the South African minority government. In 1964 Nelson Mandela and his fellow ANC members were arrested and tried for treason because of their fight for racial equality and for the end of the oppressive apartheid system. Mandela and his associates were sentenced to life imprisonment with hard labor at the notorious penal colony of Robben Island. In 1990, after he took office as president,

F. W. de Klerk finally removed the ban on all previously proscribed political parties and associations, and released Mandela and the other political prisoners. After some detailed negotiations following the release of Mandela, elections were held in 1994, and the ANC won an overwhelming majority. Mandela became the first black president of South Africa; he was magnanimous in victory. He appointed a Truth and Reconciliation Commission to help bring closure to the bitterness of all parties.

**Condominium Government.** The joint rule of Egypt and Britain over the Sudan is the best-known example of "condominium government." The Sudan was renamed the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan because of this joint rule by Britain and Egypt. The Sudan is made up of the Arabs and black Africans. The Arabs are in the minority and the various African ethnic groups in southern Sudan and western Sudan (the Darfur region) are in the majority numerically. The Arab minority has historically discriminated against the majority black Africans. These racial and ethnic rivalries have led to genocide and civil wars in the Sudan (first in the southern Sudan and now in the Darfur region of the Sudan) where hundreds of thousands have died and millions turned into refugees.

The British governor, James Robertson, originally left the Arab minority in power to dominate the majority black Sudanese, essentially creating a climate for the ethnic cleansing and genocide that has been an ongoing problem in the Sudan. Even the peace accord of 2004 between the Sudan People's Liberation Army and the Arab-dominated government in Khartoum has failed. The latter continually marginalized black Sudanese citizens from 1956 into the early twenty-first century.

#### **RACIAL AND ETHNIC RELATIONS IN POSTCOLONIAL BRITISH AFRICA**

The Sudan gained its independence in 1956. In 1957 Ghana (formerly Gold Coast) became the first black country in Africa to regain its independence from Britain. Ghana was followed by Nigeria and Somalia in 1960. In 1961 Tanganyika gained its independence from Britain. This was followed by Kenya in 1963 and by Zambia and Malawi in 1964. Gambia secured its independence in 1965. It took the countries with settler communities longer to secure their independence and establish majority rule. Zimbabwe got its independence and majority rule in 1980, and South Africa was the last to gain majority rule in 1994. The independence of the former British colonies actually exacerbated the ethnic rivalries because of the inimical policies of the British colonial administration. The British reluctantly relinquished their control of the

colonies and tried to set up their African colonies for failure when they had regained their independence.

As soon as British colonies were free of British control, the ethnic rivalries that had been kept in check because of the nationalistic struggles for independence came out in the open. In Nigeria for instance, ethnic tensions escalated immediately after independence and culminated in the civil war that lasted from 1967 to 1970. This war can be understood only as the conclusion of a series of events that began with accusations of electoral fraud six years earlier. In 1962 and 1963, Nigeria had attempted a census of the population. The census was rigged, as were the federal elections of 1964. The governments of Nigeria's Western and Eastern Regions, which were dominated by the Yoruba and the Igbo, respectively, protested vigorously against the Hausa-Fulani, who were the major beneficiaries of the census and election malpractices. The Western Region was ungovernable because the leader of the Yoruba and the Action Group, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, had been imprisoned along with his close associates in 1962 on the treasonable charges of trying to overthrow the Hausa-Fulani-led federal government.

The corruption of the politicians, ethnic tensions, and the uprising in Western Nigeria led to the first military coup in Nigeria on January 15, 1966. Led by Majors Emmanuel Ifeajuna, Chukwuma Nzeogwu, and Adewale Ademoyega, and therefore known as the "majors' coup," this overthrow led to the deaths of the prime minister and the premiers of the Northern and Western Regions. The premiers of the Eastern Region, Michael Okpara, and of the newly created Mid-Western Region, Dennis Osadebe, escaped death. Some senior military officers of the Nigerian army also lost their lives. The coup was partially successful. General Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi, the highest-ranking Nigerian military officer, was asked by the remaining members of the overthrown civilian government to take over the government. He established the National Military Government, suspended some parts of the constitution, and ruled by decree. He banned the ethnic and tribal associations. He also abolished the regions and instead installed a unitary government with a group of provinces. At first, students and members of the media hailed his policies. With British connivance, however, the Ironsi government was quickly overthrown by a Hausa-Fulani-engineered coup. On July 29, 1966, Yakubu Gowon, who secretly worked for British intelligence, assumed the office of head of state. The immediate repercussion of this coup was the ethnic cleansing of the Igbos living in northern Nigeria. It was estimated that about three million Igbos died in the subsequent Biafran war.

The purpose of the coup plotters, led by Murtala Mohammed and Theophilus Danjuma, was for the

North to secede from Nigeria, but it was the British who advised them against seceding from Nigeria. Gowon divided Nigeria into twelve states but could not stop the genocide of the Igbo. The military governor of the eastern group of provinces, Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu, refused to accept Gowon's coup and the subsequent lack of protection for the Igbo in Nigeria. He was persuaded to secede from Nigeria. In May 1967 he declared the independence of the Republic of Biafra, and Gowon declared war on Biafra. This war lasted until 1970, when Biafra was reincorporated into Nigeria. By the early twenty-first century, the ethnic rivalries in Nigeria had actually increased, with many ethnic and national groups calling for secession.

The case of Nigeria is similar to what happened in the other postcolonial British colonies in Africa. For example, in Sierra Leone in the 1990s, a civil war caused by ethnic rivalries resulted in the deaths of hundreds of thousands of citizens.

There have been ethnic and racial tensions in former British colonies in East Africa as well. In Kenya, where there was a settler population, the British took the Kikuyu lands in the Kenyan highlands and forced the Africans to work for them in a sharecropper type of arrangement. The Africans were levied high taxes, and the only way they could afford to pay the taxes was to work for the European settlers. The Kikuyu organized themselves and resisted the confiscation of their lands in what is known as the Mau Mau rebellion. The British colonial administrators used excessive force in suppressing the rebellion. The Kenyan African Union, a political party led by Jomo Kenyatta, was nonetheless able to force the British to grant Kenya its independence in 1963. He became the first prime minister and later ruled as president until his death in 1978. He was succeeded by his vice president, Arap Moi, who ruled until 2002, when he was forced to organize a multiparty election that was won by the opposition.

In Uganda, the military dictatorship of Idi Amin expelled the Asians (Indians), who were Ugandan citizens. During Amin's regime (1971–1979), there were many ethnically motivated killings. About 300,000 Ugandans lost their lives, with the Bugandans suffering the heaviest toll.

In the southern African subregion where there were settler populations, racial and ethnic relations have largely improved in the postcolonial period. The one notable exception is Zimbabwe, where Robert Mugabe since the late 1990s has promoted racial and ethnic tensions as a means of staying in power. South Africa, meanwhile, has become a model country where racial and ethnic tensions have decreased significantly since the gaining of majority rule in 1994. This achievement was largely accomplished through the legendary leadership of

Mandela and his ANC government, who dismantled the notorious apartheid system and reconciled racial and ethnic difficulties. Mandela promoted a South Africa where all the races and ethnic groups would enjoy equal benefits of their country.

The British colonial policies planted the seeds of the racial and ethnic rivalries that led to the killings of millions of Africans in the former British colonies. Unfortunately, the custodians of political power have not yet divorced themselves from British colonial policies. First of all, the leaders of these nations continue to exploit ethnic rivalries and tensions to stay in power. Second, most of the ethnic tensions in these countries stem from the struggle for the limited resources that are not but must be shared among these groups. Third, there are hidden hands in the ethnic conflicts in Africa's former British colonies. It is interesting that most of the ethnic conflicts are in the African countries with the most natural resources. It is in these countries that British and other foreign interests engineer civil wars so that they can continue to loot the resources of Africa. Finally, the constant interventions of the British in the affairs of their former colonies have not helped matters. They continue to covertly and overtly support their preferred ethnic groups and thereby continue to dominate and marginalize all the other groups.

SEE ALSO *Mandela, Nelson.*

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*John Obioma Ukawuilulu*

## AFRICA: FRENCH COLONIES

The construction of race in France's African colonies arose out of the turbulent political, intellectual, and cultural contexts of nineteenth- and twentieth-century France, as well as the specific dynamics of each colony itself. An understanding of race and racism as operative conceptual categories in French political culture must pay particular attention to the specific colonial contexts in which these concepts arose. There are broad themes that emerge out of the French colonial experience in Africa. Empire itself represented a profoundly racialized extension of state power outside of the boundaries of the incipient French nation-state, while at the same time it fundamentally reconfigured the French nation through the internalization of colonial policies of racist exclusion. The colonization of Africa profoundly altered both France and the various African nations that were colonized.

### POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF FRENCH COLONIES IN AFRICA

Administratively, politically, and practically, Africa never functioned as a unified object in French colonialism. Indeed, even at the height of its African empire, France never governed Africa under a single colonial apparatus. Rather, numerous forms of political control arose in geographically discrete portions of the continent, all of which were, to varying degrees, authoritarian and aggressively imperialist. Long-term French colonization of Africa began in earnest in 1830 with the French invasion of Algeria. The long duration of French occupation, its intense violence, and the large numbers of European colonial settlers made Algeria—in law, in political cultural, and in administrative fact—an entirely unique case in the French colonial world. Indeed, an administrative decree in 1878 ended the status of Algeria as a colony, ostensibly integrating it as part of metropolitan France. This decree merely served to reinforce the two-tiered political system that accorded rights to European settlers while denying them to Algerians, and Algeria largely remained, in fact if not in law, a colony.

Tunisia, despite its geographic proximity and linguistic affinities with Algeria, became a French "protectorate" rather than a colony. The establishment of the protectorate in 1881 ushered in a fundamentally different form of French imperialism on the north coast of Africa. Although Tunisia retained its cosmopolitan, Mediterranean atmosphere, the imposition of French rule represented yet another form of empire in Africa. Similarly, in 1912, France established a protectorate in Morocco, nominally maintaining the role of the Sultan while effectively controlling economic and political life in the kingdom. Though the structures of governance in Tunisia and Morocco differed both from each other and from those



in Algeria, the protectorate system insured French control over the remainder of North Africa.

In sharp contrast, other forms of political control arose in other parts of French-controlled Africa. The creation in 1895 of *Afrique Occidentale Française* (French West Africa, or AOF) unified a vast, culturally and linguistically diverse region under one administrative body. Comprising the area of the modern nations of Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast), Guinea, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, and Senegal, French West Africa attracted very few European settlers. As a result, the administrative policies that French governors implemented here differed substantively from those of the Maghrib (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and at times Libya and Mauritania). Similarly, *Afrique Équatoriale Française* (French Equatorial Africa, or AEF) contained only a tiny number of European settlers in an area of tremendous diversity. The colony, covering what later became the nations of the Central African Republic, Chad, the Republic of Congo (Congo-Brazzaville), and Gabon, combined under one central administrative body a large number of disparate ethnic and linguistic groups. Both French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa functioned primarily as administrative and political bodies, and in no way did they respect preexisting boundaries or groupings. France governed its other African colonies—Madagascar, the Indian Ocean territories, the Territory of the Afars and Issas (French Somaliland; later Djibouti)—through separate administrative structures. Finally, following the dismantling of Germany's colonial empire after World War I, France acquired two so-called mandate territories, Togoland and Cameroun (later called Togo and Cameroon).

Thus, the political organization of French colonial Africa did not correspond to clearly defined ethnic, linguistic, or other boundaries. Not only did French colonial boundaries embrace a tremendous diversity of peoples and places, it also comprised a wide variety of divergent and often incommensurable internal political systems.

#### INTELLECTUAL CONTEXT OF FRENCH COLONIALISM IN AFRICA

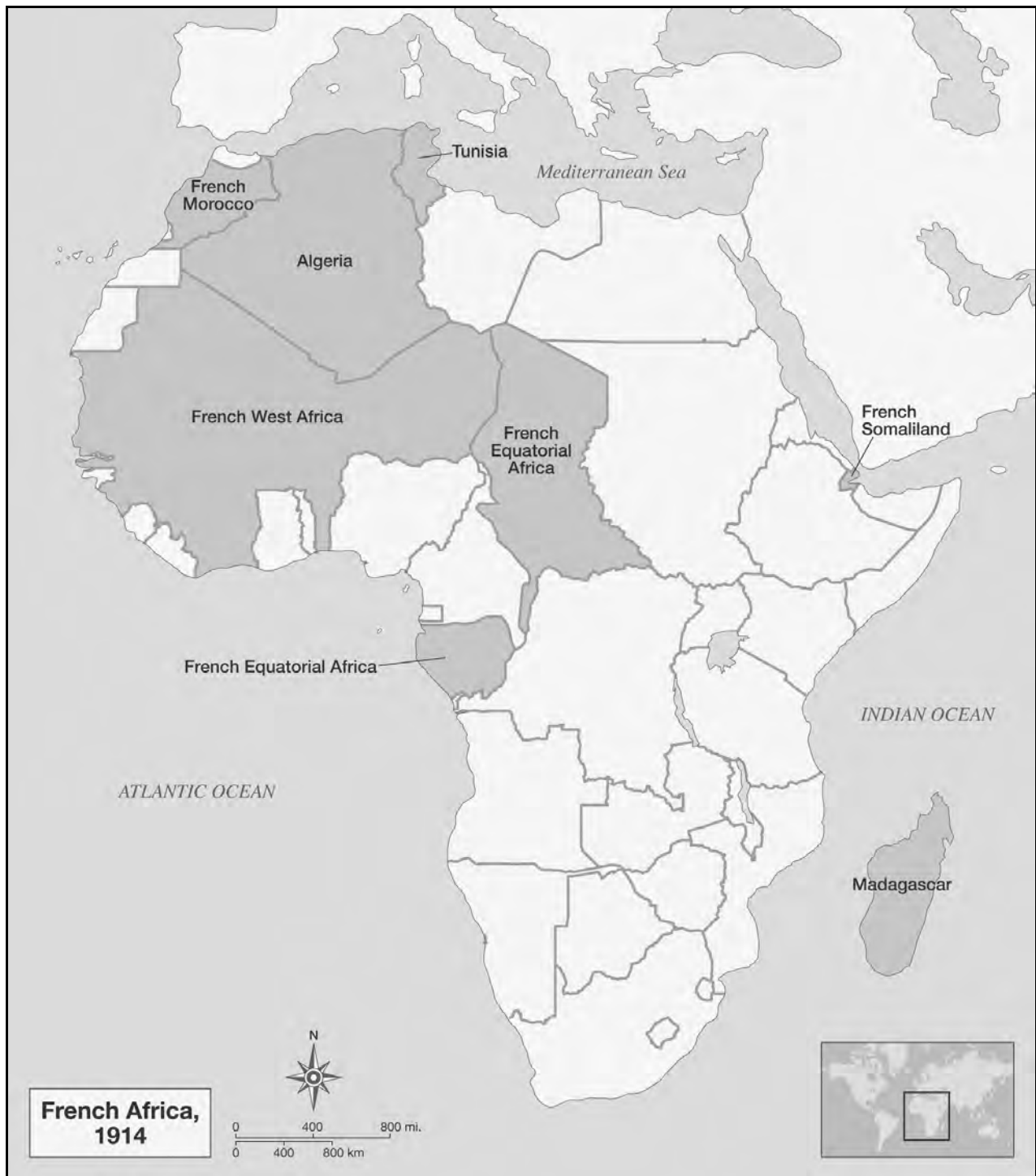
Despite this wide variety of colonial political systems in French colonial Africa, and without regard to the diversity of colonized populations, Africa itself at times functioned as a discursive unity in French culture. Particularly in the twentieth century, primitivism (whether in art or literature) represented Africa as a unified space, juxtaposing artwork and cultural objects and attributes from vastly different places, contexts, and even chronological periods and combining them under the rubric of "African art." Indeed, at times both popular images and

scholarly treatises conceived of Africa as an indeterminate, yet somehow ultimately cohesive and coherent, signifier. The diversity of the continent—whether ecological, linguistic, ethnic, geographic, religious, or political—at times disappeared, subsumed under the generalizing and homogenizing impulse of imperial political culture into an irreducible African Other.

This coalescing of cultural diversity into such overly generalized representations arose in part out of the larger intellectual climate of the emergence of social scientific thought in France. In the nineteenth century in particular, physical anthropology emerged as the dominant intellectual paradigm to describe human differences. Racial pseudoscience drew conclusions about cultural attributes, "civilization," intellectual abilities, and social characteristics from wholly spurious cranial measurements, meaningless descriptions of facial and other physical "characteristics," and a wide variety of racialized assumptions about individual potential. Utilizing such "data," early human scientists (largely physical anthropologists) elaborated collective portraits of racial "types," including Africans. Despite their complete lack of foundation, these "portraits" functioned as broad-based, intellectually unfounded stereotypes with the force of scientific authority behind them.

At the same time, this impulse towards the creation of simplified, unitary discursive representations of Africa were by no means totalizing within France. Scholars and popular figures could and did recognize a cultural multiplicity and diversity within the African colonies that both undermined the conception of irreducible difference and failed to correspond to the political boundaries of the French colonies on the continent. Most notably, many French writers (whether in academic journals, in popular newspapers, or at the colonial expositions) distinguished between the Maghrib and sub-Saharan Africa, frequently labeled *Afrique noire* (Black Africa). Despite the long-standing economic, cultural, and political links between the Maghrib and sub-Saharan Africa, many in France and Europe more broadly preferred to conceive of the Sahara not as the highway and meeting place it was, but rather as a racialized boundary dividing black Africa from the Mediterranean world. In particular, representations of Algeria were an attempt to sever France's largest and most important colony from Africa and bind it to France through the racialization of colonial boundaries. Algeria was, according to such thinking, not "black" but Mediterranean, a kind of lesser-white region more closely tied to Europe than to Africa. In many ways, this exercise succeeded in effecting the intellectual separation of North Africa from Africa in French thinking. Colonial scholars largely dismissed the continued connections across the Sahara, and across Africa, and administrators encouraged

*Africa: French Colonies*



*French Africa, 1914.* MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. GALE.

attempts to hermetically seal North (meaning “white”) Africa from *l’Afrique noire*.

Thus, there arose a fundamental paradox in French colonial thought. Although the colonial project predicated its political organization on the recognition of

two basic categories of political rights (those of the colonizer and those of the colonized, whose rights were often nonexistent), colonial states, including France, at times admitted the diversity of peoples included under the rubric of “colonized.” French recognition of cultural

plurality among Africans was in no way constant, however. Instead, administrators strategically deployed their limited understandings of differences for politically useful purposes that varied from colony to colony. The forms and articulations of French colonial racism differed dramatically, and they require elucidation in the context of individual situations in order to emphasize the responses and resistance of Algerians, Togolese, Senegalese, and countless others.

Nevertheless, certain patterns in colonial politics emerge across the French colonial empire in Africa. As Alice L. Conklin has demonstrated in *A Mission to Civilize* (1997), colonial bureaucrats in French West Africa (and, by analogy, throughout the empire) conceived of their role as part of a civilizing mission. The French civilizing mission maintained the necessity of European tutelage for the peoples of Africa, Asia, the Pacific Islands, and the Americas. Portraying non-Europeans as fundamentally less civilized, colonial apologists drew upon a long tradition of evolutionary racial pseudoscience that categorized the world's peoples according to hierarchies that implicitly valorized European civilizations. As a result, French colonial bureaucrats interpreted their role as one of education, of tutelage, and of bringing advancement and enlightenment to colonial children. As the essays in Julia Clancy-Smith and Frances Gouda's edited volume *Domesticating the Empire* (1998) demonstrate, the logic of the civilizing mission, and of colonialism more broadly, concealed a profoundly racist and gendered configuration of the relationship between colonizer and colonized, with the colonizing nation providing education, protection, and chastisement to wayward colonial children. The civilizing mission functioned as both an ostensible rationale for empire and as a convenient cloak for colonial violence, casting the oppressive apparatus of colonial statecraft as tutelage and guidance for the benefit of the very victims of that oppression.

#### ASSOCIATION AND ASSIMILATION

At least two major intellectual strands emerged out of the cultural politics of French colonialism. Indeed, French colonial administrators rarely pursued one to the exclusion of the other, instead vacillating between the two as the exigencies of colonial domination demanded. Both strands shared the fundamental assumption that the cultural identity of Africans should rightly become a site for the political intervention of France. Drawing upon the racist conceptions of cultural evolutionary thought implicit in the civilizing mission, the ideas of "association" and "assimilation" imagined African cultures and identities solely in terms of comparison with normative French political and social values. Association reached its apex in French

West Africa in the early twentieth century, according to Conklin. Politically speaking, association promoted the coexistence of preexisting political structures with the superstructure of empire, allowing, for example, continued roles for chiefs and other African elites alongside new colonial elites, such as African bureaucrats educated in colonial schools. Associationist policies imagined a colonial governance in which older elites joined with new African leaders in reinforcing the colonial order through nominally consultative assemblies and other such superficially participatory institutions. Association rested on a profoundly racist conception of cultural identity. The doctrine of association held that the differences between colonizer and colonized prevented the establishment of political systems in Africa divorced from preexisting institutions. In other words, association, as an intellectual concept, viewed Africans as inextricably wedded to the past and incapable of attaining the level of French political and social forms. Association took root in twin assumptions: (1) that French social and political organization represented the pinnacle of cultural achievement, and (2) that Africans could never quite achieve that pinnacle.

As a political program, assimilation required the eventual adoption of French culture, politics, social mores, and beliefs by Africans. Assimilation followed directly upon the conception, incorrect though it was, of empire as a project of tutelage. As the civilizing mission maintained that colonialism aimed at raising Africans to the level of European colonizers, at its core it implied the ultimate abandonment of colonial cultures in favor of assimilation to the French model. Assimilation was, in its essence, an ideology of cultural annihilation. Assimilationists held that colonial cultures, whether in Madagascar or Africa or Djibouti, would inevitably die out as people abandoned their previous, backward practices in favor of the civilized, French model. Assimilation was, of course, in no way less racist than associationist thought—the first implied a teleology that valorized French norms and denigrated any non-European ways of life, while the later reinforced a belief in the definitive inability of non-Europeans to accommodate change. Assimilation, with its implied cultural annihilation, and association, with its ideology of irreducible difference and inferiority, articulated diametrically opposed political programs for the colonies, yet both refused to grant Africans the ability to participate, as equals, in political and intellectual life in the French colonies.

#### RELIGION AND RACIALIZATION IN FRENCH COLONIAL AFRICA

In addition to its intellectual ramifications, French colonial racism manifested itself in specific policies implemented in the colonies. These policies arose out of, and

in dialog with, other forms of colonial racism, such as representational, academic, and political racisms. Nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century conceptions of religion interpreted African Islam as essentially racialized. Reaffirming the largely artificial division of North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa, colonial administrators and academics conceived of Islam south of the Sahara as *Islam noir* (Black Islam). Islam, however, emphasizes the total equality of all Muslims, regardless of ethnic origin, in the eyes of God and the faith. Thus, the term *Islam noir* reflected a division unrecognizable to African Muslims of the time. In sharp contrast, as Christopher Harrison demonstrates in *France and Islam in West Africa* (1988), French policy clearly distinguished Muslim practices and beliefs in Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia from those of French West Africa and, to a lesser extent, French Equatorial Africa.

According to the hypothesis positing an *Islam noir*, sub-Saharan Islam differed from Islam in the Middle East and North Africa because of racial difference. Racial pseudoscience (the legacy of early, evolutionist physical anthropology) had created clearly articulated and rigidly defined hierarchies of race. As a result, colonial scholars and the administrators they influenced could not conceive of religious practice outside of a highly racialized schema that ranked civilizations and races, attaching collective and spurious cultural and intellectual traits to entire groups of people. This categorization placed Europeans (and especially French) at the pinnacle of civilizational achievement, evaluating Arabs as a distinctly less advanced society, though largely still interpreted as “white.” Racial pseudoscience placed Africans dwelling south of the Sahara towards the bottom of this scale.

These artificial categorizations not only reinforced colonial racism, they drew on other, broader, popular representations. Such images often portrayed Africans as primitive, as existing at a previous stage in human development. Thus, scholars of religion in the colonial period ascribed to “Islam noir” traits deemed primitive. Following their lead, administrators denigrated the beliefs of pious African Muslims as superstitious, primitive, and base, discounting the numerous centers of Islamic learning scattered throughout the Sahel and Sahara. Islam in sub-Saharan Africa was in no way more “primitive” than Islam anywhere else, and it resembled rather closely Islam in the part of Africa deemed “white” by scholars, the Maghrib, whose denizens had initiated the conversion to Islam centuries earlier.

However, the interpretation of “Islam noir” bore no stable relationship to colonial primitivism. Whereas many viewed ostensibly primitivist elements of religion as signs of an insufficiently advanced civilization, others viewed that same ostensible primitivism as rejuvenating. French writers who were invested in reaffirming hierarchies of

civilization often demeaned Arab societies as ossified and decadent, having lost the vestiges of their greatness in the medieval and early modern eras. As a result, they depicted purported African primitivism as rejuvenating a frozen and backward Islam. Moreover, administrators maintained, Arab Muslims that shared a cultural predisposition towards fanaticism and anti-European hostility, a predisposition that sub-Saharan Africans could mitigate.

Even within North Africa, colonial administrators created largely artificial, racialized distinctions within Islam. Algeria (like much of the rest of North Africa) had two major population groups speaking the languages of two distinct groups, Arabic and the various Berber languages. Berbers, the original inhabitants of North Africa, and Arabs, who were later arrivals, had coexisted largely without conflict for centuries. They could be found trading, intermarrying, and often cooperating despite differences in language, customs, and culture. The advent of empire in Algeria substantially altered such previous relationships. Colonial scholarship on Algeria depicted Arabs as invaders, as usurpers who brought Islam to the region and imposed it, by force, on Berbers. As a result, administrators and scholars contended, Berbers maintained a collective cultural affinity for France and for European civilization. Vestiges of a pre-Islamic (Christian) past, Berbers appeared in colonial texts as more akin to Europeans, as amenable to the civilizing mission, as noble and ultimately less refractory to French colonialism. Patricia Lorcin calls this the “Kabyle Myth,” and it completely diminished both manifest and frequent demonstrations of Berber opposition to the extension of French colonial rule *and* the similarities and connections between Arabs and Berbers.

Nevertheless, the Kabyle Myth had very real consequences for both colonial statecraft and postcolonial Algeria. To some extent, French policy did in fact favor Berbers, but the greatest legacy of the Kabyle Myth was discursive, as Lorcin notes. Colonial representations reinforced notions of difference between Arabs and Berbers. These myths set the two up in opposition to each other, imagining Algerian Arabs as fanatical, intractable, unruly, and inclined to violence and disruption. In contrast, representations of Berbers offered images of nobility, honor, and hospitality. Even Berber opposition to colonial rule fed into myths about Algerian cultural identities. Arab resistance loomed in texts as a violent menace, whereas uprisings deemed “Berber” appeared as a more romanticized and somehow heroic, if doomed, struggles. Moreover, colonial administrators and scholars consistently portrayed Berbers as less Islamic and more civilized. Just as many writers distinguished a wholly illusory “Islam noir,” so too did they create an artificial separation between Arab and Berber Muslims in Algeria. In contemporary Algeria and among Algerian populations

in France, Arab and Berber have become operative categories of social, cultural, and political difference. French colonial mythmaking and racialization of identity exacerbated, and, indeed, largely instigated, tensions between ethnic communities in Algeria.

These strategies of racialization took place throughout French colonial Africa. In Madagascar, the presence of a mixture of African and Austronesian populations resulted in the extension of racialized anthropological discourse to colonial practice in the island. Indeed, Françoise Raison-Jourde (2002) sees in the colonial literature on Madagascar the infusion of racist hierarchies of civilization. Colonial writers and administrators distinguished among three races, hierarchically arranged, on the island: whites (French colonists); *jaune* (yellow), used to refer to the highland Merina who speak an Austronesian language; and *noir*, for speakers of African languages. These illusory categories conflated linguistic and ethnic identity, racializing population groups and individuals' affiliations without regard to culture contact and internal class divisions. Chantal Valensky, in *La nation malgache*, describes such racialized depictions of ethnic groups operating not just in colonial manuals and anthropological texts, but also in popular images such as postcards, the dissemination of which contributed to the popularization of racial imagery of nearly all colonial populations. Racialized categories of difference not only determined the political, economic, and social roles of peoples in colonial Madagascar and complicated the internal political dynamics of interethnic relations; they also proliferated throughout the nineteenth- and twentieth-century French-speaking world through photography and colonial postcards. French manipulation of communal relations during the colonial period may have exacerbated tensions that came to the forefront during the political crisis of the 2002 presidential elections in Madagascar.

#### SOLDIERS AND SUBJECTS: COLONIAL VETERANS AND THE CONTESTATION OF RIGHTS

Even participation in colonial bureaucracy and administration provided no insulation against French colonial racism. In particular, African soldiers (known as *tirailleurs*) serving in French armies found little recompense or recognition, and almost no compensation for their sacrifices for the French colonial state. In some colonies, although service in the armed services seemed like an opportunity for social advancement (and at times provided an advantage for future administrative employment), serving as a colonial soldier to some extent alienated such troops from communal social structures, particularly after independence. They were, in the words of one scholar, "caught between two worlds and uncomfortable in either" (Echenberg 1991, p. 140). At the same

time, Gregory Mann contends, in *Native Sons* (2006), that the preexisting social and political structures, conceptions of responsibility, and communal ties inflected Malian soldiers' conceptions of their relationship with the colonial state (and, by implication, those of colonial soldiers more broadly). In particular, the legacy of slavery and the transition to a postslavery social system in Mali fundamentally reordered social relations, a reordering whose consequences were felt in the ties between soldier and state.

As Myron Echenberg explains in *Colonial Conscripts* (1991), of the European colonial powers, only France utilized colonial soldiers throughout its empire, including in France itself. Germany and Britain used colonial soldiers extensively in the actual colonies but refused to use them on the home front. World War I had taken as great a toll on African soldiers as it did on Europeans, as battle deaths, climate, and epidemics decimated the soldiers. By World War II, French colonial soldiers loomed in the imagination of the German Nazis as an indication of the decadence and depravity of the French "race." Echenberg notes that both Adolf Hitler and Erwin Rommel singled out African soldiers in the French army for particular disdain.

Even before the massive battles of World War II, African veterans (of both World War I and various colonial clashes) organized into political pressure groups. Collectively organized with roots in prior political actions, veterans played a major role in the politics of postwar French colonies and newly independent African nations. As both Mann and Echenberg describe, the 1944 mutiny of African colonial troops at Thiaroye in Senegal demonstrated the insistence of veterans upon fair treatment and equitable recompense. French colonial administrators quashed the rebellion with the use of other colonial units.

Despite such activism, the *tirailleurs* rarely received a fair response. Not until 2001 did the French state admit to the injustice of the unequal pensions allotted to French and African soldiers, by which point most veterans had died. France utilized colonial soldiers not only to police the boundaries of its empire, but also to protect France itself. However, the racist logic of empire could not acknowledge the equality of the sacrifice of African and French soldiers. In the allocation of unequal pensions, the state quite literally attached a different value to the lives of former colonial subjects and French citizens.

#### COLONIAL RACISM AFTER (OTHER) EMPIRES: GENOCIDE AND FOREIGN POLICY

The legacy of colonialism in French Africa has extended, after independence, to other French-speaking colonies in

the region. Broadly speaking, France has pursued active connections with Francophone Africa, with varying intents and consequences. Such foreign policy has, at times, veered toward the interventionist, with various French governments of all political stripes providing support or even arms to client states and friendly regimes.

Perhaps the most infamous of such interventions occurred, not in a former French colony, but in the former German and later Belgian colony of Rwanda. French President François Mitterand's government considered Rwanda to be part of Francophone Africa, and as such a region of special interest for France. As Andrew Wallis notes,

French intervention in Rwanda in the last 1980s and early 1990s was first and foremost an attempt to keep its beloved *francophonie* intact. It was symptomatic of 30 years of military intervention by Paris on the continent. Despite appalling human rights abuses by its 'client' African governments, France has continued to support dictators and regimes whose murderous policies towards their own people have been well documented. The continuity of this policy is as striking as its longevity through Presidents de Gaulle, Pompidou, Giscard d'Estaing and Mitterand, and has survived changing times, values and world politics." (2006, p. 11)

International scholars, human rights activists, and others have levied against the French government charges of complicity with the Hutu regime responsible for Rwanda's 1995 genocide. Within France as well, academics, activists, and, to a lesser extent, elements of the media (most notably Patrick Saint-Exupéry in the French newspaper *Le Figaro*) have called for further investigation into the Mitterand government's alliance with the genocidal Rwandan government, and into the French army's intervention on their behalf, a decision undertaken with no parliamentary debate in France. Jean-Paul Gouteux's *Un génocide secret d'État* draws a direct link between European colonial racism, both French and Belgian, and the Rwandan genocide. Indeed, many French writers have pointed to the French response to the Rwandan genocide as indicative of the need for a larger engagement with the ethical responsibilities of empires to their former colonies (despite the fact that France had, in fact, never colonized Rwanda). However, in an indication of the still-fraught relationship between postgenocide Rwanda and France, the Rwandan president severed ties with Paris in 2006.

The legacy of colonial racism and the political constructions of race in French colonial Africa reverberate throughout both the former colonies and France itself. Divisive policies enacted in the name of empire, the creation of racialized differentiations among peoples, and their rearticulation in the present complicate the postcolonial inheritance of France and the independent

nations of Africa. The profound and intrinsic racism of the colonial project, expressed in manifold ways, continues to haunt the present.

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*George R. Trumbull IV*

## AFRICA: GERMAN COLONIES

Germany was a late entrant into the race for colonies in Africa. Chancellor Otto von Bismarck was initially not a colonial expansionist. His preoccupation was the unification of Germany and its attaining a preeminent role in European politics. However, following the unification of Germany in 1871, the issue of colonies began to preoccupy German society and leadership, and various lobbying groups exerted pressure on the government to

be proactive in the acquisition of colonies in Africa, arguing that Germany needed colonies to maintain its economic preeminence. The leading lobbying groups, formed after the unification, included the West German Society for Colonization and Export (1881) and the Central Association for Commercial Geography and the Promotion of German Interests Abroad (1878). The government reluctantly agreed with their view and embraced the idea of colonization, primarily to further the nation's economic interests.

Bismarck came to envision colonies as a stabilizing force in domestic politics by emphasizing nationalism and the greatness of Germany internationally. Bismarck was a pragmatist, however, and his drive to acquire colonies in Africa was largely a function of economic considerations in the emerging imperial world order, European diplomacy, and domestic politics. It is against this backdrop that Germany hosted the international Berlin Conference of 1884–1885. The conference constituted a watershed in African history, for it sanctioned European claims in Africa, though with the caveat that those powers that claimed possessions in Africa had to manifest a physical occupation of their areas for their claims to be legitimate.

This caveat was instrumental in the subsequent partition and physical occupation of Africa. Germany acquired South West Africa (present-day Namibia), German East Africa (present-day mainland Tanzania, Rwanda, and Burundi), Togo, and Cameroon. In establishing formal institutions and structures in support of colonial governance in these newly acquired territories, Germany's policy was characterized by ruthlessness, a policy of racial supremacy, and economic dispossession of the indigenous populations. These features became more pronounced in colonies to which Germans emigrated and sought to establish a homeland. German South West Africa best exemplifies a colonial situation in which race constituted a group identity that had certain predetermined advantages.

#### COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION

The most vital link between metropolitan Germany and the colonies was the colonial governor, who had enormous powers in steering the colony according to the official policy emanating from Berlin. Under the governor were European civilian officials and the commanders of the armed forces in the colony. Although the commanders were answerable to the governor, they retained considerable power because they were subject to the High Command in Berlin. The military performed the vital function of maintaining a superiority of arms in the colony. A number of the officers also doubled as regional administrators. It was the responsibility of the governor to

mediate the various competing interests within the colony. This was far from easy, especially because the interests of the settlers were sometimes in conflict with the official colonial policy or the rights of Africans. The Germans established a colonial administration that embraced both direct and indirect rule in proportions that varied from one colony to another, and even at times within the same colonial territory, depending on the local situation.

Below the European colonial administrators were African chiefs. These were local leaders who were appointed and made subject to the authority of the local German officials, who were invariably few in number. Their loyalty was primarily to the appointing colonial authority. They served at the pleasure of the colonial government and were responsible for functions ranging from collecting taxes and conscripting labor for colonial projects to being the public face of the government at the lowest local level. Yet their ability to rise up in the ranks of the colonial administration was restricted because Africans were disqualified from holding senior positions at the district level. Thus, race was a critical determinant of one's status and level in the service of German colonial state.

The German policy was to construct an image of "Deutschtum" among the colonists. In other words, the colonies were to comprise a hardworking, parsimonious, Protestant agrarian class filled with staunch nationalist values and devotion to the Kaiser. In the settler colony of South West Africa, the intended result was the establishment of a new Germany with a culture, language, institutions, and structures that mirrored the homeland. Suffice it to note that this envisioned "new Germany" was incompatible with the interests of Africans. Its creation could only succeed at the expense of the indigenous populations. A corollary to this development was the promotion of German interests by sacrificing African political, economic, and sociocultural interests on the altar of racial prejudice.

German colonists were projected as members of a superior and enlightened race, while the native Herero and Nama communities were depicted as inferior, indolent, and destined to be permanent subjects of the Kaiser. The native people were treated as members of a collective group, and individual personality and capability were less significant than the community to which a person belonged. The rationale was to legitimize the supremacy of the colonists. The indigenous populations, meanwhile, were forced to conform to the new power hierarchy brought on by colonialism. This coerced conformity manifested itself in several ways that ranged from newly introduced colonial taxation and land alienation to forced labor and outright brutality.



*German Africa, 1914.* MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. GALE.

### AFRICA REVOLTS

Distaste for the new German colonial order provoked a sharp reaction from the Herero in 1904. The German response was extreme to the extent that it sought to exterminate the Herero. The Herero uprising of 1904

was ruthlessly suppressed, resulting in the deaths of nearly 60,000 out of a population of 80,000. The Germans not only shot the victims, they also poisoned their water holes, resulting in the deaths of thousands more. Those who survived were forced into work camps and



became the subject of various medical experiments and examinations.

The Nama faced the similar fate, and such atrocities were visited upon communities in other German colonies. During the Maji Maji uprising (1905–1907), the communities in southern German East Africa were defeated when the Germans resorted to a scorched earth policy that caused a massive destruction of crops and killings on a large scale. The African deaths from this war are estimated at between 75,000 and 100,000. The Duala (1914) and Dagomba (1896) uprisings—in Cameroon and Togo, respectively—were similarly crushed.

The German use of brute force was based on the notion that might is right, and on the belief that the interests of German colonists reigned supreme. They claimed that their skin color entitled them to subjugate the Africans. In maintaining an ideology of order and racial superiority, their methods of choice varied from overt military and scorched earth campaigns to economic coercion and land seizure.

#### **RACIAL PURITY**

At the sociocultural level, the Germans strove to maintain racial purity by reining in the behavior of some of their own. The official positions of whiteness and right were not only intertwined, they were also forced on Africans to accept as the norm of colonial society. However, whites who cohabited with or married African women posed a major threat to maintaining racial superiority. It was argued that miscegenation undermined the perceived order of white superiority by creating a class of mulattoes who defied the established categorization of colonial citizenry as black or white. Cohabitation also lowered the status of whites in the colonies. Cohabiting with the Africans who were perceived to be their inferiors, and those whites who did so were perceived by the colonial authorities to be undermining their own race and all it stood for and represented among the colonized. Yet there were more European men than women in all of Germany's colonies at any given time, and this situation encouraged cohabitation and miscegenation. The actualities of cohabitation and miscegenation debunked the myth of the German "gentleman" who shouldered the moral burden of maintaining the purity and superiority of the white race.

The case for racial purity was defended on the grounds of preserving class status and disallowing degeneracy. In order to guarantee class status, officials discouraged transgressions against the color divide by enacting legislation that forbade interracial marriages. Good Germans were supposed to behave well by marrying within their racial group. German colonialism espoused ideals of German manhood and womanhood in order to discourage interracial marriages. The result was that such mar-

riages were stigmatized, and those involved were viewed as social deviants. Officials sought to ensure conformity to the norms of segregated society because it was seen as desirable in the maintaining of a status quo that was anchored in economic elitism, political hegemony, and a racially divided society.

The administration of justice in the German colonies was anything but impartial. The Germans nurtured and constantly reinforced a legal system that served the interests of the Europeans. The African was considered to be inferior before the law. As a result, race determined the way justice was dispensed. Punishment was meted out based on the color of one's skin. German colonialism was replete with racism and was not based on equality before the law. In addition, Africans were subjected to degrading corporal punishments as well as arbitrary executions.

#### **VOICES OF CONCERN**

The policies in place in the colonies, especially the use of brute force, coerced labor, and the resultant loss of African lives, led to intense criticism of German colonial policy from within, especially as the first decade of the twentieth century drew to a close. The debate on policy focused on how to manage the colonies for the benefit of Germany while protecting African rights to some extent. The colonial office desired to position itself as the mediator of conflicts in the colonies. This meant reducing the role of local governors who had hitherto wielded enormous powers in determining the outcome of the conflicts in areas under their jurisdiction. But even within the colonial office there were two viewpoints that were in play.

While some officials felt that a strong settler voice had to be encouraged for the purpose of promoting economic colonialism, others were of the view that humanitarian concern for African protection ought to be the paramount consideration. The latter group opined that if European settler colonialism was to succeed, colonial authorities had to avoid provoking unnecessary African resistance and ought to bring them into the orbit of the colonial economy as a plantation proletariat. It was felt that the establishment of a plantation proletariat would regularize and stabilize the working class by ensuring that it was well paid and its interests taken into account, albeit in the context of a polarized society in which Africans knew their role and place.

The intent to humanize colonialism and exploitation through paternalism was viewed as a shift from the previous blatant and overt brutality to a more considerate one in which the colonists would have their interests protected while the pecking order in the society would remain intact. Yet even under this emerging paternalistic policy, the African was still viewed as an inferior being

that exhibited a “big child” mentality. It is somewhat surprising, therefore, that Africans were described as capable of becoming reasonable facsimiles of Europeans, though it was believed they had to be guided for the foreseeable future by the colonial authorities to attain that desired level. Such preconceived ideas, based on racial prejudice, informed the evolution and development of German colonial policy.

#### ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

The Germans soon embarked on the construction of railroads in their African colonial possessions. The railroads would link the coast with areas of high economic potential in the hinterland, an economic agenda aimed at boosting the economy of the colonies for the benefit of the metropolitan country. This physical infrastructure, however, was supposed to benefit Africans only indirectly, through their participation in the colonial economy as workers and not investors. The focus was on opening up the colonies for European settlement as well as economic investment. The development of physical infrastructure emphasized the polarized nature of colonial society, with both the colonizer and the colonized having a distinct role to play in the making of the colonial economy.

The development of social services was equally important in the planning and marketing of German colonialism as a benevolent and humane undertaking aimed at benefiting the Africans. The Germans developed public hospitals as well as educational institutions. But even in these two areas, the facilities were inadequate to cope with the large number of Africans who were gradually and consistently being drawn to Western educational and public health institutions. The German colonial government encouraged the participation of missionary societies as partners in providing health care and educational services. Through the development of such services, the government hoped that Africans would cherish the fruits of the German civilizing mission.

#### WORLD WAR I AND ITS AFTERMATH

The redefining of German colonial policy in 1914 was relegated to the periphery of the mainstream events of World War I, although race continued to determine the position of Africans in political, economic, and social spheres during the entire war period. Africans aligned and identified themselves with their respective colonial powers during the war. In this regard, the war revealed the divide among the major Europeans, thereby forcing Africans to enlist in support of their European colonial power. Africans were relegated to the lower ranks and

served under the command of German officers, a development that reasserted their position in colonial society. Nevertheless, Africans fought gallantly in support of the German cause. In German East Africa, under the command of General Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck, Africans and Germans put up determined resistance in confronting British and South African forces. Despite the fact that they were outnumbered, German and African troops in the region remained undefeated throughout the war.

World War I constituted a turning point in the history of German colonialism in Africa. One of the provisions of the Versailles Treaty that ended the war was that Germany had to surrender all its colonies. With the surrender of the colonies, German colonial policy, and its attendant negative connotations of race, came under review. German colonies were taken over by the League of Nations, as Trust Mandates, and by other competing powers.

In South West Africa, the Germans demanded political equality and the recognition of German as the third administrative language next to English and Afrikaans. The interests of the South African Afrikaners were not incompatible with those of the South West African Germans, as both groups wanted the establishment of a white-dominated society in this former German colony. A conflict pitting the two groups against one another, therefore, would be detrimental to the primary goal of establishing a white settler society in South West Africa. It was in this political context that Jan Smuts, the South African prime minister, entered into a direct negotiation with the German government, resulting in the signing of the 1923 London Agreement. This accord granted Germans concessions in a wide range of areas, including politics, language, education, immigration, culture, and economics. The importance of this development was that German privileges were still protected under the South African special mandate. The interests of whites, both German and Afrikaners, were privileged over those of the Africans.

In the other former colonies, however, the interests of Germans were not accorded special privileges. In German East Africa, for example, the British ruled the country as if it were any other British colony. South West Africa was thus a unique case, primarily because it was initially managed as a settler colony. In addition, the white-dominated society of South Africa, where Afrikaner interests were being promoted at the expense of those of the Africans, necessitated a more considerate and sympathetic policy that favored the German interests even after their defeat in the war. In sum, World War I marked the formal end of German colonialism in Africa.

**SEE ALSO** *Apartheid; South African Racial Formations.*

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George O. Ndege

## AFRICA: ITALIAN COLONIES

Italy was one of the European countries with colonies in Africa during the modern period. Lasting from 1890 to 1941, Italian colonialism in Africa included the present-day countries of Libya, Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Somalia. Italian colonialism in Africa came to an end with the death of the Italian leader Benito Mussolini, the collapse of the Fascist regime, and the defeat of Italy in World War II. Half a century of Italian colonialism had long-term effects on attitudes towards race and racism in both Italy and its colonies.

Italian colonization of Africa took place during the same period as other European colonization in the region. In many respects, Italian colonial policy was similar to that of other colonizing powers. Italian colonial policy differed, however, in that it was premised more on enhancing the glory and overall international prestige of Italy, rather than on the economic benefits that could be gained from colonies. Italian colonialism was also not guided by religious motives of converting native populations to Christianity. Italian imperialism was later shaped by Fascist doctrines of governance and social policy, which affected methods of administration and treatment of the indigenous African population.

Italy's colonial experience forced Italians to confront the presence of non-Europeans within the Italian Empire. The presence of black Africans, especially, led some Italians to construct racial hierarchies in which Italians and other Europeans stood at the top, Arabs and North Africans somewhere in the middle, and black Africans at the bottom in terms of rights and privileges. Such racialist thinking led some Italians to consider the position of Jews within Italy in a parallel manner, and to place them

on this racial hierarchy. Italian attitudes toward Jews, which had previously been generally benign, began to change as a result of African colonization.

Italian colonization can be divided into two periods. The first begins in 1890, with the Italian colonization of Eritrea, and continues with the acquisition of Libya and Somalia, and the invasion and occupation of Ethiopia. The second period begins around 1937, when the occupation of Ethiopia was complete and when Fascist racial policy became more explicit and extreme. This article will examine racial policies in the Italian colonies during both periods and will conclude by noting the impact of the colonial experience on post-imperial Italy.

### COLONIAL RACISM BEFORE AND DURING THE RISE OF FASCISM

By European standards, Italy is a young country, having become unified as one nation only in 1861. Before that time, what is twenty-first-century Italy consisted of several independent kingdoms. Unification brought Italians together as one people and created a sense of shared national identity—as Italians rather than as Florentines or Neapolitans—including a feeling of common national destiny. Part of this feeling, among some Italians, included a desire to acquire overseas colonies—as other European countries were doing—and to relive the glories of the Roman Empire.

Italy, as a relative latecomer to the colonial project, acquired what many Europeans considered to be the less desirable territories in Africa, including Eritrea, where Italian colonization was established in 1890; Somalia, where Italian rule began in 1905; and Libya, where Italian rule commenced in 1912. Italy had also attempted to invade Ethiopia in 1895, but was repulsed by Ethiopian forces in the Battle of Adwa, a sharp blow to many Italians in that a European army was defeated by an African one. The memory of this defeat would later inspire a second invasion of Ethiopia.

Late-nineteenth-century and early-twentieth-century anthropology was concerned with racial classification. With new colonies in Africa, Italian scholars became interested in how colonial subjects fit into racial classifications. Such classifications grew from work done in the early nineteenth century, and were based on the traditional Biblical division of peoples into the Caucasians, Semites, and Hamites, who were the descendants respectively of Japheth, Shem, and Ham, the sons of Noah. In the Bible, the descendants of Ham are cursed and destined to become slaves. An alternative interpretation argued that the descendants of Canaan, one of Ham's sons, and not the other children of Ham, were cursed. This interpretation allowed for a separate, fourth race,

which was associated with black Africans and was used by Europeans to justify African slavery. It was also used by Europeans to explain how the pyramids and other monuments of Egypt were created—not by black Africans, the descendants of Canaan, but by the Hamites, the descendants of Ham's other children. Such an interpretation helped form racial attitudes toward black Africans, who were considered inferior and incapable of civilization.

Early twentieth-century anthropologists such as Aldo Brandino Mochi and Vincenzo Giuffrida Ruggeri modified such traditional European views using what they considered “scientific” methods, such as skull measurements. They nevertheless perpetuated the argument that black Africans were an inferior people, but that the peoples of Libya, Eritrea, Ethiopia, and Somalia, being of Semitic background (with some Hamitic or African admixture), were capable of civilization. From this racist perspective, Italy could congratulate itself on acquiring colonies in those parts of Africa where the potential for civilization was greatest. Other anthropologists, such as Giuseppe Sergi, argued that Europeans actually originated in Africa. Thus Italy's racialist views of its colonial subjects differed in some respects from that of other colonial powers.

Using such arguments, Italy could justify its conquest and subjugation of Africans, with the hope that Italian civilization would spread to the colonized regions. There was general support among the Italian population for imperialism, as it was seen as the “mandate of history” and a continuation of the conquests of the Roman Empire. At the same time, the Roman Catholic Church wanted recognition of its primacy over the Orthodox churches in Egypt and Ethiopia, furthering the attitudes of Italian destiny.

Despite the theoretical respect for peoples of Semitic and Hamitic origin, actual Italian conquest was brutal. For example, the conquest of Libya—sometimes called the “Fourth Shore” of Italy—was lengthy and oppressive. Italy began its invasion of Libya in 1911, and succeeded in driving out the Turks, who controlled the territory, in 1912. But the Arab Libyans did not see the Italians as liberators; they resisted the Italians until 1932. The resistance movement, the Sanussi, was repressed, and its mosques closed and its leaders, such as Omar Mukhtar, imprisoned and executed. More than 100,000 Libyans were imprisoned in concentration camps, and from 1928 on cities were bombed with poison gas (despite Italy being a signatory of the Geneva Convention in 1925), which one Fascist commentator described as a “cleansing.” Separate communities were established for Italians, keeping them apart from Arabs and Jews.

Similar actions took place during the Italian colonization of Somalia and Eritrea. Official Italian rule began in Somalia in 1905. Slavery, which existed in the coun-

try, was abolished by the Italians and the slave trade was outlawed, leading to opposition from some Somali tribes. The Italians looked upon the Somalis as children needing paternal guidance, but they permitted local chiefs to rule, and the Italians were also generally unconcerned about race, permitting some marriages between Italians and Somalis, and tolerating informal sexual relations between the two groups. In Eritrea, three residential districts were established in the capital, Asmara: one for whites, one for blacks, and one for people of mixed race (indicating that intermarriage was a common practice).

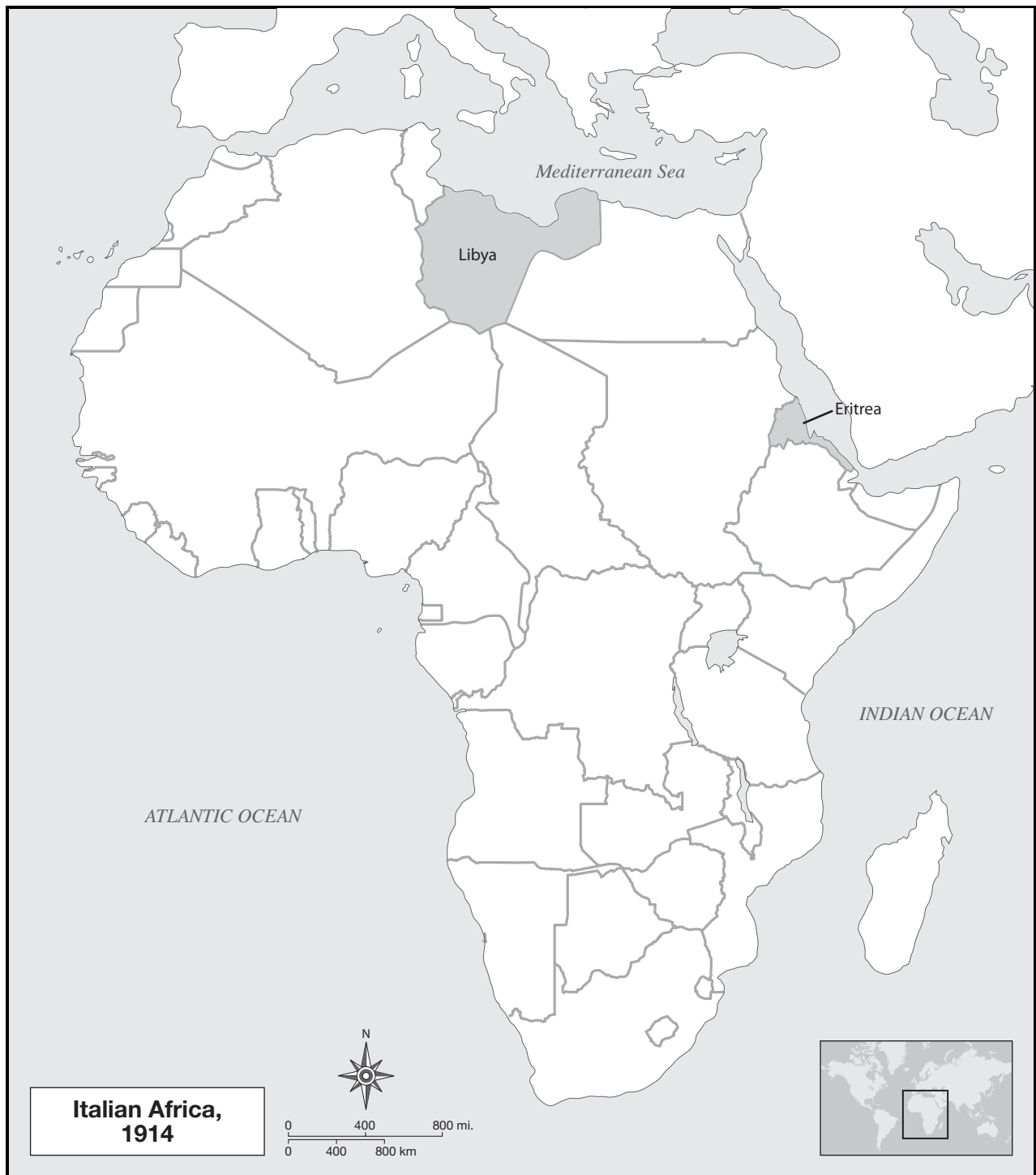
In Italy itself, racism was largely absent. People of mixed Italian-Jewish background who did not practice Judaism as a religion were considered to be Italian, and not in a separate category of “Jewish.” Religion was more important than race or national origin. Italians saw themselves as a spiritual community to which Jews could also belong. This was to change, however, with the rise of Benito Mussolini and the Fascist Party, which came to power in 1922.

#### COLONIAL RACISM UNDER FASCISM

In general, there was not much change in Italian attitudes towards colonialism and imperialism during the transition from pre-Fascist to Fascist Italy. Most Italians supported the idea of empire with moderate enthusiasm, but did not hold particularly racist attitudes towards non-Italians. The Fascist Party, however, began implementing new racial policies in Africa, which began to change perceptions of race in Italy itself.

Fascist policy emphasized war and conquest, the revitalization of the state, the rejection of tradition and the past, and the forging ahead to a new future that was to be achieved through force. Fascist policy in the colonies introduced legal racism. Laws banning mixed marriages were introduced in Eritrea in 1933 and in Ethiopia in 1937 (one year after the conquest of that country by Italy in 1936). Fascists thought that mingling Italians with Africans weakened the Italian people. Fascists also considered as a problem the children born from mixed marriages, resulting in persons who did not completely fit within either Italian or African culture. As Fascist Party secretary Achille Starace noted, “With the creation of the Empire, the Italian race came into contact with other races. Hence it had to guard itself against hybridity and contamination.”

In its colonies, Italy began to impose racial separation. Blacks and whites were not allowed to live together, and children of mixed marriages were not considered legitimate. Colonial administrations created separate facilities for Italians and Africans, including separate buses, restaurants, and movie theaters. Some professions



*Italian Africa, 1914.* MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. GALE.

were limited to blacks or whites only. Italian and African workers could not work on the same site at the same time. Italians could not serve Africans in shops. Italian taxis could not accept Africans as passengers. Films shown to Africans were censored, lest any sign of weak-

ness be perceived among Italians. Italian Fascists justified this “apartheid” on the basis that too much concern for native populations smacked of nineteenth-century liberalism, rather than of the New Order created by Fascism. As one colonial engineer stated, “We must ban natives

from any access to our cities unless we can force them to pass through a sort of station of human reclamation. In a perfect colonial city, the destruction of bugs and the disinfection of clothing must be carried out in a totalitarian fashion” (Bosworth 2006).

Fascist leaders determined that the party had to take the lead in explaining racism to the public. These policies would not be copied from the Nazis in Germany but would spring from three thousand years of Italian history. In 1938 Mussolini had little interest in the persecution of Jews; he did not have the racial fanaticism of Hitler. Even hardcore Fascists such as Roberto Farinacci disliked Nazi doctrines, especially Alfred Rosenberg’s racist ideas, because he believed that ideas about German racial superiority could be used against Mediterranean people as well as Jews. Farinacci and other Italian Fascists disliked Nazi talk of blond, blue-eyed people as superior.

Mussolini’s policy on race in Ethiopia and other Italian colonies was that the native peoples were not to be held in contempt, but there was to be separation between the races. Italians, including Fascists, generally did not approve of Nazi doctrines, thinking them crude, pagan, brutal, and unprincipled. The Nazis had even suggested that Italians had African blood (Mussolini replied by hinting that Germans had Jewish blood)! The Fascist journal *Critica Fascista* noted in 1934 that racial doctrines were not fascist, but rather a threat to fascism.

But by 1938 the Fascists established a racial policy that specifically emphasized white superiority. Africans could be punished for not respecting Italians. If an Italian was caught committing a crime by an African policeman, he could not be arrested because that would undermine the prestige of Italians and the white race generally. Indeed, Mussolini claimed that Italy conquered Ethiopia because of Italian superiority and African inferiority (he conveniently forgot about Italy’s defeat by Ethiopia in 1895).

Fascist racial laws were often ignored and not enforced, however, because they seemed alien to both Italians and colonial subjects. A practice known as *madamismo*—sexual relations between Italian men and African women—was widespread in Italy’s East African colonies. Madamismo resulted from the imbalance between the large number of Italian men working in the colonies, and the relatively small number of Italian women living there (most men left their families home in Italy). Many children with Italian fathers and African mothers were born, and were accepted as legitimate until the race laws of 1938 criminalized madamismo and delegitimated children of mixed race. Nevertheless, the practice continued and laws against it were rarely enforced: Around 10,000 children of mixed race were born during the period 1936–1941 in Ethiopia alone.

Laws mandating racial separation were hardly effective. Whites and blacks continued to live side by side,

despite segregation orders. Italians and Africans did share taxis, dined together in cafes, and walked together in the street, though laws forbade this. Ethiopian notables were deferred to by Italians and served by Italians in restaurants and bars. Racist laws mandating separation by race were alien to most Italians, and most Italians in the colonies therefore ignored them with impunity.

Many Italians remembered the brutality of the conquest of Ethiopia in 1935, and were sympathetic with its inhabitants and critical of racist laws and policies. One working-class Italian was quoted as saying that the Fascist regime “would have been better off first to think about civilizing the Italians” before trying to civilize Africans.

The ability of Italians and the colonized to get along meant that Italians, after the defeat of Italy in World War II, were treated well by the people they colonized, especially in Ethiopia and Eritrea. The Ethiopian emperor, Haile Selassie, when restored to his throne, granted clemency to Italians in Ethiopia. Many Ethiopians even thought that Italy had brought many benefits to the country, including the abolition of slavery, new roads, the control of famine, and the reduction of intertribal warfare. This generally positive view of the former colonizing power can be attributed to the good relations between Italians and Africans.

#### THE LEGACY OF FASCIST COLONIAL RACIAL POLICY

The greatest legacy of Italian racial policy in its colonies was the rise of anti-Semitism in Italy. Prior to the imposition of Fascist racial policy, there was little anti-Semitism in Italy, and certainly nothing like the hatred of Jews present in Germany. There were indeed many Jewish Fascists, and many anti-Zionist Italian Jews. In 1911 the mayor of Rome was Jewish, and many Italian prime ministers were of Jewish ancestry, as were many senators, professors, and war heroes. Italy gave sanctuary to Jews expelled from Russia and Germany. Alfred Rosenberg, the Nazi racial theorist, even denounced what he called the “Judeo-Fascist regime” located in “world-polluting Rome.”

Yet Italy’s colonization in Africa began to draw distinctions between people of different races. Italians began to think of themselves as somehow different from colonized Africans and Arabs, and Fascist doctrine urged them to think themselves superior to the people they had colonized. Allying racism with nationalism and national identity, the Fascist Party motivated Italians to also think of ethnicity, rather than religion or culture, as what separated them from others, thus leading to increasing anti-Semitism in Italy. Though never urgently proactive in attacking Jews as Germans had been, Italians began to see Jews as foreign and alien.

Italy has not yet confronted its colonial past, and issues of racism and anti-Semitism are not commonly

discussed and analyzed in the country. Italian colonialism in Africa, motivated largely by the desire to enhance the historic glory of Italy and to help Italy find its “place in the sun” along with other colonial powers, forced Italians to think about racial difference, and many Italians came to accept racial difference to some degree, even though they may have treated their colonial subjects well.

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*Michael Pretes*

## AFRICA: PORTUGUESE COLONIES

Portugal is noted as the first modern European country to have large numbers of black slaves. As one of the major sea powers of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, Portugal also shipped and sold large numbers of African slaves to other parts of the world. Not surprisingly, the issue of slavery has shaped racial tensions between Portugal and Africa. It dominated Portuguese colonialist practices and prompted Africans to hold hostile attitudes toward the Portuguese. Other offensive colonialist practices also complicated race relations between blacks and whites in the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, São Tomé and Príncipe, and Cape Verde.

#### SLAVERY

Southern Europe had a tradition of slavery that dated to ancient times. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Portugal enslaved captured Muslims as Christians engaged in the Reconquista (the recapturing of the Iberian Peninsula from the Muslims). Beginning in the 1440s, voyages sponsored by Prince Henry the Navigator and his successors brought black slaves from Africa to Portugal. The 1455 papal bull *Romanus Pontifex* issued by Pope Nicholas V justified these activities by authorizing

the Portuguese monarch to subdue all “enemies of Christ” wherever they were and to keep them in perpetual slavery. The Portuguese African trade evolved from raids along the African coast that began in 1441 to more peaceful exchanges with African chieftains and merchants by the 1450s.

The trade in African slaves soon extended from Mauritania to the area along the upper Guinea coast. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the trade extended to the Congo and Angola. Most of the slaves gathered from the African mainland were transported back to Portugal and then sent to Spain or South America. Slaves were also imported from Guinea and sent to Cape Verde. The island of São Tiago (Santiago) in the Cape Verde archipelago became a distribution center for slaves on their way to the Americas. São Tomé later assumed this role. In the upper Guinea area, Portuguese traders, entrepreneurs, and *degradados* (exiles) penetrated into the interior. Called *lançados* (outcasts), they often settled in African villages. The *lançados* served as intermediaries in the slave trade and frequently left Euro-African descendants who acted in the same capacities.

The Portuguese slave trade is divided into four periods. In the Guinea wave of the sixteenth century most of the slaves came from both upper Guinea (Senegal River to Cape Palmas) and lower Guinea (Volta River to Cape Catarina). In the seventeenth century, the Portuguese pulled slaves from equatorial and central Africa, particularly Angola and the Congo, as well as Guinea. By the eighteenth century, the Portuguese slave trade expanded to the Gold Coast (Ghana) and the Bight of Benin. In the nineteenth century, Portuguese slaves came predominantly from Angola and Mozambique.

In the eighteenth century, the slave trade came under attack from within Portugal. The Marquis of Pombal pushed through legislation that eliminated the slave trade. On September 19, 1761, legislation halted the transportation of slaves from Africa to Portugal. On January 16, 1773, legislation passed to emancipate black slaves living in Portugal. Existing slaves, however, remained in bondage for the remainder of their lives. Slavery continued in Portugal, although slave traders were often prosecuted.

In the nineteenth century, changing European opinion gradually eliminated Portugal's involvement in the international slave trade. In 1854 all slaves that were the property of the Portuguese government were freed. Two years later, all slaves owned by Portuguese town councils, religious organizations, and churches were freed as were all children born of slave mothers. Finally, the Portuguese government, headed by the Marquis of Sá da Bandeira,

enacted a law on February 25, 1869, to abolish slavery in Portugal and all of its colonies.

The end of the slave trade removed the most obvious purpose for Portugal's presence in Africa. These colonies lacked effective Portuguese administration for other purposes. In Guinea, the Portuguese had comparatively little presence. In Angola, Portuguese control existed little beyond the ports of Luanda and Lobito. In Mozambique, apart from the virtually autonomous *prazos* (agricultural estates) that were developed starting in the seventeenth century along the basin of the Zambezi River, Lisbon's authority could be found only on Mozambique Island, at a few points on the Indian Ocean coastline, and in isolated riverine strongholds.

These Portuguese administrative and commercial outposts were chiefly supervised by a heterogeneous Creole population. In Cape Verde as well as São Tomé and Príncipe, the majority of the population was Creole. In Mozambique, the Creole elite engaged in trade with India and eventually succeeded in taking control of the Zambezi *prazos*. The concept of a Portuguese empire in Africa in the late nineteenth century was problematic because of this dominant Creole presence. Portuguese merchants and adventurers continued to view the remnants of Portugal's South American empire as their natural source of operations and accordingly devoted their energies and resources to Brazil.

#### AFRICAN COLONIES IN THE AGE OF IMPERIALISM

Meanwhile, Portugal had lost most of its territory in Asia, but the decline of Portugal's East Asian empire increased interest in its African colonies. The increasing push by other European countries to engage in African imperialism also pulled the Portuguese to Africa. During this phase, Portugal focused on expanding its outposts in Africa into nation-sized territories to compete with other European powers on the continent. It had mixed success. Portugal lost its claim to the Congo in the 1880s to Belgium, largely as a result of diplomatic maneuvering. Yet it won arbitration in the 1870s when the French president ruled for Portugal against British complaints over its control of Delagoa Bay in Mozambique. The bay formed a major outlet for the rapidly developing Transvaal and constituted a very useful piece on the political chessboard upon which the partition of Africa was played out. Portugal lost an attempt in 1890 to establish a single colony across the breadth of Africa by connecting Mozambique and Angola when Britain politically blocked the effort. The Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1891 formalized Portugal's imperial borders in Africa with a fairly relaxed definition of "effective occupation."

The treaty, however, also required Portugal to exercise systematic control of its African colonies and to expand the Portuguese presence in Africa.

The African colonies played a critical role in the Portuguese economy. They provided a protected market, supplying raw materials at prices cheaper than the world market rates and buying Portuguese products that had a low world demand. Foreign exchange earnings from exports and services also reduced the chronic deficit on Portugal's balance of trade. To safeguard the advantages brought by the colonies, the Portuguese had to protect the white population in Lusophone (Portuguese-speaking) Africa against possible African competition by the policy of economic segregation. Numbers of impoverished whites had emigrated to the colonies. The immigration relieved population pressure in Portugal, one of the most crowded and poorest countries in Europe. Of equal importance to Portugal, the white settlers provided a bulwark against rebellious Africans and covetous Europeans in neighboring African countries. Accordingly, whites were congregated in the cities or other places of critical economic importance. They pressured Portugal to defend their interests with edicts that favored whites over Africans and Creoles.

#### RISE OF AFRICAN RESISTANCE

In the 1950s and 1960s, three factors helped to bring about a change in traditional Portuguese colonialism. A general anticolonialist sentiment bubbled up as the result of economic and political developments in Europe in the wake of World War II. France and Great Britain granted independence to almost all of their African colonies. Portugal, forced to defend its presence in Africa, introduced some nominal reforms. In 1951 it also recategorized its African colonies as Portuguese provinces to block any intervention efforts by the United Nations. Meanwhile, armed revolts led by Africans offered blacks an alternative to the acceptance of Portuguese domination. Portugal introduced more reforms in response to the revolts. And finally, in the 1960s, industrial interests began to compete for the dominant political role that agrarians in Portugal had long held. The need for a less restricted economy, new labor techniques, and increased productivity demanded changes both at home and in the formerly inflexible economic and social structures of the colonies.

Rather than paying wages to free black workers, as the other colonial countries did, Portugal forced compulsory labor from blacks. Portugal first responded to the anti-colonist movement by passing legislation in 1955 that regulated the use of compulsory labor for public works. The use of compulsory labor by private concerns had been formally abolished by law in 1928. Nevertheless, the practice remained widespread, and Portugal instituted





*Portuguese Africa, 1914.* MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. GALE.

heavier penalties on those using such labor in an effort to give the ban bigger teeth. These two responses were designed to improve Portugal's standing in world opinion. Unfortunately, as the United Nations subsequently reported, in 1956, 500,000 Africans in Mozambique were

forced to work on cotton farms. Each head of household received an average of \$11.17 as a year's payment for the labor of an entire family. In 1958 an estimated 120,000 Africans were still conscripted in Angola, and about 95,000 worked for private employers.

Africans who were not forced to work were discriminated against by being paid considerably lower wages than whites. In Angola in 1958, white carpenters earned an annual average of 3,120 escudos, whereas black carpenters earned an average of 1,690 escudos. White cooks earned 3,334 escudos, whereas black cooks took home 500 escudos. In no skilled occupation did blacks and whites earn equal pay, and the gap was substantial. The average pay of African workers was 600 escudos, while white workers typically earned six times as much.

Portugal enacted legislation to address both the problems with wages and the continuing problems with compulsory labor. In 1960 minimum wage laws were enacted. But because employers were permitted to deduct as much as 50 percent from wages for clothing, food, and board, most black workers remained trapped in poverty.

Rioting and fighting in Angola in the early 1960s prompted Portugal to abolish all forms of compulsory labor. The ban had very limited effect. In 1969 a Portuguese government report on the implementation of the 1957 abolition of forced labor reported that such working conditions continued and were expected to continue. Civil, military, and paramilitary authorities defined forced labor on the grounds of national security. At the request of individual employers, police and paramilitary authorities used various means of repression, including extreme violence, to control rebellious workers. Anger among blacks continued to fuel the various liberation movements in Portugal's African colonies.

The liberation movements gained recruits in the 1960s. Large numbers of white settlers, however, wanted to remain under Portuguese control. They even helped to develop a rationale for continued imperial control: The whites argued that Portugal had established a nonracial form of cooperation with the Africans, unlike the racist apartheid regimes in British Africa. They asserted that the races socialized, worked, and married, creating a unique Luso-tropical civilization. While the Portuguese were clearly not as obsessed with race as the South Africans and Rhodesians, Portuguese Africa did not exactly qualify as a color-blind paradise. Africans and Creoles remained trapped in poverty and at the mercy of a repressive police state designed to crush any attempts at rebellion.

Portugal took several steps to try and maintain control over its colonies in this era. In 1961 it abolished the legal distinction between "civilized" and "noncivilized." The latter group, consisting of almost all blacks, had no civil rights, with all of the economic and social consequences resulting from this status. The *assimilados*, or Africans who had fully adopted Portuguese customs and language, did have rights, but there were only 30,089 *assimilados* among Angola's four million blacks in 1950. The *assimilado* category was ended. Nevertheless, these changes did

not bring equality to Africa. The electoral laws limited the right to vote to only those people who could read and write Portuguese. In 1965 only 5 percent of black Angolans qualified to vote; in 1969 only 1 percent of blacks in Mozambique voted. Only an insignificant percentage of Africans had the educational qualifications to participate in colonial government.

#### THE MOVEMENTS FOR INDEPENDENCE

The Portuguese treatment of people of color led to the formation of several organizations that sought independence for Portugal's African colonies. Liga Africana, founded in 1919, joined black and Mulatto students to work for the freedom of Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Mozambique. It was short-lived. African liberation movements did not flourish until the 1960s.

In Angola, armed resistance began in 1960. Rioting broke out among farmers in Malanje province over low crop prices that had been set by the government. About seven thousand protesters were killed in clashes with police. The Bakongo, along with the Ovimbundu and Kimbundu, form the major indigenous ethnic groups in Angola. The Bakongo took the lead in pushing for autonomy, with the Ovimbundu more closely aligned with white employers, while the Kimbundu were resented by other groups for their control of the job market in the ports. In 1960 the police arrested an *assimilado*, Agostinho Neto, who led the Kimbundu-based Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). His arrest set off riots in Luanda. In an unrelated development, the Bakongo, led by the Union of the Peoples of Northern Angola (later the National Liberation Front in Angola or FNLA) under Holden Roberto, rose up in rebellion in 1960 with almost twenty thousand Bakongo killed. In 1961 hundreds of blacks in Luanda protested police brutality by storming the prisons and freeing political prisoners along with ordinary criminals. The city's whites responded by killing hundreds of unarmed blacks. This last event marks the official beginning of Angola's war of liberation. Subsequently, ethnic conflicts damaged the cause of Angolan independence. In 1966 Jonas Savimbi, an Ovimbundu, created the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) to counter the ethnic exclusiveness of FNLA.

In Mozambique, armed resistance began in 1964. However, there were several wildcat strikes by African workers in Mozambican ports in the 1950s followed in 1960 by a massive protest by farmers angry about low prices set by government-controlled marketing boards. The *assimilados* led the rebellion. In 1962 they formed the Liberation Front of Mozambique (Frelimo) under Eduardo Mondlane. Frelimo relied upon guerilla tactics. In response, the Portuguese moved many Africans and

Creoles into resettlement camps where they could not assist Frelimo.

In São Tomé and Príncipe, the Batepá Massacre of 1953 led to the death of several hundred African workers in fighting with Portuguese authorities. In the late 1950s, a small group of São Tomeans formed the Movement for the Liberation of São Tomé and Príncipe (MLSTP). Meanwhile, in Guinea-Bissau, the pan-Africanist Amílcar Cabral joined several others in 1956 to form the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC). Guerilla fighting began in earnest in 1962.

The efforts to suppress rebellions in its African colonies put too much stress on the government of Portugal and its dictator, Marcelo Caetano. With the government nearly bankrupt, he was overthrown in April 1974. Among the first decisions made by the leftist coup leaders was to rid Portugal of its overseas possessions as quickly as possible. The decolonization process in the aftermath of the April 1974 revolution in Portugal produced dramatic results, particularly in Angola and Mozambique. Most of the Portuguese population suddenly fled from these countries. The movement happened more rapidly and dramatically in the case of Angola because of the armed clashes among liberation movements with the support of foreign armies. Both the MPLA in Angola and the Frelimo in Mozambique (and, to a lesser extent, the PAIGC in Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde and the MLSTP in São Tomé and Príncipe) encouraged this exodus, under the assumption that most of the settler communities would react against further moves toward the creation of a socialist state, redistribution of wealth, or a centrally planned economy. These radical policies only strengthened the settler communities' feelings against the installation of a black government. In Mozambique, when about 180,000 of the 200,000 Portuguese in the country fled, they spitefully destroyed much of the country's infrastructure before they left.

The PAIGC declared the independence of Guinea-Bissau on September 24, 1973. Guinea-Bissau would be wracked by civil war until the end of the century. On June 25, 1975, Portugal formally surrendered power in Mozambique. While the country had fewer internal ethnic conflicts than Angola, it also faced danger in the form of white-dominated neighboring Rhodesia. Many former Portuguese colonists from Mozambique now living in Rhodesia supported the terrorist Mozambique National Resistance (Renamo). Fighting between Frelimo and Renamo shook Mozambique until a 1992 peace settlement. São Tomé and Príncipe achieved independence on July 12, 1975. The country subsequently enjoyed peace, democracy, and multiparty elections. Angola achieved formal independence on November 11, 1975. The FNLA had largely collapsed with the MPLA in control of most of the country. UNITA

retreated to rural areas in southern and central Angola. Ethnic conflicts continued to ravage the country into the next century.

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Caryn E. Neumann

## AFRICAN DIASPORA

The concept of “diaspora” suggests the spread or scattering of a specific population or race of people to different and far-flung places throughout the world. Without alluding to the earliest development of humans in Africa as the foundation of all human diasporas, the African continent, beginning in the fifteenth century at least, was the original source of a significant black diaspora, which in the early twenty-first century embraces the entire globe. The European slave trade to the New World started a massive wave of forced migration of the cream of African populations, particularly from West and Central Africa, to the Caribbean and thence to South and North America, the objective being to provide cheap labor on white-owned plantations. This was the known post-Columbian beginning of the African diaspora. A second wave of out-migration from the Caribbean to North America and Europe—virtually completing a circle in the spread of black populations around the world—took place during the latter part of the twentieth century.

#### THE SLAVE TRADE

The question is whether the European-initiated slave trade from Africa to the New World starting in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries was motivated by economic factors or by racial considerations. Eric Williams, who became the first prime minister of Trinidad and Tobago in 1956, believed that the main motivation of the plantation owners was cheap labor, which also fueled the financial greed of the slave traders and helped to catapult a backward feudal-dominated Europe to the

age of industrial capitalism beginning in the eighteenth century.

The race question would thus seem to be a secondary phenomenon with regard to the motivation behind the African slave trade. Much has already been written about the racist preoccupations of Europeans during the slavery period, particularly their belief in the myth about “the white man’s burden,” which held that they had to control the world in order to civilize or Christianize it. Europeans also adhered to so-called scientific theories of race, which relegated the darker-skinned peoples of the world to the bottom of a supposed hierarchical human order, and to false biblical (Old Testament) notions about blacks being fallen angels condemned to eternal servitude by God. But while these ideas helped justify the African slave trade, Williams thought that the bottom line had always been an economic one. The search for gold and the profitability in trade in slaves, raw material, and commodities that the Indies made possible were necessary inputs in the development of the Industrial Revolution in Europe.

However, the race question in this New World quest for gold and riches cannot be dismissed out of hand. The level of brutality, repressiveness, and what could be called a cultural genocide suffered by African slaves at the hands of the white planter classes and colonial authorities alike far surpassed the conditions under which the native Indians and indentured European laborers operated on New World plantations before the arrival of the Africans. But if racism was not the principal determining factor responsible for the genesis of the African slave trade to the Caribbean, it certainly developed as a consequence of this inhuman trade, for racism characterized and influenced the very unequal hierarchical structure and fabric of plantation and social life in the region as a whole.

The African slaves resisted their lot frequently. Such resistance ranged from runaway slaves to open rebellion and, ultimately, revolution. Colonies of runaway slaves (Maroons) were established in locations such as Jamaica, Surinam, and Brazil, and the historical legacy of resistance and rebellion persisted up to the twentieth century in the forms of the defiant creation of black villages following emancipation and the political struggles for democracy and independence between the 1940s and 1960s. The success of the Haitian Revolution of 1791–1804 influenced a generation of similar rebellious and revolutionary struggles throughout the hemisphere, including the slave rebellions between 1800 and 1831 in the Americas and the Latin American revolution for independence from Spain in the 1920s.

Emancipation came first in the British West Indies in 1934, when, in addition to the slaves being freed, the white plantation owners were financially compensated by the

British authorities for their loss of slave labor. The former slaves proceeded to build independent farming villages for themselves, while the planters imported fresh labor from as far away as China and India. The African villages then became the centers of Africanist cultures, which by the time of emancipation were significantly influenced by European values, thereby creating a hybrid, or “creole,” cultural frame of existence. This hybrid creolization of Africanist culture in the New World is seen in Caribbean musical expressions such as reggae and calypso, as well as in Caribbean religious lifestyles such as Vodou and Rastafarianism. Both Vodou and Rastafarianism marry African traditions and beliefs with Western Christian influences. Some of the richness of this Caribbean hybrid experience, particularly reggae and Rastafarianism, has become internationalized, and their influences can be seen on all continents of the globe.

#### REVERSE MIGRATION

From the Caribbean, many African slaves (after having been “seasoned” for some time) were transshipped to both North and South America to serve on similar plantations in these other parts of the world. Thus the migration of Africans in the New World continued both during slavery when slaves from the Caribbean were further relocated and sold to South American and North American plantations, and after slavery when voluntary migration to metropolitan centers in Europe and North America became widespread. However, the essential aspect of this latter reverse flow of Caribbean migration to Europe and North America took place essentially in the twentieth century, several decades after African slavery had been abolished from these shores in the nineteenth century.

There are several push factors responsible for the increasing waves of out-migration away from Africa, the Caribbean, and Latin America, which in the early 2000s constitute the bulk of the African diaspora. Most significant among these push factors are political instability, repressive or oppressive state policies, economic hardships, and lack of personal advancement. Migrants also desire to settle in the more advanced metropolises of Europe and North America because of better economic opportunities and higher educational attainments. But what is mostly fueling out-migration from the New World region is the phenomenon of economic and technological globalization, which tends to concentrate wealth and more lucrative economic and job opportunities in the metropolitan centers of the world, particularly in North America and Europe. Metropolitan cities such as New York, London, Toronto, Paris, and Amsterdam take up the bulk of immigrant populations from Africa and the Caribbean. Meanwhile, the major concentrations



**UNITED STATES SLAVE TRADE.**  
1850.

*Slave Traders at Work.* An abolitionist print found in the ruins of Philadelphia's Anti-Slavery Hall, which was burned by a mob in 1838. The scene depicts a mother and her children being sold with the U.S. Capitol building looming in the background. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

of people of African descent, outside the African continent, are in the United States and Brazil.

#### CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE AFRICAN DIASPORA

African diaspora communities in North America and Europe have made important economic, political, cultural and intellectual contributions to the development of their homeland territories and the world. In particular, it is their economic contributions to their homeland territories that distinguish members of the African diaspora from other international aid donors. In many instances these economic contributions from the diaspora, principally in the form of what are called "remittances," account for the greatest proportion of financial contributions to the domestic economies of African and Caribbean nations. According to a 2003 World Bank working paper, remittances from the African diaspora in the United States to African countries amount to \$12 billion annually, with about \$4 billion of that going to sub-Saharan Africa alone. Similarly, the contributions of Caribbean diaspora represent a significant proportion of the gross domestic product (GDP) of their respective homelands. For example, according to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), remittances to the Dominican Republic represented 9.3 percent of GDP in 2002, while for Jamaica and Haiti the figures were 13.6 percent and 24.2 percent, respectively.

Political contributions of members of the African diaspora abroad range from organizing historical mass movements for black and minority civil and political rights to direct involvement in the decision-making processes in

metropolitan states. The decolonization struggles in Africa, the Caribbean, and around the world, and the black civil rights movement in the United States are the most prominent examples of African diaspora political contributions, while the prominent roles played by black representatives in the U.S. Congress (such as Shirley Chisholm) and government (such as Colin Powell as secretary of state), are examples of African diaspora political capabilities at the very highest levels of government. Similar contributions of African diaspora individuals apply to the British government, in which the Guyanese nationals Baroness Valerie Amos (in the House of Lords) and David Lammy (in the British Cabinet) are prominent examples.

Cultural contributions of members of the African diaspora are numerous. These include, most prominently, artistic and musical creations, intellectual outputs, and specific religious practices. Major musical contributions include the creation of jazz in the United States, reggae and calypso music in the Caribbean, and samba in Brazil, each of which has made a significant international impact. Similarly, the colorful and dazzling creativity of Carnival parades in Trinidad and Tobago rivals that of Mardi Gras in both Brazil and New Orleans, with all three vying for coveted international acclaim as "the greatest show on earth."

Intellectual contributions are seen in the tremendous literary attainment of African, African American, Caribbean, and Afro Latin-American writers such as Richard Wright, Wole Soyinka, and Derek Walcott, while the academic contributions of Arthur Lewis, Walter Rodney, and Ali Mazrui are also noteworthy. African diaspora contributions to political thought and practices are found

in the consciousness raising works of Marcus Garvey, members of the African Blood Brotherhood (ABB) of Harlem during the 1920s, and C.L.R. James, Frantz Fanon, and Walter Rodney, among others, during more recent times.

#### AFRICAN DIASPORA COMMUNITIES BEYOND THE WEST

The fact that the African diaspora has been made almost synonymous with what has been termed “the Black Atlantic” can hardly be disputed (Gilroy 1993). However, there are also significant African diaspora communities beyond the Atlantic region. Within the Pacific region in Asia, for example, there are long-established communities that trace their historical and racial roots to Africa. The Sidis of the Western Indian state of Gujarat constitute “tens of thousands” of African-derived peoples who were brought to India beginning in the twelfth century as slave-soldiers for the Indian princely states. The Sidis distinguished themselves as powerful military fighters who sometimes usurped power from the princely rulers they served. In the early twenty-first century, the Sidis have lost much contact with and knowledge of Africa, but they have retained many remnants of their African past, particularly in music and dance, such as in the use of certain African-derived musical instruments.

Africans in Russia and China have a significant presence mainly as students. This presence has grown significantly since the 1960s, after African and Caribbean states obtained political independence from European colonial control. Many African and Caribbean students were sent to Russia (the then Soviet Union) and China to study at universities there, mainly in keeping with non-alignment and Afro-Asian solidarity principles (as expressed at the Bandung Conference in 1955) of the cold war age. However, serious controversies emerged about the reception of African students in these far-flung countries. In Russia, for instance, African students complained about racial discrimination and neglect by state authorities. In China, African students rioted in the 1980s in Nanjing and Hangzhou over what they regarded as officially sanctioned discrimination against them.

Then there are the Afroid Melanesian peoples of the Indian Ocean-South Pacific region, who are said to have predated even the Chinese and Indians in the pre-history of the region. They possess distinctively African physical characteristics, and they have also suffered the fate of colonial exploitation, dispossession, and economic disadvantage. Countries such as Papua New Guinea, Fiji, and Vanuatu are the most prominent examples of the South Pacific homelands of these peoples of the older African diaspora.

#### FUTURE OF THE AFRICAN DIASPORA

The African diaspora is a very dynamic universe of creativity, but it faces a series of challenges to ensure its continued development. First, there is the issue of clearly defining African identity, particularly in the context of the controversy surrounding the self-definition of mixed offspring of African descendants within this universe. Thus, the famous golfer Tiger Woods would prefer to be identified as “mixed” rather than as African American, and the mixed Garifuna people of the Caribbean are very much concerned with recapturing the traditions of their Carib ancestry alongside their interest in their African roots. Many Mulattoes in the Caribbean area prefer to distance themselves from their African ancestry and culture.

A second issue affecting the future of African diaspora development is the consistent disadvantaged position of African-descended people in the hierarchy of political and economic relationships throughout the globe. The persistent subordination of the black race is witnessed at the global level in terms of the history of colonial and capitalist exploitation of Africa, while within the diaspora blacks have often been at the disadvantaged end of the increasing economic and political inequalities that attend the processes of economic and technological globalization.

A third issue is the persistent need for continuous struggle to redress the difficulties posed by economic and political disadvantages, and again to overcome the further difficulties posed by the struggles themselves. While, for example, affirmative action policies are identified as necessary to overcome economic disadvantages, there is still the need to struggle against a growing number of opponents to these policies, particularly among conservative whites in the United States. The issue of “reparations” for the wrongs of slavery represents another frontier in this struggle, with the same implications of countering significant opposition, mainly from white conservatives. In the British Caribbean, the emancipation of slaves in 1834 brought monetary reparations, but it was paid to the white plantation owners to compensate for their “lost” slaves, not to the ex-slaves who lost so much more in the centuries of their forced labor on Caribbean plantations.

A fourth issue has to do with the persistence of deadly violent political and military conflicts (including genocide) among the peoples of Africa and the African diaspora. Political (including militarized) conflicts involving ethnic or communal divisiveness and narcotics trafficking are endemic in the Caribbean, and in such countries as Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaica, and Surinam. In Africa, political and military violence have affected the lives of millions of continental Africans, particularly in such countries as Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Liberia, the Congo,

and the Sudan. Genocide of major proportions, involving hundreds of thousands of peoples, has occurred in Rwanda and Burundi, and is still ongoing in Darfur in Northern Sudan.

The African diaspora, which has produced so many gifted, inspired, and inspiring internationally recognized leaders—such as of Marcus Garvey of Jamaica, Aimé Césaire of Martinique, W. E. B. Du Bois of the United States, Nelson Mandela of South Africa, Martin Luther King Jr. of the United States, and Kofi Annan of Ghana—has indeed come to an impasse on many issues. A new generation of capable leadership is needed to deal with the significant problems facing this diverse worldwide community.

**SEE ALSO** *African Economic Development; Black Consciousness; Brazilian Racial Formations; Caribbean Racial Formations; Cuban Racial Formations; United Kingdom Racial Formations; White Settler Society.*

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*Perry Mars*

## AFRICAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Globalization, race, and African economic development intersect in deep, intricate, complicated ways that can only be understood if a long view is taken on the nature of globalization. Further, the connections are best contextualized as an inquiry into Africa's place in the world system. As Filomina Steady points out, many factors are involved, including the institutionalization of "economic domination through corporate globalization," which has generated a reproduction of colonization and, consequently, impoverishment. Other factors include "protracted recession, the debt burden, Structural Adjustment Programmes, externally controlled privatization, . . . an emphasis on exports, . . . a cultural crisis of major proportions, . . . the destruction of many African economies, social dislocations and civil strife," all "compounded by the erosion of the life-supporting capacities of many African ecosystems. Authoritarian regimes and gender-based discrimination complete the picture" (Steady 2002).

#### THE ROOTS OF GLOBALIZATION

Most analysis on globalization focuses on the contemporary era. A few scholars take the long view, however, dating globalization back into the distant past. This perspective considers it an imperialistic process, inclusive of "the age of exploration," the period of the transatlantic slave trade, the "legitimate trade," so named to signal its purveyors' noninvolvement in the slave trade, in spite of the use of slave labor to plant, harvest, and/or gather commodities that were used in the factories during Europe's industrial revolution. The trade was undertaken in the period immediately following the end of the transatlantic slave trade, and lasted from the late eighteenth to the nineteenth century colonization, and the postcolonial era. This immediately puts "race" front and center in discussions of the connections between globalization, race, and African economic development. European imperialism created a paradoxical relationship between Africa and Europe that included both a centralized and marginalized position for Africa in global political and economic systems. Africa was central to the extent that it was plundered, raped, and exploited for its human and material resources. It was marginal because it did not have any power in the emerging global system, where Western dominance was built upon Africa's plundered resources. It was also marginal because the West's dominance was predicated upon Africans' presumed racial, cultural, and physiological inferiority to Europeans, a belief that was proclaimed by many of the most distinguished Western intellectuals.

From the fifteenth century to the 1930s, samples of “exotic” peoples, including Africans, were acquired and displayed—for “education” and entertainment—in the homes of the wealthiest Europeans and in public exhibits at zoos and regional and world fairs. Upon this foundation was built racist and essentialist consensus of the early twenty-first century: that Africa is a basket case of impoverished, diseased, and crisis-ridden countries led by inept and kleptocratic leaders, and that its marginality to global political, social, and economic affairs is therefore well earned.

#### THE ROLE OF GLOBAL FINANCIAL FORCES

A better way to understand Africa’s predicament is to focus on how the conjunctures between structural inequities and failing markets generate underdevelopment. The consequences of these conjunctures in the black community in the United States include being underserved in education, health care, and housing security, while also being overcharged and offered less credit than others. White monopolies are also entrenched in the job market and many career ladders. Blacks bear the spillover costs when whites flee to the suburbs, which leads to smaller tax rolls to maintain public services and provide requisite infrastructure in cities. The cycle continues when black neighborhoods are replaced and appropriated through gentrification and white return to urban centers.

This is similar to conditions in Africa, whose people and land were enslaved, underdeveloped, and overexploited to guarantee capitalist development in Europe. As Walter Rodney observes, “Racism, violence and brutality were the concomitants of the capitalist system when it extended itself abroad in the early centuries of international trade” (Rodney 1973). Consider, as Timothy Shaw has done, the relationship between the political-existential condition of the continent and the analytical-epistemological inquiry of its historical and contemporary experiences. Existentially and politically, Africa stands in the gap between nominal or flag independence and the legacy of underdevelopment bestowed on it by its encounters with imperialism and globalization (which dates as far back as the fifteenth century). Epistemologically, scholars have tried to explain why Africa is so embattled. As Shaw notes, those who do more successful analysis take a historical and critical perspective.

#### ASPECTS OF GLOBALIZATION

Globalization is best conceived as a process of inexorable worldwide integration that applies to all spheres of life. Historically, it is a process that encompasses the internationalization of trade, manufacturing, and business enterprises. As it relates to Africa, the transatlantic slave trade,

“legitimate trade,” and the activities of the Royally Chartered Companies from various European countries were part of the early markers of globalization and the precursors of current foreign direct investment. Race, racism, and gender affect social conditions and economic development initiatives in Africa in a myriad of ways. Globalization cannot be understood outside the context of how neoliberal economic ideology has saturated the scholarly and popular imagination worldwide.

Historically, the idea that Africans belong to an inferior race has been pervasive in European and American thought. The concept of “race”—the socially constructed categorization of humans based on external appearance, stereotypes, and myths about physical, mental and psychological capacity; cultural difference; and the capacity to be civilized or uncivilized—has been deployed to support a hierarchy in which Europeans are categorized as superior and Africans the most debased. From the earliest Christian exegesis to Shakespeare and his heirs in Western literature and on to theories of scientific racism, black has been predominantly characterized as evil, while white has been seen as good and pure. Consequently, social discrimination, economic exclusion, and racial segregation have marginalized peoples of African descent from global political, social, and economic systems. Moving from the margins to the center in these systems has proved to be challenging and, in some cases, elusive. A historical scholarly analysis, meanwhile, takes African marginalization as a timeless reality generated by characteristics that are argued to be essential to Africans.

The presumption of an intrinsic and immutable African racial inferiority has generated a self-fulfilling prophecy in Africa’s marginality. This has led to a conflation of presumed racial inferiority, economic impoverishment, and lack of political power. This “reality” is so disheartening, and African educational systems are so mired in the reproduction of colonial ideological “Otherizing” of Africans, that many Africans embrace a marginalized social, political, and economic characterization as emerging out of something deep in their nature.

There is overwhelming evidence of the depth of social privations in the African continent. The debate on the future is defined as being between Afro-pessimistic and Afro-optimistic perspectives. The Afro-pessimists, observing that anomie, disillusionment, and alienation have become pervasive among the impoverished majority (a condition made even more difficult by the flamboyant gestures of the nouveau riche), see no hope for positive, autonomous development. In particular, they see the problems faced by the continent as driven by domestic stimuli, including the failure of leadership exemplified by a kleptocratic “politics of the belly,” through which criminalized states sponsor “economies of plunder.”



The Afro-optimists do not dispute that the age of globalization has also coincided with the rending of the social fabric in the African continent, but they are hopeful that an African renaissance will emerge out of the detritus of the continent's historical experiences. For them, the sources of Africa's marginalization are external, derived from the exploitation of the age of exploration and colonization. Even independence and postcolonial relations have brought new kinds of economic dependency and the persistence of colonization in other forms. Yet while the imposition of changes that have benefited external forces has rendered African communities weaker in many respects, it has also made them stronger in others, because a few people have become extremely wealthy, and new forms of communal organization for self help have been instituted to provide services that the state is no longer willing or able to offer. It is out of the stronger elements of African resilience that its renaissance is expected to spring. Pervasive and enduring social inequalities will only be defeated with dogged and relentless planning and an optimistic belief in African agency.

#### RACISM AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Race and racism have profound effects on economic development initiatives. What constitutes good investment, where those investments should be directed, and who should be consulted in the process are all influenced by prior beliefs on who is considered an expert, and on established agendas. Elmer E. Schattschneider has identified a "mobilization of bias," a very essential element of power that legitimizes some issues as worthwhile and some agents as best able to tackle the issues, thus ignoring alternative issues, methods, and ideas because they are considered important by those who are marginal to the decision-making process, or considered incapable of participating because they have no expertise. The hegemonic dominance of European and North American ideas has given them priority in the consideration of alternatives. Thus, most of the investments made tend to be concentrated in sectors located in the extractive industries such as mining and logging, or in labor-intensive industries such as plantation agriculture or global sweatshop production. Yet even these options are only available to a few select countries that compete with countries in Asia and other regions believed to be more investor-friendly in a race to the bottom. Thus, while one cannot necessarily make a causative argument on the linkage between racial discrimination and inadequate, inappropriate, and irrelevant investment in Africa, there is a definite correlation between these investment patterns and Africa's lack of economic development.

Most foreign direct investment (FDI) by multinational and transnational corporations is made in Europe

and the United States, and Africa lags woefully behind. This is in part because of the infrastructural, bureaucratic, and labor difficulties that confront potential investors, and largely because Africa's historical marginalization virtually ensures such difficulties. Thus, a self-fulfilling prophecy is created, where Africa is not considered a worthwhile arena for FDI because of its marginalization, while its not being considered for FDI ensures further marginalization. The economic development initiatives made available to Africa are, by and large, not those likely to yield either tremendous growth or appreciable increases in social well-being. Instead, the opportunities that exist in the contemporary global economy steer Africa toward a concentration on the production of raw materials.

Gender is socially constructed, and thus takes differing forms in different locales and historical eras. Gender is also embedded in social relations and permeates all social structures, relations, norms, values, and processes. Labor markets, households, political systems, and economic institutions and processes are also gendered in a manner that privileges males over females. Most analysts rightly observe that there is a great deal of gender-based discrimination in Africa. Yet most of them inaccurately attribute the sources of such discrimination solely to African traditions and culture. A historically sound analysis would emphasize the extent to which the conceptualization and deployment of tradition is affected by relations of power, and by the jockeying to maintain and extend power in society. Race plays a part in this political process, not only for the obvious cases of countries where there are divisions between whites and blacks (e.g., Zimbabwe, Kenya, South Africa), or even for the countries where these divisions are along the lines of Arab-black struggles for resources and power (e.g., Mauritania, Sudan), but also for the rest of the continent, where the experience of colonialism led to the insertion of white supremacist ideology into the social and political consciousness and the economic sphere.

In the process of colonization, old, fluid relations that may well have privileged men but also allowed for the complementarity of men and women in society, and the institutionalized inclusion of women in public positions of power as formal office holders in certain locales, got solidified and concretized ideologically into the ubiquitous invention of African women as powerless, and politically into the absence of African women in positions of power. Whereas there is historical evidence of African women's participation in the precolonial economy as producers, the refusal to acknowledge such contributions presents a distorted picture of the economy and marginalizes women. Colonization congealed and rigidified these relations such that rules and laws that had previously been subject to negotiation and multiple interpretation were



**Italian Oil Pipes in Nigeria, 2006.** Oil exploration and development has been growing in West Africa, which has proven oil reserves. Both the United States and China buy large amounts of oil from this region. These pipes in Obrikom, Nigeria, are owned by an Italian oil company. AP IMAGES.

presented as uncompromising, fixed, and often written documents that could not be challenged.

Given these antecedents, it is no wonder that gender politics affects social conditions in a manner that denigrates women and discriminates against them. Decisions are made within the confines of male-dominant structures that privilege males over females in policymaking and the allocation of resources. This reinforces the structural inequalities that are intrinsic to the construction and exercise of power. In most African countries, women are treated as jural minors, and they are kept away from the commanding heights of political and social affairs. Although vestiges of the old social and political powers of women exist in languages, social practices, and customs in much of Africa, there is a need to excavate the fundamental bases of women's power that have been buried by the combined forces of imperialism, colonialism and postcoloniality. Some success is observable in the rise to prominent political positions of women such as Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, who was elected president of Liberia in

2005. In Rwanda, women currently make up 49 percent of the national parliament, while in Mozambique and South Africa this figure is 30 percent. In many other African countries, women average 15 percent representation in national parliaments. This is, surprisingly, much better than the accomplishment of women in the Northern Hemisphere (Mutume 2004).

#### DEVELOPMENT ISSUES

There is a North-South divide in development, with the countries of the Northern Hemisphere more economically buoyant and stable than the countries of the South. However, Africa lags behind other regions in the Southern Hemisphere in assessments of economic development. This is obvious in comparisons of social and economic indicators, which reveal that—in contrast with the rest of the world, which grew at a rate of approximately 2 percent from the 1960s to 2000—Africa experienced negative growth rates from 1974 to the 1990s. From 1990 to 1994, the growth rates dropped as low as

–1.5 percent. Africa experienced an 11 percent decline in gross domestic product (GDP) between the 1970s and 2004. While one in every ten poor persons in the world was African in 1970, one in every two poor persons was African in 2000. This represented 140 million people in 1975 and 360 million in 2000, according to the National Bureau of Economic Research. Compared with the rest of the world, Africa has also experienced a profound lack of investment. While investment in East Asia has grown an average of 30 percent since 1975, African countries experienced a decline of 8.5 percent, despite World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) directed economic reforms, with most of the minuscule investment directed toward the public sector.

Education and health are generally regarded as the two critical variables that shape human capital, and Africa also performs worse in these areas than East Asia. Compared with East Asian countries, where primary school enrollment rate was almost 100 percent in the 1960s, Africa averaged only 42 percent enrollment, according to the National Bureau of Economic Research. This grew to 60 percent between 1996 and 2004 in sub-Saharan Africa, compared with 74 percent in the Middle East and North Africa, 79 percent in South Asia, 93 percent in Latin America and the Caribbean, and 96 percent in East Asia. Life expectancy is also low in Africa. It stood at a little more than forty years in 1960, compared with sixty-two in East Asia. From 2002 to 2004, sub-Saharan Africa experienced an increase in life expectancy, but only to forty-six years, while East Asia and the Pacific region experienced an increase to seventy years. Latin America, meanwhile, had a life expectancy of seventy-one in 2004, while in the Middle East and North Africa it was a little more than sixty-nine years.

According to the IMF, the World Bank, and renowned economists such as Alassane D. Ouattara and Joseph Stiglitz, there is nothing intrinsically positive or negative about globalization. This is similar to the contention that the phenomenon produces antinomies that generate economic growth, improvements in health, and advances in telecommunications technology in some countries, regions, and sectors, while also producing the opposite phenomena in other places. Ouattara claims that African countries do not benefit from globalization because they refuse to open up their economies, persist in the implementation of flawed policies, have weak institutions, and lack transparency, thus causing external investors to mistrust and avoid them. Stiglitz, in contrast, places the blame squarely on the IMF and the World Bank, due to their erroneous ideological commitment to the market-driven policies that they recommend to jumpstart economic development in countries where poor institutions, incomplete markets, and imperfect information coexist, as is the case in Africa.

Critics of globalization believe that trade liberalization creates an environment that destroys domestic industries. They hold that the liberalization of capital markets favors wealthier and more efficient foreign financial interests and banks, and that privatization of state-owned enterprises favors the emergence of a small, predatory, capital-owning class that dominates an economy, particularly where there are few legal restraints on their activities. Compounding the problem, the IMF's commitment to market fundamentalism and the interests of lenders and the rich ensures the implementation of policies endorsed by the neoliberal Washington Consensus. The destructive consequences of such policies are exemplified by the economic collapse of the "East Asian Tigers" (South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore) in the 1990s. Many argue for more democracy and increased transparency in multilateral institutions, which will help give voice to the developing countries that are being impacted by these policies.

Because it rewards market-oriented policies to the exclusion of all else, contemporary globalization is often held responsible for the dismal state of African economies. A pro-market bias generates the antinomies observed, where some sectors, countries, and world regions thrive and others deteriorate. The debacle faced by African countries must also be blamed on the decision makers who ignore the general good in favor of sectional, and sometimes personal, interests.

**SEE ALSO** *Capitalism; Pan-Africanism; South African Racial Formations; Transnationalism.*

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*Mojùbàolù Olúfúnké Okome*

## AFRICAN ENSLAVEMENT, PRECOLONIAL

Between the 1440s and the 1860s, European traders and colonists shipped millions of people from sub-Saharan Africa to the Americas. The total number of Africans sent across the Atlantic is variously estimated to be no less than 12 million and no more than 20 million, making it by far the greatest forced migration of people the world has ever seen. Indeed, the long-term global impact of this massive transfer of people against their will is just beginning to be fully understood.

The role of diasporic Africans in the socioeconomic history of the Atlantic world has become recognized as a central issue in global history. As researchers have documented the violent process of procuring millions of people for export overseas, it has become clear that the impact of the long-term socioeconomic damage to Africa

was immense, no matter what figures scholars prefer to accept. The debate has therefore shifted to the counterfactual question of whether inadequate agricultural resources and the disease environment in Africa would not have produced a similar outcome in the absence of transatlantic slaving. This and related issues continue to be examined by scholars. This entry focuses on the factors that facilitated the supply of the massive numbers of captives for export to the Americas.

Modern historians have struggled with this puzzle for several decades. Some have argued that widespread slavery in Africa prior to the arrival of Europeans in the fifteenth century was the main factor. This argument was first made by the European slave traders in response to the onslaught mounted against their business by the abolitionist movement in the late eighteenth century. In the late nineteenth century, the alleged widespread existence of slavery in Africa also became a popular theme for the agents of European colonialism, who tried to mobilize popular support in Europe behind the imperial enterprise, which was presented as a "civilizing mission in a dark continent." Thus, they argued that the abolition of slavery and its evils in Africa would be one of the benefits of European colonial rule.

In the hands of modern historians, the argument has undergone much refinement. Social anthropology has provided a conceptual framework that perceives precolonial African societies as operating a uniquely African economic system, in which land laws precluded the development of private ownership of land; consequently, wealth accumulation took the form of the enlargement of the number of dependents (people with limited rights who depend on others) instead of the accumulation of land and capital that is said to characterize the history of Europe. Proponents of this view proceed to argue that the Atlantic slave trade grew out of this indigenous process of accumulating dependents as wealth and that the expanded supply of captives for export was sustained by the same process for the entire duration of the trade. As several of them claim, the Atlantic slave trade presented opportunities for African political and economic entrepreneurs to accumulate dependents. In contrast to European capitalists, who reinvested their profits in order to accumulate more capital, the argument goes, African political and economic entrepreneurs employed the surplus imported goods they received (in exchange for the captives they supplied) to accumulate more dependents.

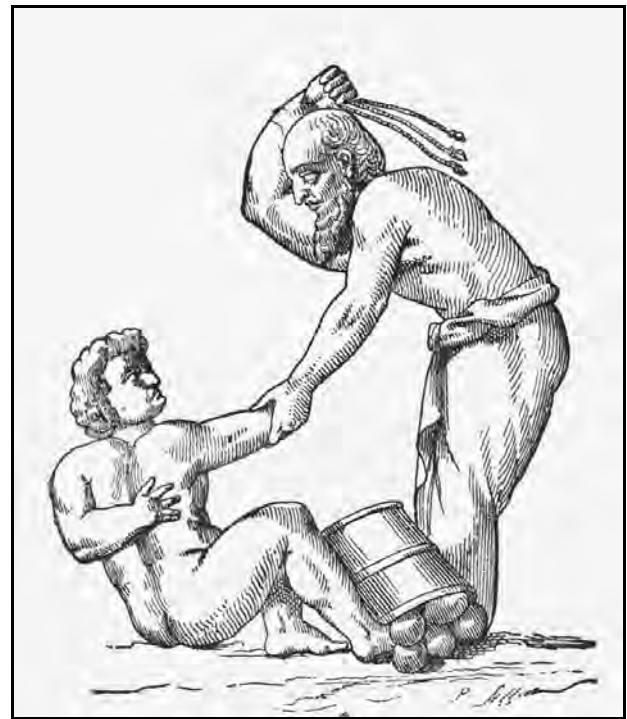
Is this explanation consistent with what is known now of precolonial Africa? Or are there other factors that better explain what happened? Given prevailing conditions, precolonial societies in Africa responded to market opportunities much like their precapitalist counterparts in the rest of the

world. The limited development of market economies in nineteenth-century sub-Saharan Africa, relative to the economies of other major regions at the time, was in fact the long-term effect of the transatlantic slave trade, and not the cause of it. This view is consistent with the historical reality, embedded in the intersection of the political and economic processes. The economic process involved the actions of individuals and groups of individuals responding to market opportunities as they struggled to meet the material needs of life. The political process, entailed the collective efforts of organized societies to resolve conflicts arising from the actions of individuals and groups of individuals, and to protect the lives and property of members. Conceptually, different market opportunities pose different problems, and societies at different levels of politico-military development possess differing capabilities in dealing with crises. It is therefore important to examine the structure of socioeconomic and political organization in sub-Saharan African societies on the eve of their contact with the Europeans, and to follow the historical process as it unfolded for the next four hundred years. This historical process can be organized into four broad periods: (1) the pre-European contact period; (2) the first two hundred years or so of the European coastal presence (c. 1441–1650), during which trade in African products generally dominated commercial intercourse between Europeans and Africans; (3) the main period of the transatlantic slave trade (c. 1650–1850); and (4) the last decades of the nineteenth century, after the effective abolition of the trade in captives across the Atlantic to the Americas.

It is also pertinent to examine briefly the export trade in European captives to the Middle East, which preceded the trade in African captives. A discussion of the factors that promoted and ended that trade can shed light on the main factors in the African case. This discussion also offers the opportunity to examine a related issue: Why the demand for slave labor in the Americas was focused exclusively on sub-Saharan Africa. Why were captives from Europe not exported to meet the demand? Was widespread anti-African racism in fifteenth-century Europe the explanation or, again, was it a result of the intersection of political and economic processes in Europe and Africa?

#### THE RISE AND DEMISE OF THE TRADE IN EUROPEAN CAPTIVES

One of the most elaborate slave systems in Europe developed in the Roman Empire (44 BCE–476 CE). The wars that established the empire generated captives from the conquered territories in Europe and the Mediterranean region resulting in the establishment of a large slave system. However, once incorporated into the empire, the general populations in the conquered territories became Roman citizens and were protected by the imperial government against



***A Roman Slave Being Whipped.*** *The Roman Empire captured slaves from the territories it conquered, including parts of Europe, the Middle East, and Africa. In ancient Rome itself, there were at times more slaves than citizens.* PICTURE COLLECTION, THE BRANCH LIBRARIES, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX, AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

capture and enslavement. Thereafter, the Roman slave system was sustained by imports from territories outside the borders of the empire. While the imperial government in Rome remained strong and the provinces were effectively administered, *pax romana* (Roman peace) ensured that people in all parts of the empire—from the British Isles to the Balkans and beyond—were protected against capture and enslavement.

But with the collapse of the empire and the disappearance of its strong centralized state, the provinces descended into political fragmentation. Effective imperial protection in Britain ended with the withdrawal of the Roman legions in 407 CE; Roman authority in the Balkans collapsed in the late sixth century; and from the fifth to the eighth century, German political entrepreneurs broke up western Europe into several small Germanic kingdoms. This proliferation of small political units presented a fertile ground for sociopolitical conflict that would expose many people to capture and slavery.

Nevertheless, political fragmentation by itself did not immediately lead to capture and enslavement. For one thing, many of the large urban centers in the Roman Empire, which provided markets for the products of slave

labor and made investment in slaves profitable, disappeared after its collapse. Under these conditions, the high cost of slave labor supervision made holding slaves economically unprofitable. Hence, large slaveholders began to look for ways to exploit the labor of their slaves without the high cost of supervision. This was found in serfdom, which gave former slaves more rights and freedom in exchange for labor (on the manors of their former owners) and other dues. Thus, in the decades following the collapse of the empire, there was a general conversion of slaves into serfs, who settled in lands they cultivated for themselves, paying labor and other dues to the former slaveholders. Amid the general insecurity that followed the collapse, even many of the previously free peasants were reduced to serfs.

While serfdom was emerging in parts of western Europe, a large slave market was developing in the Middle East, following the establishment of the Islamic empire in the seventh century. This market encouraged many individuals in the Balkans and other former provinces of the empire in western Europe (including the British Isles) to raid politically fragmented regions for captives in order to satisfy the growing demand from the Middle East. Without relatively strong centralized states to prevent internal breakdown of law and order and hold external raiders in check, internal man-hunting generated internal sociopolitical conflict, and raiding across political boundaries provoked wars among neighbors, both of which produced captives sold for export and for local use.

The cycle of conflict, wars, and enslavement induced by export demand for captives continued in the former Roman provinces for centuries until the general emergence of relatively strong centralized states—first, the Frankish kingdom (786–814) and its successor states in continental Europe; then, the Norman state in Britain after 1066. These states were more or less politico-militarily equally matched. They were strong enough to stop destabilizing internal man-hunt by their own people and maintain law and order internally, while general politico-military parity among them restrained them from exporting each other's subjects, even in wartimes. For the rest of the Middle Ages and early modern times, trade in European captives became limited to the Balkans and the Black Sea region, where political fragmentation lasted much longer. But with the Ottoman conquest and incorporation of the small autonomous political units in the Balkans into the Ottoman empire in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and a similar incorporation of the small political units in the Black Sea region into the expanding Russian empire in the fifteenth century, the export of white captives from both regions also came to an end.

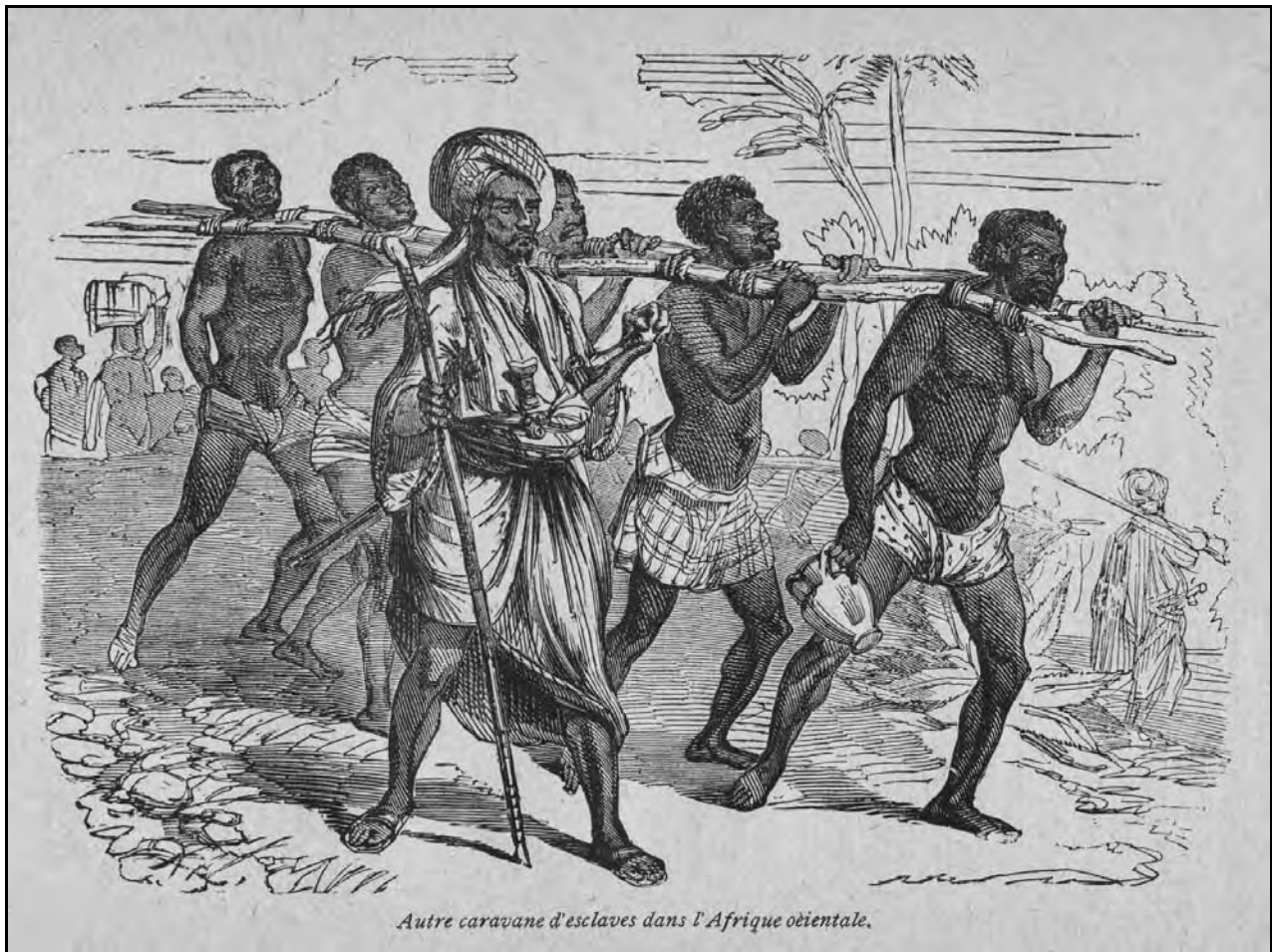
About the same time that political developments in Europe were ending the export of European slaves to the Middle East, western European explorers and traders were establishing seaborne contacts with the coastal societies of Atlantic Africa in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The drying up of supply from Europe had long been shifting Middle East demand for captives to sub-Saharan Africa, leading to the growth of the trans-Saharan slave trade.

#### **SOCIOECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PROCESSES IN PRECONTACT SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA**

The massive export of people from Africa to the Americas occurred largely in western Africa—that part of sub-Saharan Africa bordering on the Atlantic, together with the immediate and distant hinterland. In order to correctly identify the main factors at play, two broad regions in western Africa must be distinguished—Atlantic Africa (the societies of the Atlantic coast and their immediate hinterlands, which were directly affected by the European presence) and the Savanna territories in the interior that had been the center of major precolonial socioeconomic and political developments before the establishment of regular seaborne contact with the Europeans.

From the ninth to the third millennium BCE, when climatic and ecological conditions were conducive to extensive human settlement in the Sahara region, African societies—from the Sahara to the Nile valley, and from Ethiopia to Egypt—were major players in the political and economic processes of the Afro-Asian world. However, long-term climatic changes turned the Sahara into a desert and severely limited interactions between western Africa and the Mediterranean and Afro-Asian regions. The use of the camel reestablished regular commercial and other links between western Africa and the evolving commercial centers in the Mediterranean and the Middle East. But the huge Sahara desert, with its unforgiving climate and terrain, dispersed populations southward and limited trans-Saharan trade to goods with high value-to-weight ratio, such as gold. Historians have yet to study in detail the impact of these developments on socioeconomic and political processes in sub-Saharan Africa, particularly in a comparative global context.

From the latter half of the first millennium CE to the middle of the second, the first large state systems in western Africa—Ancient Ghana, Mali, Songhay, and Kanem-Borno—were established. From the mid-thirteenth century to 1591, a large part of western Africa's total population was located in the territories that formed the Mali and Songhay empires. In the Songhay Empire, the three Niger-bend towns of Jenne, Timbuktu, and Gao had total populations of 30,000–40,000, 80,000, and 100,000, respectively, during the late sixteenth century.



**Arab Slave Trader.** The Arab slave trade from East Africa predated the European transatlantic slave trade by many centuries. The trader in this illustration, published in France in 1891, accompanies five captured slaves. GENERAL RESEARCH & REFERENCE DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

The combination of population concentration, the openness of the savanna, the ease of river transportation over long stretches of the Niger, and the security provided by the governments of Ancient Ghana, Mali, and Songhay made the interior savanna the center of manufacturing and trade in West Africa (western Africa from Mauritania to southeastern Nigeria) before seaborne contact with the Europeans in the fifteenth century. Differing population densities and natural resource endowment encouraged the growth and development of interregional trade between the interior savanna and Atlantic Africa. Gold and kola nuts, the main products of Atlantic Africa, were exchanged for the manufactures of the interior savanna, mostly cotton textiles and leather goods. Internal factors making for the growth of interregional trade in West Africa were reinforced by trade with the southern Sahara, North Africa, and the Middle East, particularly the trade in West African gold to meet growing European

demand intermediated by Mediterranean merchants, who shipped the gold out of West Africa.

All of West Africa, from Mauritania to southeastern Nigeria, was involved in the precontact interregional long-distance trade between the interior savanna and Atlantic Africa that was centered in the Niger bend. But because of its extensive involvement in the production of the two main products in the trade, gold and kola nuts, the Gold Coast (southern modern Ghana) occupied a special place in the trade. The trade in kola nuts grew in volume as Islam spread in the savanna states (kola nuts being the only stimulant Muslims are allowed to consume). At the same time, the demand for gold in the trans-Saharan trade expanded with growing demand from Europe.

These developments created trade networks and a commercial culture that would facilitate the establishment of trade relations with the Europeans from the fifteenth

century onward. But the sociopolitical organization of the societies in western Africa in the mid-fifteenth century would play a role in the procurement of the massive supply of captives for export to the Americas. In contrast to the relatively large centralized states in the interior savanna, in what geographers call the West African Middle Belt, there were a large number of small, kin-based autonomous political units. Further south, all along the Atlantic coast from Senegambia (modern-day Senegal and Gambia) to modern Namibia, political fragmentation was also the norm in the mid-fifteenth century. This was evident as late as the seventeenth century, for a Dutch map drawn in 1629 shows thirty-eight autonomous political units in the area of modern southern Ghana. In the sixteenth century, there were five independent political units in the small area of modern Republic of Benin; in modern Yorubaland, in southwest Nigeria, there were more than a dozen autonomous political units, even though the Yoruba kingdom of Ife was a relatively complex state system at the time. East of Yorubaland the political scene was much the same, apart from the kingdoms of Benin (in mid-western Nigeria) and Kongo (in West-Central Africa), which were already undergoing a process of expansion and the consolidation of state authority in the fifteenth century.

In terms of social structure, there was very little social stratification and class differentiation in the small kin-based societies of Atlantic Africa. Unlike the areas of the interior, there were no accumulated dependents (whether serfs or slaves). In West-Central Africa, where the Portuguese started exporting captives early in the sixteenth century, even the king of Kongo had no accumulated dependents for sale. The political economy of the kingdom was based on redistribution by the king: The provincial governors sent the staple products of their provinces to the king, and the king redistributed these products to the governors according to what each province lacked. This system made the accumulation of slaves or serfs by state elites unnecessary, given the relatively low level of commercial development.

The main authorities on the history of precontact West-Central Africa (Jan Vansina, Anne Hilton, Robert Harms) confirm that there were no slaves, and no slave trade, in the region when the Portuguese arrived in the late fifteenth century. Nor were there words for slaves or purchased people. When, in the early sixteenth century, the king of Portugal sent a trade mission to negotiate with the king of Kongo a switch from copper to captive export, the Kongo king had no slaves to give in return for the gifts sent by the Portuguese king. Instead, he had to raid weakly organized neighboring communities for the needed captives. Subsequently, following the growth of transatlantic slaving in the region, “loanwords” were applied to describe the new social phenomena that devel-

oped along the slave trade routes, spreading from the Atlantic coast to the interior.

In West Africa, evidence shows that in the interior savanna, where class differentiation developed, state rulers, Muslim clerics, and merchants used dependent cultivators (approximating serfs rather than slaves), in basically the same way that their counterparts in medieval Europe did. They were settled in villages, where they produced for themselves and paid dues in kind to their lords, who were generally resident in the cities. Large numbers of such villages existed in Mali, Songhay, Kanem-Borno, and the small city-states of the savanna from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. Some writers loosely apply the terms *slave* and *slavery* to describe these populations. Consistent with the scientific precision in the use of terms that characterizes the writing of medieval European history, there can be no doubt that the more appropriate terms to apply are *serfs* and *serfdom*. The populations were built up over time by conquest, with captives that had been taken from the fragmented societies of the West African Middle Belt mentioned earlier. Some of these societies fed the trans-Saharan trade, which took a few thousand captives per year from the fragmented communities in the interior savanna. When historians make the point that African societies were involved in selling and buying people before the arrival of the Europeans in the fifteenth century, the point is valid largely for the interior savanna. But for most of Atlantic Africa that came into direct contact with Europeans in the fifteenth century, this was not the case.

It is particularly important to note that the elites in socially stratified societies in fifteenth-century western Africa were not involved in the accumulation of dependents as an end in itself. Contrary to the belief of some social anthropologists, economic rationality was involved. The growth of elaborate state systems—with a large number of specialized state functionaries (administrators and military men), religious leaders, scholars, and merchants—occurred at a time when the geographical spread of the market economy was limited, land was abundant and accessible to all cultivators, and, therefore, free wage labor was unavailable. Hence, the provisioning of the specialized elites on a regular basis required dependent producers whose labor could be exploited under conditions that did not involve high supervision costs.

#### EARLY EUROPEAN TRADE IN AFRICAN PRODUCTS, 1450–1650

In the first two hundred years of European trade in western Africa, products from Africa’s natural endowment overwhelmingly dominated the trade. The flamboyant display of West Africa’s gold wealth by Mali’s Mansa Musa, during his pilgrimage to Mecca in the 1320s, inspired the Portuguese to search for a direct seaborne route to the



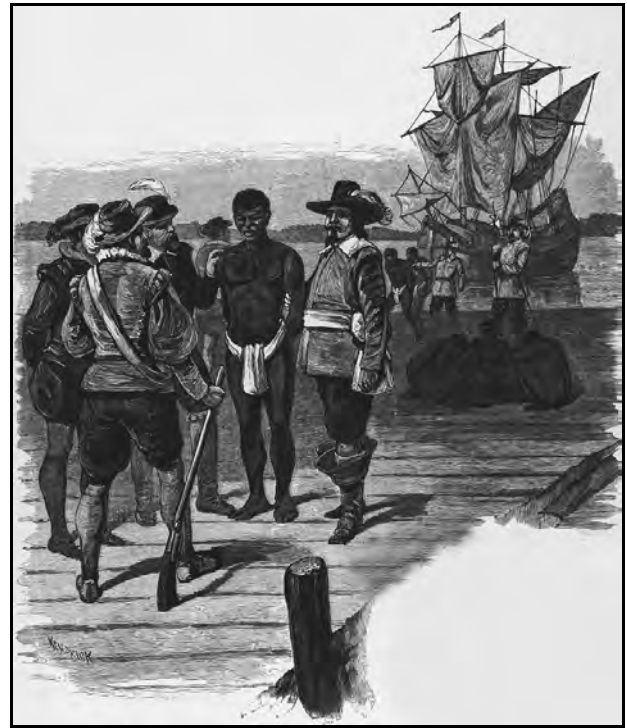
source of the precious metal in West Africa. Thus, trade in West African gold was the main concern of the Portuguese in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. That trade centered on the Gold Coast, so called because of the large amount of gold sold in the region. Another important product for the Portuguese in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was red pepper from the Benin trading area of southwest Nigeria, which also supplied them with cotton cloth. In West-Central Africa, copper was the main product for several decades. All across western Africa, other products, such as ivory, supplemented the trade in gold, pepper, and copper.

Right from the beginning, a few captives were also shipped by the Portuguese. These were initially the victims of direct raids by the Portuguese on the small coastal communities. But in the first two hundred years of European trade in western Africa, the trade in captives paled in comparison with the trade in gold and other African products. Like the preexisting trans-Saharan trade in captives, the numbers involved were small and, with some exceptions (including the Kongo-Angola area of West-Central Africa), the socioeconomic and political disruption caused was limited.

As long as European trade concentrated on African products, political fragmentation posed no serious problem to the societies in Atlantic Africa. These societies responded positively to the market opportunities, as all societies across the globe have done. The case of the Gold Coast, where the early product trade was particularly large, may be taken to illustrate.

The European demand for gold considerably expanded the market for the Akan gold producers and traders. This stimulated the growth of specialization in gold production and trade, which created a domestic market for other producers in agriculture and manufacturing. The opportunities for productive investment in agriculture were seized by people who had accumulated wealth from the gold trade.

Beginning in the sixteenth century, these wealthy merchants invested their profits from commerce in clearing forests to develop farmlands. Given the early stages of development of the market economy in the region—and hence the nonexistence of a virile market for free wage labor—the Akan agricultural entrepreneurs had to rely on purchased imported labor. Some of these laborers were supplied from the north by the gold and kola nuts traders operating along the Jenne-Begho trade route, while others were brought by the Portuguese from other parts of western Africa (including the Benin and Kongo kingdoms). Again, economic rationality underpinned the investment decisions of the Akan merchants who invested their profits from trade in agriculture. They were not



***The Beginning of Slavery in America.*** *The first Africans arrived in Jamestown, Virginia, in August 1619, when “20 and Odd” blacks were brought there aboard a Dutch ship. In the early years of the colony, Africans worked as “servants,” often alongside whites, and they could gain their freedom after a period of servitude.* KEAN COLLECTION/GETTY IMAGES.

motivated by the desire to accumulate dependents as a form of wealth. On the contrary, they took care to avoid the creation of a slave class. What is more, no Akan land laws hindered the investment of profits from commerce in agriculture by wealthy traders when the market conditions were conducive for the investment. Indeed, in response to the general developments of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, a land market had begun to evolve in the region. The site on which Kumasi was later built was purchased at this time for the equivalent of £270 (sterling) in gold. Similar developments were more or less associated with the early product trade in the other regions of western Africa.

#### THE MASSIVE SHIFT TO CAPTIVE EXPORT

Beginning in the mid-seventeenth century, the growth in demand for slave labor in the Americas, associated with the rapid expansion of large-scale mining and plantation agriculture (at a time when the pre-Columbian indigenous population of the Americas had been largely destroyed), shifted European traders’ demand decisively

from African products to African captives. Whereas the demand for products created conditions that favored individuals with the talent and aptitude to organize the production and distribution of goods and services, the demand for captives favored individuals with violent dispositions. As these individuals engaged in rampant kidnapping within their own communities and organized raids across political boundaries to obtain captives, the politically fragmented societies were unable to prevent an internal breakdown of law and order and keep external raiders at bay. Thus, indiscriminate kidnapping created prolonged internal social conflicts, while raids across political borders provoked political conflicts between neighbors, which led to protracted wars. All of this made captives available for sale to the European exporters.

Some people in the fragmented societies adopted various defensive measures, the most successful of which was migration to sites with natural defenses (hilltops in particular). But their success was limited, and the bulk of the captives exported ultimately came from politically fragmented societies. Only when political and economic entrepreneurs succeeded in establishing relatively strong centralized states and incorporated the weakly organized societies were the people adequately protected against capture and sale for export. When this occurred, the frontier of capture and sale was pushed outward to other weakly organized societies. Yet while the newly constituted and relatively strong centralized states protected their citizens from capture and export, they continued to export captives from outside their political boundaries as a way of securing the resources needed to maintain stability at home and protect their territorial integrity.

It is clear from the evidence that political fragmentation in Atlantic Africa was the permissive factor that allowed a sustained response to the growing demand for slave labor in the Americas. What western Africa shared with the European societies that supplied captives exported to the Middle East was not some peculiar economy in which dependents were accumulated as a form of wealth. Nor was it some special cultural element that permitted the massive export of people. Instead, the common condition was political fragmentation. Both in Europe and in western Africa, the eventual incorporation of fragmented societies into relatively strong centralized states protected the citizens against capture and sale. The main difference, however, was the much greater magnitude of the transatlantic demand, which fed a slave system aimed at the production of commodities for an evolving capitalist world market. The magnitude of the demand created conditions that slowed the generalized development of strong states in all of sub-Saharan Africa, which would likely have ended the trade as it did in Europe.

A comparative discussion of the rise and demise of captive export from Europe and the rise of transatlantic slaving from western Africa also helps to explain why the demand for slave labor in the Americas focused on western Africa instead of Europe. Some historians have offered an ideological explanation for this. By the sixteenth century, they say, Europeans in Europe and the Americas were unwilling to enslave other Europeans, but they had no racial constraint enslaving Africans (Eltis 2000). This explanation is unsatisfactory, however. There was no pan-European identity in the sixteenth century that could ideologically prevent the enslavement of Europeans by other Europeans, just as there was no pan-African identity to ideologically prevent rulers in Africa from exporting people outside their polities. These identities were nineteenth- and twentieth-century developments. As has been seen, it was not the collective action of Europeans that ended the export of captives from Europe. Individual states in Europe ended the export of their citizens for domestic political reasons, the same way that individual states in western Africa ended the export of their citizens. Anti-African European racism grew out of the racialization of slavery in the Americas; it was not the cause of the transatlantic slave trade.

#### THE GROWTH OF DEPENDENT POPULATIONS DURING AND AFTER ABOLITION

A major long-term consequence of the transatlantic slave trade—arising from its adverse impact on population growth, its disruption of the development of export trade in products, and the widespread conflict and insecurity associated with the violent procurement of millions of people for export—was a retardation of market development and the spread of the market economy in western Africa between 1650 and 1850. Given this condition, merchants, rulers and their officials, religious leaders, and warlords had to rely on dependent populations to produce their subsistence—what has been called “subsistence servitude.” The fact that few of the dependent populations were employed by their lords in large-scale production of commodities for the market at the time was due to the limited market for the products of bonded labor, not because of laws that discouraged investment in large-scale commercial agriculture. As the case of sixteenth-century Ghana discussed earlier shows, there were no such legal barriers. Developments following abolition make this point even clearer.

A number of developments preceding and following the abolition of the slave trade led to a rapid growth of servile populations in western Africa. The conditions for sociopolitical conflicts created by the export demand for captives continued to generate conflicts after abolition.

But without the export market in the Americas to absorb the captives produced by the conflicts, prices tumbled. At the same time, European demand for African products (vegetable oil and woods in particular) began to grow once again, stimulating the growth of the “legitimate commerce” of the nineteenth century. The domestic market for foodstuffs also began to develop, stimulated by the expansion of commodity production for export and population growth. African entrepreneurs responded to these market opportunities against the backdrop of falling captive prices and the nonexistence of wage labor. It was under these conditions that the population of servile producers grew rapidly in western Africa in the nineteenth century. There was economic rationality for the growth, and dependents were not just accumulated as a form of wealth.

SEE ALSO *African Diaspora; Racial Slave Labor in the Americas; Slave Trade Ideology; Slavery and Race.*

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Joseph E. Inikori

## AFRICAN FEMINISMS

Documentation of women’s social activism and collective action in Africa dates as far back as the eighteenth century. In the nineteenth century, women in North Africa and the Arab world owned and published feminist journals in which discussions of gender, as well as religious and nationalist struggles, were featured prominently. These feminist writings were projected and intensified in the twentieth century by Arab women scholars and writers such as Nawal El Saadawi, Leila Ahmed, and Fatima Mernissi. Women’s insurgencies for social change have been encouraged and sustained by the capacity of many African cultures (the patriarchal contexts notwithstanding) to create spaces of female power in social and religious spheres. Colonial interventions and other forms of foreign intrusions and imperial hegemonies forced shifts in power distribution and gender relations that to a large extent placed women at a disadvantage. As internally induced inequities became complicated and intensified by externally generated structures of domination, African women’s fight against multiple colonialisms took different forms, with the refashioning of culturally defined strategies to meet new realities and challenges.

The women who engaged in these struggles for social change and survival neither forced a theory/practice oppositional paradigm nor imposed a particular label on their struggles. Attempts by scholars to understand, contextualize, frame, and name these struggles provoked heated debates and controversies in the last two decades of the twentieth century. At issue is the appropriateness and adequacy of the “feminist” label for African women’s struggles. Some reject the imposition of a foreign label on an African phenomenon. Others reject the ascription of the feminist label on African women’s insurgencies because they were not driven by gender-specific issues. It may be difficult to sustain the latter position, particularly in an environment in which gender-specific considerations are occluded by larger contexts of struggle. African women’s dissatisfaction with colonialism’s exacerbation of gender inequalities and marginalization of

women could well have been the subtext of women's participation in anticolonial struggles. The rationale, strategies, modalities, and contexts governing women's social action in Africa are as heterogeneous and complex as the continent itself and cannot be adequately captured by a monolithic idea such as feminism; hence the use of the plural, feminisms, in the title of this entry.

The contextualization and theorizing of African feminisms emerged in the 1990s in response to the exclusions and inadequacies of second-wave Western feminism. If the 1980s was the decade of the women of color feminisms, the 1990s constituted the decade of African feminisms. Just as the women of color movement compelled Western feminist thinking and theorizing to liberate itself from the myopia of gender-specificity to broaden and intensify its context and texture by allowing other categories such as race and class to intersect with gender, African feminisms made further demands on feminism to expand its analytical horizon by incorporating other considerations such as culture, colonialism, ethnicity, and imperialism and, in particular, examining the ways in which these considerations intersect to construct and (re)produce "gender."

The disagreement between two schools of thought—on the one hand those insisting that feminism is foreign to the African environment and on the other hand those affirming that feminism is indigenous to Africa—is primarily due to perceptions of Western feminism, particularly its packaging and what it has come to represent. Feminist ideals of equity and resistance to all forms of domination are indigenous to Africa and have propelled women's social action for centuries.

African feminisms share certain features that mark their differences from Western feminisms. African feminism is not as exclusionary, in terms of articulation and gender participation, as Western feminism appears to be. In its articulation, African feminism is suffused with the language of compromise, collaboration, and negotiation; in its practice, it invites men as partners in social change. Motherhood and maternal politics are not peripheralized in African feminism; on the contrary, they have fueled feminist activism in many African contexts. African feminism is proactive, marks its specificities, and maps priorities that often go beyond the intersection of gender, race, and class to include the consequences of colonialism and its aftermath as well as the new order imposed by global capitalism. By locating African feminism solely as an oppositional moment in the scheme of things, one risks undercutting its scope, import, and significance. African feminism's reason for being is not determined by its resistance to Western feminism. Rather, African feminism derives its impetus and meaning from its cultural and historical contexts. The attempts to theorize African

feminisms that began in the 1980s are mindful of these contexts.

The 1990s saw the emergence of serious and concerted efforts by women writers and scholars from sub-Saharan Africa to conceptualize, contextualize, and theorize African feminisms. Included among these figures were Catherine Acholonu, Simi Afonja, Ama Ata Aidoo, Olabisi Aina, Omofolabo Ajayi-Soyinka, Tuzyline Jita Allan, Ifi Amadiume, Bolanle Awe, Ada Azodo, Calixthe Beyala, Gloria Chukukere, Helen Chukwuma, M. J. Daymond, Florence Abena Dolphyne, Akachi Ezeigbo, Aisha Imam, Mary E. Modupe Kolawole, Amina Mama, Patricia McFadden, Micere Mugo, Juliana Nfah-Abbenyi, Obioma Nnaemeka, Molar Ogundipe-Leslie, Chikwenye Okonjo Ogunyemi, Chioma Opara, Oyeronke Oyewumi, Mansah Prah, Zulu Sofola, Filomina Chioma Steady, Marie Umeh, and Zoë Wicomb. Resisting the maternalistic tendencies and imperialistic modus operandi of Western feminists, and interrogating the limitations of Western feminisms, African women scholars sought to name and theorize the feminisms unfolding in their environment in ways that would capture their specificity and uniqueness as well as their diverse meanings and dimensions—including womanism, African womanism, motherism, stiwanism, and negofeminism—although there are some who believe that the feminist label is adequate, and so new labels are not needed.

In the 1980s Chikwenye Okonjo Ogunyemi came up with a concept/terminology, womanism, that she argued was more appropriate than feminism to describe African women's engagement in social transformation. Ogunyemi claims that she came up with the terminology independently of the African-American writer Alice Walker who popularized the term in a publication that first appeared in 1983. Ogunyemi's womanism, which morphed into African womanism in later writings, claims affinity with feminism but asserts its difference by expanding the boundaries of feminism to "incorporate racial, cultural, national, economic, and political considerations." African womanism insists that the gender question must be reimagined in light of other issues that are peculiar relevant to African women in local, national, and global contexts, which, unfortunately, are not prioritized in Western feminism and African-American womanism. Mary Kolawole also argues for a womanism that is rooted in African values and is not concerned with some of the sexuality questions that are central to Western feminist theorizing. Indeed, lesbianism has no place in Ogunyemi's African womanism or Kolawole's womanism.

In the early 1990s Catherine Acholonu proposed motherism as an Afrocentric alternative to feminism. Acholonu's motherism places motherhood, nature, nurture, and respect for the environment at the center of its theorizing. In 1994 Molar Ogundipe-Leslie introduced

a new terminology, stiwanism (from STIWA—an acronym for Social Transformation Including Women in Africa), that is designed to discuss African women's needs and agendas in the context of strategies fashioned in the environment created by indigenous cultures. Stiwanism insists on the participation of women as equal partners in the social transformation in Africa. At the end of the decade, Obioma Nnaemeka proposed another alternative, negofeminism (feminism of negotiation and “no ego” feminism), which captures central concerns in many African cultures—including negotiation, complementarity, give-and-take, and collaboration.

Attempts by African scholars and writers to name, contextualize, and theorize African feminism are colored and determined by the need to ensure its grounding in African cultural imperatives. Gender inclusion, not alienation, takes center stage in these theoretical frameworks that create the possibilities for women and men to become (African) womanists, motherists, stiwaniists, and negofeminists. African women's affirmation of the feminist ideals of gender equity and social justice and their interrogation of different aspects of feminist theory and practice has contributed significantly to expanding the boundaries of feminism and compelling numerous disciplines in the humanities, social sciences, and applied sciences—from literature and human rights to health and peace/conflict resolution—to revisit their assumptions and interrogate their methods.

**SEE ALSO** *African Economic Development; Black Feminism in Brazil; Black Feminism in the United Kingdom; Black Feminism in the United States; Feminism and Race.*

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*Obioma Nnaemeka*

## AFRIKANER BROEDERBOND

In the wake of the Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902), the impoverished and largely rural Afrikaners of present-day South Africa experienced an ethnic awakening, particularly regarding aspects of language, religion, and education. It was also, at first, largely an anti-English movement. In May 1918 a group of fourteen white men in Johannesburg formed an organization they called “Jong Suid-Afrika.” On June 5 this loose organization was recast as the Afrikaner Broederbond (AB), which aimed to bring together Afrikaners and to serve their interests. The constitution of the AB made it clear that only Afrikaners—in fact only “super-Afrikaners”—would be invited to join the group. In time, membership implied religious conservatism, linguistic priority, and racial prejudice. Young persons, especially students, were brought into the fold through a junior secret society, the Ruiterswag.

To better achieve their aims, the AB became a secret society in 1924, and henceforth membership was by invitation only. As a front the secret society employed the FAK (Federation of Afrikaner Cultural Organizations), established in 1929. The AB leadership had clearly conceptualized their role in South Africa. At the Bond Congress in August 1932 the chairman of the Executive Council, stated: “After the cultural and economic needs, the AB will have to dedicate its attention to the political needs of our people . . . the aim must be a completely independent real Afrikaans Government for South Africa” (du Toit 1976, p. 116). To this end, the AB surreptitiously supported the HNP (United National Party) under Daniel Francois Malan, who led the party to victory in the 1948 general elections. Meanwhile, AB leaders within the church justified the political policy of apartheid through the selective use of Biblical texts.

In 1965, Brian M. du Toit published *Beperkte lidmaatskap* (Restricted Membership), the first exposé of the AB. He pointed out that early members occupied prominent positions in the Afrikaans churches, educational institutions, and in the increasingly important industrial and business world. AB members looked and sounded like their neighbors, but their hidden agenda and prejudice was always uppermost in their values and decisions. Jan Hendrik Philippus Serfontein, in his study *Brotherhood of Power* (1978), explains that “for an Afrikaner who defects, or opposes the Broederbond, the price is terrible—total excommunication. He will be ostracized from Afrikaner society, and a man in business faces economic destruction” (p. 11). All persons in leadership positions, especially those in politics, were AB members.

The greatest challenge for South Africa's leaders involved the multiethnic population. Beginning in 1948, D. F. Malan was able to prevent Indian representation in

Parliament. In 1958 the new prime minister, Hendrik F. Verwoerd, introduced increasingly severe policies concerning geographical separation of "tribal" homelands (referred to as "Bantustans"), while a policy of residential separation (for blacks working in white areas) was used to prevent social contact. Laws on population registration, miscegenation, mixed marriages, and other issues were clearly based on skin color. As a political residue of more enlightened and liberal days, "colored" people remained on the voting rolls in the Cape Province. When all vestiges of colored representation in Parliament were removed under Prime Minister John Vorster, however, the AB was ecstatic.

One of the best-kept secrets, and one of the most powerful instruments for the pursuit of the AB's ideals, was a system of secret watchdog committees. Each committee included specialists in a particular field or profession, and the AB thus had its fingers on the very pulse of South Africa. The AB, through the government, directed an increasingly isolationist national policy. What started out as an anti-English cultural organization gradually became more exclusionist as a secret society that was instrumental in gradually ushering in total apartheid in South Africa. Blacks were only tolerated in "white areas" as workers, and coloreds and Indians had their own residential areas. The rest of South Africa was supposed to belong to whites, especially the Afrikaners guided by the AB.

As the race-based policies flowing from apartheid in South Africa reached fruition, they were increasingly challenged by those with more democratic sentiments. This included organizations representing the four "racial" groups, including the African National Congress, which represented black Africans. Some Afrikaners in leadership positions were covertly meeting with ANC members outside South Africa. In response, a number of organizations on the far right emerged, all aimed at maintaining a white society in a separate geographical region. Among these were the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB, founded in 1973); Vereniging van Oranjerwerkers (Organization of Orange Workers, 1980); Afrikanervolkswag (Afrikaner People's Guard, 1984); Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging (White Liberation Movement, 1985); Boere-Vryheidsbeweging (Boer Freedom Movement, 1989); and the Boerestaat (Boer State) Party (1990). Each of these movements had grandiose ideas about perpetuating a white South Africa, or at least retaining white ethnic enclaves in a future South Africa under majority rule. Some proclaimed themselves willing to take up arms to defend their claims.

#### THE AFRIKANER WEERSTANDBEWEGING

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) was formed in 1973 as a secret society in Heidelberg (Transvaal) by

Eugene Terre Blanche and a few friends. In 1979 they abandoned the secrecy component to gain greater impact. This semi-militant, ultraconservative extremist group formed the Blanke Volkstaat Party (White People's State Party) in 1980 and started working toward the ideal of a white homeland. Some members, finding that they had no political clout, disbanded the party in 1982, joining two rightist political parties, the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) and the Conservative Party (CP). But the AWB movement continued.

One wing of the movement, the Stormvalke (Storm Falcons) served as a military group, and in time they were replaced by the khaki-clad Wenkommando. The AWB operated through small vigilante cells, called Boere-Brandwag, consisting of seven to ten members. In 1990 the movement claimed approximately 150,000 active supporters, but only 15,000 registered members.

Other rightist spokesmen characterized the AWB as an emotional group structured around the personality of Eugene Terre Blanche, who was the most emotional and dynamic orator on the political scene. Carl Boshoff (a one-time chairman of the Afrikaner Broederbond and the leader of the Vereniging van Oranjerwerkers) told this writer in August 1990: "It is a glorious experience to hear him speak . . . but his plan is infeasible." Most spokesmen for other groups agreed that his plans, namely to establish a volkstaat (nation state) that included the Transvaal, the Orange Free State, and the Republic of Vryheid (this refers to the so-called Nieuwe Republiek formed in 1884 in northern Natal) was a complete illusion.

The AWB flag resembles a swastika. Terre Blanche denied its link to Nazism or to an anti-Christ symbolism of three sixes, insisting it is a pro-Christ configuration of three sevens. The flag and the movement, Terre Blanche claimed, served to galvanize conservative Afrikaners. In fact, he maintained, the CP would not have been the official opposition party if it were not for AWB support. In any case, Terre Blanche claimed, the CP parliamentarians were all members of the AWB. They opposed President de Klerk's "giving away" the country to Nelson Mandela and the ANC.

Terre Blanche's racist proclamations and treatment of blacks working on his and other farms in the Venterdorp (western Transvaal) region frequently led to police confrontation and intervention. Eventually, he was sentenced to five years in jail for the attempted murder of a black security guard. He gained his freedom in June 2005.

Like all other political parties and movements, the AWB gradually dissolved. Ultra-conservative sentiments linger in the new South Africa and find expression in opposition organizations.

**SEE ALSO** *Apartheid*.

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*Brian M. du Toit*

## AGOTES

SEE *Cagots*.

## ALAMO

The Alamo, located in the heart of the city of San Antonio, Texas, is one of the most recognized symbols and most visited historic sites in the world. Between four and five million people per year pass through the partially restored ruins of the mission of San Antonio de Valero, which was founded by Spanish Franciscans in 1718. Labeled by the Daughters of the Republic of Texas—legal caretakers of the Alamo since 1905—as the "Shrine and Cradle of Texas Liberty" (Brear, p. 1), the Alamo has also been branded as "America's premier white identity shrine" (Gable 1995, p. 1061). Each of these descriptions derives from the complex history of the site and its relation to the evolving society in which it is embedded.

Abandoned by the Franciscans in the 1790s, the old mission acquired its current name early in the nineteenth century, after it became the headquarters of a company of Spanish soldiers from the Mexican city of Álamo de Parras. Some historians claim, however, that the name came from nearby stands of cottonwood—*álamo* in Spanish.

Though not designed as a fortress, the Alamo achieved lasting fame due to a thirteen-day siege, which culminated in the total annihilation of its defenders on March 6, 1836, during a Texan revolt against the government of Mexico, which had itself won independence

from Spain in 1821. Among the dead was the celebrated American frontiersman David Crockett.

Although often portrayed as a stark racial and cultural clash between Mexicans and Anglo-Americans, the Texas Revolution of 1835-1836 and the Battle of the Alamo occurred amid considerably more complex circumstances. The conflict began as part of a larger Mexican civil war between the increasingly authoritarian Centralist regime of President Antonio López de Santa Anna and his Federalist opponents, who favored local autonomy and states' rights in such matters as taxes, trade, and immigration. Prior to sending troops to Texas in 1835, Santa Anna had already dismissed state legislatures throughout Mexico and violently crushed Federalist opposition in the north Mexican state of Zacatecas.

Texas presented a special case, however. Santa Anna suspected that unrest there could lead to a secessionist movement, and even to the seizure of the province by the United States. Under Mexican rule, thousands of immigrants from the United States had come to Texas, attracted by the winning combination of generous land grants and the lax enforcement of Mexican laws against slavery and smuggling. It appeared to some concerned Mexican observers that the Anglo-Texans were already transforming Texas into an extension of the United States.

Slavery had been banned in most of Mexico, and it was theoretically under tight legal restrictions in Texas, but slaves were imported, bought, worked, and sold in the Anglo-Texan settlements with little regard for the law. By 1835 there were more than 30,000 American immigrants, including their slaves, and together they outnumbered the Spanish-speaking Texans (Tejanos) by a factor of almost ten to one. The American settlements were concentrated in eastern Texas, however, and when the revolt began Tejanos still dominated the southwestern borderlands of Texas.

Despite their residential separation and cultural differences, the Tejanos and Anglo-Texans were in general agreement with respect to both their Federalist politics (including the encouragement of further American immigration and the toleration of slavery) and their determination to resist the imposition of Santa Anna's dictatorship. Juan N. Seguín of San Antonio, the first Texan official to call for armed resistance to the Centralists, is emblematic of Tejano participation in the revolt. Seguín led a large cavalry force and cooperated with an "Army of the People" raised by the Anglo-Texan leader Stephen F. Austin. The rebels defeated the Centralists at San Antonio, and in December 1835 they expelled all of the Mexican troops that Santa Anna had ordered to Texas.

Santa Anna, leading a large Mexican army, responded with a surprise counterstrike in February 1836. He



**Battle of the Alamo.** One of the most famous and mythologized battles in American history, the defeat of the Texan rebels on March 6, 1836, became a rallying cry in the struggle for the independence of Texas. KEAN COLLECTION/GETTY IMAGES.

reoccupied San Antonio and trapped approximately two hundred rebels in the Alamo. Seguín escaped almost certain death when he was dispatched by the Alamo's commander, William Barret Travis, to seek reinforcements. But the disorganized Texan revolutionary government could not relieve the doomed defenders. Centralist armies overwhelmed the Texan forces at the Alamo; they also captured and executed more than four hundred Texan troops who had manned a stronger fortress at Goliad, ninety miles downriver from San Antonio.

In the meantime, rebel leaders declared the independence of the Republic of Texas on March 2. The Texans also decided to place all of their remaining military forces under the command of General Sam Houston, a former governor of Tennessee. Seguín gathered a company of Tejano horsemen and joined Houston's army, which retreated eastward across Texas for six weeks before surprising and overwhelming an incautious Santa Anna on April 21. Hundreds of Mexican soldiers were slaughtered at the Battle of San Jacinto by rebels shouting "Remember the Alamo!" and "Remember Goliad!" Santa Anna was

captured, and the remaining Centralist forces withdrew from Texas.

However, not all Mexican Texans followed Seguín and the Tejano political leadership as far as endorsing separation from Mexico; some supported the Centralists, and many tried to avoid the fighting altogether. But the Anglo-Tejano alliance that prevailed was cemented when Houston, who was elected president of the new Texas Republic, appointed Seguín as commandant of the Texan army post at San Antonio. In 1841 the first monument to the fall of the Alamo was constructed—a traveling exhibit made of stones from the walls of the mission. It bore an inscription that compared the battle at San Antonio to the Spartans' heroic stand against the Persians at Thermopylae (480 BCE). It would be several more decades, however, before the Alamo would become a stark symbol of Anglo-Saxon civilization standing against so-called Mexican depravity.

Relations between Tejanos and Anglo-Texans worsened as a result of a renewed border war with Mexico in 1842. Seguín, who had become the mayor of San



Antonio, was forced into exile in Mexico by unruly Anglo-American volunteer soldiers who falsely accused him of treason. Upon reaching the Río Grande, Seguín was given the choice of life in prison or service with the Mexican army; his appearance with his former enemies in a raid on San Antonio in September 1842 confirmed the opinion of those who thought him a traitor to Texas.

But neither Seguín's apparent apostasy nor the bitter war between Mexico and the United States (1846–1848) that followed the American annexation of Texas was sufficient to turn the Alamo into an anti-Mexican “white identity shrine.” Significantly, Seguín returned to Texas after the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ended the conflict. Welcomed back into citizenship by many of his old comrades (including Sam Houston), Seguín wrote his memoirs of the Texas Revolution, became a Democratic Party leader in San Antonio, and was elected a county judge before retiring to Mexico in the 1870s.

The Alamo itself was essentially neglected for more than a generation following the famous battle. Most of the walls and buildings were gobbled up by the growing city of San Antonio, until all that remained was the mission's chapel and a portion of the barracks known as the *convento*. The Catholic Church had leased the property to the American forces during the Mexican War, and it was the U.S. Army that put a roof on the chapel, and thus gave it its famous “hump.” The State of Texas purchased the chapel in 1883, but even in 1886, the year of the battle's fiftieth anniversary, there was no memorial service at the site, and in that same year the *convento* passed into the ownership of a grocer who used it to store onions and potatoes.

Only in the 1890s, with the organization of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas (DRT), did a serious effort to create an Alamo shrine begin. This campaign was led by two women—the ranching heiress Clara Driscoll and Adina De Zavala, the granddaughter of Lorenzo de Zavala, a Mexican Federalist who had signed the Texan Declaration of Independence and become the Texas Republic's first vice president. Their efforts resulted in a state law purchasing the *convento* and transferring control of the entire Alamo property to the DRT in 1905.

A prolonged dispute, much ballyhooed as the “second battle of the Alamo,” ensued within the DRT between Driscoll, De Zavala, and their respective followers over the technical and aesthetic details of historic preservation of the site, but all factions of the DRT were in essential agreement that the preserved Alamo should serve as a sacred monument to the heroism of its Texan defenders.

The labors of the DRT coincided with national trends of historic preservation and ancestor worship that

exalted the Anglo-Saxon heritage of the United States, but deeper and more troubling developments were afoot in Texas. This was a time when the arrival of railroads and commercial agriculture created a great demand for cheap, transient, and docile Mexican labor in South Texas. The Jim Crow laws of segregation and disfranchisement were being applied to Mexicans as well as African-Americans in Texas between 1890 and 1920, and the historian David Montejano has argued that a simplified and mythicized version of the Texan past was employed to rationalize and to justify the degraded social position of Mexicans.

In the early twentieth century, Tejanos such as Seguín were purged from the collective Texan memory of the Revolution. In the blatantly racist 1915 film *Birth of Texas, or Martyrs of the Alamo* (made in the same D. W. Griffith studio that produced *Birth of a Nation* that same year), the revolt is portrayed as one of outraged whites rising up against a drunken and lecherous Mexican soldiery. The literary critic Don Graham has shown that an emphasis on Mexican racial depravity suffused the early twentieth-century novels about the Texas Revolution, in contrast to earlier works by Texan authors who blamed Mexico's backwardness on the benighted heritage of Spanish Catholicism. At the same time, Texan painters Robert Jenkins Onderdonk (*The Fall of the Alamo*, 1903) and Henry Arthur McArdle (*Dawn at the Alamo*, 1905), whose iconic works have been enormously influential in Texas, depicted a Manichean struggle at the Alamo between the forces of light and dark—of civilization and savagery—in a clear departure from earlier Texan artists who portrayed Santa Anna's Mexican troops as a classic, European-style Napoleonic army. Thus, in print and picture, the Alamo story was rewritten as a war between two hostile races.

In their late twentieth-century San Antonio fieldwork, the anthropologists Richard R. Flores and Holly Beachley Brear found the same binary logic still at work at the Alamo shrine itself, where the tacit erasure of the Tejanos and the juxtaposition of noble Anglo defenders against debased servants of Mexican tyranny continued. During the 1990s, however, the caretakers of the Alamo took several conscientious steps to remove the implicit denigration of Mexicans that had once permeated the shrine's narrative, symbols, and rituals. The Mexican flag was introduced into the “Hall of Honor” to represent the Tejano defenders of the Alamo; an illustrated “Wall of History” was created by a professional historical staff to contextualize both the Spanish mission and the Alamo battle in the broader history of the city and the state; and the Alamo Defenders' Descendants Association—with many Tejanos among the membership—began holding yearly memorial services for their ancestors in the Alamo chapel. Even as the racist aspects of the Alamo's symbolism were being diminished, however, many Mexicans,

## Alien Land Laws

and some Mexican-Americans, still saw the Alamo as a symbol not of courage and sacrifice, but of greedy North American land pirates determined to rob Mexico of its patrimony.

SEE ALSO *La Raza; Mexicans; Social Psychology of Racism; Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo; Zoot Suit Riots.*

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James E. Crisp

## ALIEN LAND LAWS

Private ownership of land occupies a central position in American law. In the nineteenth century a link emerged in West Coast states between property ownership and race, exemplified by the 1859 Oregon Constitution, which declared that no "Chinaman" could ever own land in Oregon. During this period, "race" was legally constructed along a white-nonwhite binary, with Chinese immigrants categorized as "nonwhites." For the Chinese in the United States, this subordinate racial status entailed strict labor and residential segregation from whites, as well as a vulnerability to mob violence. Their inability to become citizens only compounded their subordinate racial status.

White antipathy to foreign laborers from China culminated in the federal Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which barred Chinese immigration for a ten-year period (it was later extended a number of times). This anti-Chinese racism was easily transferred to Japanese agricultural workers, who began entering the country in increasing numbers after 1890. Like the Chinese before them, Japanese agricultural laborers were classified as "nonwhite," and they were

therefore barred from becoming U.S. citizens. Yet despite the racialized disabilities imposed upon them, Japanese immigrants thrived in the first decade of the twentieth century. Their success in agriculture was held against them, however: White farmers viewed them as unfair competitors because entire Japanese families would work their farms and save labor costs.

This racial animosity congealed into efforts to prevent the Japanese from owning or acquiring agricultural land. An "Alien Land Law" was passed by the California legislature in 1913. The law granted aliens eligible for U.S. citizenship plenary property ownership rights but limited "aliens ineligible to citizenship" to those rights explicitly granted by treaties. The relevant 1911 U.S.-Japan treaty, however, did not mention protecting the property rights of Japanese persons residing on agricultural land in the United States. While facially neutral, this law relied on the federal racial prerequisite to naturalization—one had to be a "free white person" to become naturalized—to bar Japanese farmers from land ownership. This legal sanction was a response to the economic success of Japanese truck farmers in California in the early twentieth century.

Despite the 1913 law, Japanese land holdings increased. Japanese farmers used various strategies to circumvent the law, such as assigning title in the name of citizen children, with land held in trusts or guardianships, or forming title-holding agricultural corporations with noncitizen farmers as shareholders. By 1920 anti-Japanese activists—including members of the California Grange, which was supported by the Hearst newspapers—placed an initiative on the ballot outlawing the methods used to circumvent the 1913 law. The 1920 initiative passed with a majority in every California county and resulted in a decline in acreage under Japanese ownership throughout the decade.

Other western states soon followed. Arizona had enacted an Alien Land Law in 1917, and between 1921 and 1925 Washington, Louisiana, Oregon, Idaho, Montana, and Kansas passed similar laws. During World War II Wyoming, Utah, and Arkansas also passed Alien Land Laws.

In 1923 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled on the constitutionality of these laws. In *Terrace v. Thompson* (1923), the Court upheld the Washington Alien Land Law on the ground that a state could rightly restrict property ownership to U.S. citizens, and that doing so did not amount to impermissible racial discrimination. *Porterfield v. Webb* (1923) upheld California's 1920 initiative amending the 1913 Alien Land Law. In *Webb v. O'Brien* (1923), *Frick v. Webb* (1923), and *Cockrill v. California* (1925), the Court upheld the 1920 initiative's various restrictions on circumventions of the law.

After World War II the California law was challenged in *Oyama v. California* (1948). The U.S. Supreme Court overturned, on equal protection grounds, a provision of the 1920 initiative that forbade an “alien ineligible to citizenship” from being a guardian to a minor U.S.-born child. The California Supreme Court finally overturned the entire 1920 law in *Fujii v. State of California* (1952), and the Oregon and Montana supreme courts also set aside their Alien Land Laws in *Namba v. McCourt* (1949) and *State of Montana v. Oakland* (1955), respectively.

Washington’s Alien Land Law was repealed in 1966 by ballot initiative. The Wyoming legislature was successfully lobbied by the Alien Land Law Project of the University of Cincinnati Law School in 2001 to repeal its Alien Land Law.

SEE ALSO *Immigration to the United States*.

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*Keith Aoki*

## ALLEN, RICHARD 1760–1831

Richard Allen was an abolitionist and the first bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church. Allen was born a slave on February 14, 1760, in Philadelphia to parents owned by Benjamin Chew, the colony’s attorney general and chief justice of the High Court of Appeals. Allen later remembered Chew as a kind master, but the attorney’s practice faltered when Allen was seventeen, and Allen, his parents, and his three siblings were sold to Stokely Sturgis, a wealthy farmer who lived near Dover, Delaware. Sturgis was far less benevolent than Chew, and after a short time he sold Allen’s parents and two of his siblings. He did allow Allen to attend local Methodist services, and Allen learned to read and write and soon began to preach at the meetings.

With the help of Freeborn Garretson, an itinerant Methodist minister, Allen was able to persuade Sturgis that the ownership of another was morally wrong. At length, Sturgis agreed to manumit Allen and his brother, provided

that they were able to purchase themselves by raising either \$2,000 in Continental paper or £60 in gold or silver currency. Both were able to do so by 1780, and at the age of twenty, Allen began a new life as a free day laborer, bricklayer, and wagon driver.

While working as a teamster during the last days of the Revolutionary War, Allen began to preach at regular stops around Delaware, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. His sermons attracted the attention of Bishop Francis Asbury, the leader of American Methodism. Asbury invited Allen to become his traveling companion, and for the next several years Allen traveled by foot from New York to North Carolina, often preaching to interracial groups up to five times each day. His labors earned him an invitation to return to Philadelphia to preach to black congregants at Saint George’s Methodist Church, a rustic, dirt-floored building. Allen would spend the rest of his days in the city.

During his years in Philadelphia, Allen married twice. His first wife, Flora, died shortly after their 1791 marriage, and in 1805 he wed Sarah, who bore him six children. (The surname of neither woman is known.) He also grew close with fellow Methodist Absalom Jones, who shared his interest in building a separate place of worship for blacks, free of white control. Their determination to reach out more effectively to their “African brethren,” few of whom attended public worship, only grew stronger in 1792, when white church elders yanked Jones to his feet during prayer and instructed him to retreat to the segregated pews upstairs. Allen and Jones then led a mass exodus from the church. Together, they formed the Independent Free African Society, the first mutual aid group for blacks in the United States, and then issued a plan for “The African Church.” Founded upon the belief that African Americans needed “to worship God under our own vine and fig tree,” Allen and several patrons (most notably Benjamin Rush) bought an abandoned blacksmith shop and had it moved to Sixth Street. In July 1794 the renovated building opened as the Bethel Church.

Despite the fact that a majority of his congregation opposed continued affiliation with the Methodist hierarchy due to their treatment of blacks, Allen believed that no “denomination” suited “the capacity of colored people as well as the Methodist.” But white churchmen stubbornly tried to maintain control over the popular Allen, even insisting that the Bethel structure belonged to the larger church. In response, Allen formed the first African Methodist Episcopal congregation, and in 1799 Bishop Francis Asbury ordained him as deacon. Friction with the Methodists continued until 1816, however, when the Pennsylvania Supreme Court upheld the economic independence of Bethel, and official contact between the two groups finally ended.

Allen was one of the two leading freedmen in Philadelphia, and his charitable and political contributions spread far beyond theology. As a result, Bethel quickly became the focal point of the city's emerging free black society. In the fall of 1796, Allen opened the First Day School at Bethel, and a night school for adults soon followed. Allen and Jones publicly assisted the sick and dying during the yellow fever epidemic of 1793, at a time when most white politicians fled the nation's capital. Despite a public commendation from the mayor for the charitable labors of Allen's congregants, he later had to fight off charges that black nurses and undertakers had used the crisis to rob their patients. His 1794 *Narrative of the Proceedings of the Black People, During the Late Awful Calamity* not only defended his churchmen but also attacked the white racism that lay beneath such charges.

As a prosperous businessman, Allen was particularly sensitive to the idea that black Philadelphians were dependent on white charity, and much of the success of Bethel was due to his adroit ability to appeal to the city's business elite while assisting former slaves relocating into Pennsylvania from Delaware, Virginia, and Maryland. His antislavery essays and pamphlets brought him into contact with white and black abolitionists in other northern states and in Britain. Late in life, in November 1830, Allen helped to organize the American Society of Free Persons of Colour, a group dedicated to purchasing lands in the North or in Canada so that black agriculturalists might become self-sufficient. During that same year, he also cosigned the call for the First Annual Convention of the People of Colour. The conventions, which met sporadically through the Civil War, met to discuss antislavery and the possibility of emigration (although Allen generally regarded mass colonization as a mistake).

As independent black congregations emerged in urban areas along the Atlantic coast, most chose to attach themselves to the Bethel Church. Aware of the continuing friction between white and black Methodists in other cities, Allen sent an invitation for black delegates to meet in Philadelphia for the purpose of confederation, and on April 9, 1816, sixty delegates from five predominantly black churches did so. The next day, the group ordained Allen as elder, and shortly thereafter he was consecrated a bishop. Three years later, in July 1820, Bishop Allen hosted the first General Conference in Philadelphia. Allen even dispatched six ministers to Charleston to bring South Carolina's leading black congregation into the fold. City authorities arrested the six men, however, and they finally razed the building in late 1822 after the discovery that AME member Denmark Vesey had used the church in organizing a conspiracy against slave owners, which had been revealed by an informant. But by the early 1830s, Bethel's reach included eighty-six churches, four conferences, two bishops, and 7,594 members.

Allen died in Philadelphia on March 26, 1831. (Sarah lived another eighteen years, until 1849.) His funeral proved to be one of the largest gatherings of blacks and whites the city had yet witnessed.

SEE ALSO *Antebellum Black Ethnology*; *Vesey, Denmark*.

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Douglas R. Egerton

## AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY

The American Anti-Slavery Society played a significant role in furthering the cause of abolition during the decades leading up to the Civil War. The society was founded in 1833 in Philadelphia by the white abolitionists Theodore Dwight Weld, Arthur Tappan, and Arthur's brother Lewis. Its most prominent member was William Lloyd Garrison, who served until 1840 as the society's first president. Noteworthy members included Frederick Douglass and William Wells Brown, two former slaves who, as "agents" for the society, spoke eloquently about the brutality of slavery. Other well-known members included James Gillespie Birney, Maria Weston Chapman, Lydia Child, Samuel Eli Cornish, James Forten, Henry Highland Garnet, Wendell Phillips, Robert Purvis, and Charles Lenox Remond.

The organization grew rapidly throughout the North, with 400 chapters by 1835; 1,350 by 1838; and 2,000 by 1840. Individual membership estimates vary but generally fall in the range of 150,000 to 250,000. The American Anti-Slavery Society was noteworthy because it was the first such organization with a national reach to call for the immediate (rather than gradual) abolition of slavery.

#### BACKGROUND

The decade preceding the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society was one of widespread unrest over

the issue of slavery. In 1820, after rancorous debate, the U.S. Congress passed the Missouri Compromise to regulate slavery in the expanding nation's western territories. The debate between antislavery and proslavery factions in Congress and elsewhere intensified the parallel debate over the issue of federalism and the relative powers of the federal and state governments. This debate eventually led to the formation of the Democratic Party, which supported slavery, and the Republican Party of Abraham Lincoln, which opposed it.

Slavery was squarely on the national agenda: The Virginia legislature conducted intense debates on the issue in 1829 and 1831; David Walker published his famous "Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World" in 1829; and the state of South Carolina, in an act that presaged its leading role in secession and the Civil War, resisted federal efforts to collect tariffs in the state in 1831. The tension between the federal and state governments led to Southern fears that it was only a matter of time before the federal government would intervene in the issue of slavery.

Also in 1831, Garrison launched *The Liberator*, a newspaper that called for racial equality and demanded immediate abolition. That same year, Nat Turner launched a slave rebellion in Southampton County, Virginia. Turner's rebellion left sixty white people dead before it was put down by the state militia, adding to a climate of fear throughout the South and a tightening of laws pertaining to slave behavior. In the North, however, these events contributed to a growing abolitionist sentiment, much of it led by the Quakers and other religious groups.

At its founding meeting, the American Anti-Slavery Society issued a "Declaration of Sentiments," written by Garrison. In addition to arguing that plantation owners were not entitled to compensation for the freeing of slaves, the declaration argued that slavery was a violation of natural law, the U.S. Constitution, and—reflecting the sentiments of the religious revival of the 1830s called the Second Great Awakening—the will of God. The declaration read, in part:

That all those laws which are now in force, admitting the right of slavery, are therefore, before God, utterly null and void; being an audacious usurpation of the Divine prerogative, a daring infringement on the law of nature, a base overthrow of the very foundations of the social compact, a complete extinction of all the relations, endearments and obligations of mankind, and a presumptuous transgression of all the holy commandments; and that therefore they ought instantly to be abrogated.

We further believe and affirm—that all persons of color, who possess the qualifications which are

demanded of others, ought to be admitted forthwith to the enjoyment of the same privileges, and the exercise of the same prerogatives, as others; and that the paths of preferment, of wealth and of intelligence, should be opened as widely to them as to persons of a white complexion. (Quoted in Ruchames 1963, p. 78)

The goal of the American Anti-Slavery Society was to reach the public through speeches and public lectures, petitions, and mass publications. Frederick Douglass and William Wells Brown frequently lectured in the name of the society, often in the face of mob violence. Garrison recruited Maria Weston Chapman to write for *The Liberator* and *The National Anti-Slavery Standard (NASS)*, both official publications of the society, and Lydia Marie Child edited *NASS* for two years. Garrison, however, was the society's guiding hand, and in that capacity he urged Northerners to refuse to vote as a means of expressing their disapproval of slavery. He and the society bombarded Congress with petitions, prompting Congress to institute a gag rule under which it refused to accept any petitions having to do with slavery.

#### GENDER POLITICS

Women were initially barred from membership in the society. This ban even included such women as Maria Weston Chapman and Lydia Marie Child, who supported the society with their labor. Most male members, many of them churchmen, regarded female involvement in the rough-and-tumble of the debate as unseemly. They raised their eyebrows in sharp disapproval when the sisters Angelina and Sarah Grimké were among the first to lecture publicly on behalf of the society. Nevertheless, numerous prominent women supported the society's goals and worked in its behalf, including Lucretia Mott, Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone, and Amelia Bloomer, but they found themselves the targets of condescension from male members.

The Congregationalist Church, in a pastoral letter of 1837, condemned women for speaking out against slavery, characterizing female involvement in such public matters as "unnatural." Although many men agreed with this position, they believed that the goal of ending slavery took precedence over issues involving women's rights. In their view, too many churches supported slavery, or at least acquiesced in it, and were therefore corrupt. These men were often said to have "come out" of their church membership, and they became known as "come-outers."

In response to the society's gender bias, women took their own route. Lucretia Mott organized the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society (PFASS) in 1833, and similar organizations were formed in other cities. In the years that followed, the society and its members gained

**CAUTION!!**  
**COLORED PEOPLE**  
**OF BOSTON, ONE & ALL,**  
You are hereby respectfully CAUTIONED and  
advised, to avoid conversing with the  
**Watchmen and Police Officers**  
**of Boston,**  
For since the recent **ORDER OF THE MAYOR &**  
**ALDERMEN,** they are empowered to act as  
**KIDNAPPERS**  
**AND**  
**Slave Catchers,**  
And they have already been actually employed in  
**KIDNAPPING, CATCHING, AND KEEPING**  
**SLAVES.** Therefore, if you value your **LIBERTY,**  
and the *Welfare of the Fugitives* among you, *Show*  
them in every possible manner, as so many **HOUNDS**  
on the track of the most unfortunate of your race.  
**Keep a Sharp Look Out for**  
**KIDNAPPERS, and have**  
**TOP EYE open.**  
**APRIL 24, 1851.**

*An Abolitionist Poster. This 1851 handbill warned the "Colored People of Boston" to avoid talking to watchmen and police officers, who had been empowered by the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 to kidnap escaped slaves. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.*

valuable experience in fund-raising and organization, and this experience would serve women well in the later battle for the right to vote. Meanwhile, antislavery sewing circles allowed women to use their skills in the domestic arts to make craft items, which they sold at fairs and bazaars to raise funds to support their efforts. There is little exaggeration in saying that sexism in some quarters of the antislavery movement galvanized women to fight for equal rights. The Grimké's, for instance, shifted their focus from the slavery issue to that of women's rights and became important pioneers in the nineteenth-century women's suffrage movement.

#### ORGANIZATIONAL SPLIT

The American Anti-Slavery Society split in 1839. At issue was the belief by some members that Garrison's ideas

were too radical. To Garrison, the U.S. Constitution (a "document from hell") was illegal because it allowed the existence of slavery. Thus, he believed that the very foundations of the nation were illegitimate, and he called for the North to secede from the Union and form its own nation. Garrison's opponents within the society argued that the Constitution, and therefore the U.S. government, was legitimate, for it allowed people the right to redress their grievances and end forms of oppression such as slavery. For this faction, the society's principal goal was to elect antislavery candidates to public office, where they would be able to enact laws outlawing slavery.

Meanwhile, the gender issue led to sharp disagreements. Garrison, along with Wells, Phillips, and Douglass, strongly supported equal rights for women. The controversy came to a head when Child, Mott, Chapman, and Abby Kelly were elected to the society's executive committee. In response, Lewis Tappan remarked, "to put a woman on the committee with men is contrary to the usages of civilized society." Accordingly, in 1840, Tappan and several other prominent members of the society broke away to form a rival organization, the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Concentrating entirely on slavery, the rival organization refused to lend support to women's rights. In the decade that followed, the new organization formed the Liberty Party (1840–1848), which evolved into the Free-Soil Party (1848–1854), and then into the Republican Party. The split weakened the American Anti-Slavery Society, however, as it shifted its focus from national to state and local efforts.

The American Anti-Slavery Society was formally dissolved in 1870. The society is not to be confused with a modern organization by the same name that fights slavery and racial oppression throughout the world, nor with the British Anti-Slavery Society, formed in 1823.

**SEE ALSO** *Abolition Movement; Birney, James Gillespie; Douglass, Frederick; Forten, James; Garnet, Henry Highland; Garrison, William Lloyd; Remond, Charles Lenox; Turner, Henry McNeal.*

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## AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY AND THE FOUNDING OF LIBERIA

The American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Color of the United States was organized on December 21, 1816, in the Davis Hotel in Washington, D.C. The stated purposes of the organization, which was commonly known as the American Colonization Society (ACS), were threefold: (1) to create an unfettered haven for free blacks whose continued presence in the United States was seen as posing insoluble problems of civic and social integration; (2) to promote "civilization" and Christianity in Africa through their presence there; and (3) to develop receiving stations for enslaved Africans taken from vessels illegally transporting them on the high seas. England had already established Sierra Leone in 1787 as a catchall colonization destination of blacks from Britain. Talk of removing free persons of color from American soil antedated the adoption of the U.S. Constitution in 1787 and rested on the following premises: (1) their presence was a social nuisance; (2) their presence was inimical to the institution of slavery; and (3) the new social system had no place for them. Thus they should be colonized in distant locales such as the Pacific Coast, South America, the Far West, or Africa itself. As early as 1773, Thomas Jefferson advocated establishing colonies for free blacks, but he never stated this view publicly. Along with George Washington, Jefferson believed black colonies should be a precondition for emancipation. In 1790, three years after the U.S. Constitution was adopted, the census counted a free black population of about 59,557 individuals and an enslaved population of 697,624. In the 1810 census, the new nation had 108,435 free blacks and 1,191,446 enslaved blacks.

### BLACK COLONIZATION: FROM TALK TO ACTION

After blacks, slave and free, had fought in the American Revolution and the War of 1812 and with the advent of peace, discussions of colonizing free blacks became public. In December 1816, two key colonization events took place: The Virginia Assembly adopted resolutions calling on the U.S. government to settle emancipated blacks outside the boundaries of the United States, and a meeting on black colonization was held in the hall of the U.S.

House of Representatives to form the ACS. Seven days later the founding members of this group ratified a constitution for the ACS, the sole object being "to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their consent) the Free People of Color residing in our Country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient." Membership was open to any citizen of the United States upon payment of one dollar. Lifetime memberships were available for thirty dollars. Further informal discussion prompted the group to hold the first of its annual meetings on January 1, 1817, at the Davis Hotel in Washington. As he had done at the earlier meeting, U.S. Congressman Henry Clay of Kentucky presided, for Kentucky had already organized its State Colonization Society. The sixty-odd high-profile, self-selected delegates were not as distinguished as the fifty-five men who had drafted the Constitution some thirty years earlier, but they were indeed "gentlemen of property and standing."

Among the founders of the ACS were Robert Finley, a New Jersey Presbyterian minister and in 1817 president of the University of Georgia; Bushrod Washington, associate justice of the U.S. Supreme Court; Elias B. Caldwell, clerk of the Supreme Court; Richard Rush, attorney general of the United States; Daniel Webster, then a congressman from New Hampshire; Congressman John Randolph of Roanoke, Virginia, owner of 363 slaves and 160 horses; William Phillips, lieutenant governor of Massachusetts; wealthy international trader Robert Ralston of New York; William Thornton, architect of the U.S. Capitol; Henry Carroll, secretary of the American legation to Ghent, Belgium, where the War of 1812 was declared officially over; John E. Howard, former governor of Maryland; General Andrew Jackson, much the military hero of the Battle of New Orleans (1815); and Francis Scott Key, the Washington lawyer and poet, newly famous for writing "The Star-Spangled Banner." These men hailed from different parts of the nation, which had varying proportions of slaves and free blacks.

### COLONIZATION SOCIETIES: NATIONAL, STATE, AND LOCAL

Between 1817 and 1825, the so-called Era of Good Feelings among the regions of the new nation, there arose a generalized belief that free blacks in the United States would soon pollute the expanding community of transplanted Europeans. In the years from 1816 to 1836, the colonization idea was so popular that even without a national staff, more than a dozen states, from Vermont to Mississippi, formed their own colonization societies. Two of the most powerful were founded in New York City and Philadelphia, the latter the informal "capital" of free black America. Whatever may have been a given region's level of

**ACS Officers: Directors, Managers, and Vice Presidents, 1833–1841**

STATE	OFFICERS	**FREE BLACKS (%)	**ENSLAVED (%)
(Washington, D.C.)	20	6,499 (29.1%)	3,320 (9.8%)
Virginia	18	49,342 (4.7%)	448,987 (42.1%)
New York	13	50,027 (2.2%)	4 (–%)
Connecticut	9	8,105 (2.8%)	17 (–%)
Kentucky	8	7,317 (0.9%)	182,258 (23.4%)
Georgia	6	2,753 (0.4%)	280,944 (40.6%)
New Jersey	6	21,044 (5.6%)	674 (0.2%)
Maryland	4	62,078 (13.2%)	89,737 (19.1%)
Ohio	4	17,242 (1.1%)	3 (–%)
Pennsylvania	3	47,354 (2.8%)	64 (–%)
Louisiana	3	25,502 (7.2%)	168,452 (47.8%)
Mississippi	2	1,366 (0.4%)	195,211 (52%)
Delaware	2	16,919 (21.7%)	2,605 (3.3%)
North Carolina	1	22,732 (3%)	245,817 (32.6%)
Rhode Island	1	3,238 (3%)	0 (–%)
Vermont	1	738 (3%)	0 (–%)

\*\* All of the percentage references identify the ratio of each category of blacks to the total white population of each state ranked by number of national officers it supplied during the period covered by the 1840 census. Four ACS officers from abroad were not counted in the above table: Two represented England and two represented France.

SOURCE: Adapted from the Maryland State Colonization Papers (1835–1861); *Historical Statistics of the United States, From Colonial Times to 1857*. Washington DC: United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, 1961.

**Table 1.**

involvement with the ACS, the number of national officers from a given state was essentially an index of local support for the national ACS goals. As seen in Table 1, not unexpectedly the headquarters site of the ACS, Washington, D.C., supplied the organization with twenty officers. Supplying the next two largest numbers of officers were Virginia, with eighteen officers and nearly a half million enslaved Africans within its borders, and New York, with thirteen officers, 50,000 free blacks, and no slaves in 1840. Distant from Washington was the Mississippi State Colonization Society based in Greenville, so active in Liberia that a section of it is called Greenville. In the case of the state of Maryland, ACS leader John H. B. Latrobe and associates were so active and independent that the national ACS lost control of them in 1829. The Maryland society, extraordinarily determined to reduce the number of free blacks in the city, basically set up an independent operation in Liberia. Very active also was the Ohio State Colonization Society, which had four officers at the national level of the ACS, representing a free black population of 17,000 individuals and no slaves. In an ACS annual report, the officers of the ACS praised the industry of its Ohio representatives, and declared that the ACS should seek agents similar to those in Ohio “to do a good service in vitalizing State Societies now in a condition of suspended animation.”

Rhode Island and Vermont, with no slaves and only a handful of blacks, ideologically supported the objectives of the ACS. Representing the state with the largest proportion of ships formerly importing slaves, Rhode Islanders stood to profit as freedpeople exporters in the event the colonization movement went truly national. Pennsylvania’s large representation, with no slavery, might be attributed to the exceptional promotional work of its Quaker Young Men’s Colonization Society. The same was true of the New York City Colonization Society and its larger companion group, the New York State Colonization Society. Vermont, whose population included only 3 percent free blacks and no slaves in 1820, nevertheless had one of the most active local colonization societies in the country. Its members at a meeting in 1826 in Montpelier heard a Middlebury College professor complain that “the state of the free colored population of the United States is one of extreme and remediless degradation, of gross irreligion, of revolting profligacy, and of course, deplorable wretchedness.” His words echoed those of other speakers throughout the country. Membership on the national board of the ACS, then, was very much a reward for state and local support of its objectives.

**CONTRADICTORY CONCEPTIONS OF BLACK CAPABILITIES**

As well-placed and informed as ACS leaders may have been, they appeared to be unaware of the glaring contradictions in their program and promotional materials. In print and in person, they used the language of humanitarian solicitude and benevolent Christianity. In the pages of their *African Repository and Colonial Journal*, they argued that colonization was an act of social justice.

The ACS was defined by its constitution in ways that made it appealing to some extent to antislavery and proslavery groups, humanitarians, racists, religious leaders, and, they thought, free blacks. To win the support of free blacks, humanitarians, and clergymen, ACS officials maintained that among the main goals of their colonization organization was to afford free blacks a place of unfettered freedom and to promote Christianity and American civilization.

Shortly after the ACS adopted its constitution, information regarding its membership and motives had the effect of organizing free blacks in different parts of the country to resist its plans. In January 1817 some 3,000 anticolonization blacks from Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut met in Philadelphia. This was the first time blacks had reacted on an interstate basis to a public issue. They traveled to Philadelphia in the dead of winter on the outside of stagecoaches or next to animals on coastal vessels.



Meeting in the de facto capital of black America, these free persons of color expressed themselves in the following resolutions: “that we never will separate ourselves voluntarily from the slave population of this country” and “that we view with deep abhorrence the unmerited stigma attempted to be cast upon the reputation of the free people of color, by the promoters of this measure, ‘that they are a dangerous and useless part of the community.’” Led by James Forten, a major dry-dock owner in Philadelphia and one of the wealthiest blacks in the country, the ad hoc group formed a committee to convey their views to Congressman John Hopkinson. Among the eleven members of the committee was Richard Allen, the most esteemed black leader of the era.

Taken aback by the scope and intensity of the black rejection of the colonization scheme, the ACS dispatched its general agent, Robert Finley, to Philadelphia to explain to blacks the purposes and intended operations of the association. He stressed the essentially voluntary nature of the national colonization society, saying that its members were private volunteers and its funding was likewise. His visit, however, did not satisfy or silence blacks. Hundreds of free blacks met again in Philadelphia in August 1817. They declared that the ACS plan was “not asked for by us nor will it be requested by any circumstances of our present or future condition.” A few free blacks elsewhere supported the idea of colonization. For example, several free persons of color met in Richmond, Virginia, and said that while they opposed transporting blacks across the Atlantic, they asked that the nation “grant to free blacks a small portion of territory, either on the Missouri River, or any place that may seem to them most conducive to the public good and our future welfare.” In 1810 Virginia had 30,000 free blacks and 392,000 slaves. However, Baltimore’s most prominent leader, Reverend William Watkins, a self-educated schoolteacher of great erudition and command of oral and written English (and a reading knowledge of Greek and Latin), vigorously opposed both the ACS philosophy and program. He said that contrary to some of the assertions made in the ACS monthly publication, the *African Repository*, that it was God’s will that blacks go to Africa to uplift it, within the ACS “they know that we are not begging them to send us to Liberia.” He said further: “if we are begging them to do anything, it is to let us alone.” Indeed it was Watkins who, in the 1820s, persuaded a young newspaper editor, William Lloyd Garrison, to convert from pro- to anti-colonizationism. The *Repository* itself had a split personality: Half of its columns attacked free blacks in America as inferior and undesirable creatures. The other half argued that a “backward pagan” Africa was a place where blacks would have

opportunities to demonstrate their talents without interference from whites.

#### COLONIZATION PROGRAM BACKFIRES

In 1831, with the help of major funding from Forten and black churches, Garrison launched an anticolonization, immediate-emancipation newspaper, *The Liberator*, which printed the objections of black and white abolitionists to the ACS program. In 1832 Garrison collected statements from blacks throughout the North and published them in a thick volume titled *Thoughts on African Colonization; or, An Impartial Exhibition of the Doctrines, Principles, and Purposes of the American Colonization Society, Together with the Resolutions, Addresses, and Remonstrance’s of the Free People of Color*. Through the agency of Garrison’s newspaper and book, the views of free blacks on a public issue received a national hearing for the first time. It was in the context and vortex of anticolonization, antislavery, and pro-black citizenship rights that Garrison had placed himself in danger of life and limb. But he and his black supporters held unwaveringly that America was the natural home of blacks, with Watkins writing that if poor blacks were to be sent to their ancestral homes, then America should do the same for poor whites.

The ACS, then, not only made free blacks conscious of a national enemy but had also encouraged further hostility between whites and free blacks. The election of ACS member Andrew Jackson as president emboldened working-class whites to physically attack blacks, the most infamous incident being the routing toward Canada of some 800 black workers from Cincinnati in the depression of 1829. Unemployed whites desired their jobs. These and similar events led blacks to begin in 1830 what is now known as the Colored Convention Movement, an annual gathering of black leaders to explore collective response options to their declining civic situation. Usually held in New York or Philadelphia, these conventions, for thirty years, became the one semi-national organ for addressing white America. Most of them had a common theme of opposition to the ACS. The first two conventions, in 1830 and 1831, set up a committee to explore the possibility of migrating to Canada if things got worse for free blacks in the United States. At the 1833 convention, a “Report on Colonization” was issued that contained the following: “The Committee consisting of one delegate from each State, for the purpose of reporting the views and sentiments of the people of color in their respective States, relative to the principles and operations of the American Colonization Society, respectfully beg leave to say ‘That all the people of the States they represent, feel themselves aggrieved by its very existence.’”

The report further stated that regardless of what the *African Repository* or spokespersons of the ACS might say, “the inevitable tendency of the ACS doctrine is to strengthen the cruel prejudices of our opponents, to steel the heart of sympathy to the appeals of suffering humanity, to retard our advancement in morals, literature and science, in short, to extinguish the last glimmer of hope, and throw an impenetrable gloom over our fairest and most reasonable prospects” (p. 27). Out of these conventions emerged black spokespersons such as Charles L. Remond, Henry Highland Garnet, and Frederick Douglass.

Despite its mixed motives and contradictory utterances, the ACS managed to settle approximately 15,000 freeborn, emancipated, and recaptured blacks in West Africa between 1822 and 1861. Of this number, an estimated 8,000 were a mixture of domestic and field-hand slaves manumitted and transported to Liberia as a reward for having informed their masters of insurrectionary plans and plots of their fellow bondsmen. This practice was necessary, because if informers remained in the neighborhood and were discovered, they ran the risk of being destroyed by the insurgents or their companions who faced torture, whippings, mutilation, sale out of the region, and/or execution. Liberia thus served as a safety valve not only for free blacks in the North but also for Southern emancipated blacks who rendered “meritorious” service to their masters and communities.

#### **HOLDING FAST TO COLONIZATION RATIONALES**

Despite the clear and vocal rejection of colonization by most blacks in the North, the leaders of the ACS continued to stress that the colonization scheme was the best solution to the problems they associated with them. Beginning in 1817, ACS’s board of managers began to argue that whites were not responsible for the barriers retarding and separating blacks from mainstream society; they held that these barriers were a product of nature and the will of God. The leaders of the ACS also declared that the free blacks in urban centers were responsible as well for their own status problems.

Bushrod Washington, the first president of the ACS and a white man, expressed the view that among the main goals of the ACS was to “purify” the American social and political systems by colonizing free blacks in Africa or other places outside white America. Robert G. Harper of Maryland, another early strong supporter of the ACS, maintained that black colonization would boost the interests of the United States, because the main objective of the ACS was to get rid of free blacks that he considered to be troublemakers. Henry Clay, one of the vice presidents of the ACS, noted that free blacks

were the most “ferocious” people in America, a condition resulting from oppression and their own bad habits. He added that free blacks were a bad influence on enslaved blacks, as well as on whites. For Clay, settling blacks in West Africa would comprise moral, religious, and humanitarian blessings for the indigenous Africans, the colonized blacks, and the whites, especially the whites that supported the ACS effort.

Bishop William Meade of the Episcopal Church in Virginia, who once declared that well-behaved black people in the secular world would become white people in heaven, and who also translated the Bible for the African-American settlers in Liberia, noted that while blacks would not be good Christians in the United States they would be in Liberia. He therefore recommended to the ACS that the emancipation of blacks should be followed by their colonization in Liberia. The Reverend Robert Finley had expressed views regarding black colonization that were similar to those of Bishop Meade and Clay. His early ministry was in Baskerville, New Jersey, which had a free but socially shunned, impoverished black population of fifteen hundred. He had noted that everything associated with blacks, including the pigment of their skin, was against them. He therefore declared that there was no prospect for blacks in America, and added that as such, they should be colonized in West Africa. He concluded that the colonization of blacks in West Africa would accomplish the following objectives: America would be purged of unwanted people; the colonized blacks would promote American civilization in Africa, because they were in some measure Christians and civilized people; and besides they would be in a better position to improve their material, social, and political well-being in West Africa. Not all officers of the ACS saw Africa as the proper destination for free blacks. When James Madison, the former U.S. president, became president of the ACS in 1833, he saw the new American Southwest as a possible home for emancipated blacks.

The position of free blacks notwithstanding, after much political maneuvering, the ACS persuaded Congress to appropriate \$100,000 to help underwrite indirectly the colonization scheme, even though it had high hope that the state units of the ACS would continue to raise funds. The thirty-dollar lifetime fees and the one-dollar annual dues did not begin to cover the expense of trying to establish a distant colony reachable only by a sea voyage. The ACS was well aware of the work of a British private association, the African Institution, in establishing Sierra Leone in 1797 as a colony for blacks from England. Thus, the Reverend Samuel J. Mills and Ebenezer Burgess consulted with representatives of the African Institution in Sierra Leone. These two white Americans were sent to Africa by the ACS in 1818 to locate a



**Joseph Jenkin Roberts, circa 1851.** Roberts was born free in Virginia in 1809 and moved to Liberia in 1829. In 1842 he became the first black governor of the Commonwealth of Liberia, and in 1848 he became the first (and later the seventh) president of the independent Republic of Liberia. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

suitable place for the colonization of blacks. The leader, Mills, had made his reputation as a missionary explorer of the American Southwest. Despite their condescension to the local African authorities, Mills and Burgess worked out a deal with them permitting the ACS to settle emancipated blacks on specific portions of African territory. This land usage agreement was the very last act of these two men, as both died of malaria while en route back to the United States.

#### ON THE GROUND IN LIBERIA

Greatly encouraged by the prospect of actually sending blacks to Africa, the ACS gathered some eighty-four free persons of color, mostly from Maryland and Virginia, and commissioned the ship *Elizabeth* based in New York Harbor as their carrier to go to Africa. The voyage began on January 31, 1820. Only three of the passengers were whites: Samuel Crozer, an ACS representative, the Reverend Samuel Bacon, who represented the U.S. government, and John Bankson, Bacon's assistant. Among the blacks were men of superior ability, such as the Reverend Lott Carey and the Reverend Daniel Coker, both of whom were

destined to hold high positions once Liberia was founded. The whites on the *Elizabeth* continued to treat the African-American emigrants paternalistically throughout the voyage from the United States to the West African coast. Blacks deeply resented this, their rage almost provoking a racial conflict at sea, had they not been calmed down by Rev. Coker.

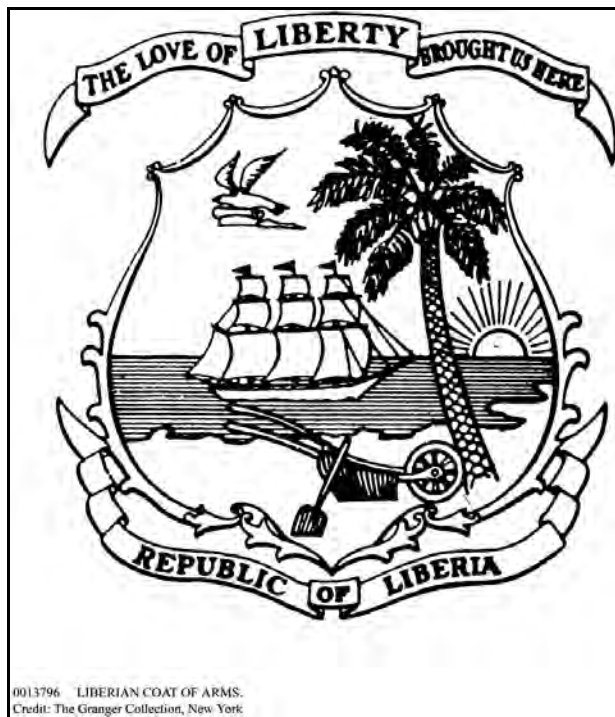
Once on the ground in Africa, the ACS Liberian agent, now Governor Eli Ayres of Liberia, like all the white governors who succeeded him, led the black settlers paternalistically. Ayres's autocratic leadership style was shown when he unilaterally drew up the layout plan of Monrovia, the chief town of the African-American settlers, which was named after James Monroe, then U.S. president. The settlers, especially those who had already constructed their own homes, resented the imposed town plan, because it required them to relocate. This action and related behaviors on the part of Ayres reinforced settlers' resentment toward him, finally forcing his departure from Liberia. In 1823 the equally autocratic Jehudi Ashmun replaced Ayres.

Although he was a competent governor, Ashmun was among the most racist and paternalistic governors in colonial Liberia. He held the view that nearly all the black settlers behaved like children. Ashmun not only continued Ayres's arbitrary food and land distribution policies, he also arrogantly demanded that all adult male settlers perform two days of free service on public land. He warned them that food and other necessities, usually provided by the ACS, would be withheld from those who refused to carry out the required tasks.

Ashmun's behavior led to settlers' strong antipathy toward him. Reinforcing such resentment was his reduction of the food ration by half on March 19, 1823. These actions together with no attempt at conciliation led the settlers to attack and ransack the colonial store. The black settlers also wrote to the officials of the ACS in Washington, accusing Ashmun of dishonesty, discrimination, and partiality.

Ashmun told the male colonists that the contracts they had with the ACS obligated them to his leadership, which included his responsibility for the safety of their wives, children, relatives, belongings, and community. He asserted that the problems they faced were caused by their failure to accept his governorship and their unwillingness to cultivate local foodstuffs.

As in the antebellum South, Ashmun tried to use religion as a means of control in Liberia. He told the settlers he expected them to recommit themselves to God and to the very vows or agreements that already obligated them to the ACS and that body's representatives, including himself, in Liberia.



**Liberian Coat of Arms.** *The American Colonization Society established Liberia as a haven for freed slaves in 1822. The Republic of Liberia came into existence in 1847, and its coat of arms pictures a ship, symbolizing the voyage of the settlers.* THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK.

Although he had hoped to bring harmony in the Liberian settlement, Ashmun did not succeed. In fact opposition to his leadership continued to intensify, because he and the ACS were unwilling to make the changes that were needed to satisfy the black colonists. Ashmun was forced to leave Liberia in 1824 for Cape Verde Islands. The ACS and the U.S. Navy, however, reinstated him a few months after his expulsion. Ashmun's declining health coupled with the aforementioned problems forced him to leave Liberia in 1828 for the United States. He died in New Haven, Connecticut, on August 25, 1828.

Ashmun's successors through 1847 continued the outlined racist and paternalistic governing system. Among these governors were Richard Randall, Joseph Mechlin, John Pinney, Ezekiel Skinner, Anthony Williams, Thomas Buchanan, and Joseph J. Roberts, the latter of whom was a descendant of African Americans. Although the Colonial Assembly of the Liberian colony was an elected body, the governor of the colony had final say over who would be elected to that body. In common with prevailing beliefs, the top officials of the ACS were of the opinion that mental ability among nonwhites was a function of the degrees of their kinship to Caucasians.

Accordingly, these governors were more receptive to light-skinned blacks than dark-skinned settlers in Liberia. When Liberia technically became an independent country rather than an ACS colony in 1847, its once exclusively Caucasian presidential leadership was replaced for the remainder of the century by a near-white leadership consisting of the following men: Presidents Joseph J. Roberts (1848–1856 and 1872–1876), Stephen A. Benson (1856–1864), Daniel B. Warner (1864–1868), James S. Payne (1868–1870 and 1876–1878), Anthony Gardner (1878–1883), Alfred H. Russell (1883–1884), Hilary R. W. Johnson (1884–1892), Joseph Cheseman (1892–1896), and William D. Coleman (1896–1900). Edward J. Roye (1870–1871) and James S. Smith (1871–1872) were dark-skinned. This group, later called Americo-Liberians, was almost as color-conscious as the white leadership it replaced.

Below the light-skinned African Americans in status were the dark-skinned settlers descended from African-American field hands, and the assimilated recaptives—Africans who had been enslaved but never experienced plantation slavery. Beneath these categories were the traditional ethnic groups such as the Bassa, Dei, Gbandi, Gio, Gola, Grebo, Kissi, Kpelle, Krahn, Kru, Loma, Mano, and Vai, whose members did not become Liberian citizens until the early 1900s, and could not vote until 1946. Such was the political reality created by the ACS in its first fifty years.

Begun by some of America's leading lights, and given the private assignment of ridding America of the free blacks making up an average of 17 percent of the nation's total antebellum black population, the ACS never became politically or financially strong enough to nullify its own internal contradictions or to persuade technically free people of color to leave the only country they had ever known. On the contrary, its program jolted black Americans into a defense of their presence here, making them more determined than ever to become simply Americans. The ACS itself slowly became a letterhead association, operated by a virtually unknown leadership until 1964, when it declared itself dead.

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Amos J. Beyan

## AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT (AIM)

The American Indian Movement (AIM) is an activist organization dedicated to protecting indigenous peoples' rights around the world. AIM's founders and continuing leadership have been American Indians, however, and its agenda and protests have focused primarily on issues of concern to Native North Americans. AIM was founded in Minneapolis, Minnesota, in 1968 as an Indian rights organization that monitored law enforcement treatment of Native people in American cities. AIM chapters quickly became established in several U.S. cities, including Cleveland, Denver, and Milwaukee, and AIM's initial membership was drawn from the ranks of the urban Indian population. AIM's early, and perhaps best-known leaders, included Clyde and Vernon Bellecourt, Dennis Banks, and Russell Means.

### AIM'S BACKGROUND

American Indian resistance movements have existed throughout U.S. history, although early Indian collective actions often were officially defined by the U.S. government as "wars," and they were thus responded to by the U.S. military. During the nineteenth century there were numerous Native American

“revitalization” movements, such as the Ghost Dance in the West and the Handsome Lake revival among the Iroquois in the East. Such movements had an important spiritual dimension and emphasized the elimination of European influence and the return of native traditions and communities. In the twentieth century, American Indian rights organizations emerged to represent Indian interests locally and nationally; these included the Society of American Indians (1911), the Indian Defense League of America (1926), the National Congress of American Indians (1944), the National Indian Youth Council (1961), and Women of All Red Nations (1974). The 1960s ushered in an era of Indian protest activism, beginning with a series of “fish-ins” protesting legal restrictions of traditional tribal fishing rights in the Pacific Northwest and the nineteen-month occupation of Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay by “Indians of All Tribes” protesting the living conditions and rights violations of urban Indians. Although AIM did not organize the fish-ins or the Alcatraz occupation, the intertribal, nationally publicized native-rights focus of both protests served as a template for much of AIM’s activism, and many who had been involved in 1960s protests became associated with AIM in the 1970s.

AIM emerged not only from a rich history of American Indian protest activism. The organization was formed during a period of U.S. history marked by the African American civil rights movement and anti-Vietnam War activism. Although there were few formal links between AIM and civil rights organizations, the ethnic pride, racial grievances, and political demands of civil rights leaders and activists resonated with the dissatisfactions, needs, and resentments of many urban and reservation Indians. AIM blended civil rights and antiwar protest strategies—such as marches, demonstrations, occupations, and sit-ins—with Indian symbolic targets and repertoires of resistance, such as the “capture” of the *Mayflower II* on Thanksgiving in 1970, a brief occupation of Mount Rushmore in 1971, the “Longest Walk” from San Francisco to Washington, D.C., in 1978, and the encampment at Camp Yellow Thunder in South Dakota’s Black Hills in the 1980s. The following description of a 1976 protest against a commemoration of the Battle of Little Bighorn illustrates the rich and confrontational dramaturgy associated with much AIM activism:

Today on a wind-buffed hill covered with buffalo grass, yellow clover and sage, in southeastern Montana where George Armstrong Custer made his last stand, about 150 Indians from various tribes danced joyously around the monument to the Seventh Cavalry dead. Meanwhile at an official National Parks Service ceremony about 100 yards away, an Army band played. . . . Just as the ceremony got underway a caravan of Sioux, Cheyenne and other Indians led by Russell Means, the American Indian Movement leader, strode to the

platform to the pounding of a drum. (Lichtenstein 1976)

#### EARLY AIM ACTIVISM

The “Trail of Broken Treaties” was AIM’s first national protest event of the 1970s, and the event was crucial to publicizing AIM’s central role in organizing American Indian activism, raising Indian rights consciousness in both urban and reservation Indian communities, and recruiting new members in support of the organization and its actions. The “Trail” took place in 1972 as a cross-country caravan that began in California and ended in Washington, D.C., culminating in a weeklong occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. As AIM activists traveled across the country, they stopped at reservations along the way, where many reservation youth joined the caravan. Mary Crow Dog describes the response by young people on the Rosebud Sioux Reservation in South Dakota as AIM passed through:

The American Indian Movement hit our reservation like a tornado, like a new wind blowing out of nowhere, a drumbeat from far off getting louder and louder. It was almost like the Ghost Dance fever that had hit the tribes in 1890. . . . I could feel this new thing, almost hear it, smell it, touch it. Meeting up with AIM for the first time loosened a sort of earthquake inside me. (Crow Dog and Erdoes 1990, p. 73–74)

AIM’s best-known and most controversial protest action began in February 1973 in Wounded Knee, South Dakota, a small town on the Pine Ridge Reservation. The conflict began as a dispute within Pine Ridge’s Oglala Lakota (Sioux) tribe over the controversial tribal chairman, Richard Wilson. Wilson was viewed as a corrupt puppet of the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) by some segments of the tribe, including those associated with AIM. An effort to impeach Wilson resulted in a division of the tribe into opposing camps, which eventually armed themselves and entered into a seventy-one-day siege of surrounded AIM supporters that involved tribal police; reservation residents; federal law enforcement officials; the BIA; local citizens; nationally prominent entertainment figures; national philanthropic, religious, and legal organizations; and the national news media. When the siege ended on May 9, 1973, two Indians were dead and an unknown number were wounded on both sides, including casualties among federal government forces. Dick Wilson remained in office, though he was challenged at the next election. Many AIM members spent the next years in litigation, in exile, and in prison, and several armed conflicts occurred in the wake of the siege as a result of U.S. government counterintelligence programs and vigorous prosecutions that targeted AIM members. The most well known of these cases is that



***Armed Indian Protesters at Wounded Knee.*** On February 27, 1973, members of AIM took over the town of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, to protest the actions of the tribal government of the Oglala Sioux. The 71-day siege brought the plight and concerns of Native Americans to the attention of the American people. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

of Leonard Peltier, who in 2007 remains in prison for a conviction for murder on the Pine Ridge Reservation in 1975.

Less well known is the 1976 death on the Pine Ridge Reservation of Anna Mae Aquash, a Native woman involved with AIM. The controversy surrounding her death centered on whether she died from exposure, as was originally reported, or was shot, and on whether her shooting was politically motivated and carried out by AIM members or by U.S. agents. The Aquash case illustrates the problems faced by Indian women associated with AIM, which (like many native and nonnative protest and political organizations) was run primarily by men, with women often relegated to service and support roles. Despite the limits faced by women in AIM, many Native American women from the generation of AIM activism have risen to prominent positions in tribal government and as leaders of native rights organizations, including Winona LaDuke, the program director of the Honor the Earth Fund; Gail Small, the director of Northern Cheyenne's Native Action; and LaDonna Har-

ris, the founder and president of Americans for Indian Opportunity. Some of these native women leaders recognize the importance of Indian activism in shaping their lives. Wilma Mankiller, a former Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation, describes the personal impact of the Alcatraz occupation as an awakening that ultimately changed the course of her life:

I'd never heard anyone actually tell the world that we needed somebody to pay attention to our treaty rights, that our people had given up an entire continent, and many lives, in return for basic services like health care and education, but nobody was honoring these agreements. For the first time, people were saying things I felt but hadn't known how to articulate. It was very liberating. (Johnson 1996, p. 128)

#### AIM AND ATHLETIC MASCOTS

The use of Indian mascots by athletic teams, schools, and universities has been an issue for AIM activists since the organization's early days, when Russell Means sued the

Cleveland Indians sports franchise over the use of “Chief Wahoo,” its Native American cartoon caricature mascot. AIM’s efforts to retire native sports mascots have met with a good deal of success especially in schools and on college campuses, but Indian mascots remain an ongoing protest issue. In the 1990s, for instance, Charlene Teters, a Spokane graduate student at the University of Illinois, launched a campaign to expose and eliminate the “fighting Illini’s” mascot, “Chief Illiniwek.” Her efforts are documented in an award-winning film, *In Whose Honor*. Despite her efforts, and those of other Indian women and men, opposing the use of sports mascots remains an ongoing struggle for AIM: Chief Illiniwek continues to dance at University of Illinois games, and Chief Wahoo continues to smile on Cleveland Indians fans. In 2005 the National College Athletic Association informed Florida State University (FSU) that it could not compete in national championships if it continued to use the “Seminoles” as its team name and “Chief Osceola” as its mascot. The team was granted a waiver and allowed to continue the use of both the Indian name and the mascot, however, after Max Osceola, member of the Tribal Council of the Seminole Tribe of Florida, testified that it was an “honor” to be associated with FSU. The Seminole Nation of Oklahoma dissented, however, and continued to oppose the use of its name and the Indian mascot. This disagreement among native nations and between a particular tribe and AIM reflects both the diversity in Indian country and the ongoing tensions between AIM and some tribal communities that emerged during and after the Wounded Knee occupation.

#### EXPANDING THE AIM MISSION

In the nearly forty years since its founding, AIM’s major focus has been on American Indian rights in the United States. Since the 1970s, however, AIM leadership has identified many common interests of indigenous people inside and outside the United States. The International Indian Treaty Council, for example, is an AIM-linked organization of indigenous peoples from the Americas and the Pacific focused on issues of sovereignty, self-determination, and the protection of cultural, legal, and land rights.

**SEE ALSO** *Genocide; Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA)*.

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*Joane Nagel*

## AMERICAN NEGRO ACADEMY

The American Negro Academy (ANA), founded on March 5, 1897, in Washington, D.C., was the first national African-American learned society. Although American blacks had established numerous local literary and scholarly societies beginning in the late 1820s, the goals and membership of the American Negro Academy made it a distinct and original endeavor. The academy’s constitution defined it as “an organization of authors, scholars, artists, and those distinguished in other walks of life, men of African descent, for the promotion of Letters, Science, and Art.” The decision to exclude women was based on the belief that “literary . . . and social matters do not mix.”

Although the chief concerns of the ANA’s founders were to strengthen the intellectual life of their racial community, improve the quality of black leadership, and ensure that arguments advanced by “cultured despisers” of their race would henceforth be refuted, it was equally significant that the organization was established at a time when European Americans were creating hundreds of learned, professional, and ethnic historical societies. The academy’s birth was an expression of this general movement among educated members of the American middle class.

#### EARLY MEMBERSHIP

From its establishment until its demise in 1928, the academy claimed as members some of the most important male leaders in the African American community. Alexander Crummell, its first president, was an Episcopal clergyman who held an A.B. from Queen’s College, Cambridge University. Other founders included Francis J. Grimké, a Presbyterian clergyman trained at Lincoln University and Princeton Theological Seminary; W.E.B. Du Bois, a professor of economics and history at Atlanta University and later a founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); William H. Croghan, a professor of classics at Clark University in Atlanta; William S. Scarborough, a scholarly classicist who was on the faculty of Wilberforce University; and John W. Cromwell, a lawyer, politician, and former editor of the *People’s Advocate*, a black newspaper published in Washington, D.C., from 1878 to 1884.



Throughout its existence, the academy continued to attract some of the most intellectually creative black men in the United States. Some of those associated with the organization who achieved their greatest prominence after the turn of the century were John Hope, the president of Morehouse College and later of Atlanta University; Alain Locke, a writer, critic, and key figure in the Harlem Renaissance; Carter G. Woodson, a historian; and James Weldon Johnson, a poet, writer, and civil rights leader.

Relatively speaking, only a handful of educated black men were ever members of the academy. There were several reasons for this. First, the ANA was a selective organization, and entrance was controlled by the membership. Second, its activities and goals appealed mainly to a small group of black men who sought to function as intellectuals and who believed that the results of their efforts were crucial to the development and defense of their racial group. Third, it experienced continuous difficulties in realizing its goals. Finally, the organization never enjoyed the support of Booker T. Washington, the powerful principal of Tuskegee Institute, who for more than half the organization's life was the dominant figure in the African-American community. Washington was invited to become a founding member of the ANA and attend the inaugural meeting in 1897, but he declined, pleading a busy schedule and prior commitments. The real reason for his absence and lack of involvement, however, was his recognition that the major founders and early leaders of the academy (especially Crummell) were sharply critical of his educational theories, particularly his stress on industrial training as the best education for the majority of blacks. They were also at odds with his willingness to compromise with prominent white racists in both the South and the North.

#### OCCASIONAL PAPERS

Between 1897 and 1924, the ANA published twenty-two "Occasional Papers" on subjects related to the culture, history, religion, civil and social rights, and social institutions of African Americans. The process of choosing who would be invited to present papers at academy meetings, and the selection of which of the talks would be printed as Occasional Papers, was managed by the Executive Committee, a body composed of the president, first vice president, corresponding secretary, recording secretary, and treasurer. Although the quality of the papers varied, all of them illuminate the many ways in which, during the first quarter of the twentieth century, an important segment of the small community of educated American blacks attempted intellectually to defend their people, justify their own existence, and challenge the ideas, habits, attitudes, and legal proscriptions that seemed to be locking their race permanently into an "inferior caste."

The Occasional Papers represent the ANA's strongest efforts to refute white supremacist ideology and actions on a scholarly level. Kelly Miller's review of a white statistician's published arguments that Negroes were degenerate and on the verge of extinction (Occasional Paper Number 1, 1897) presented a forceful counterargument. *The Attitude of the American Mind toward the Negro Intellect* (Number 3, 1898), by Alexander Crummell, identified European Americans' hostility to black intellectual achievement as an expression of white racism that had appeared simultaneously with the arrival of the first Africans in the English colonies. Published in 1899, Theophilus G. Steward's *How the Black St. Domingo Legion Saved the Patriot Army in the Siege of Savannah, 1779* (Number 5) was a reminder of the contribution of black soldiers to the creation of the United States and their valor. In various ways all of the subsequent Occasional Papers challenged racism and its intellectual and practical justifications. Among the most forthright, cogent, and incisive were John L. Love's *Disfranchisement of the Negro* (1899) and *The Potentiality of the Negro Vote, North and West* (1905); Lafayette M. Hershaw's *Peonage* (1915); John W. Cromwell's *The Challenge of the Disfranchised: A Plea for the Enforcement of the 15th Amendment* (1924); and the numerous published papers by Archibald H. Grimké, especially *Right on the Scaffold, or the Martyrs of 1822* (1901), *The Meaning and Need to Reduce Southern Representation* (1905), *The Ballotless Victims of One-Party Government* (1915), *The Sex Question and Race Segregation* (1916), and *The Shame of America or the Negro's Case against the Republic* (1924).

Grimké's *The Sex Question and Race Segregation* demonstrates the willingness of ANA members to engage a controversial topic and offer a forceful analysis. His central argument was that as long as whites ruled Negroes, both the oppressors and the oppressed would experience "moral deterioration." For southern blacks and whites, Grimké noted, this process had begun in 1619, when the first cargo of African slaves arrived, and it had led, inevitably, to a "double moral standard" for white men and black women in the South. The consequences of this moral breakdown were reflected in the region's inability to fairly or effectively regulate sexual conduct between males of the dominant race and females of the subordinate race. This moral paralysis stemmed from southern white society's unwillingness to place restraints on white males by providing protection for black women, or to demand that white males accept responsibility for the consequences of their sexual relations with black women. Grimké used blunt language to make absolutely clear his certainty that sexual contacts between black women and white men were shaped and dominated by the predatory and exploitative tendencies of white men.

This situation, Grimké pointed out, was offensive and disturbing to black men, for it was a constant reminder of

*“Image not available for copyright reasons”*

their powerlessness. They could not protect black women from the aggressions of white males, nor did they have similar access to white women. It also stimulated black men to imitate, within their own racial community, the worst sexual behavior of their white counterparts. Grimké also attacked southern white women for their efforts to reform the men of their race through activities that had the effect of further degrading the legal and social standing of their black sisters.

The ANA's publication of occasional papers reflected the organization's determination to challenge white supremacist ideology and actions by including black intellectuals in scholarly and public discourse about matters of consequence at a time when most European Americans refused to give serious attention to the ideas

and opinions of educated African Americans. In these papers, the ANA made available to the American public thoughtful, perceptive, provocative essays on important subjects relating to history, politics, and race relations written by selected members of the organization.

#### INTERNAL PROBLEMS

Throughout its existence, the ANA was preoccupied with survival. As a result, its officers and members were forced to put as much energy into keeping the organization alive as they did into conducting its programs. There was continual concern over issues such as poor member participation, the high rate of dues delinquency, and the lack of public interest in the association's yearly meetings. At annual meetings, officers and members searched for solutions to these problems. The failure of such efforts increased the frustrations of committed members. In addition, there was the discouraging reality of how few of the academy's goals were being realized. The projected full membership of fifty was never attained; hopes that the society would become a strong influence on educated blacks—especially those in education and politics—were not realized; efforts by the ANA to combat racist ideas propagated by whites received little attention from either the white or black community; and when the organization entered the twentieth year of its existence, in 1917, it still lacked a journal. The irregular publication of the Occasional Papers remained its only printed offering.

From 1919 to 1928, the fortunes of the American Negro Academy declined further. Officers and members sought to strengthen the association by attempting to enrich the programs at annual meetings, expand membership, and rewrite the group's constitution. Some efforts were more successful than others, but none succeeded in transforming the academy into a major intellectual force in the African-American community or the American community at large. By 1921 the leading members of the black intellectual community had lost interest in the organization, most judging it to be either in unstoppable decline or a failure. With the exception of Alaine Locke, who accepted ANA membership as a courtesy to older black friends trying to keep the society alive, the few willing to be inducted into the organization during the 1920s were neither intellectuals nor scholars, nor were they involved directly in such important developments in the black community as the Marcus Garvey movement or the New Negro movement. Locke's position as a distinguished academic, and his role as one of the major spokespersons and interpreters of the “New Negro's” artistic and cultural “awakening” made him unique among those who remained active in the ANA.

Between 1920 and 1928 the academy experienced a steady loss of nominal members—many of whom were inactive anyway—through attrition and death. A considerable number joined “mainstream” learned societies that had a predominantly white membership. This was especially true of those who were academics. Others, including some who had been among the ANA’s most active members, accelerated their involvement in the work of the NAACP and the National Urban League. It did not help ensure a future for the ANA so that Carter G. Woodson, the founder of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (ASNLH) and for a time a member of the ANA, concluded that the society had outlived its usefulness. With great success, he encouraged educated blacks to invest in his organization and ignore the ANA.

Many of the ANA’s problems, and some of its failures, were related to the unresolved tension between two of its goals: a commitment to honor men of intellectual achievement and promote their writings, and a commitment to honor and affirm men whose careers were deemed to be positive models of racial leadership. Because Crummell and the ANA’s other founding members had combined both functions in their careers, they built this double commitment into the organization’s criteria for membership. In his inaugural address, Crummell spoke for most of the persons present, as well as many who would later become members of the academy, when he stressed the inseparable link between scholarly work and public service, declaring that true scholars were also “reformers” and “philanthropists.”

In 1897 this was a widely held perspective in the black community, where many educated blacks viewed themselves (just as they were viewed by the majority of their race) as being under a moral obligation not only to make a contribution in the fields for which they were trained, but also to serve their race in the broadest way possible. The fact that many white Americans had a similar conception of the responsibilities of intellectuals served to reinforce black commitment to this understanding. However, at the very time the academy was launched, this understanding was being challenged in both the black and white communities by societal and attitudinal changes that were steadily producing more sharply delimited definitions of occupational roles, particularly in the professions. After 1897, these forces would become even stronger, eventually displacing older conceptions of the intellectual’s role. This development, which strongly influenced the self-concept of many black intellectuals, especially those educated after 1900, accentuated the problems created for the academy by tensions that existed between its stated goals.

The ANA’s failure to clarify the relationship between these two goals had a major impact in the area of mem-

bership, both in regard to the type of men who were elected and to what they were able and willing to do to support the organization. As a result, from the time it was founded, the academy had a built-in problem in regard to its criteria for membership, one that would become all the more troublesome because the nature of the problem would be unclear for some time. Indeed, during the first eighteen to twenty years of the group’s existence, no one analyzed the problem carefully enough to get at the heart of the difficulty.

#### THE NATURE OF THE MEMBERSHIP

Although on paper it was a society of scholars, the academy elected a large number of members who were only marginally intellectual. These men respected scholarship and the life of the mind, but their work and interests were neither scholarly nor intellectual. At the same time, the organization included other members who were engaged personally in the production of ideas and research, either because they valued such activities per se or as a means of furthering the goals of the ANA. The continuous disappointments the organization experienced as it sought unsuccessfully to secure the regular payment of dues, to increase member attendance at annual meetings, and to persuade certain members to prepare and deliver papers at annual meetings were—not solely, but to a large extent—related to this unresolved tension between differing goals that led to the election of many persons who were unable, unwilling, and uninterested in being working members of a learned society.

Throughout its existence, to some of its members the ANA was an honorary society rather than a working group. Many of those elected as members treated their induction, and that of others, as if it were similar to being elected to Phi Beta Kappa or the Royal Geographic Society, rather than as being admitted to a working group such as the American Academy of Political and Social Science or the Society of American Historians. Although this problem affected the society negatively from its earliest days, no member identified it or offered a solution until Carter G. Woodson did in 1921. When the members of the organization rejected the reforms proposed by Woodson and chose to continue to function as before, Woodson decided he was through with the ANA. This refusal to endorse Woodson’s reforms had a direct bearing on the ANA’s growing difficulties thereafter, and on its subsequent collapse. Intellectually productive members continued to become inactive, and those who had already done so found their decision reinforced. To black intellectuals who were not members, especially younger ones, the rejection of Woodson’s reforms was a clear indication that the majority of the society’s members were unwilling to permit changes that

would transform the ANA into an organization whose central activity was to generate and publicize scholarship that challenged white supremacist ideology and actions.

The failure to resolve the tension between intellectual activity and racial leadership had another negative consequence. With the membership criteria unchanged, marginal intellectuals continued to be drawn into the ANA, and eventually they constituted the majority of members. After 1921, as older members who were productive scholars and intellectuals withdrew, died, or became more involved in other organizations and activities, marginal intellectuals were elected to positions of leadership. These officers were detached from the scholarly and intellectual tradition embodied by the ANA's founders, and they were out of touch with the most creative black intellectuals and scholars of the middle and late 1920s. In their choice of programs and selection of new members, they were influenced strongly by the society's honorific tradition. However, because the ANA was essentially unknown in the larger black community, there was no legitimate basis for considering membership in it to be an honor.

#### THE FINAL YEARS

The 1920s, the decade of the "New Negro," was a time of crisis for the ANA. During this decade, the organization was forced to come to terms with the ineffectiveness of its efforts to function as the intellectual voice of the "Talented Tenth." The fundamental reasons for this ineffectiveness were the society's poverty, its lack of a broadly based and supportive audience in either the black or white community, and an unresolved tension in its criteria for membership that undercut its efforts to be a learned society and confused its public image. These were difficulties with a history as long as the existence of the society.

In the 1920s the ANA was confronted by a new problem that proved to be as insoluble and as destructive as any of the earlier ones. The "civilizationist" goals espoused by the academy were based on the belief of its founders that blacks, in order to progress as a race, had to gain the respect of whites. These leaders wanted to appropriate for themselves the most positive aspects of "the more advanced cultures" of Europe and the United States in order to become a political, economic, and cultural force in the world. But this view was at odds with the new mood of blacks, as expressed by their enthusiastic endorsement of the leadership and ideas of Marcus Garvey and embodied in Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association. The tension between these two views, combined with its internal failures, would bring the existence of the ANA to an end.

Despite all the difficulties that led to the demise of the American Negro Academy in 1928, it survived for thirty-one years, functioning for much of its existence as a setting in which a significant number of its members and supporters shared their intellectual and scholarly work with each other and engaged in critical reflection on it. Through annual meetings, the Occasional Papers, exhibits, and the public interest these activities generated, the ANA was able to initiate dialogues in both the black and white communities that were important contributions to a growing discussion in the United States, Africa, and Europe about race and the relationship between blacks and whites. The ANA introduced the concerns and opinions of educated blacks into a few places where they had previously been ignored or gone unnoticed, and it encouraged the growing pride among a small but influential group of educated African Americans, young and old, in their culture and history.

The ANA both sustained and perpetuated the black protest tradition in an age of accommodation and proscription. By functioning as a source of affirmation and encouragement for an important segment of the black intelligentsia and as a setting in which they could seek to understand the meaning of the African American experience, the ANA was a model for other (and sometimes more successful) black organizations founded after 1897 that engaged in similar work or attempted to realize goals the ANA found unattainable. Perhaps most important, for its active members, the academy's various programs and activities and the interactions they promoted formed a dynamic process in which participants began to free themselves from the entanglements and confusions of ideas and theories that made them feel insecure about their own worth, ashamed of the history and condition of blacks, and doubtful of their race's future possibilities. By strengthening and adding to the intellectual autonomy and insight of its members, the academy helped to prepare them and their supporters for more informed, honest dialogue with each other, with blacks in the United States and other parts of the world, and, when they would listen, with whites.

SEE ALSO *Du Bois, W. E. B.; Washington, Booker T.*

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*Alfred A. Moss Jr.*

## ANTEBELLUM BLACK ETHNOLOGY

Antebellum black ethnology arose as a challenge to mainstream ethnology, the nineteenth-century “science of the races.” Most prevalent in the United States, the field of ethnology emerged in the 1830s and 1840s as white American scientists first began to study anatomy, craniology, and human development. At the time, human development was still understood in a religious framework, and these scientists sought to reconcile racial difference with biblical history in a way that led to new questions about the unity of the human family, and about the place of people of color within it. Now often known as “scientific racism,” this work focused on racial differences, and it invariably classified blacks and other people of color as inferior and innately distinct from white people. Accordingly, American ethnology, as put forth by white authors, lent support to proslavery apologists such as Josiah Nott (1804–1873), who drew on its arguments for black inferiority to support the perpetuation of slavery. Black Americans, however, countered with ethnological arguments of their own.

Antebellum black ethnology defended the status of black people in the human family and the scriptures, stressing that all the races of humanity descended from a shared ancestry. Among the nineteenth-century blacks who wrote and spoke about ethnology were a number of well-known figures such as Frederick Douglass (1817–1895) and Martin Delany (1812–1885), as well as scores of more obscure black thinkers.

### THE ORIGINS OF BLACK ETHNOLOGY

In addressing ethnology in the 1850s, Delany and Douglass joined an already well-established tradition of black racial self-defense. Published African-American defenses of the capacities of the black race date back to the eighteenth-century, when African-Americans first confronted published arguments for black inferiority. Among the earliest arguments they encountered came from Thomas Jefferson. Writing in *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1789), Jefferson “advanced, as a suspicion only, that blacks whether originally a distinct race, or made distinct by time, are inferior to whites in the endowments of body and mind” (p. 262). Jefferson’s speculations were soon answered by an African-American contemporary named Benjamin Banneker (1731–1806), a self-educated former slave who achieved considerable renown as a mathematician, astronomer, and surveyor. In a public letter to Jefferson written in 1792, Banneker stressed that “we are all of the same human family” and implored the founding father to “embrace every opportunity to eradicate that train of absurd and false

opinions and ideas, which so generally prevails with respect to us” (Nash 1990, p. 178). Jefferson’s response to Banneker was cordial, but his views seem to have remained the same. In a private letter to a friend, Jefferson wrote “I have a long letter from Banneker, which shows him to have a mind of a very common stature indeed” (Bay 2000, p. 17).

Jefferson’s negative assessment of the capacities of the black race would be increasingly widely supported in the nineteenth century. Antiblack thought proliferated in both the North and South in the early decades of the nineteenth century, as the egalitarian spirit of the Revolutionary era ebbed and slavery became ever more entrenched in the South. Among southerners, theories of black inferiority were used to defend slavery from the small but active group of northern abolitionists who began to challenge the morality of slavery. Meanwhile, in the North, blacks achieved the freedom mandated under the Revolutionary-era gradual emancipation laws, only to find themselves despised by many northern whites. As the North’s free black population burgeoned, whites there expressed little enduring support for African-American emancipation and quickly came to view the poverty and lack of education common among free blacks as evidence of the limitations of their race. Black ethnology thus had its beginning as African Americans mobilized to defend themselves from critics in both the North and South.

Such self-defenses became ever more necessary as the nineteenth century progressed. By the 1820s, the traditional environmentalist understanding of racial differences as the product of the distinctive climates and environments that nurtured the world’s different peoples had begun to give way to new questions about human unity—and about whether all humans really descended from the same ancestors. In an era when the transmission of physical traits from generation to generation was still something of a mystery, and when the time span covered by the scriptures was still thought to record the entire human history, environmentalism posed a number of scientific conundrums when it came to explaining racial difference. The most mysterious had to do with the brevity of human history: How had human beings developed such divergent physical characteristics over the few thousand years covered in the scriptures? Human physical characteristics did not change all that rapidly from one generation to the next, no matter what the influence of climate was. In the 1830s and 1840s these issues were taken up by the American School of Ethnology, a group of prominent American scientists led by Samuel Morton (1799–1851) of Philadelphia, who would ultimately argue that the races of humanity were the product of polygenesis, or separate creations.

### POLYGENESIS VERSUS MONOGENESIS IN BLACK AND WHITE

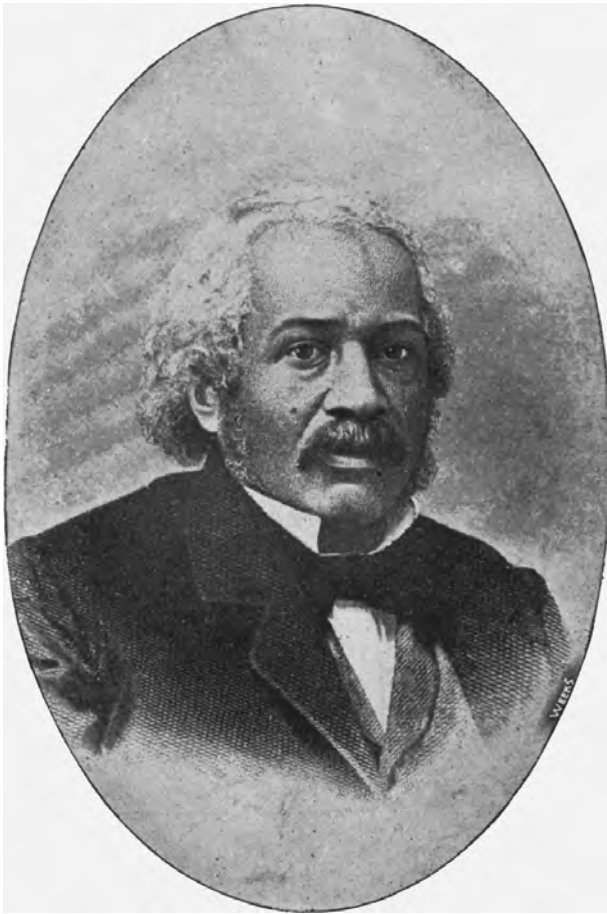
In polygenesis, African Americans encountered a galling new and scientifically authoritative theory of black inferiority, which literally wrote them out of traditional accounts of human history. Morton and other members of the American School rejected the time-honored monogenetic understanding of human development favored by earlier American thinkers such as Samuel Stanhope Smith (1751–1819). Whereas Smith held that men and women of all races descended from Adam and Eve, and attributed the diversity of human populations to environmental influences, Morton questioned whether the different human races had common ancestors. A craniologist, Morton researched the skull as a measure of human capacity and assumed that, studied across time, skull measurements could be used to trace the history of human development and racial differences. Accordingly, Morton's research was based on a collection of 900 skulls, both ancient and modern and from all over the world. The measurements from his collection, he said, showed a pattern of racial differences across time in which whites had the largest skulls and blacks the smallest, and other people of color ranged in between. These persistent differences between the races led him to conclude that racial distinctions were far too ancient and enduring to be the product of environmental forces. Instead, he maintained, the racially distinct cranial measurements seen in the populations of ancient Egypt, early America, and the modern United States provided irrefutable evidence that the races did not share the same ancestors. There must have been more than one genesis: Only a polygenesis could explain human diversity.

Twenty-first-century scientists have rejected creationism in favor of evolution, and they have also proved that Morton's measurements were riddled with errors. Moreover, even in his own day, the theory of polygenesis was by no means universally accepted among whites, many of whom greeted the notion of multiple creations as rank heresy. Still, polygenesis horrified African-Americans, especially as they saw it achieving increasing scientific prominence over time. Black intellectuals mobilized to reject this new theory with an ethnology of their own, which enlarged upon previous African-American defenses of the African race with increasingly detailed discussions of the origins and character of the races of humans. Benjamin Robert Lewis (1802–1859), a Maine resident, wrote the first book-length work on ethnology by a black author—a work called *Light and Truth: Collected from the Bible and the Ancient and Modern History Containing the Universal History of the Colored and Indian Races; from the Creation of the World to the Present Time* (1844). Lewis stressed that Adam and Eve were people of color, as were the Egyptians and many of the heroes of the ancient

world—including Plato and Julius Caesar. Lewis's enthusiastic account of the history of the colored race was overblown enough to make the black nationalist Martin Delany worry that *Light and Truth* did little more than reverse the errors of white ethnologists such as George Glidden, “who makes all ancient black men *white* . . . this colored man makes all ancient great white men *black*” (Bay 2000, p. 45). But in the years to come, other black writers, including well-known figures such as Delany, would produce more measured critiques of white ethnology.

The African-American ministers Hosea Easton (1779–1837) and James Pennington (1807–1870), for example, both drew on their knowledge of the scriptures to underscore the unity of the human race. Born free in 1779, Easton led the African Methodist Episcopal Church in Hartford, Connecticut, until his early death in 1837—just six weeks after he published *A Treatise on the Intellectual Character, and Civil and Political Condition of the Colored People of the United States* (1837). Easton's *Treatise* defended the history and origins of the black race with a detailed reading of the history of the races as recorded in the scriptures. Like Lewis, he underscored that the African race descended from Adam and Eve, and he traced the race's ancestry down from Noah's son Ham, who settled Africa and Egypt. It was Ham's children, he maintained, rather than the “savage” European descendants of Ham's brother Japhet, who carried “the blessings of civilization to Greece” (p. 10). Despite this unfavorable comparison, Easton rejected any notion of innate distinctions between the races. Variations in complexion and hair texture among different groups, he argued, were “casual or incidental,” and any racial deficiencies seen in African-Americans were caused by slavery, which, he believed, created physical and mental deformities that could pass from mother to child. In addition to defending the lineage and innate capacities of the black race, Easton also presented a searing critique of white theories about black inferiority, which he described as “the production of European philosophy, bearing date [originating] with European slavery” (p. 42). White American complaints about blacks were little more than a “plea of justification” for slavery, he contended. “What could better accord with the object of this nation with reference to blacks than to teach their little ones that the Negro is part monkey?” (p. 42).

Writing in 1841, James Pennington, who had escaped from slavery to become a Congregationalist minister, made a similar case for the common origins of the human family and the illustrious history of the African race. “The arts and sciences had origins in our ancestors,” he wrote of the Egyptians and Ethiopians, and “from them have flown forth to the world.” Pennington took on not only polygenesis, but also some older theories of black inferiority that



**Dr. James McCune Smith.** After becoming the first African American to earn a medical degree and practice medicine in the United States, Smith (1813–1865) used his scientific knowledge to refute racist stereotypes. He was also a leader in the fight for black voting rights. MANUSCRIPTS, ARCHIVES AND RARE BOOKS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

located its causes within the Bible. “We are not the seed of Cain as the stupid say,” he wrote, making short work of one such theory (p. 7). Cain’s offspring perished in the deluge. However, he devoted more time to debunking the notion that black people labored under the Curse of Ham, a theory that held considerable currency in the white South, and complicated African-American claims to Hamitic ancestry. The idea of a curse originated in a confusing biblical story (Genesis 9:20–25) in which Noah condemns Ham’s son Canaan to be “a servant of servants” after Ham comes across Noah lying naked and drunk in his tent. Long associated with slavery in Western culture, the story of the Curse of Ham was widely applied to blacks after the development of racial slavery in the Americas. However, as Pennington points out, such interpretations of Ham’s curse do not mesh with the scriptural record. The curse was on

Canaan rather than his brother Cush, who settled Ethiopia. Moreover, the story seemed dubious as a justification for the slavery of any group, as it required God to empower the ill-tempered curses of a drunken patriarch: “Is the spirit of wine the spirit of God?” (p. 18)

African Americans also tried to challenge white ethnology on more scientific ground. The most scientifically accomplished African-American to do so was James McCune Smith (1813–1865), America’s first black M.D. Rejected by American medical schools on account of his race, Smith received his M.D. in Glasgow, Scotland, in 1837. An abolitionist and physician, Smith was a prolific essayist, and he used his medical training to challenge the ethnological arguments made by the white scientists of his day. In a series of essays published during the 1830s and 1840s, Smith mobilized data drawn from his medical practice to reject the idea that blacks and whites were anatomically distinct, and to refute the popular belief that African Americans were more short-lived than white Americans. An environmentalist, like most blacks who wrote on ethnology, Smith believed that racial differences were neither ancient nor immutable. Rather, he saw them as the result of the diverse climates that nurtured different human groups. He also contended that, under the influence of their nation’s temperate climate, black Americans would eventually become indistinguishable from whites, that “the Ethiopian can change his skin.”

Likewise, Martin Delany also approached ethnology with scientific training. Raised in Pennsylvania, Delany apprenticed with a doctor there and was subsequently admitted to Harvard Medical School. However, he was forced out of Harvard after only one semester by white medical students who opposed the enrollment of African Americans in their program. Nonetheless, during his subsequent career as a political activist and writer, Delany returned to the study of science, presenting several discussions of ethnology in his written works. In *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States* (1852), Delany rejected the idea of polygenesis, but he did not rule out important racial differences. He contended, in fact, that the African race was “physically superior to any living race of men” (p. 36). Further expanding on these distinctions in the postbellum era, he published *Principia of Ethnology: The Origin of Races and Color* (1879). A detailed ethnological monograph, *Principia* underscored the different historical records of blacks and whites—whom Delany saw as a naturally aggressive people. Delany attributed both physical and temperamental distinctions among human races to the varying amounts of concentrated rouge, or “pigmentum nigrum,” in the skin that distinguished the descendants of Ham, Japhet, and Shem (p. 23).

The careers of Smith and Delany illustrate the immense difficulties African-Americans faced in gaining access to the kind of scientific training and credentials that might have allowed nineteenth-century African-American writings on ethnology to be taken seriously by mainstream scientists. By and large unschooled in science, African Americans could offer little concrete evidence to counter the data offered by white scientists such as Morton. Most of the African Americans who wrote on ethnology had to rely on the scriptures for evidence that all people were “of one blood.” Still, from the early twenty-first century vantage point, nineteenth-century black ethnology was only a little less scientific than the findings of the American School of Ethnology. Both were products of an era in which science and religion were not yet distinct. The theories of polygenesis and monogenesis alike mixed biblical and scientific thought in ways that made scriptural exegesis a scientific activity. Moreover, in the long run, the environmentalism theories of human development defended by African-American authors have proven far less preposterous in the light of modern understandings of human evolution than the American School’s arguments against the common ancestry of the human species.

In the nineteenth century, however, black authors could bring little scientific or cultural authority to their arguments, and they therefore made little headway in challenging the findings of the American School. Morton’s racial rankings, by contrast, “outlived the theory of separate creations, and were reprinted widely during the nineteenth century as irrefutable ‘hard’ data on the mental worth of the races” (Gould 1981, p. 53). As the abolitionist and fugitive slave Frederick Douglass observed in reference to mainstream antebellum ethnology, “the wish is the father of the thought,” by which he meant that white scientists who lived in a nation that tolerated racial slavery needed to see black people as inferior, and they thus found data to support their presumptions (p. 500).

Douglass addressed the subject of ethnology in a popular lecture titled “The Races of Man,” which he delivered frequently during the 1840s and 1850s, and also in a more learned discourse, “The Claims of the Negro Ethnologically Concerned” (1854). In the latter volume, he marshaled the full range of scientific and scriptural arguments presented by previous black authors to affirm “the oneness of the human family,” defend the historical record of the African race, and reject the American School’s “profound discoveries of ethnological science.” These “Southern pretenders to science” were little more than spokesmen for slavery, he wrote. “When men oppress their fellow men: the oppressor ever finds in the characterization of the oppressed, their justification” (p. 510).

The antebellum black ethnology produced by Frederick Douglass and others is perhaps more impressive for it

prescient critique of mainstream white science than it is for its defense of monogenesis, environmentalism, and black accomplishments in Africa and Egypt—which sound a little quaint to the modern reader. But black ethnology’s staunch defense of the origins and accomplishments of the African race was considered crucial by antebellum black authors, who worried that theories such as polygenesis would perpetuate slavery and foster a belief in black inferiority among blacks and whites alike. Accordingly, antebellum black ethnology should be appreciated not only within the context of early African-American scholarship on science, the scriptures, and human history—all of which it engages—but also as a chapter in black resistance to racism. By rejecting and refuting the mainstream white-authored ethnology that branded black people as a race distinct in origin and inferior by nature, the African Americans who wrote on ethnology helped provide an intellectual foundation for the African-American emancipation struggles of the era.

**SEE ALSO** *Allen, Richard; Black Reconstruction; Christian Identity; Douglass, Frederick; Genesis and Polygenesis; Morton, Samuel George; Scientific Racism, History of; Smith, James McCune.*

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*Mia Bay*

## ANTHROPOLOGY, HISTORY OF

Anthropology is the discipline that studies races, cultures, languages, and the evolution of the human species. It is broad in scope, incorporating the archeologist surveying Inca ruins, the cultural anthropologist collecting folklore in Appalachia, and the biological anthropologist mapping the gene sequences of lemurs. Yet the science of anthropology has long been steeped in debates, discussions, and controversies concerning race, racism, and the very meaning of human differences.

Anthropology has also been concerned with the so-called psychic unity of humankind, and with the fact that races and peoples the world over are essentially the same, both in terms of evolutionary biology and the acquisition and manipulation of culture. Tensions between investigating the universalism or particularism of the human condition, and between calibrating difference in relative terms or in terms of a hierarchy have been responsible for shaping much of this science that politicians, journalists, philanthropists, and even Supreme Court justices have routinely used in the rather messy and contradictory processes of race making in America. Perhaps more than any other social science, the development of anthropology has been instrumental in shaping racial constructs, while the development of racial constructs has also been instrumental in shaping anthropology.

### COLONIAL ERA AND SLAVERY

The concept of "race" is a modern one, and the sustained study of it in the United States emerged when proponents of the institution of slavery needed scientists to

defend that institution from religious abolitionists, who called for the unity of God's children, and from Enlightenment critics, who called for liberty, fraternity, and equality of man. During the early colonial experience in North America, "race" was not a term that was widely employed. Notions of difference were often couched in religious terms, and comparisons between "heathen" and "Christian," "saved" and "unsaved," and "savage" and "civilized" were used to distinguish African and indigenous peoples from Europeans. Beginning in 1661 and continuing through the early eighteenth century, ideas about race began to circulate after Virginia and other colonies started passing legislation that made it legal to enslave African servants and their children.

In 1735 the Swedish naturalist Carl Linnaeus completed his first edition of *Systema Naturae*, in which he attempted to differentiate various types of people scientifically. He identified humans as a single species within the primate family and did not explicitly rank types of people within a hierarchy. However, his value-laden judgments that Europeans were "governed by laws" while Africans were "governed by caprice" reinforced ideas that European society was the apex of Christian civilization (Linnaeus 1997 [1735], p.13).

The same year that Thomas Jefferson penned the *Declaration of Independence* and claimed, as self-evident, "that all men are created equal" Johann Blumenbach published *On the Natural Varieties of Mankind*, in which he divided the human race into separate and unequal varieties. It was Blumenbach who provided the four basic racial categories that people still grapple with in the early twenty-first century: Caucasian, Mongolian, Ethiopian, and American (he later added a fifth category, Malayan). Despite his claims about the unity of humanity, Blumenbach viewed Europeans as the most advanced, and he argued that all other varieties degenerated from Caucasians, which he believed was "the most handsome and becoming" type (Blumenbach 1997 [1776], p. 84).

Enlightenment scientists helped to shift the discussion of human difference from the ecclesiastical to the natural world, but this did little to reduce institutional racism. In fact, scientific racism flourished in the wake of the French and American revolutions. In North America, the lofty ideals of equality, freedom, and liberty could not be reconciled with the institution of slavery and the acquisition of indigenous land. In Europe, meanwhile, these ideals did not square with colonialism and anti-Semitism. Indeed, the fraternity of those who were equal and free was exclusive: women, children, and the insane were always excluded from the rights and privileges of citizenship and equality under the law, and many began to turn to the science of ethnology to exclude nonwhite men as well (Fredrickson 2002, p. 68). People who had a stake in maintaining the

idea that all people had inalienable rights and a stake in maintaining racial inequality found scientific categories of race useful because those who were deemed racially inferior were also deemed incapable of shouldering the responsibilities of citizenship and thus did not qualify for rights and privileges—rights and privileges were contingent upon the responsibilities of citizenship.

Stated differently, only men of the “superior” white race were considered fully capable, while members of inferior races and all women were not equal, not free, did not have liberty, and could not be citizens. For example, Thomas Jefferson, in *Notes on the State of Virginia*, turned to the language of ethnology to advance the notion “that the blacks, whether originally a distinct race, or made distinct by time and circumstances, are inferior to the whites in the endowments both of body and mind.” Jefferson was clear that one should and could clearly rank the races and keep them “as distinct as nature has formed them” (1996 [1781], p.143).

Despite using race to justify inequality, most enlightenment thinkers still believed in the doctrine of “monogenetic origins,” of a single creation of all humanity. Although beliefs in monogenism were neither coherent nor consistent, ideas of human unity did not of themselves imply equality, and consequently monogenism did not necessarily support arguments for the abolition of slavery and the sovereignty of indigenous nations.

Several Enlightenment scholars, however, used the language of ethnology and scientific methods in an attempt to prove that racial differences were inconsequential and that it was a fool’s errand to rank the races and view racial differences in terms of inferior and superior. For example, Samuel Stanhope Smith (1751–1819), a Presbyterian minister and the president of Princeton University, passionately argued that blacks and whites shared innate characteristics. He persuasively documented how “it is impossible to draw the line precisely between the various races,” explaining that it would be “a useless labor to attempt it” (1810 [1787], p. 240). Benjamin Rush, a prominent Philadelphia physician who signed the *Declaration of Independence*, was certain that science and Christianity both demonstrated the “original and natural equality of all mankind” (1987 [1798], p. 686).

#### JACKSONIAN AMERICA AND POLYGENISM

Late eighteenth-century ethnology established the scientific foundation for the field, which began to mature during Andrew Jackson’s term as president of the United States (1829–1837). Jackson was responsible for implementing the Indian Removal Act of 1830, which resulted in the coerced and forced removal of an estimated 100,000 persons racially identified as American Indians. In addition,

Jackson’s policies insured that the franchise was extended to all white men, irrespective of financial means while virtually all black men were denied the right to vote. He also suppressed abolitionists’ efforts to end slavery while vigorously defending that institution. Finally, Jackson was responsible for appointing Roger B. Taney as Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court. It was Taney who would decide, in *Scott v. Sandford* (1857), that Negroes were “beings of an inferior order, and altogether unfit to associate with the white race . . . and so far inferior that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect.” As a result of this decision, black people, whether free or enslaved, were denied citizenship in the United States.

It was in this context that the so-called American school of anthropology thrived as the champion of polygenism (the doctrine of multiple origins), sparking a debate between those who believed in the unity of humanity and those who argued for the plurality of origins and the antiquity of distinct types. Like the monogenists, the polygenists were not united in their views, and they often used words such as *race*, *species*, *hybrid*, and *mongrel* interchangeably. A scientific consensus began to emerge during this period that there was a genus *Homo* made up of several different primordial types of species. Charles Caldwell, Samuel George Morton, Samuel A. Cartwright, George Gliddon, Josiah C. Nott, Louis Agassiz, and even South Carolina Governor James Henry Hammond were all influential proponents of polygenetic origins. While some were apparently disinterested scientists, others were passionate advocates who used science to promote slavery in a period of increasing sectional strife. All were complicit in establishing the putative science that justified slavery, informed the Dred Scott decision, underpinned miscegenation laws, and eventually fueled the establishment of Jim Crow laws. Samuel G. Morton, for example, claimed to be just a scientist, but he did not hesitate to provide evidence of Negro “inferiority” to John C. Calhoun, the prominent proslavery secretary of state, to help him negotiate the annexation of Texas as a slave state.

#### *TYPES OF MANKIND, 1854*

The high-point of polygenetic theories was Josiah Nott and George Gliddon’s voluminous 800-page book entitled *Types of Mankind*, published in 1854. Reprinting selected works by Louis Agassiz and Samuel Morton, the authors spread vituperative and explicitly racist views to a wider, more popular audience. The first edition quickly sold out, and by century’s end the book had undergone nine editions. Although many proponents of slavery felt that the Bible provided enough justification, others used the new science to defend slavery and the repression of American Indians, and abolitionists felt compelled to take on this science on its own terms. In the immediate



**John Wesley Powell with Paiute Indian.** Powell headed the U.S. Geological Survey from 1881 until 1894. He created a Bureau of Ethnology to collect information on Indian societies, believing this knowledge would help the government “civilize” the Native population. He is seen here on a survey of Arizona in 1873. AUTHENTICATED NEWS/GETTY IMAGES.

wake of *Types of Mankind*, African American intellectuals joined the effort and waded into to the contemptuous debate. For example, during the pitched political battles that led to the Civil War, the statesman and persuasive abolitionist Frederick Douglass (1818–1895) directly attacked the leading theorists of the American school. In an 1854 address, entitled “The Claims of the Negro, Ethnologically Considered,” Douglass underscored the peculiar logic in these arguments:

By making the enslaved a character fit only for slavery, [slave owners] excuse themselves for refusing to make the slave a freeman. . . . For let it be once granted that the human race are of multitudinous origin, naturally different in their moral, physical, and intellectual capacities . . . a chance is left for slavery, as a necessary institution. . . . There is no doubt that Messrs. Nott, Glidden, Morton,

Smith and Agassiz were duly consulted by our slavery propagating statesmen. (p. 287)

Critiquing the same science in the service of racism, Haitian anthropologist Joseph-Ant nor Firmin published *De l’ galit  des races humaines* (*On the Equality of Human Races*) in 1885. This painstakingly researched tome was a direct rebuttal to Count Arthur de Gobineau’s politically motivated four-volume work *Essai sur l’in galit  des races humaines* (*Essay on the Inequality of Human Races*, 1853–1855). Gobineau had asserted flatly that the Aryan race was superior and that Negroes and other people of color were simply inferior. Firmin argued the opposite, that “all men are endowed with the same qualities and the same faults, without distinction of color or anatomical form. The races are equal” (2000 [1854], p. 450). Firmin grew up in Haiti, but served as a diplomat in Paris where

he was admitted to the Société d' Anthropologie de Paris in 1884. His persuasive arguments and penchant critique of many of that society's leading members made him one of the first to engage in the so-called vindicationist struggle in anthropology. Many scholars also associate his work with early ideas of Pan-Africanism.

#### THE BUREAU OF ETHNOLOGY

Although the American Civil War and Charles Darwin's theories of natural selection brought about the eventual demise of theories of polygenism, the close relationship between scientific racism and ethnology continued. After the Civil War, anthropology in the United States became professionalized, associated with museums, and focused almost exclusively on the "Indian problem." The institution that led the way was the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of American Ethnology. In the spring of 1879 the Civil War hero John Wesley Powell (1834-1902) convinced Congress to consolidate various geographical surveys into the U.S. Geological Survey and establish a special bureau of ethnology. Powell emphasized the application of knowledge to justify the bureau's inception. Ethnology, he argued, could help to solve the Indian problem. In a prospectus for the bureau, he demonstrated the utility of having a stand-alone agency that could use science in this regard:

The rapid spread of civilization since 1849 had placed the white man and the Indian in direct conflict throughout the whole area, and the "Indian Problem" is thus thrust upon us and it *must* be solved, wisely or unwisely. Many of the difficulties are inherent and cannot be avoided, but an equal number are unnecessary and are caused by the lack of our knowledge relating to the Indians themselves. (Powell 1878, p.15)

Powell indicated that ethnology could provide intelligence about Indians, and that this was important because their practices "must necessarily be overthrown before new institutions, customs, philosophy, and religion can be introduced" (1878, p. 15). His blueprint for the bureau was twofold: it would serve Indian agencies by providing information to help manage and control dissimilar tribes, and it would serve Smithsonian science by providing research about disappearing societies. The bureau produced research under the rubric of natural history. The discovery, description, and cataloguing of Indian languages, customs, and kinship terminologies soon filled the elaborate annual reports, which highlighted the collective work of the bureau as well as individual staff members. Although most of the Bureau's scientists respected American Indian culture, all were clear in their belief that whites were racially superior. James Mooney (1861-1921), however, was a strident

force within the bureau. He carefully analyzed American Indian religious practices and argued that "the difference is only relative," explaining that there was not a hierarchical or vast difference between so-called savage Indians and civilized whites. He also wrote, under the auspices of the bureau, *The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890*, which was a devastating critique of the U.S. Army's massacre at Wounded Knee and an eloquent explanation of the Ghost Dance religion.

#### FRANZ BOAS

Anthropology soon began to move from museums to universities and liberal arts colleges, beginning with Harvard University and the University of Pennsylvania. Anthropology was slowly institutionalized at Columbia University, and by 1904 Columbia's program was under the leadership of Franz Boas (1858-1942). A German-born Jew, Boas came to Columbia by way of the American Museum of Natural History, where he pursued research on American Indians of the Pacific Northwest. He was skeptical of theories of culture or civilization that ranked and ordered objects and races from low to high and from simple to complex. Drawing on German philosophy, he argued that people around the world created distinct and particular cultures, and that these should be viewed holistically and relative to other cultures, not within a hierarchy. He was a critic of the comparative method, which compared different groups and races within the rubrics of savage, barbarian, and civilized. Boas believed that the objects people make, the languages they speak, and the gods they worship contribute to unique cultures that have a specific history and view of the world.

This was an important paradigm shift in an era when restrictive immigration, Jim Crow segregation, and forced sterilization were justified by racialist science and eugenics, which entailed the use of selective breeding and sterilization to improve society. Boas, who is widely perceived as the father of American anthropology, worked closely with such notable African-American intellectuals as William E. B. Du Bois, Carter G. Woodson, Alain Locke, Arthur Fauset, and Zora Neale Hurston, and anthropology emerged as an important tool to challenge ideas of Negro inferiority during the Harlem Renaissance and the New Negro movement.

Boas also trained many students who became leading professors and instructors around the country. In the United States during the nineteenth century, anthropology was used to defend slavery, Jim Crow segregation, Indian removal and assimilation schemes, restrictive immigration, and forced sterilization. However, it was also used by activists and intellectuals to combat these policies and fight for religious freedom, equality under the law, and human and civil rights.

SEE ALSO *Boas, Franz; Eugenics, History of; Forensic Anthropology and Race; Genetics, History of; Human and Primate Evolution; Human Genetics.*

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Lee D. Baker

## ANTHROPOMETRY

Anthropometry is the scientific study of variation in the size and shape of the human body. Anthropometric data have been used both to justify the belief in human biological "races" and to discredit this erroneous belief. This entry provides an overview of anthropometry and its relationship with "race" and racism.

### EARLY ANTHROPOMETRIC BELIEFS

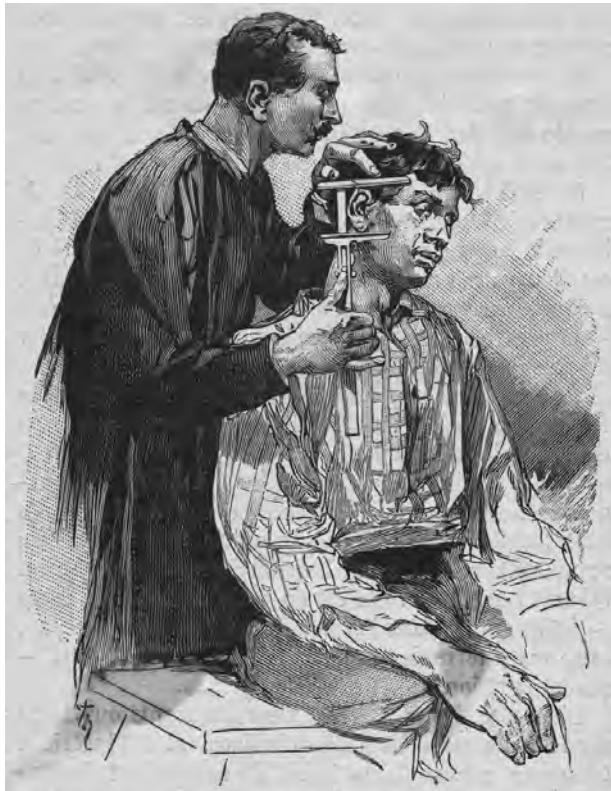
The earliest written records about human size date from about 3500 BCE in Sumeria. Several texts from this period mention a positive relationship between health, social status, and stature. The Sumerians were thus surprisingly astute, for this essentially echoes the current biocultural view of the causes of variation in human body size and shape. Groups of people growing and developing under social, economic, and cultural conditions that foster better nutrition and health tend to be, on average, taller and have longer arms and legs than groups of people growing up under less favorable sociocultural conditions. After more than a century of scientific research, this view may seem commonsensical, but it has not always been so.

The philosophers of the ancient Greeks, such as Plato and Aristotle (c. 350 BCE), considered living people and their cultures to be imperfect copies of an ideal type of physical human being and sociocultural system. The variation in body size and shape among various cultures was seen to be a consequence of the degree of imperfection within different societies. The Greeks of ancient Athens believed that they were closest to the ideal, and that the people of other societies were less perfect. However, the Greeks did not believe in the concept of "race," of fundamental biological divisions of humankind. Rather, they accepted the unity of all humankind.

### MODERN ANTHROPOMETRY

The term "anthropometry" was coined by Johann Sigismund Elsholtz (1623–1688), who also invented an anthropometer, a device for measuring stature and the length of body parts such as arms and legs. Elsholtz was interested in testing the notion of the Greek physician Hippocrates (460?–357 BCE) that differences in body proportion were related to various diseases. In 1881, the French anthropologist Paul Topinard (1830–1911) applied anthropometry to the study of human "races, so as to distinguish them and establish their relations to each other" (Topinard 1881, p. 212).

Another line of racial investigation was craniology, the study of the skull. The Dutch physician Petrus Camper (1722–1789) and his followers measured various angles of the facial bones to determine the race and sex of skulls. Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752–1840), a German naturalist and anthropologist, identified five "races," based on a visual inspection of skull shape and size. One of these was named the "Caucasian race," based on skulls from the Caucasus Mountains region of Georgia. Blumenbach believed that the living people of Georgia were the closest to the original form of the primordial Caucasian type, with European Caucasians being the next closest to the original.



L'ANTHROPOMÉTRIE. — Mesure de l'oreille (p. 295, col. 4).

**Anthropometrical Measurements.** An engraving from around 1900 shows a man taking the measurements of a criminal's ear. An anthropometrical system for criminal identification was developed in France by Alphonse Bertillon in the early 1880s.

© BETTMANN/CORBIS.

In the United States, Samuel George Morton (1799–1851) refined the methods and equipment of craniometry. Believing that exacting measurement is more scientific than Blumenbach's visual method, Morton invented devices to compute a dozen skull measurements. In contrast, the Swedish anthropologist Anders Adolf Retzius (1796–1860) reduced Morton's assortment of skull measurements to only two (length and breadth), and he applied these to the heads of living people as well. A simple ratio—head length divided by breadth, or the cephalic index—could then be calculated. One school of craniometrists proposed that “inferior” races were characterized by people with round heads, or by a ratio greater than 0.80. Northern Europeans, the alleged “superior” race, had relatively longer, narrower heads, or a ratio below 0.75. Other craniometrists, such as Paul Broca (1824–1880) disproved this fantasy by showing that all human groups, living and dead, had all types of cranial indices. In place of the cephalic index, Broca proposed that the size of the brain, and its shape, varied between the “races,” the sexes, and between individuals of higher and lower intelligence. In time, this

notion was also proven false, but the belief in head shape or brain size as a determinant of “race” and intelligence persisted well into the twentieth century.

#### ANTHROPOMETRY AND RACIAL POLITICS IN THE UNITED STATES

By the late nineteenth century, “race scientists” and politicians in the United States were using anthropometry for all sorts of pernicious purposes. American slavery had long been justified based on the “inferior” racial biology of Africans. Segregation in post-Civil War America was similarly justified by race science. In addition, the influx of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe and from China was seen as a new threat to privileged white Americans. Racists used the measurement of stature, body shape, head shape, and brain size as a means to prevent these undesirable “races” entry into the United States.

Some researchers, however, challenged the use of anthropometry for immigration policy. Starting in 1875, Henry Pickering Bowditch (1840–1911) gathered measurements of height and weight of 24,500 school children from around Boston, Massachusetts. In a series of reports published in 1877, 1879, and 1891, Bowditch applied modern statistical methods to describe differences in growth associated with sex, nationality, and socioeconomic level. Bowditch was the first person to construct percentile growth charts, which show the range of normal body growth by sex and age. His findings, published in 1885, showed that the “races” overlapped considerably in their range of body sizes, but that children from the laboring classes were smaller than children from the nonlaboring classes. To account for this fact, Bowditch offered an environmental explanation. He said the nonlaboring classes were taller because of the “greater average comfort in which [they] live and grow up” (Boyd 1980, p. 469).

This conclusion ran counter to that of English savant Francis Galton (1822–1911). In his book *Natural Inheritance* (1889) Galton suggested that stature and other physical traits were highly heritable. Galton's work led some to believe that heredity was the all-powerful determinant of human form and functional capabilities. Galton's work was used to support the eugenics movement, a pseudoscientific political movement that claimed to be able to improve the human species through controlled breeding. Eugenists held that the laboring classes were genetically inferior to the nonlaboring classes. One supposed proof of this inferiority was their short stature. Eugenists also believed that the race, or ethnic origin, of American-born children could easily be determined on the basis of physical measurements, and that racial admixture, especially between Anglo-Saxons and people from southern and eastern Europe, would bring about a physical degeneration of Americans.

Franz Boas (1858–1942), a German-born anthropologist working in the United States, demolished the position of the eugenicists using the data of Bowditch and his own studies of migrants to the United States. Boas found that the children of recent immigrants grew up to look much like the “good old Americans” (older generations of immigrants from northern Europe) due to modifications in the process of growth and development as a response to environmental change. Accordingly, Boas concluded that human physical plasticity is what is real, while the belief in the permanence of “races” is false. The changes in growth discovered by Boas applied to both the laboring and nonlaboring classes. Boas ascribed these changes in physical form to the better health care, nutrition, and child-rearing practices in the United States.

Despite this work, many eugenicists and politicians still called for quotas on the immigration of so-called inferior peoples into the United States. In 1911, Boas presented to the U.S. Congress a report titled *Changes in the Bodily Form of Descendants of Immigrants*, which explained his research and probably helped delay the imposition of limitations on immigration. Nevertheless, the American Congress eventually passed the “Immigration Restriction Acts” of 1921 and 1924, which specifically placed immigration quotas on southern and eastern Europeans and Asians.

Yet while Boas and the environmentalists may have lost that political battle, their work influenced future generations of anthropologists, public health workers, epidemiologists, and others. A full appreciation of Boas’ work waited until after the Nazi holocaust of World War II (committed in the name of “racial purification”) and new discoveries in genetics after 1950. Anthropologists then began to reject the typological approach and the concept of “race” in favor of a population approach to the study of human variation and adaptation.

#### THE MODERN POPULATION PERSPECTIVE

The population approach employs an understanding of human anthropometry, genetics, demography, and socio-cultural behavior to show that there are no scientifically definable boundaries between human groups—meaning that there are no biological “races.” It is known in the early twenty-first century that there is more genetic and anthropometric variation among individuals within any of the “races” than there is between people of different “races.” Africa and Europe, for example, include populations that are both tall (Tutsi men of Rwanda average 5’8”, while Dutch men average 6”) and short (Efe Pygmy men average 4’8”, while Portuguese men average 5’6”).

It is also understood in the early 2000s that there are an unlimited number of social races, or groups of people

who are defined on the basis of shared social, economic, political, and religious characteristics, as well as other cultural values such as child-rearing practices. These sociocultural traits can influence the development of biological traits. For example, racism can lead to poverty for some groups, which decreases stature and other body measurements (Komlos 1994). Some social races place infants on their backs to sleep, which tends to produce rounder heads. Social races change over time, and the anthropometric traits of these groups also change. None of these changes in body size or shape are genetic. Rather they are evidence of biological plasticity in body form during the years of growth and development (Lasker 1969). A change in the environment, such as alleviation of poverty or a change in infant sleeping position from stomach to back, will alter the body shape of the affected generation in new ways.

Body proportions, such as leg length relative to total stature, have been widely used to define “races.” In this view, Africans have the relatively longest legs, Asians (including Native Americans) have the shortest legs, and Europeans are intermediate in leg length. These proportions were believed to be immutable, but research has shown that the body proportions of a group can change significantly. Since 1960, the relative leg length of Japanese has increased to the point where it is indistinguishable from that of the British. The Maya of Guatemala are very short-legged, but Mayan children born in the United States have relative leg length that falls within the normal range of both white and black American children. The change among the Maya-Americans occurred in less than a generation, meaning that it cannot be due to genetics. Instead, it seems to be due to improvements in the total quality of their life in the United States.

Thus, at the start of the twenty-first century, a bio-cultural understanding of human development is replacing outdated applications of anthropometry. The new anthropometry is used to assess the social, economic, and political history of human groups, the health of individuals, and the well-being of the human population.

**SEE ALSO** *Boas, Franz; Cranial Index; Cultural Racism; Eugenics, History of; Galton, Francis; Genetics, History of; Human and Primate Evolution; Human Genetics; Immigration to the United States; Racial Hierarchy; Racial Purity (U.S.), 1900-1910.*

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## ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT

The anti-apartheid movement was the first successful transnational social movement in the era of globalization. The movement began after a massive turnout by rural Afrikaners gave Rev. Daniel Malan's Nationalist Party a majority of five seats in the whites-only Parliament of the Union of South Africa on May 26, 1948. The Nationalists won on a racist platform that played on white fears of the "black threat" and promised to establish strict "apartheid" or separate development policies to counter it.

In its transnational scope and eventual success, the anti-apartheid movement can be compared to the abolitionist movement of the nineteenth century. What is unique about the anti-apartheid movement is the extent of support it received from individuals, governments and organizations on all continents. Few social movements in history have garnered anywhere near the international support that was mobilized against the racist apartheid regime in South Africa. Although national liberation and Marxism might both be considered as successful, transnational social movements, neither of these had the global support that the anti-apartheid movement garnered.

There were two main aspects of the anti-apartheid movement: the internal campaign to destabilize the racist apartheid regime in South Africa, and the external campaign for political, economic, and cultural sanctions. At the heart of the movement was the struggle of black Africans to end white supremacy in South Africa. This internal movement was both a catalyst for actions at the international level and the critical link that gave coher-

ence to the movement as a whole. The external effort can be divided into two fronts: (1) regional efforts to provide military bases, material, and diplomatic support for liberation movements; and (2) the diaspora movement, which focused on seeking international sanctions against the regime and providing direct aid to the liberation movements.

The internal struggle within South Africa was the core of the movement, and it served as a catalyst for regional and international support movements. This effort emerged to oppose apartheid legislation imposed after the all-white election of 1948 brought Rev. Daniel Malan's Nationalist Party to power. The regime quickly passed segregationist legislation, including:

1. The Prohibition of Mixed-Marriages Act (1950), which made interracial marriage a criminal act;
2. The Population Registration Act (1949), which required registration and racial classification of all persons above sixteen years of age;
3. The Suppression of Communism Act (1950), which associated anti-apartheid activities with communism;
4. The Group Areas Act (1950), which allowed the government to determine the areas in which people of different races and nationalities could reside and own property;
5. The Bantu Education Act (1953), which brought mission schools under government control and circumscribed the education of Africans.

The resistance movement responded at first with nonviolent direct-action tactics under the leadership of organizations such as the African National Congress (ANC), the South African Communist Party (SACP), the Indian National Congress (INC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). On May 1, 1950, this coalition organized a national strike to oppose the Suppression of Communism Act. When thousands of workers boycotted their jobs, the government responded by sending troops to the townships, and eighteen workers were killed. Nevertheless, the coalition called another strike for June 26, and workers again responded in good numbers.

These strikes were a prelude to the mass civil-disobedience campaigns of 1952-1953 known collectively as the "Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws." Between June and December 1952, thousands of activists were arrested for defying petty apartheid laws, such as "whites only" drinking fountains, train compartments, and waiting rooms. The ANC's volunteer-in-chief Nelson Mandela made hundreds of speeches across the country urging black people to defy apartheid laws, and the government responded by shooting demonstrators and arresting movement leaders, including Mandela; Yusuf



Dadoo, president of the INC; and J. B. Marks of the Mineworkers Union.

These internal struggles against apartheid, and the violent response they engendered, galvanized the international movement. The Defiance Campaign, for instance, inspired supporters in India, Africa, and the United States. On September 12, 1952, thirteen African and Asian countries brought the issue of racial discrimination before the Secretary General of the United Nations (UN), calling on the organization to establish a commission to study the issue and report its findings at the next General Assembly. The United States vetoed the resolution, however, beginning a forty-year history of U.S. diplomatic support for apartheid. Yet while this specific campaign failed, the effort to raise the world's consciousness of the plight of black people in South Africa would eventually result in a comprehensive sanctions resolution.

On March 23, 1960, South African police gunned down seventy-two men, women, and children in Sharpeville Township. The demonstrators were protesting against the Natives Act of 1952 (collectively known as the Pass Laws) that required black people to carry identification with them at all times. The laws were designed to restrict the movement of black people into urban areas. The massacre sparked outrage around the world, and photographs of the victims became iconic images of apartheid. Although the original call for international sanctions had come from the ANC in 1959, it was the Sharpeville Massacre that made South Africa a pariah state and precipitated international action. South Africa was expelled from sports, cultural, and academic institutions, and on November 6, 1962, the UN General Assembly voted to sever diplomatic, transportation, and economic relations with South Africa. Although the resolution was voluntary, it was a major victory for the anti-apartheid movement. International organizations such as the International Labor Organization and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) also voted to expel South Africa.

The apartheid regime responded to this pressure by declaring a state of emergency, banning anti-apartheid organizations such as the SACP, ANC, and PAC. In response, the liberation movements went underground and into exile, where they launched the second phase of the movement: the armed struggle. This phase was characterized by the internationalization of the struggle, with regional and broader African support organized by the Organization of African Unity (OAU). The exiles acquired bases of operation, military training, and political education through both the OAU and a coalition of South Africa's neighbors known as the "frontline states." The apartheid regime responded by attacking its neighbors and sponsoring terrorist organizations such as

Renamo and UNITA to disrupt, discredit, and overthrow hostile governments. By the 1970s the southern African region had become a Cold War theater, with the United States and South Africa sponsoring terrorist insurgencies and Cuba and the Soviet Union supporting the governments of Mozambique and Angola. South African forces invaded Angola and attacked Lesotho, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, and Zambia. Meanwhile, hundreds of youth were killed in police crackdowns in South African townships such as Soweto.

In the 1980s, the movement entered a third stage: massive resistance. The movement reached its climax in this stage, which was characterized by the determination of anti-apartheid activists within South Africa to make the country ungovernable through strikes, boycotts, demonstrations, and acts of sabotage. In 1983 a coalition of the internal organizations and church groups formed the United Democratic Front to lead the new phase of the movement. In an attempt to split the opposition, the regime offered Indians and Coloreds (people of mixed race background) limited franchise in the elections of 1984. The strategy failed, however, and instead galvanized further acts of civil disobedience and sabotage. Moreover, the international anti-apartheid movement had matured, and most countries in the world had imposed military and economic sanctions against South Africa. The exceptions were Britain and the United States, but the movement overcame this hurdle in 1986 when the United States Congress passed the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA). The bill was written and proposed by Rep. Ron Dellums (D-Calif.), a veteran anti-apartheid activist and member of the Congressional Black Caucus. The CAAA delivered a crippling blow to a South African economy that was already reeling from the withdrawal of U.S. banks the year before. In 1987, 250,000 African mine-workers went on strike, further undermining the economy and the legitimacy of the apartheid state.

Thus, it was the combined pressures of international sanctions and internal strife that led to the demise of the apartheid state. The retreat began with the repealing of the pillars of apartheid legislation, beginning with the repeal of the pass laws in 1986. By 1990 the government had lifted the ban on the SACP, ANC, and PAC and repealed the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts, the Population Registration Act, and the Separate Amenities Act. Nelson Mandela was released in 1991, having spent twenty-seven years in prison. Four years later, on May 10, 1994, Mandela was sworn in as president of South Africa. Mandela and his African National Congress won an overwhelming victory in the elections of 1994, defeating both black and white opposition parties to become the undisputed leader of the new South Africa.



**Nelson Mandela Voting, April 27, 1994.** After spending 27 years in prison, Mandela's anti-apartheid struggle finally succeeded. He is seen here voting in South Africa's first democratic election, which made him the nation's first black president.

© REUTERS/CORBIS.

Despite the political defeat, the effects of apartheid are still evident in the early twenty-first century, particularly in the economic sphere. More than ten years after apartheid, the white minority still owns more than 80 percent of agricultural land and is in control of the economy. Further, reports indicate that racial inequality has grown since 1994. The ANC's neoliberal policies have not succeeded in redistributing resources or reducing poverty to any significant degree. Instead, these policies benefit the rich and the new black professional class. In August 2005, religious, civic groups, and the country's largest trade union body (Cosatu) formed a coalition to challenge the ANC government's economic policies. Although a part of the ANC's ruling coalition, Cosatu has opposed the ANC's focus on building a black professional and business class. This federation has campaigned for a broad-based redistribution of resources and for black economic empowerment. As of 2005, however, the ANC has managed to hold together the three-way coalition with Cosatu and the South African Communist Party.

SEE ALSO *Apartheid; Mandela, Nelson; South African Racial Formations.*

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## ANTI-INDIAN MOVEMENT

The U.S. anti-Indian movement was created out of a white backlash against gains made by Native American nations since the 1960s. The modern movement is the heir to the historic hostility exhibited toward Native sovereignty, treaty rights, and cultural and economic autonomy. It originally brought together white reservation residents challenging tribal jurisdiction, white sportsmen opposing Native treaty rights, and resource interests viewing tribal sovereignty as an obstacle to profit and development. In the decades around the turn of the twenty-first century, it has incorporated gaming interests and anti-gambling groups fearing tribal casinos, animal rights groups opposing tribal hunting, and New Age groups demanding unhindered access to exploit tribal spiritual practices.

#### MOTIVATING FACTORS

At least five major factors motivate anti-Indian groups. The first is the call for "equal rights for whites"—the argument

that the increased legal powers and jurisdiction of tribes infringes on the liberties or private property rights of non-Indian residents on and off the reservations. The use of civil rights imagery can reach such lengths that whites are described as oppressed individuals victimized by “Red Apartheid,” and the legacy of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. is invoked in support of an agenda to roll back Native rights.

The second factor is access to natural resources, such as fish, game, land, and water. Treaty rights guarantee some tribes access to resources on their ceded lands outside their reservations. Anti-treaty activists assert that no citizens should have “special rights” to use natural resources (even though non-Indians also can retain property use rights over land that they sell). Natural resource interests oppose sovereignty when it enables tribes to block projects—such as mines or dams—that may harm treaty resources.

The third factor is cultural superiority, which can be exhibited in sports team logos and mascots, the excavation of mounds and burial sites, disrespect of sacred objects, or efforts to restrict Native languages. Native objections to these practices often provoke strong accusations of “political correctness.” The very existence of an enduring non-Western belief system, rooted in the middle of the most powerful Western country, is seen as a fundamental problem.

The fourth factor is outright racism, including not only slurs and violent harassment, but also the belief that Indians are unfit to govern themselves, and are merely recipients of government hand-outs (or passive pawns in government conspiracies). Anti-Indian groups accuse Native people who appear white or African American of using their “blood quantum” only to obtain financial benefits. Most anti-Indian activists deny any trace of racism; their more subtle approach is to romanticize past Indian cultures and compare them to modern Natives who have adapted to Western technologies, presenting Native peoples as “authentic” only if they are frozen in the past, rather than living, dynamic cultures that incorporate outside cultural elements.

The fifth factor is economic dependency. In a rural reflection of the “Welfare Cadillac” myth, reservation Indians are said to wallow in food stamps, free housing and medical care, and huge federal cash payments—all tax-free. (No one has to pay state sales tax on reservations, but otherwise Indians have had virtually identical tax obligations as non-Indians.) The anti-Indian groups condemn tribes if they are poor, but also if they try to pull out of poverty through economic self-reliance, such as gaming.

### REGIONAL ORGANIZING

The modern white backlash was first seen in the late 1960s in the Pacific Northwest, where tribal fish and shellfish

harvests form the basis of traditional tribal economies. The backlash portrayed tribal harvests as a threat to the commercial and sport fishing industries (ignoring the threats posed by dams, pollution, and huge trawlers). State of Washington anti-Indian groups mushroomed after the 1974 Boldt Decision ruled that tribal members were entitled to up to 50 percent of the salmon harvest. The leading group, Steelhead/Salmon Protective Association and Wildlife Network (S/SPAWN), was joined by groups such as the United Property Owners of Washington, made up of white reservation residents. They won support among politicians and local communities, as police and vigilantes regularly assaulted tribal harvesters. They lost much support after the State and tribes reached a 1989 co-management agreement, in which tribal and state governments negotiate not only over the allocation of the fish harvest, but over practices (such as logging) that can damage fish habitat.

The Center for World Indigenous Studies stated in 1992 that “individuals associated with the anti-Indian movement now appear to have occasional, if not frequent association with right-wing extremist groups.” The late Washington State U.S. Representative Jack Metcalf provided a bridge between these right-wing networks and groups against tribal fishing and Makah whaling. Anti-Indian activism continued on Washington reservations into the 2000s, most notably by the Citizens Stand-Up Committee, which strongly opposed a Yakama tribal alcohol ban and other tribal regulations. Idaho local and county governments joined in the North-Central Idaho Jurisdictional Alliance to challenge Nez Perce tribal programs to reclaim allotted lands, assert tribal authority, and protect salmon habitat.

In the Upper Midwest, the 1983 Voigt Decision affirmed Wisconsin Ojibwe (Chippewa) treaty rights to harvest off-reservation natural resources, particularly through the traditional practice of spearfishing. Some sportsmen decried what they saw as the tribal “rape” of the fish resource, vital to the local tourist economy, even though the tribes never took more than 3 percent of the walleye. Protect Americans’ Rights and Resources (PARR) and Stop Treaty Abuse (which marketed “Treaty Beer”) organized protests at northern lakes during spring spearfishing seasons. Protesters chanted taunts such as “timber niggers,” carried signs reading “Save a Spawning Walleye, Spear a Pregnant Squaw,” and threw rocks, bottles, and full beer cans, documented by media coverage and Midwest Treaty Network reports. Spearers’ vehicles were assaulted, pipe bombs were exploded, boats were blocked or swamped, and snipers fired rifles and high-powered slingshots. Hundreds of Witnesses for Nonviolence monitored the harassment and violence, which slowed after a 1991 federal court injunction.

At the same time as the fishing rights conflict, mining companies began moving into Ojibwe ceded territory, potentially endangering the fish. After Wisconsin's anti-treaty movement collapsed in 1992, the Midwest Treaty Network initiated a dialogue between the tribes and sport-fishers, forming an environmental alliance that in 2003 stopped the proposed Crandon mine at Mole Lake. Similar unlikely alliances growing out of treaty conflicts have also defeated harmful projects in other states.

Opposition to Ojibwe fishing in Michigan has developed since the 1979 Fox decision upheld treaty rights on the Great Lakes. In Minnesota, Proper Economic Resource Management (PERM), Mille Lacs Tea Party, and the White Earth Equal Rights Committee have challenged Ojibwe jurisdictional rights in federal court. In Illinois, the white backlash centers on cultural/religious issues, such as Native efforts to change demeaning team mascots and to preserve burial sites.

In the Great Plains, land and water disputes erupted between the tribes and white reservation residents in the 1970s. The result was the formation of Montana groups such as All Citizens Equal and the Citizens Rights Organization; other groups organized in the Dakotas and Nebraska. Whites live on the parts of the reservations that were heavily allotted (privatized and divided) from the 1880s through the 1920s. Majority-white counties within some reservations have voted to secede, and thereby diminish the tribal land base. One Nation United (in Oklahoma) has become a leading anti-Indian group in the 2000s by bringing together oil, agricultural, and other business interests to oppose tribal jurisdiction and taxation, gaming, and contributions to political candidates.

#### NATIONAL ORGANIZING

Anti-Indian groups tried to coordinate their efforts as early as the 1970s, through the Interstate Congress for Equal Rights and Responsibilities, succeeding in the 1990s with the formation of the Citizens Equal Rights Alliance (CERA). CERA's advisory board reflects participation from groups in at least twelve states, with leadership rotating among the states. It meets annually to lobby Congress to modify or abrogate treaties, limit tribal regulations affecting non-Indians on the reservations, and roll back tribal gaming rights.

The 1988 Indian Gaming Regulatory Act permits tribes within states that practice Class III gaming (such as a lottery) to develop casinos. Some antigambling groups and white gambling interests (including Donald Trump) have targeted Indian casinos without opposing the state gaming that make them possible. The success of a handful of tribal casinos (close to cities or tourist centers) has fed a myth of "rich Indians," though other tribes with and without casinos have not prospered. This myth of tribes "taking

over" local economies threatens government aid to all tribes. Like European Jews of the medieval era, who had agriculture virtually closed to them, Native nations have been denied control over their land-based economies. Left with few other development options, both groups have been scapegoated for engaging in unpopular financial practices such as moneylending or gambling.

Anti-Indian advocacy has been carried out by other national issue-based organizations. County governments have lobbied against tribes taking trust land off of local tax rolls. "Wise Use" (or anti-environmental) groups such as the Alliance for America claim that tribal jurisdiction threatens private property rights. A few environmental and conservation organizations have opposed tribal land claims over parklands or recreational areas, or opposed tribal governments pressured into accepting toxic projects. Some archaeologists and anthropologists also strongly defend their professional "right" to dig up and display Native people's ancestors and sacred objects.

Anti-Indian movements have been countered, sometimes successfully, by pro-Indian movements of Native Americans and their supporters, who educate non-Indians about tribal histories, cultures, and legal rights, expose the racial double standards behind anti-Indian groups' agendas, and reveal how these groups may be fronting for corporate interests. Supporters assert that Native sovereignty not only benefits the tribes, but through protecting the environment and local economies, it can also be good for America.

**SEE ALSO** *Native American Popular Culture and Race.*

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## ANTIRACIST SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Vibrant social movements have defied myriad forms of racial oppression across the globe. Strategies, tactics, and ideologies have varied widely, with challenging economic domination as a common theme. Antiracism has encompassed challenges to genocide, the seizure and/or control of land and other resources, slavery, and the exploitation of human labor. Antiracist social movements have also targeted cultural degradation, political exclusion, and many other patterns of racial prejudice and discrimination.

Racism became intertwined with colonialism throughout the period of European conquest of Africa, the Americas, Asia, Australia, and Oceania. In response, subjugated peoples around the globe forged collective struggles against European imperialism. Anticolonial movements in many areas of the world initially were explicitly framed in terms not of race but of resisting outside colonial powers. Across time, many of these struggles became increasingly racialized, reflecting the racism embodied in global capitalism. Racist European powers have been joined by other industrialized nations, particularly the United States, in subjugating people of color over the past two centuries.

### FORMS OF ANTIRACISM

Antiracist resistance is shaped by the particular manifestations of race and racism in any given system of racial oppression. The forms that antiracist activism has taken are not linear and often occurred simultaneously. Because of the distinctive development of racism in different countries around the world, no one example can accurately represent all antiracist social movements. However, the examples below reflect central, overlapping dynamics of antiracist activism in different historical periods and countries. These movements have been local, national, and transnational in character.

The survival of racially oppressed groups has birthed cultures of resistance and antiracist collective consciousnesses. These two intertwined phenomena typically emerge simultaneously and have forged the foundation of formal political movements.

The continued use of traditions, language, and religion has sustained racially oppressed groups and defied racism. Cultures of resistance do not merely replicate pre-conquest cultural forms, but are dynamic. They often unite previously diverse groups and result in the synthesis of more than one culture. For instance, the Garifuna culture arose from the intermarriage of shipwrecked Africans (en route to be slaves) and Arawak “Indians” on the Caribbean island of San Vicente. This group resisted military conquest by the English, Spanish, and French for centuries before they were forcibly relocated to coastal areas in Guatemala, Honduras, and Belize, where they continue to fight against racial discrimination today.

Throughout the Americas, slave communities developed rich cultures of resistance. Slaves fought racism on both individual and collective levels. Slaves engaged in work slow-downs, played dumb, and stole property. Across generations, they passed on survival strategies that took the form of music, art, dance, and religion/spirituality.

Slaves also defied racist oppression by escaping. In Brazil, thousands of escaped slaves formed the *quilombo* of Palmares in the 1600s. Palmares was a self-sustaining agricultural kingdom that withstood Dutch and Portuguese

military attacks for nearly 100 years. In the United States, runaway slaves formed Maroon communities and sometimes joined indigenous communities/nations such as the Seminole in Florida. In the United States, a vast network of conductors, stations, and pathways formed the Underground Railroad that led thousands of slaves to freedom. This collective action threatened the institution of slavery and provided powerful symbols of resistance for future generations.

## STRATEGIES

Antiracist collective consciousness—a shared identity of belonging to a group that faces and defies systemic racial oppression—has often developed within cultures of resistance. Compelling examples of antiracist collective consciousness are seen in the history of indigenous, slave (and former slave), and immigrant populations. In the early years of the twenty-first century, Middle Eastern immigrants have had to overcome their own national, religious, and ethnic divisions to create collective identities that foster resistance to xenophobic, racist practices and policies in France and other industrialized nations. Antiracist activists have worked to raise awareness among members of racially oppressed groups to demonstrate that poverty, low wages, inadequate housing, and the like are not the result of individual successes and/or failures but stem from institutionalized racism that benefits whites and marginalizes people of color. For example, in the 1960s, the *Alianza de Mercedes Federales* (the Landgrant Movement), led by Reies Lopez Tijerina, documented the roots of Chicano/a poverty in the illegal seizure of family- and community-held land grants by Anglo settlers in the southwestern United States during the second half of the nineteenth century. While galvanizing collective consciousness has been a constant strategy in antiracist activism, it is an ever-changing process as diverse, intersecting communities of color—indigenous, slave/former slave, immigrant—build coalitions. For example, indigenous people and people of African descent in countries such as Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru have found common cause in challenging their respective governments to recognize political autonomy, land ownership, and human rights. Antiracist consciousness, often intertwined with anticolonialist consciousness, has been articulated in cogent political analyses by antiracist activist-scholars around the world.

Another key strategy among antiracist activists is to raise awareness about racial injustices, not only within the specific group targeted but also among external groups—domestic whites, other communities of color, and people living in other countries. Black and white abolitionists publicly exposed the atrocities of U.S. slavery in speaking engagements and written tracts across the United States and in Europe. In the late 1800s and early 1900s, African

American activists such as journalist Ida B. Wells published books and articles and spoke internationally to bring to light the horrors of lynching—a practice that terrorized black communities and played a key role in maintaining white supremacy in the United States. Quiche-Maya advocate Rigoberta Menchú (1984) detailed the ruthless torture and violence used by the Guatemalan government to enforce inhumane work conditions for indigenous people. In the early years of the twenty-first century, sweatshop workers in countries such as Indonesia and El Salvador have risked death to educate others about the inhumane employment practices of multinational corporations operating within the web of global racist capitalism.

Antiracist activists have relied on the mass media to educate and mobilize people to take action. They have written novels (*One Day of Life* [1983] by Manuel Argueta); written letters to and articles in newspapers (the abolitionist *Northstar*) and magazines (the NAACP's *Crisis*); and produced art (Chicano/a mural art in the United States), films/videos (*Rabbit-proof Fence* [2002], which illustrates aboriginal defiance in Australia), and music (Bob Marley's antiracist reggae lyrics). For more than a decade, the *Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional* (Zapatista Army of National Liberation, the Zapatistas) has garnered national and international support for the rights of indigenous people in Chiapas, Mexico, by skillfully using the Internet to disseminate their communiqués. Antiracist solidarity that grows out of these and other antiracist campaigns plays a key role in pressuring elites to concede to antiracist demands.

Having documented the particular forms of racial injustice in their community or nation, activists often apply pressure to different social institutions to bring about social change. After years of negotiation between Inuit leaders and the Canadian government, the Land Claims Agreement Act was passed in 1993, creating the newest Canadian province of Nunavut in 1999. This historic event also illustrates a sovereignty movement in which an indigenous group successfully regained much of its land and natural resources as well as a level of political autonomy.

Antiracist activists employ letters and petitions to government officials, companies, and the mass media to push for racial equality. Frequently this has been done to challenge racist legislation and political policies such as the Fugitive Slave Act and Jim Crow laws in the United States and the Pass Laws in South Africa. In turn, political pressure is applied to promote antiracist laws such as anti-lynching legislation in the United States and immigrant-rights legislation in Britain. Decades of antiracist legal work by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) led to the pivotal U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, outlawing racial segregation in public schools in 1954.

Direct appeals have also been made to international organizations. In 1919, Japan submitted a proposal for racial equality to be included in the articles of the League of Nations; facing opposition from delegates from Britain, Australia, and the United States, it was overturned by the chairperson, U.S. president Woodrow Wilson. In the 1950s, W. E. B. Du Bois pushed the United Nations to recognize the denial of civil and other rights to black Americans as a violation of basic human rights outlined in the Geneva Convention.

Around the globe, antiracist activists have developed a vast repertoire of protest strategies to expose racial injustice and apply pressure on racist governments and other entities. Abolitionists organized boycotts of goods produced by slave labor. Civil rights activists in the United States implemented bus boycotts in their struggles against racial segregation in public transportation. Marches and rallies against racism have been organized to gain media coverage. The 1963 March on Washington, where Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. delivered his captivating "I Have a Dream" speech, received widespread media coverage that publicized the mass base of the civil rights movement.

A key strategy in many antiracist social movements has been civil disobedience. Indians utilized innovative and disruptive acts of nonviolent civil disobedience to force the British colonizers out of India. Mahatma Gandhi's philosophical and strategic model of nonviolent civil disobedience had a profound impact on antiracist movement participants around the world, including the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee's sit-in tactic challenging white-only public accommodations in the U.S. South in the 1960s. Since then, variations of the sit-ins have been employed by various antiracist groups, including students of color, AIDS activists, and prison-rights activists.

Labor unions have sometimes acted collectively against racism, and strikes have played a central role in antiracist collective action. For example, the black miners' strike for higher wages in 1946 galvanized the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa. In the United States in the 1990s, striking was one of the key tactics used by Justice for Janitors to win higher wages and benefits for many janitors, disproportionately people of color.

Antiracist movements have also occupied land seized by white settlers and white-dominated governments and corporations. In the 1970s and 1980s, the Maori land-rights movement occupied land held by the government and real estate developers as part of broader campaigns to challenge racism in New Zealand. Members of the American Indian Movement took over Alcatraz Island in 1970 to dramatize the plight of Native Americans. Antiracist protest has also taken the form of graffiti, guerrilla theater, student walk-outs, and the disruption of govern-

ment and corporate meetings. Antiracist slogans and demands have been publicized in fliers, broadsides, T-shirts, buttons, and bumper stickers.

Antiracist protest has also included activities that are technically legal but are threatening to local, national, or international power structures. For example, civil rights activists in the U.S. South tested federal laws prohibiting segregation on interstate buses, mounted massive voter registration drives for blacks, and established Freedom Schools to educate both children and adults. With the interconnected goals of providing for the basic needs of urban blacks and catalyzing antiracist political consciousness, Black Panther Party chapters across the United States created extensive grass-roots programs (free breakfast and after-school programs for children, adult literacy and political education classes, street cleaning, free health clinics, busing family members to visit loved ones in prison, and the like).

Many Black Panthers also became experts in local, state, and federal law to monitor, document, and challenge police abuse. Citing the constitutional right to bear arms, the Black Panther Party and other groups such as the American Indian Movement defended themselves against racist law enforcement officers who routinely brutalized antiracist activists, assassinating movement participants in the 1960s and 1970s.

Faced with centuries of systemic violence and exploitation, antiracist movements have sometimes utilized armed struggle. Slaves burned crops, sabotaged machinery, and orchestrated slave revolts. Slave rebellions were a regular occurrence in the Caribbean and South America. While less common in the United States, many revolts were planned and some implemented, including the raids on white slave plantations led by escaped slave Nat Turner in Virginia that left over fifty people dead in 1831.

The use of armed struggle by antiracist activists in the twentieth century typically occurred only after decades, often centuries, of European/white-orchestrated violence and arduous efforts to negotiate peacefully with European/white elites. For example, the African National Congress engaged in nonviolent political organizing for half a century before deciding to use armed struggle (bombings of military buildings, assassinations of apartheid leaders) in the wake of the 1960 Sharpsville Massacre in which South African police murdered nonviolent protestors. In the 1970s and 1980s, the Southwest Africa People's Organization used armed self-defense against the South African military after decades of apartheid rule in what is now Namibia.

Antiracist social movements have typically utilized a range of strategies that vary over time, depending on level of popular support, resources, elite responses, and other

factors. Antiracist movements have historically faced elite cooptation (governments giving token positions to people of color, foundations providing funding for individualistic educational and social service programs) and repression (intimidation, surveillance, misinformation campaigns, infiltration, prosecution and imprisonment, destruction of property, and physical assaults and assassinations). Both cooptation and repression have contributed to divisions within movements themselves. Social movement organizations have often experienced conflict around strategies (nonviolence versus armed struggle, separatism versus integration). Many antiracist organizations have marginalized poor and working-class people, female, and LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender) activists, a dynamic that in turn has led to internal tensions. Such tensions have sometimes catalyzed the development of other movements. The women's suffrage movement in the mid-1800s emerged within the context of sexism in the abolitionist movement. Over a century later, sexism in both the civil rights movement and the antiwar movement catalyzed the growth of the "second wave" feminist movement.

Antiracist social movements have profoundly changed the political, economic, and social landscape in many parts of the world. Slavery was abolished in the Americas, and de jure racism was outlawed. Antiracist social movements, particularly the U.S. civil rights movement and the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa, have provided ideological and strategic models that have been utilized by other movements, including women's movements, antiwar movements, LGBT movements, disability rights movements, and the AIDS movement.

While living conditions, educational and job opportunities, and political power for many people of color have improved, racism persists, often in new and more complicated forms. Antiracist activism in the twenty-first century targets a plethora of crisscrossing issues such as war, environmental injustice, farmworker rights, immigrant rights, violence against women of color, welfare policy, health care, HIV/AIDS, the criminal justice system, homophobia, and the dismantling of affirmative action. Antiracist activism has increasingly taken aim at the racist practices of multinational corporations, international financial institutions (International Monetary Fund, World Bank), and the foreign policies of the most powerful industrialized nations. This has increasingly involved the development of coalitions and alliances between different organizations, communities of color, and antiracist whites, often at the transnational level. The continuing transformation of racism and its modern manifestations—from genocide in Darfur to the mass incarceration of African Americans in the United States to anti-immigrant violence in Europe—will necessitate evolving strategies and alliances among those who challenge racism in all its forms to create more just societies.

**SEE ALSO** *Abolition Movement; American Indian Movement (AIM); Anti-Apartheid Movement; Civil Rights Movement; Feminism and Race; Global Environment Movement; Indian Rights Association; Latino Social Movements; Reproductive Rights; Turner, Nat.*

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Brett C. Stockhill

## ANTI-SEMITISM

Anti-Semitism is most easily defined as "hatred of Judaism and the Jewish people." It is possibly the world's oldest hatred, having inspired aberrant behaviors ranging from simple social distancing to outright murder and mass exterminations for thousands of years.

The term anti-Semitism itself is a misnomer that originally came out of the German world of nineteenth century pseudo-scholarship. *Antisemitismus* replaced the word *Judenhaas* (hated of the Jews), and it is usually associated with the writing of the failed journalist Wilhelm Marr (1819–1904) in his book *The Way to Victory of Germanism over Judaism*, published in 1879. Marr was attempting to coin a term with a certain "scientific" or rational quality, and he borrowed the word *Semitic* from the field of language study, where it refers to those languages spoken in the Middle or Near East (i.e., Hebrew, Arabic, Aramaic). The term was translated into English as "anti-Semitism," though some scholars now prefer to spell it "antisemitism," without the hyphen and capital "S," to highlight that this phenomenon of hatred and prejudice has no opposite equivalent whatsoever.



Early on, in the books of the Torah, or Hebrew Bible, the enemy of the Jews is given voice on numerous occasions, echoing concerns that still exist in the twenty-first century. In the book of Exodus, for example, the Pharaoh of Egypt remarks to his courtiers, “the Israelites have become much too numerous for us. Come, we must deal shrewdly with them or they will become even more numerous and, if war breaks out, will join our enemies, fight against us and leave the country” (Exodus 1:9–10 [New International Version]). In the book of Esther, the prime minister of Persia, Haman, says to King Ahashuerus, “There is a certain people dispersed and scattered among the peoples in all the provinces of your kingdom whose customs are different from those of all other people and who do not obey the king’s laws; it is not in the king’s best interest to tolerate them. If it pleases the king, let a decree be issued to destroy them, and I will put ten thousand talents of silver into the royal treasury for the men who carry out this business” (Esther 3:8–9). In both instances, such characterizations may be termed forms of *xenophobic*, or *social, anti-Semitism*; that is, they reflect a collective uncomfotability of these peoples with Israelites or Jews in their midst, as well as the governmental power to do something about it (either enslavement or annihilation). Such views were the norm not only in Egypt and Persia prior to the Christian period, but in Greece and Rome as well. Indeed, this view was held in all locations where Jews resided in larger numbers outside of ancient Palestine.

With the appearance of Christianity approximately 2,000 years ago, and commensurate with the destruction of the Second Temple in Jerusalem by the Romans in the year 90 CE, a shift towards *religious*, or *theological, anti-Semitism* presented itself. Here, both Jews and devotees of this new religion attempted to make sense of what, most assuredly, must have been a holocaust-like tragedy. For normative Judaism, self-reflection and introspection saw the destruction of their sacred Temple as a Judaic failure to observe the condition of the *b’rith*, their covenant with their God. For adherents of Christianity, who were becoming increasingly “gentilized,” this horrific destruction of God’s central sanctuary was seen as the result of Jewish perfidy, particularly in the collective failure of Jews to accept Jesus as their own messiah. This failure was highlighted by the complicity of the Jewish religious leadership and for some, Jewish manipulation of the Romans to accomplish a Judaic agenda regarding Jesus.

As Christianity became increasingly successful, it allied itself with the power of the state. By the time of Emperor Constantine (280–337) in the third century, the negative view of Jews as “the enemies of God” became normative, with Judaism perceived as an inferior and rejected path to God. The Jews were subjected to miserable living conditions, ongoing economic deprivations, unsuccessful attempts at mass conversions, and

increasing ghettoizations. However, they were allowed to survive as a reminder to others of the consequences of the failure to embrace the Christ, as determined by the highest levels of the Roman Catholic Church, its cardinals, its archbishops, its bishops, and its Pope. This remained the prevailing understanding of Western (Christian) civilization until the period of the Enlightenment in the eighteenth century.

With the French Revolution at the end of the eighteenth century, the walls of the various European ghettos were breached, and Jews began their slow, uneven, and often painful integration into Western society. While religious anti-Semitism was no longer dominant, it was still very much present in eastern Europe and places where the Roman Catholic Church held sway. Further, Jews experienced a renewed form of social anti-Semitism, despite their successes in business, government, university education, and even the military.

Building upon a historic foundation of 2,000 years of animus, the Nazi leader Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) saw “the Jew” as a different and powerful creature (though still inferior), one that was mercilessly intent on either destroying Western civilization or subjugating it for his own exploitation. Hitler viewed the Jewish people as the cause of all of civilization’s problems and difficulties over the generations. This view was also held by those who allied themselves with him and shared his vision, as presented in his autobiographical and political testament *Mein Kampf* (“My Fight” or “My Struggle”). These individuals also adopted a reinterpretation of Charles Darwin’s thinking on evolution, particularly the concept of “survival of the fittest,” and injected this “social Darwinism” onto the plain of history, whereby the physical conflict between Germans and others and Jews was now understood akin to the battle amongst various species within the animal kingdom itself. Such an understanding may, therefore, be termed either *biological anti-Semitism* or *racial anti-Semitism*, the poisoned fruit of which was the Holocaust, or Shoah, of World War II (1939–1945), which saw the murders of approximately six million Jewish men, women, and children throughout Europe and Russia.

Manifestations of all of these understandings of anti-Semitism remain present in the twenty-first century, even in places where Jewish populations are notoriously small (e.g., Poland) or essentially nonexistent (e.g., Japan). In the latter half of the twentieth century, a new form of anti-Semitism made its appearance in the Middle East, both prompted and encouraged by a renewal of anti-Semitic expressions throughout several European countries (e.g., Britain, France) and associated with the State of Israel and its ongoing conflicts with other nation-states in that region.

SEE ALSO *Holocaust; Language.*



**Kristallnacht.** Men walk by damaged businesses and properties in Berlin. On the night of November 9, 1938, the “Night of Broken Glass,” mobs of Nazi stormtroopers and civilians unleashed a wave of vandalism and violence against the Jewish population of Germany. Jewish properties and synagogues were destroyed, many Jews were killed or wounded, and as many as 30,000 were arrested.  
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*Steven Leonard Jacobs*

## ANTI-SEMITISM IN RUSSIA

The term *anti-Semitism* was coined in the nineteenth century in central Europe and is generally understood as dislike or hatred of Jews. Popular and state anti-Semitism have long histories in the territories of the former Soviet Union. Until the late eighteenth century, Jews were legally barred from living in the Russian Empire. Much of the animus against Jews was rationalized by the Christian belief that the Jews had killed Jesus Christ. Czarina Elizabeth (1741–1762) responded to merchants pleading with her to allow Jews to trade in Russia by writing, “From the enemies of Christ I wish neither gain nor profit.” Only the annexation of eastern Poland, with its large Jewish population, in the late eighteenth century forced the Russian tsars to admit Jews to the empire. However, they were confined to those territories where they already lived and that were declared a “Pale of

Settlement.” This area was a kind of huge ghetto to which Jews were restricted, and, with few exceptions, they could not live in Russia itself, but only on its western borderlands. In the nineteenth century, the basis of anti-Semitism shifted from Christian theology to a more racial one, as the assumption spread throughout Europe that Jews were a race. Many believed this race was united in a sinister conspiracy to control the world and undermine Christian civilization.

#### ANTI-SEMITISM IN CZARIST RUSSIA

For most of the nineteenth century, and even up to the Russian Revolutions of 1917, Czarist governments imposed restrictions and disabilities on Jews, such as a *numerus clausus* in education and the professions, a quota system that restricted the number of Jews. There was also the “cantonist” episode beginning in 1827, when Jewish communities had to deliver a government-determined number of Jewish boys to the military, where they would serve twenty-five years, sometimes being taken for “pre-military” training for some years before their service would start. Jews were also barred from the civil service and officer rank in the military. Jews were generally barred from owning land in a country in which four of five people derived their livelihoods from agriculture.

The Russian Empire became notorious as the site of pogroms, which were attacks on Jews by mobs of local people. Especially in 1881–1882, following the assassination of Czar Alexander II, a wave of pogroms washed over Ukraine and dashed Jewish dreams of acceptance and integration into the larger society. Mobs of peasants and city dwellers roamed through the streets, attacking Jews, looting their homes and stores, and destroying property, with policemen generally doing nothing. Only after a few days would troops be called out to restore order. A few hundred lives were lost, and there was great material damage, but the psychological impact was greater than the physical one. Jews who had hoped that acculturation into Russian culture would bring social acceptance, and who had preached the idea of *Haskalah* or “enlightenment” as the path to political, economic, and social improvement, were shocked by the behavior of the mobs and the passivity of the authorities. In 1903, at Easter, always a time of religious fervor and anti-Jewish feelings, forty-five Jews were killed in a pogrom in the city of Kishinev, arousing protests against Russian anti-Semitism in western Europe and the United States. Two years later, in the turbulent year of 1905, pogroms broke out again while Russia was engaged in a war against the Japanese, and while the government was putting down a revolution.

It used to be thought that pogroms were planned by the government, but recent scholarship sees them

as spontaneous outbursts, often fanned by the Russian Orthodox Church. The government did little to prevent the pogroms, and it interceded when matters threatened to “get out of hand” and spill over into demonstrations against the regime itself. Russian anti-Semitism became an issue in that country’s relations with England, France, and the United States, and it is also thought to have propelled much of the massive Jewish emigration from the 1880s to the eve of World War I.

#### THE SOVIET ERA

After the fall of czarism in 1917, the Provisional Government, and then the Bolsheviks who seized power in October–November, abolished legislation and policies that discriminated against Jews. However, in the course of the Russian civil war, another wave of pogroms engulfed the western parts of the country. The pogroms of 1917–1921 were much larger in scale and more horrific than the earlier pogroms. It is estimated that nearly sixty thousand Jews were killed, mostly by the White Army opponents of Bolshevism and by Ukrainian nationalists.

The Bolsheviks who ruled Russia after 1918, while militantly opposing Judaism, Zionism, and traditional Jewish culture including Hebrew, opened the doors to individual Jewish advancement wider than probably any other European country. For the first time in history, Russian (and Ukrainian, Belorussian, and other) Jews enjoyed complete legal and social equality. The Soviet government financially supported Jewish cultural institutions such as schools, theaters, magazines, research institutes and book publishing—as long as that culture was Soviet, socialist, secular, and expressed in Yiddish (but not Hebrew). For about fifteen years, Jews had free access to all forms of higher education and to all areas of the state-run economy. Whereas Jews could not even be policemen under the czarist regime, under the Soviets some Jews served as heads of the secret police, as officers in high military and government posts, as editors of important newspapers and journals, and as high-ranking administrators of research institutes and other academic institutions. A Jew served as foreign minister as late as 1939, another as chief political commissar of the Soviet army. There were Jews on the Politburo, the Communist Party’s highest organ, as well as Jewish ministers of the Soviet government, ambassadors, and occupants of leading positions in many fields of endeavor, most of which had been completely closed to Jews before 1917.

This openness was narrowed in the late 1930s, eventually giving way completely to a policy of discriminating against Jews by the late 1940s, for reasons not altogether clear. Some have speculated about Joseph Stalin’s increasing paranoia and fear of internal enemies and the West, which he identified with Jews. Others point to a rising



*A Woman Mourns for a Pogrom Victim, circa 1919. Jews were the victims of pogroms in Russia throughout the nineteenth century, but a devastating wave of violence against Jews occurred in the years following the 1917 Russian Revolution. © HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS.*

Russian nationalism, spurred by the same world war that saw large parts of the Soviet Union flooded with Nazi anti-Semitic propaganda. The turn to anti-Semitic policies was visible to all. Whereas in the early years after the revolution there were relatively few Russians who were sufficiently educated to run the government and the economy, the enormous drive to make the country literate and expand Soviet education made literate Jews far less crucial to the system than they had been earlier.

Between 1948 and Stalin's death in 1953, often referred to as the "black years of Soviet Jewry," the remnants of Soviet Yiddish culture were done away with. Yiddish theaters and publishing houses were closed, not a single Jewish school remained open, and an "anti-cosmopolitan" campaign led to the removal of thousands of Jews from responsible positions in the arts, science, government, and the economy. About twenty leading Jewish cultural figures, along with a few who still occupied important governmental positions, were shot as "enemies of the people" on August 20, 1952. The "doctors' plot" in the same year saw a group of Jewish doctors in the Kremlin (derisively called "murderers in white coats") accused of plotting on behalf of foreign governments and Jewish organizations to poison Soviet officials. This seemed to be the harbinger of a collective punishment of Soviet Jews—perhaps the deportation of large numbers to

labor camps. A general atmosphere of terror prevailed among the Jewish population when Stalin died in March 1953. A month later it was announced that the "doctors' plot" had been fabricated. The surviving physicians were released, deportation plans were cancelled, but the idea that Jews were not trustworthy Soviet citizens and should be restricted in their access to higher education and to responsible positions continued to guide Soviet policy until the late 1980s.

In the 1960s and thereafter, a series of "campaigns" were mounted against the Jews. The campaign against "speculation" resulted in a greatly disproportionate number of Jews executed for "economic crimes." When the "universal" religions, Islam and Christianity, were attacked, no particular ethnic group was targeted. But because Judaism was considered an "ethnic" religion, practiced by one people only, attacks on Judaism were construed as attacks on Jews. Thus, the campaigns against Judaism took on an anti-Semitic cast. Following the June 1967 war in the Middle East, when the Soviet Union was embarrassed by the defeat of its Arab clients by Israel, a sustained anti-Zionist campaign was mounted and lasted two decades. Jews were equated with Zionists, and hostility toward the State of Israel was easily transferred to Soviet Jews.

For forty years, from the end of the 1967 war until the advent of glasnost and perestroika, Soviet Jews lived in a state of tension. They had been forced to abandon their traditional culture, including their Soviet Yiddish culture, and acculturate (mostly to Russian culture), without being able to assimilate and become fully Russian. Most welcomed the opportunity to "trade in" Jewish culture for the "higher" Russian culture, yet they were not allowed to lose their Jewish identities and become officially Russian. Their internal passports made that clear. Thus, they were culturally Russian but socially and officially Jewish, and being Jewish was to be a pariah or, at least, a second-class citizen.

In *Like a Song, Like a Dream* (1973) Alla Rusinek describes dread she faced each year on the first day of school, when each child had to announce his or her name, nationality, and father's occupation: "She asks my nationality and then it begins. The whole class suddenly becomes very quiet. Some look at me steadily. Others avoid my eyes. I have to say this word . . . which sounds so unpleasant. Why? There is really nothing wrong with its sound, *Yev-rei-ka* [Jewish girl]. But I never heard the word except when people are cursing somebody" (p. 20). The feeling of being marginal and despised is why the fierce loyalty that many Soviet Jews had to their state, and some to its ideology, was gradually replaced by a sense of alienation and rejection, leading over a million people to emigrate.

#### THE POST-SOVIET ERA

No successor state to the Soviet Union has pursued anti-Semitic policies, though many have not curbed anti-Semitic

agitation. When Boris Yeltsin became Russia's first post-Soviet president in 1991, there were said to be forty anti-Semitic journals published there, but eight years later the number of such publications had risen to more than three hundred. Perhaps afraid of arousing a reaction, Yeltsin did not combat anti-Semitism and other manifestations of ethnic intolerance. His successor, Vladimir Putin, has condemned anti-Semitism but has not moved aggressively against its purveyors. A young woman was injured in 2002 when an anti-Semitic road sign she attempted to take down blew up. President Putin met with her in the Kremlin to award her the Order of Courage. While not mentioning anti-Semitism specifically, the president condemned the "bacillus of chauvinism." In July 2002 he signed a law granting courts and other government agencies the authority to curb "extremism," including the incitement to ethnic hostility. Yet several prominent politicians have used blatantly anti-Semitic rhetoric in political campaigns. It would be naïve to suppose that popular anti-Semitism has disappeared or even necessarily waned, but there is disagreement among scholars on the level of anti-Semitic sentiments within the Russian population.

Russian scholars conducted surveys in 1990 in four regions where Russian Orthodoxy was traditionally dominant. They found that those who identified as Orthodox believers had the least favorable attitude toward Jews, while Baptists—who generally rank very low in the eyes of other Christians—had the most favorable views. Even nonbelievers ranked Judaism very low, with only Islam ranking lower. There seems to be a pronounced animus against Judaism, certainly compared to Christianity and, to a lesser extent, Islam and even "eastern cults," though there may be stronger negative feelings toward Caucasian and Central Asian peoples than toward Jews. Other research has found that those who attend church services frequently are twice as likely to be xenophobic and hostile toward Jews than those who do not, though it is mainly older and poorly educated people who attend services regularly.

Unlike the Catholic and many Protestant churches, the Russian Orthodox Church has not changed its traditionally anti-Jewish attitudes. To the extent that this church is identified with the state and with Russian ethnicity, anti-Semitic attitudes are conveyed by it far beyond the realm of religion.

National surveys conducted in 1990, 1992, and 1997 by the All-Russian Center for Research on Public Opinion (VTsIOM) concluded that "the general mass attitude toward Jews can be characterized as the predominance of positive, or at least tolerant, views . . . not substantially different from attitudes toward any other ethnic group in Russia" (Gudkov 1998). However, the data show an increase in anti-Jewish sentiments in 1997 (espe-

cially after the financial crisis of 1998 and the rising ethnic tensions of the late 1990s) and during the first years of the twenty-first century. The people most likely to view Jews negatively are older, less-educated men who live in small- and medium-sized cities, and who have mid-level incomes and no Jews among their close relatives, acquaintances, coworkers, or neighbors.

There are significant minorities in Russia who have strong feelings about Jews, and these are evenly divided between those who like and dislike them. The largest number of people, however, have no strong feelings one way or another. As the number of Jews living in the country has declined, and as Chechens and other nationalities of the Caucasus have become the objects of widespread fear and animosity, the traditional Jewish bogeyman has receded from the consciousness of Russians. Still, the fact that so many of the economic "oligarchs" are of Jewish origin, and that they are the objects of widespread hatred, is likely to have kept alive stereotypes of Jews as economic speculators and exploiters. Anti-Semitism is an age-old sentiment that rarely disappears, though its visibility varies with the times and the context.

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Zvi Gitelman

## ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE ARAB WORLD

Manifestations of anti-Semitism erupted in the Arab world during the late twentieth century. However, discrimination against Jews has relegated them to second-class status under Arab hegemony (“dhimmitude”) since the successful uniting of the tribes in the Arabian peninsula by Muhammad (570–632) in the sixth century. Jews were initially supportive of Muhammad’s agenda, for he labeled both Jews and Christians as the “peoples of the Book.” However, some Jewish tribes in the region fought against him and his army, while others refused to embrace his Qur’anic revelations, surrender their Judaism, and accept Islam (the new religious interpretation of the Divine-human encounter, which Muhammad defined as total submission to the “will of Allah”). At this point, animus against the Jews set in. This animus continues in the early twenty-first century throughout the Middle East, and even in those Middle Eastern countries where a small and vulnerable Jewish population remains (e.g., Syria, Iraq, Iran). The vast majority of Jews fled from these nations during the twentieth century, especially after the re-creation of the Third Jewish Commonwealth (in the form of the State of Israel) on May 14, 1948. However, to label these earlier various forms of discrimination against Jews in Arab lands as anti-Semitic would be to elevate them to a status not commensurate with historical realities.

As is the case with both the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament, the Qur’an contains passages that alienate “the Other” (in this case the Jews) as “unbelievers” and “infidels,” and that address the responsibilities of Muslims to pursue unto death these “enemies of God.” For example, the following statement occurs in Sura 4:155, “Then because of their breaking of their covenant, and their disbelieving in the revelations of Allah, and their slaying of the prophets wrongfully, and their saying: Our hearts are hardened—Nay, but Allah set a seal upon them for their disbelief, so that they believe not save a few.” Sections 155 through 161 paint a further portrait of the Jews as engaged in wrongdoing, practicing usury, speaking against Mary, and slaying the Messiah (the Christ). Sura 82 posits “the Jews and the polytheists” as the groups most fundamentally against Muslims, while Sura 120 says that both Jews and Christians will “never be pleased with Muslims.” Far worse is Sura 5:64, which

says, “Among them (the Jews) Allah has placed enmity and hatred till the Day of Judgment,” though this is rivaled somewhat, perhaps, by Sura 7:166, which says, “When in their insolence they transgressed prohibitions, we said to them: ‘Be you apes, despised and rejected.’”

Whereas such passages are counterbalanced somewhat by positive assessments of Jews in the Qur’an (e.g., 2:47, 2:122, 5:20, 44:32), they do enable those who, like their European Christian counterparts, continue to draw upon a scriptural-textual tradition of sacred words to evoke a religious, or theological, form of anti-Semitism. In the early years of the new millennium, such Qur’anic passages continue to be a mainstay of radical fundamentalist Muslims in their hatred of Israel and Israelis.

According to Meir Litvak of the Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies at Tel Aviv University, “In 1894, before the creation of the Zionist movement, a book entitled *The Talmud Jew* by the German anti-Semite Eugen Duhring [1833–1921], was translated into Arabic. The publication of this book—which popularized the concept of the ‘Jewish threat’—can be considered the beginning of modern Arab anti-Semitism” (Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs 2003). World War II and the Nazi collaborationist efforts of the virulently anti-Zionist Mufti of Jerusalem, Mohammed Amin al-Husayni (1895–1974), brought about a further deterioration of relations with Jews, not only in pre-state Palestine but throughout the Arab world. In addition to continuing and strengthening discriminatory practices against Jews, violent clashes would become the norm in Palestine. Throughout the war period, al-Husayni worked in Germany as an Arab propagandist for the Nazi cause, all the while urging Hitler and the Nazis to implement their annihilatory policies against the Jews in the Middle East. One such example is a comment he made on Berlin radio on March 1, 1944: “Arabs, rise as one man and fight for your sacred rights. Kill the Jews wherever you find them. This pleases God, history and religion. This saves your honor. God is with you” (Pearlman 1947, p. 51).

Since the founding of the State of Israel in 1948, it has fought wars against its neighbors in 1948, 1956, 1967, 1973, 1981, and 2006. It has thus remained a source of bitterness and frustration throughout the Arab world, a situation exacerbated by the ongoing political crises occasioned by the plight of the Palestinian refugees, whose own leadership, primarily Yasser Arafat (1929–2004), has refused to still the violent attacks against Jews in Israel and enter into a realizable peace. His successor as president of the Palestinian Authority, Mahmoud Abbas (also known as Abu Mazen) is the author of *The Other Side: The Secret Relationship between Nazism and the*

*Zionist Movement*, in which he claims that German-Jewish Zionists colluded with the Nazis in the deaths of European Jews to further their own aims. With the exception of Egypt under Anwar al-Sadat (1918–1981), whose historic 1977 visit to Israel marked a true turning point in Egyptian-Israeli relations, and King Hussein of Jordan (1935–1999), whose own peaceful relations with Israel were continually marred by the presence of large numbers of refugee Palestinians in Jordan, the Arab nations continue to view Israel as a blight or cancer within *Dar al-Islam* (the world of Islam) that needs to be excised.

Throughout the Arab world, including Egypt and Jordan, copies of the notorious antisemitic conspiracy forgery *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion* remain easily available in bookshops. This text was a product of the Russian secret Police, the *Okrana*, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and it was long a favorite of the late King Faisal of Saudi Arabia (c. 1906–1975). It tells of a supposed secret meeting of rabbinic elders at which they planned to subjugate the world. Long-running television series based upon this text have been shown in both Egypt (“The Horseless Rider,” 2002) and Syria. In addition, anti-Semitic cartoons, many depicting Israelis in Nazi uniforms with bloodied and dead Arabs, appear regularly in newspapers throughout the Arab world. Books, pamphlets, and articles, including some by seemingly reputable scholars, depicting Jews, Judaism, Israel, and Israelis as the world’s quintessential evil continue to be published. For example, *The Matzah of Zion* by the former Syrian Defense Minister Mustafa Tlas, repeats the Western anti-Semitic canard that Jews require the blood of innocent children in the preparation of the unleavened bread used in the celebration of the Festival of Passover.

Even the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, was given an anti-Semitic spin when it was suggested that the events themselves were orchestrated by Israeli and American Zionists, and that Jewish individuals who worked in the World Trade Center were told not to show up to work that day (Gorowitz 2003). Thus, in the Arab world, no distinction appears to be drawn between anti-Semitism (hatred of the Jews and Judaism) and anti-Zionism (hatred of Israelis, the State of Israel, and those who support them).

As to solutions to the seemingly intractable problem of anti-Semitism in the Arab world, the first must be a resolution of the ongoing Palestinian-Israeli conflict. This would remove a long-standing source of anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism among Arab and Islamic extremists and force those in the region to confront the possibility of peaceful, nonmilitary coexistence. Even if this resolution brought about only a “cold peace” of mutual toleration

rather than a “warm peace” of mutual cooperation, a justification of Israel as an enemy would be weakened.

A second possible solution, with quite far-reaching implications, would be the more public exposure within the Arab world of a nonliteral and more metaphorical reading of the Qur’an by scholars. Such a *midrashic* reinterpretation of scriptural texts might potentially involve dialogues among both Jewish and Christian scriptural scholars, as has occurred among Jews and Christians in the aftermath of the Holocaust.

A vital part of any peace process would be a commitment within the Arab world, in the aftermath of an eventual peace between Israel and her neighbors, of new educational endeavors at all levels of education, including the universities and Islamic midrasas of higher learning, that would present Jews and Judaism in a positive light. This might include Jewish specialists of Judaic studies teaching about Jewish history (including the history of Israel itself), Jewish religious and philosophical thought, and Jewish holy day and life-cycle celebrations. This would be a sharp break from the situation that has existed for decades, in which many Arab and Muslim students are fed a steady diet of myths, negative characterizations, and false information about Jews, Judaism, Israel, and Zionism, which only continues to foster anti-Semitism.

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Steven Leonard Jacobs

## ANZALDÚA, GLORIA

1942–2004

Gloria Anzaldúa was an internationally renowned Chicana lesbian feminist scholar-poet and gay rights activist. She was born in Jesus Maria Ranch, Texas, on September 26, 1942, to a family of Mexican migrant farmworkers and grew up to become one of the most highly celebrated Chicana theorists in the United States. She is best known for her path-breaking work on the intersections of race, class, gender, and sexuality in her highly acclaimed, award-winning book *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (1987) and her co-edited volume (with Cherrie Moraga) *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color* (1981). She also edited *Making Face, Making Soul/Haciendo Caras: Creative and Critical Perspectives of Women of Color* (1990) and authored numerous essays and poems.

In *Borderlands*, Anzaldúa used standpoint theory as a point of departure to demonstrate the complex realities of people of color in general, and Mexican women in particular, who live “betwixt and between” multiple worlds. Using poetry and an unconventional style of writing, Anzaldúa offered a snapshot of the dilemmas of life in the United States for people traditionally viewed as “Other” to mainstream society, with a major emphasis on the working class, Chicanas, and lesbians.

Anzaldúa described the borderlands as “an open wound,” a “vague and undetermined place created by the emotional residue of an unnatural boundary” (1999, pp. 24–25). The borderlands represent both a metaphorical and a geographical space, where the cultural influx of opposing nations creates an unstable, shifting ideological re-creation of those caught in the middle. The result of this constant interaction and renegotiation of power relations is the formation of a new culture informed by the Mexican, indigenous, and Anglo worlds—in short, a “borderlands culture.”

In her writings, Anzaldúa challenges conventional models of oral tradition and history. She explores how various cultures have curtailed the opportunities for women, and for those who do not abide by the heterosexual norm. Anzaldúa argues that cultural beliefs are formed by and for men, but that it is primarily women who instill these norms in younger generations. The ultimate form of rebellion within Mexican culture is thus to eschew these norms. One potent form of rebellion is to reclaim one’s sexuality. Anzaldúa’s account of her assertion of her own lesbian identity reveals the contradictions latent within ethnic and heteronormative cultures.

For Anzaldúa, the borderlands is a space to reclaim human rights and reconstitute those Mexican cultural components that have stripped women of their rights, their potential, and their life chances. However, it is not

only Mexican culture that stifles women’s existence. White privilege, upheld by U.S. national policies, also drives women of color toward marginality. As she writes in *Borderlands*:

Woman does not feel safe when her own culture, and white culture, are critical of her, when males of all races hunt her as prey. Alienated from her mother culture, ‘alien’ in the dominant culture, the woman of color does not feel safe within the inner life of her Self. Petrified, she can’t respond, her face caught between *los intersticios*, the spaces between the different worlds she inhabits. (p. 42)

Integral to the process of asserting agency and claiming one’s identity is the recognition of *mestizaje*, the hybrid nature of ethnic identity among Mexicans in the United States. Anzaldúa argues that a recognition of one’s *mestiza* identity is the key to empowerment and forms the heart of a new borderlands culture. She thus seeks to adopt or retain elements that foster strength. But these elements come not only from Mexican culture, but from the Anglo and indigenous cultures as well. One of Anzaldúa’s greatest contributions to Chicana feminist theory is the concept of *la conciencia mestiza*. This consciousness is in a constant state of transformation, for it straddles three cultures that at times send contradictory messages. *La mestiza* must therefore be flexible as she develops:

a tolerance for contradictions, a tolerance for ambiguity. She learns to be an Indian in a Mexican culture, to be Mexican from an Anglo point of view. She learns to juggle cultures. She has a plural personality, she operates in a pluralistic mode—nothing is thrust out, the good the bad and the ugly, nothing rejected, nothing abandoned. Not only does she sustain contradictions, she turns ambivalence into something else. (1999, p. 101)

The objective of this emerging consciousness is to come to terms with all of the inconsistencies and oppositional messages of these cultures. Anzaldúa made it clear that “the answer between the white race and the colored, between males and females, lies in healing the split that originates in the very foundation of our lives, our culture, our languages, our thoughts” (1999, p. 102). When the capabilities of *la conciencia mestiza* are duplicated in other individuals and enter into the collective consciousness, change and social equality are made possible. Anzaldúa will always be remembered for her contributions to Chicana/o theory, queer studies, and her activism. She died on May 15, 2004, from complications due to diabetes.

**SEE ALSO** *Chicana Feminism; Chicano Movement; Mexicans.*



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Gladys García-López

## APARTHEID

In Afrikaans, the language of Afrikaners, the word *apartheid* implies things set apart or separated. The concept and practice of apartheid grew from the history of human interaction in southern Africa. As Brian du Toit explains, “This relationship was born on the frontiers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, given legal recognition in the republican constitutions in the nineteenth century, and justified by church and state in the twentieth century. Essentially, it is a philosophy that assumes the superiority of whites and their responsibility of guardianship over blacks” (1982, p. 157).

By the end of the eighteenth century a variety of slaves (African and Malay) and Khoikhoi (non-Bantu speaking native Africans, or the so-called “Hottentots,”) were associated with European communities in South Africa. Settlers, and especially frontier communities, contrasted themselves with the indigenous peoples, who at the time were decidedly different in thought and action (e.g., practicing animism and ancestor worship, making sacrifices, and expressing values that contrasted with those of Europeans). They were also differentiated by color. Whites saw “Christian” and “European” (and “white”) as nearly equivalent concepts.

A number of preachers, including H. R. van Lier (in 1786) and M. C. Vos (in 1794), and religious societies, such as the London Missionary Society (in 1799), accepted the duty of serving “slaves and Hottentots.” In the early years of the nineteenth century, the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) considered itself as having a monopoly on religious practice. Thus, the interest and involvement in mission work grew, marked by the establishment of separate churches drawn along lines of color. During the early years of the nineteenth century, following the freeing of slaves and the granting of rights to Khoikhoi in the Cape, frontiersmen trekked north to establish a number of independent republics. They saw this as essential for the preservation of their language (following permanent British Administration starting in 1806 and the arrival of the British settlers in 1820), religion (in contrast to Islam and indigenous religions),

culture (civilization as they saw it), lifestyle, and especially color. In *Colour and Culture in South Africa*, Sheila Patterson notes, “Then as now, in the interest of self-preservation, the Boers closed their community. . . . Racial, cultural and religious criteria were by now completely linked. . . . The colour-line was to be drawn once and for all, and thereafter the blood was to be kept pure. There was to be one marriage law for the whites and another for the non-whites, and no provision for intermarriage” (1953, p. 173). Due to a labor shortage in the rapidly growing sugar industry in Natal Province, East Indians were imported as indentured laborers. They were mostly Hindus and Muslims, and few of them returned to India following the completion of their contracts. In time, they spread throughout South Africa, establishing themselves in various businesses. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, colored peoples (the offspring of interracial unions) were on the common voters role in the Cape Province, although segregation was practiced widely. They were removed from these roles in 1955.

Following the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910, the separation of the population along lines of culture and color was increasingly glossed under the somewhat benign designation of “segregation.” This already meant that whites received favorable opportunities, choice residential locations, job opportunities, and security, as well as unobstructed chances for schooling and higher education. In 1913, General Louis Botha, the first prime minister after establishment of the Union of South Africa, passed the Natives’ Land Act, which prohibited Africans from purchasing land outside of the reserves (and a few other special areas). These reserves constituted about 13 percent of the area of the Union.

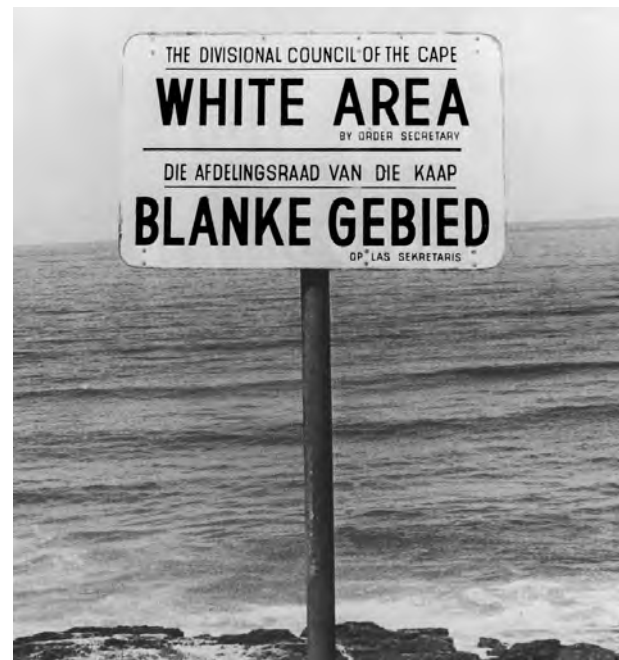
Following its establishment in 1918, the Afrikaner Broederbond, a secret nationalistic and Calvinistic society, started to give direction to Afrikaner aims and policies. Most historians recognize June 4, 1918, as the date of origin of this secret society. This was when a group of young Afrikaner males met in Johannesburg dedicating themselves to work for “the good right of the Afrikaner cause.” Their commitment was non-political, supporting Afrikaner economic conditions as well as Afrikaner art and culture. On December 9, 1919, they decided to become a secret society requiring of each member to take an oath of secrecy and a declaration “affirming his willingness to subject himself to the aim.”

Their power grew through their work in the Reunited National Party (Herstigte Nasionale Party, or HNP). The general election of 1948 pitted General Smuts and the United Party (with a strong majority in Parliament) against Daniel Francois Malan (an ex-DRC minister) and the HNP. During the election, the slogan “Keep South Africa White” was prominently used by the National Party. This

is the first clear use of “apartheid” as concept and policy. (In the 1982 general elections and after political changes in neighboring Rhodesia—now Zimbabwe—the HNP employed billboards with a beautiful white girl and the words “for her sake don’t repeat Rhodesia—vote HNP.”) The spokesmen of the Afrikaner Broederbond and HNP proclaimed the importance of this policy everywhere, from church pulpits to academic publications. In 1942, Gerhardus Eloff had published his *Rasse en rassevermenging (Races and Racial Mixing)*, in which he proclaimed that “the pure-race tradition of the Boer nation must be assured at all costs . . . the natives and coloureds—according to our Christian convictions as practiced by our forbears—must be treated as less endowed. . . . The guardianship must be one which can stand the strongest test” (p. 104). This philosophy was given shape by studies such as Geoffrey Cronje’s *Voogdyskap en apartheid (Guardianship and Apartheid)*, (1948), which laid out the white government’s philosophy and policy with reference to “the coloureds, the natives, and the Indians.” The official government policy in 1948 was that the Indians should be repatriated, coloreds should be segregated, and blacks should be returned to their homelands. Thus, Afrikaner nationalism and white supremacy, which brought the National Party to power, ultimately culminated in the establishment of the Republic of South Africa in 1961. What Malan started in his term as prime minister (1948–1954) was carried to its extreme conclusion by Hendrik Verwoerd, first as minister of native affairs (1950–1958) and then as prime minister (1958–1966).

Almost immediately upon assuming the reins of government, the Nationalists started implementing apartheid. In the national elections of 1948 the National Party under Dr. Malan barely won, entering parliament having a majority of only five seats. In the provincial elections the following year the United Party recaptured the seats in Paarl and Bredasdorp and the National Party was convinced that this was the result of the Colored vote. This population category were the only “non-whites” who had full voting privileges. Thus the Nationalists decided to remove the Coloreds from the common voting role. These same considerations resulted in the abolition of African representation in 1959. In time this divided society consisted of the core dominant whites, racially and residentially separated Coloreds (served by the Department of Colored Affairs and the Colored Representative Council), Indians (served by the Department of Indians Affairs and the South African Indian Council), and finally Africans (supposed to be residents of different Bantustans or homelands and living in South Africa with temporary work permits).

Laws, acts, and amendments followed in quick succession. In 1949 they passed the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act. The following year the Group Areas Act



**Segregation Sign.** This sign on a South African beach designates a “White Area.” Such signs were all too common during the apartheid era. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES.

made sure that white and nonwhite persons were residentially separated, which led to the creation of slums. In cases where whites had maids who lived on the premises, their quarters had to be physically separate from the employer’s residence. It is logical that the government, which was guided by the absurd notion of a pure white race, next passed the Immorality Act (1950), which made physical contact across racial lines a punishable offense. Next came the Population Registration Act No. 30 of 1950, which created a register of the total population of the Union. Every person on the register was to be classified as being white (a white person is described as being “a person who in appearance obviously is, or who is generally accepted as a white person”), Colored (which included “Cape Coloured, Malay, Griqua, Chinese, Indian, other Asiatic, and other Coloured”) or native, according to the ethnic group to which a person belonged or with which the person identified and associated. An identity number was assigned to every person on the register, and that number was retired only when a person died or permanently left South Africa.

The Constitution of the Union of South Africa established English and Dutch (replaced by Afrikaans in 1925) as official languages of the country. These languages were employed as media of instruction throughout the country. In 1953 the government passed the Bantu Education Act, which enforced separate school facilities

and mother-tongue instruction (in the lower grades). It should be kept in mind that especially in rural areas there was a traditional distribution of Africans, including the Nguni languages (Zulu, Swazi, Xhosa and Ndebele) the Sotho languages (Sotho, Rswana, Pedi) as well as Tsonga and Venda. In higher grades English and Afrikaans were employed both as medium of instruction and as course subjects. It is this latter enforcement that resulted in the Soweto student uprising of 1976. The Bantu Education Act also gave direct control of education by the minister of Bantu affairs. Church and mission schools were curtailed and centralized under the government, along with farm schools, secondary schools, and industrial and training institutions. Under the Separate Universities Act (1959) the government closed down a number of black educational and training institutions, including the century-old Adams College—which counted Sir Seretse Khama (Botswana), Joshua Nkomo (Zimbabwe), and Gasha Buthelezi (KwaZulu) among its alumni. It also forced all nonwhite students to attend black (at Fort Hare, Ngoya and Turfloop), colored (in Bellville), or Indian (Westville in Durban) universities. This assured that there would be all-white schools and institutions of higher learning. It also assured that opportunities for friendship, association, better understanding, and intimate relationships could be restricted and avoided where possible.

With separation envisioned in all aspects of living (except, of course, labor and the economy), Verwoerd quickly appointed a commission to look into total geographical apartheid. In 1964 he stated, “One either follows the course of separation, when one must accept the logical consequences right up to the final point of separate states, or else one believes in the course of assimilating the various races in one state and then one must also accept the eventual consequences. These are, domination by the majority, that is black domination.” The 13 percent of land surface that had been set aside for nonwhites was soon being designated “reserves,” “home-lands,” and finally “Bantustans.” Under separate development, blacks were supposed to become “citizens” of their black states. As Joel Mervis points out, “It could be described as a kind of bargain—full rights for Africans in the homelands in exchange for no rights for Africans in the White areas. The fact that this bargain is dictated by the Whites and thrust upon the Non-Whites, whether they like it or not is, again, another matter” (1972, p. 73).

The Group Areas Act (1950) assured residential separation and this included Coloreds and Indians. Blacks (through the hated Pass Laws) were assigned to certain “tribal homelands”. The pass was a document that every African had to carry and produce for identification. It contained a personal history and work history of the bearer. It was a term that referred to the pass but also involved curfew laws, location regulations, and

mobility. When there was an outcry against the “dom pas” (glossed as “stupid pass”) government spokesmen excused them as “just like a passport that you and I carry.” All persons who were considered redundant, or not central to the industrial and labor needs of the white economy, were expected to return to their homelands. This included persons who had been born in, and spent half their lives in, (white) urban areas. Males who lived in black satellite cities and worked for whites were allowed to remain living either in bachelor quarters or homes, as long as they were employed. Section 58 Act 42 of 1964 (the Urban Areas Act) applied a countrywide system of influx control to women and men alike. They were prohibited (according to Article (10) 1 of this law) from remaining in any town for more than seventy-two hours. Authorities declared that a wife should be allowed into town only if she was needed on the labor market. Under the law a woman could qualify for permanent residence in town only if she was born there or had lived there lawfully and continuously for the last fifteen years.

Women who qualified under Section Ten of the Native (Urban Area) Consolidation Act could also remain. All other women needed work permits. Thus, all black women in urban areas needed to possess documentary proof of their right to be in a town or city. The wife or unmarried daughter of a man who was legally admitted and employed in the town or city had a fair measure of security on condition that she was lawfully admitted, satisfied the conditions of carrying an updated pass, and ordinarily resided with that African male in such an area. An “unqualified” woman who did not satisfy these requirements could take up employment in urban areas but she must receive prior consent from her guardian (if she was under twenty-one years of age), have a certificate of approval from the commissioner of her home district, possess a permit from the urban labor officer, and a certificate stating that housing was available issued by the municipality where she was to be employed. The employment was to be entered in her pass book. The hope of the government was that women in rural areas would draw men back to the reserves.

In the early twenty-first century, a decade after majority rule established a black government, many poor blacks are still stuck in hovels without light and water, and unemployment among urban blacks is higher than ever. The old reserves, which became Bantustans, are still cesspools of poverty and underdevelopment. In short, the legacy of apartheid lives on.

**SEE ALSO** *Afrikaner Broederbond; Anti-Apartheid Movement; South African Racial Formations.*

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## ARABS AND ARAB AMERICANS

Within one week of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on New York City and Washington, D.C., law enforcement authorities in the United States received 96,000 tips about the allegedly suspicious behavior of persons who fit a racial phenotype associated with Arabs. For at least the next three years, Arab Americans experienced collective revenge for the attacks from the U.S. government and public alike in the form of assaults, harassments, mass arrests and deportations, denials of civil and political rights, media vilification, employment discrimination, and invasions of privacy. Public opinion polls taken after 9/11 revealed wide support for restricting the civil rights of Arab Americans, requiring Arab Americans to carry special identity cards, and subjecting them to special security checks before boarding planes. These suspicions and punishments were related to the Arabic origin of the 9/11 hijackers, but they would not have been imposed on Arab Americans if Arabs had not been previously racialized as a monolithic group with an alleged predisposition to violence and hatred.

Prejudicial attitudes and discriminatory behaviors toward human groups based on their alleged racial traits are certainly not new in American society. Indeed, they lie at the foundation of American society and characterize the historic experiences of Native Americans, African Americans, Asian Americans, and Latinos. Receiving such treatment, however, was relatively new for Arab Americans, who had spent more than half a century in the United States as a comparatively advantaged group. When one compares the Arab American experience in the first half of the twentieth century to that of the second

half, one finds that Arab Americans have been racialized in a process similar in form but different in pretext and timing from that of other historically racialized groups. Arab Americans have historically been afforded some of the benefits and protections of whiteness, and their exclusion from the social and political perquisites of whiteness postdates the historic experiences of other negatively racialized groups. It is therefore not perfectly tied in its genesis to ideas about race and the superiority of whiteness that have existed since the founding of the United States. Instead, the racialization of Arabs emerged from the rise of the United States as a global superpower, and particularly from its perceived foreign policy interests.

### EARLY ARAB AMERICAN IMMIGRANTS

Arabs who migrated to the United States in the first decades of the twentieth century held structural positions and faced barriers of prejudice and discrimination largely similar to those of white ethnics. Using legal rights concerning property ownership, voting, immigration, naturalization, residential and marital patterns, and employment experiences as primary indicators of their social status at the time, early Arab immigrants and their American-born children—numbering some 100,000 persons by 1924, according to Philip Hitti (1924)—largely fit into a marginal white category, a position similar to that of Italians, Poles, Slavs, Jews, and Greeks in America. Although Arabs were barred from a broad range of institutions run by mainstream whites, they settled without documented restrictions in urban and rural areas, ran businesses, traveled freely about the country as traders, worked as unionized laborers in manufacturing, built community institutions, flourished as writers, and held offices in state and local governments. They achieved a degree of economic success, experienced upward social mobility, and led social lives that were intertwined with members of white ethnic groups, often resulting in intermarriage.

Of course, there are meaningful exceptions to this broadly simplified history, and there were specific localities where the right of Arabs to become naturalized was challenged. During the era of widespread nativism that characterized the United States between 1910 and 1924, Arab whiteness was contested by specific local court clerks and judges seeking to block their naturalization. Such incidents occurred in places like Detroit, Buffalo, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and parts of Georgia and South Carolina. In the words of the historian Helen Hatab Samhan, in some places Arabs were "not quite white" (Samhan 1999). These disparate experiences around racial location underline the notion that race is socially constructed, and that Arabs sat at a disputed margin of whiteness. This marginality is graphically illustrated in the boundaries of the Asia

Barred Zone, a map attached to 1917 legislation passed by the U.S. Congress that erected geographic barriers to immigration and included small sections of the Arab world. The inclusion of parts of Yemen provided ammunition for those who opposed Yemeni naturalization.

These contested racial experiences were neither universal nor representative of the early Arab American experience, and they were counterposed by the widely documented and largely unfettered freedom of movement experienced by Arabs engaged in commerce, which was as true of Christian Arabs as it was of Muslim and Druze Arabs. The existence of variations around race in the early Arab American experience highlights the notion that racial projects are given meaning as they are embedded in local social relationships. Overall, in the early part of the twentieth century, Arab Americans experienced levels of social and political inclusion and economic mobility largely reserved for whites and denied to negatively racialized groups, such as African Americans, Asian Americans, Native Americans, and Latinos. Their experiences were also vastly better than what Arab Americans have faced since the late 1960s. Since that time, substantial evidence indicates a widening social distance between Arab Americans and all other Americans. This social distance is measurable, and it is manifested in government policies, mainstream cultural representations, public perceptions and attitudes, discriminatory behaviors, physical insecurity, and social and political exclusion.

#### THE SHIFT TOWARD RACIALIZATION

The differences in experience between past and present Arab American generations are due in part to religious factors. The earliest Arab immigrants were more likely to be Christian than Muslim, while the reverse has been the case since the 1980s. But reducing historical changes in the Arab American experience to a Muslim-Christian dichotomy is not as analytically useful as it may appear to be. Anti-Arab sentiments were common in the United States decades before Muslim Arabs outnumbered Christian Arab immigrants. Additionally, since their formation, beginning in 1968, all major pan-American Arab organizations have been staffed by members of both religious groups and share the same objectives: reducing discrimination, stereotyping, political exclusion, and ethnic vilification. Persons with Arabic-sounding names, whether Christian or Muslim, report experiencing job discrimination and anti-Arab comments, and persons with the "Arab-Middle Eastern" phenotype have been physically attacked regardless of religion. It is not clear that the American public has a differentiated view of the Christian versus the Muslim Arab, for the utter simplicity

of monolithic, anti-Arab messages has succeeded in precluding thoughtful distinctions. The negative experiences around which Arab American organizations have mobilized preceded by decades the 9/11 attacks, but they laid the groundwork for the collective backlash that followed.

The deterioration in Arab American experiences over time also cannot be explained by economic factors. The earliest Arab immigrants were predominantly uneducated Lebanese, Syrian, and Palestinian farmers and workers, while Arab immigrants since the 1950s have included highly educated Egyptians and Iraqis, predominantly entrepreneurial Jordanians and Yemenis, and better-educated Lebanese, Syrians, and Palestinians. In 2000, According to the U.S. Census, the proportion of Arabs in the United States with high school diplomas and bachelor's degrees was higher than that of the total U.S. population, and this applied to every Arab nationality group. Arab men and women working full-time had higher median incomes in 1999 than did the total U.S. population, a characteristic that applied to all Arab nationality groups except Moroccans and Iraqi and "Arabic" men. ("Arabic" corresponds here to persons who described their ethnicity on the Census form as Arab, Arabian, or Arabic. It differs, therefore, from the collective Arab category. Analysis of census data for metropolitan Chicago showed that, among Arabs, Palestinians were the most likely group to use this term.) At the same time, Arabs had higher poverty rates than did the total U.S. population (17% versus 12%), although this difference is largely explained by recently arrived Iraqi refugees and, to a lesser extent, Palestinian immigrants fleeing continuing deteriorating conditions. While many newer Arab immigrants have low levels of education and job skills, the overall social class background and human capital of Arab immigrants has certainly not lowered over time.

The theoretical construction that best captures the Arab American experience over time is racial formation, as elaborated by Michael Omi and Howard Winant in *Racial Formation in the United States* (1994). The structural exclusion of Arab Americans from a wide range of social institutions has evolved from a plethora of "racial projects" (e.g., in the media, arts, news, pedagogy, academia, civil society, political organizations, public policy, and popular culture) in which social constructions of the essential differences of Arabs (and later Muslims) were put forth so extensively as to be widely accepted as common sense, as evidenced in public opinion polls.

Arab Americans have been racialized using dominant discourses about their inherent violence, which are propped up with confirming images (such as angry mobs) in a process tied to the rise of the United States as a superpower and its *foreign* (not domestic) policy interests. This stigmatization threw Arab American

communities off their previous course in American society, for it re-created them as “Others,” as people who stand in opposition to Americanness because of their alleged inherent values and dispositions. Palestinian opposition to the Israeli military occupation of their homeland was thus constructed as illegitimate, and Arabs were cast as not only violent but also racist and anti-Semitic, in opposition to core “American values.” The Palestinian case exposed the racialized nature of these discourses: Whereas the Soviet, Cuban, and Sandinista enemies were governments and political ideologies, the Arab enemy was the Arab people, men and women supposedly imbued with innate cultural dispositions to violence and hatred. Media fascinations with questions such as “Can Arabs be democratic?” followed, again positing that Arabs, by nature, hold values that clash with the essential values of the United States.

Thus, in their history in the United States, stretching over more than 100 years, the social status of Arabs changed from marginal white to a more subordinate status that shares many features common to the experiences of people of color. Just as one can document and measure the process of becoming white (see Roedigger 1991; Ignatiev 1995), a downgrading of the social status of Arabs in America through processes identified as “racial formation” is also measurable and can be seen in public policies; mainstream representations; social patterns of discrimination, separation, and exclusion; and even self-identification. By the late 1970s, pollsters found that American attitudes toward Arabs were “close to racist” (Lipset and Schneider 1977) and that “Arabs remain one of the few ethnic groups that can still be slandered with impunity in America” (Slade 1981). M. Cherif Bassiouni, a law professor at DePaul University, documented systematic efforts to deny Arab Americans their civil rights in a 1974 monograph titled *The Civil Rights of Arab-Americans: The Special Measures*. Jack Shaheen’s 1984 examination of portrayals of Arabs in American television found pervasive and persistent negative stereotypes, including in children’s educational programming. In his 1991 study of Arab portrayals in comic books, Shaheen found that out of 218 Arab characters, 149 characters were portrayed as evil. Ronald Stockton’s 1994 analysis of anti-Arab images and themes appearing in newsprint caricatures pointed out their similarity to earlier images that showed blacks as inferior and subjectable, Japanese as savage and subhuman, and Jews as socially hostile with “thought processes alien to normal humans.” Laurence Michalak, the author of *Cruel and Unusual: Negative Images of Arabs in American Popular Culture*, found that negative representations of Arabs could be located across a broad spectrum of American popular culture, including songs, jokes, television, cartoons, and comics. In his research he found “overwhelm-



**Representative Ray LaHood, 2001.** LaHood, a Republican from Illinois, is only one of a handful of Arab Americans to have served in the U.S. Congress. He is of Lebanese descent. First elected in 1994, he was re-elected to his seventh term in 2006. AP IMAGES.

ing and undeniable evidence that there exists a harshly pejorative stereotype of Arabs in American cinema” (Michalak 1983, p. 30). These and other scholarly studies offer substantial evidence of measurable levels of negative structural discrimination and a dramatic widening of the social distance between Arab Americans and all other Americans.

Indeed, the most important pan-Arab American organizations founded since the 1960s—the Association of Arab-American University Graduates (AAUG), the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), the Arab American Institute (AAI), and the National Association of Arab Americans (NAAA)—have had as their primary organizational objectives the reversal of these conditions of inequality and the dismantling of the propositions of innate cultural difference that lay at their root. One of the first historic studies of Arab American communities commissioned by an Arab American organization (the ADC) noted:

At a time when the United States is more receptive to cultural pluralism, and ethnicity is no longer socially unacceptable, Arab Americans remain primary targets of defamatory attacks on their cultural and personal character. Thus, much of the activity of the Arab-American community has been directed at correcting the stereotypes that threaten to produce a new wave of anti-Arab

racism in the United States and endanger the civil and human rights of the Arab-American community. (Zogby 1984, p. 21)

#### SOCIAL AND POLITICAL FORCES IN RACIAL FORMATION

The racial-formation processes experienced by Arab Americans cannot be perfectly tied, in their genesis, to ideas about race and the superiority of whiteness that have existed since the founding of the United States. Rather, the fall of Arabs from the graces of marginal whiteness is traceable to the emergence of the United States as a global superpower. This sociopolitical relationship, although not framed in racial terms, is acknowledged in some of the earlier scholarship on Arab Americans. For example, Baha Abu-Laban and Michael Suleiman note in *Arab Americans: Continuity and Change* that the source of bias against Arabs in the United States relates “more to the original homeland and peoples than to the Arab-American community” (Abu-Laban and Suleiman 1984, p. 5). In the same 1984 ADC report, domestic “images of greedy oil sheiks and bloodthirsty terrorists” are tied to political and economic events in the Middle East (Zogby 1984, p. 21). More to the point, Fay notes that “the source of today’s defamation of Arab-Americans might be described as the domestic counterpart of the Arab-Israeli conflict” (Fay 1984, p. 22).

The domestic transformation of Arabs from marginal white to structurally subordinate status was facilitated by the flexibility of whiteness and the historic and “observable” racial liminality of Arabs (a concept that can be extended to South Asians and Latinos). But, at its core, the social and political exclusion of Arabs in the United States has been a racial formation process. Arab inferiority has been constructed and sold to the American public using essentialist constructions of human difference, resulting in specific forms of structural isolation. The seemingly race-neutral lens of essentialized cultural differences became useful after blatant racism had lost its power as an effective hegemonic tool. Nonetheless, the components of racialization were there, including the assertion of innate characteristics held by all members of a group and the use of power to reward, control, and punish based on these determinations.

Because race remains one of the fundamental tools for claiming rewards and organizing discipline in American society (and because this is something Americans know and understand), these notions of essential human difference have been corporealized, as if they were about color. The corporealization is evident in the actionable but sloppy phenotypic category of “Arabs, Muslims, and persons assumed to be Arabs and Muslims.” Without these terms and this categorization, analysts could not

accurately describe the victims of hate crimes and verbal assault in the United States after the 9/11 attacks. In August 2005, for example, some New York legislators called for baggage checks of persons entering New York subways who fit the “Middle Eastern” profile. But “Middle Eastern” is an artificial construct created in the West, and it has varying definitions. For some, the Middle East ranges from North Africa through Muslim South Asia; for others, it is the Arab countries in Asia; and sometimes its geographic area is left undefined. Very few persons from “Middle Eastern” countries identify with the term. In Census 2000, only 2.4 percent of Arab respondents gave their ethnicity as “Middle Eastern.”

Because the racialization of Arabs is tied to larger American global policies, the domestic aspect of this project differs in some ways from that of historically racialized groups in its focus on the manufacture of public consent needed to support, finance, and defend these policies. For this reason, the most noted features of Arab exclusion in the United States are tactical. They thus include persistent, negative media representations; denial of political voice; governmental and nongovernmental policies targeting Arab American activism; and distortions of Arab and Muslim values, ways of life, and homelands. All of these actions are tied to the delegitimation of Arab claims and the disenfranchisement of dissenting voices in order to assert an informational hegemony. Arab Americans have maintained their economic successes despite the context of political and social exclusion, in part because they tend to work as professionals and entrepreneurs, occupations that are largely peripheral to power and the corporate mainstream.

Since the “darkening” of Arabs began in earnest after the beneficiaries of the U.S. civil rights movement had been determined and the categories of “nonwhite” and “minority” had been set, Arabs have experienced the double burden of being excluded from the full scope of whiteness and from mainstream recognition as people of color. They are therefore still officially white and ineligible for affirmative action programs. Therese Saliba notes that while Arab Americans have been victims of racist policies, their experiences are rendered invisible by dominant discourses about race. The political exclusion of Arab voices in mainstream civil society has been reinforced by issue control, through which organizational leadership silences any discussion of issues that challenge U.S. policies in the Arab world (e.g., Palestine, Iraq) if asserting them may frustrate other organizational objectives. In pedagogy, prior to 9/11, Arabs were generally excluded from race and ethnic studies textbooks, and when they were mentioned they were often treated differently than other groups by being held responsible for their own stereotyping (see Cainkar 2002).

The exclusion of Arab Americans and their organizations from mainstream vehicles of dissent left them with few powerful allies after the 1960s, despite efforts to establish ties with other ethnic and racial groups in order to forge antiracist alliances (although they have had some measurable local successes). This allowed their challenges to hostile media representations, textbook biases, and selective policy enforcement to be ignored without repercussions (see Fay 1984). Because they stood virtually alone, discrimination and the production of negative images flourished, pointing to the importance of strategies that ensured Arab American exclusion from civil society groups. The perpetuation and reinforcement of stigmatized views, as well as political isolation, allowed Arab Americans to be open targets for collective punishment after the 9/11 attacks on the United States.

**SEE ALSO** *Aversive Racism; Cultural Racism; Hate Crimes; Institutional Racism; Racial Formations; White Racial Identity.*

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## ASIAN-AMERICAN FEMINISM

Women were indispensable to the Asian-American movement from its inception in the late 1960s. Following its black and Latino counterparts, the Asian-American movement evolved out of the antiwar and student movements and, somewhat more distantly, the civil rights movement. As with other racial/ethnic groups that have sought cultural and political rights, the Asian-American movement laid the ground for forging its own distinct feminism.

Activists in the people's movements of the 1960s and 1970s saw clear parallels between their racialized class oppression in the United States and the national liberation struggles in the Third World. But identification with the independence struggles of Vietnam (and the extraordinary valor of its women), then under relentless bombardment by vastly superior United States forces, was particularly strong among Asian Americans (at the time this meant Chinese and Japanese, who were later joined by Filipinos and Koreans). Imbued with an anti-imperialist outlook, Asian-American women did not project men as the adversary when they started questioning their support roles within the movement. The feminism that developed continued to be informed by the perspective that capitalism was the main obstacle to social justice, a view shared by many black and Latino women, but not necessarily by the mainstream women's liberation movement.



The arrival of Asian-American women at a feminist consciousness came after Latino and black women did so. In many Asian countries, families are heavily patriarchal, with women expected to dutifully perform familial responsibilities and, in return, to receive protection by their men. This traditional arrangement, combined with the history of United States exclusionary immigration policies, antimiscegenation, and other repressive actions (such as the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II), magnified the importance of family formation and stability. Moreover, the portrayal of Asian Americans as the “model minority” effectively dissociated them from ethnic groups engaged in street protests, resulting in their invisibility. It similarly rendered Asian-American women invisible to the white, middle-class women’s movement. For the latter, “women of color” meant black and Latina women, not Asian-American women.

### FIRST FEMINIST STIRRINGS

Because Asian Americans sought alliances with other racialized groups that saw themselves as constituting “internal colonies,” or as a “Third World” within the United States, the first feminist stirrings among Asian-American women were anchored to ethnic/racial and class identity. Despite their experience of marginalization by men in the movement, they neither pressed for autonomy nor reached out to white women’s organizations for much-needed resources. They held “rap sessions” and study groups to exchange individual stories and analyze their specific predicament as Asian-American women. Two elders committed to overall social change, not mainly to gender, emerged as their role models—the Japanese-American Yuri Kochiyama in New York, and the Chinese-American Grace Lee Boggs in Detroit.

Believing in collective action, women organized to change conditions in their own communities, prompted by the slogan “Serve the People” from the 1960s Chinese Cultural Revolution. They maintained a profound interest in, and connection to, international politics. A landmark event that proved singularly inspiring to Asian-American feminists was the 1971 Vancouver Indochinese Women’s conference, at which they expressed solidarity with delegates from that war-ravaged region.

The early Asian-American feminist movement was composed of grassroots, middle-class, and student activists who mobilized around local issues. In Los Angeles, among their first projects were Asian Sisters, a drug-abuse center for women set up in 1971, and the Little Friends Playgroup, a child-care center established in 1972 (Ling 1989). When this women’s collective received a Department of Health, Education, and Welfare fund award designated for drug abuse in 1972, its members decided to establish an Asian Women’s Center that would encompass drug abuse

and child care as well as provide a variety of new services. These included health and pregnancy counseling, birth control, and abortion referrals. Beyond its provision of services, however, the Los Angeles Asian Women’s Center acquired enormous significance as a crucial meeting place for the Asian-American movement until its closure in 1976.

Colleges also supplied a hospitable climate for the articulation of feminism. The Third World student strikes of 1968 paved the way for the offering of ethnic studies courses in several California colleges in 1969. The first course on Asian-American women was offered at the University of California at Berkeley in 1970. At the University of California at Los Angeles, the first team-taught course, titled “Asian Women in America,” was presented in the Experimental College in 1972. Faced with a paucity of literature dealing directly with Asian-American women, the team of instructors, themselves learning as they taught, assembled readings on women in social movements in Vietnam, China, and Japan. They also called on grassroots women to share their life stories, conducted class meetings at sites such as the Asian Women’s Center and the Filipino Community Center, and solicited community members’ attendance. Only in the area of racist stereotypes of Asian women in the media was there an abundance of materials to examine.

Although these courses were designed to address women’s issues, race and racism retained primacy. The matter of class cleavages, furthermore, created tensions and exacerbated the problem of focus. To resolve these tensions, a conference held in 1974 presented the concept of the “triple oppression” of “sexism, racism, and capitalism.” This formulation, while remote from the thinking of the main current, solidly aligned Asian-American women with Latino and black women. Needless to say, the anticapitalist thrust of the course did not elicit approval from the curriculum committee.

The mid-1970s witnessed a government infiltration of social movements, principally the Black Panthers and the Brown Berets, contributing to their eventual demise. Such a situation could not but reverberate among Asian-American activists. The 1976 closing of the Asian Women’s Center has been identified with the end of the Asian-American movement, which was a profound testimony to women’s mobilizing. A neoconservative tide swept in that would soon change the character of progressive thinking in general. “Minority” funding once aimed for grassroots organizations was soon funneled to middle-class, professional associations.

In colleges, team-teaching was replaced by specialists trained in ethnic studies and women’s studies who now had the benefit of a burgeoning body of literature. The 1989 publication of *Making Waves: An Anthology of Writings by and about Asian American Women*, edited by Asian Women

United of San Francisco, is said to mark the professionalization of Asian-American feminism (Kim 2000). Asian Women United, founded in 1979, departs from earlier associations in its middle-class composition and purpose, which is the production of educational materials.

### THE PROFESSIONALIZATION OF FEMINISM

The collapse of the women's movement and its consignment to the academy in the 1980s professionalized feminism and blunted its radical edge. Still, new approaches underpinned by postmodernism have emphasized specificities and the notion of "difference," allowing women of color the space previously denied them. This in turn has led to the recognition of differences, if not hierarchies, inside the pan-ethnic "Asian American" category, which has been considerably expanded by the influx of new immigrants—Southeast Asia (e.g., Vietnamese, Cambodian, Lao, Hmong, Indonesian, Malaysian, Thai, and Singaporean) and South Asia (e.g., Indian, Pakistani, Sri Lankan, Nepalese, and Bangladeshi). These new approaches have also permitted the invention of separate racial/ethnic feminisms, such as "Pinayism" or "Pinay Power," a Filipina feminist response to the once hegemonic (and presumably male) "Yellow Power" (de Jesús 2005).

The flurry of publications by and on Asian-American women reflects these new feminist trends, which are succinctly encapsulated by the "intersectionality" paradigm (involving gender, race, and class, among a multiplicity of identities) that have come to dominate women's studies scholarship. Intersectionality recounts, yet also reverses and undercuts, the "triple oppression" theory of the past by foregrounding individual identity at the expense of systemic analyses.

Whether or not contemporary feminism retains a transformative project, or in what ways and to what extent it does so, is subject to debate. That the focus has shifted from the economic and material to the cultural and discursive is readily apparent, however. Feminist vocabulary, furthermore, has become specialized and accessible only to the initiate. The revised 1997 edition of *Making Waves*, titled *Making More Waves*, illustrates this change. While the first edition took up issues of class and work, war, and activism, the more recent version captures wholly new themes—such as multiple identities, biculturalism, and decolonization—that are patently individualist and discursive in nature, closely hewing to the "cultural turn" privileged by the academy.

If Asian-American feminism has had to make accommodations to the mainstream trend, globalization has also forced it to confront poverty-induced practices such as sex trafficking, mail-order brides, and migrant and sweatshop labor, each of which holds the potential for contesting hegemonic frameworks. But research on these topics, in

order to gain legitimacy in the academy, must sidestep global capitalist exploitation and center instead on the everyday "agency" and empowerment exhibited by their subjects. The basic premise is that a socioeconomic elaboration would depict women as victims. Consequently, while able to say more about individual women's daily lives, Asian-American feminism's confinement to the academy has limited its ability to address systemic ills (if, indeed, that is still its aim). It might take another social upheaval to shake the foundations of this conjunctural worldview.

**SEE ALSO** *Antiracist Social Movements; Feminism and Race.*

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*Delia D. Aguilar*

## ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF NEGRO LIFE AND HISTORY

In 1940 Carter G. Woodson wrote to his fellow Americans: "Do not let the role which you have played be obscured while others write themselves into the foreground of your

story” (*Negro History Bulletin*, February 1940). Woodson and the members of the organization that he founded played a very important role in fighting the negative stereotypes of African Americans that were created during slavery. In the fight against racism in America, history itself has always been an important battleground. Woodson and his colleagues tackled this huge task by researching, writing, and promoting a truthful history of African Americans. They made it their mission to spread the word of the many positive contributions that blacks made to the building of America and the world.

The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (ASNLH) was organized in Chicago, Illinois, on September 15, 1915. The next month, on October 9, the association was incorporated in Washington, D.C., and it has operated there ever since. In 1972 the name was changed to the Association for the Study of African American Life and History, or ASALH. In 2007, the association had thousands of members and operated fifty-three branches in twenty-one states, as well as an additional branch in Nigeria, West Africa.

The ASALH collects historical and sociological materials and data about African Americans, as well as about black people throughout the world. This research material is used to publish pamphlets, monographs, and books on the African diaspora throughout history. The association has sought to “promote the study of Negroes through churches, clubs, schools, colleges, and fraternal organizations, and to bring about harmony between the races by interpreting the one to the other” (ASALH).

In January 1916 the organization published the first issue of its quarterly, *The Journal of Negro History*. The *Journal* has long been considered one of the best historical publications in the world. It is an influential outlet for pioneering works of African-American history and a major proponent for the development of the field of African-American studies.

The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History and the *Journal of Negro History* were the brainchildren of Carter Godwin Woodson, who was born on December 19, 1875 and died on April 3, 1950. During his lifetime he became known as the “father of the black history movement,” and he was the founder of Negro History Week (later expanded to Black History Month). Woodson devoted his life to documenting the accomplishments of Africans and African-Americans and getting black history accepted as a serious field of scholarship. In addition to being a prolific writer, he was a tireless researcher, an obsessive collector, a gifted orator, and a very accomplished educator.

For more than thirty-five years, Woodson waged an unrelenting, multifront war against intellectual racism in America. He battled antiblack American social thought

and misguided educational policies and programs in many segregated black schools and colleges. Through his establishment of the ASNLH, Woodson popularized black history among the black masses. He almost single-handedly opened the long suppressed and neglected field of black history to students, writers, scholars, and researchers seeking the truth about the black presence in the world.

#### WOODSON'S EARLY LIFE

The son of James Henry Woodson and Anne Eliza (Riddle), both former slaves, Carter Woodson was born in New Canton, Buckingham County, Virginia. He was the oldest of nine children. Woodson and his family experienced extreme poverty compounded by the trauma of widespread racism in one of the poorest counties in Virginia. However, Woodson belonged to a close-knit family in which the chores of farming were shared, and his parents related many stories about slavery.

The late 1800s were a very difficult period for African Americans. It was the end of the Reconstruction period, and federal troops had been withdrawn from the South, leaving the recently freed slaves to survive on their own, unprotected from the wrath of their former masters. Many white Southerners blamed blacks for the Civil War, and many sought them out for revenge. Black public officials were frequently murdered, run out of town, or removed from their positions through violent means, and Jim Crow laws were being instituted throughout the South. The white-hooded members of the Ku Klux Klan, as well as similar vigilante groups, were riding in the night spreading terror and committing countless murders. Lynchings were a part of everyday life in the South. In some towns, lynching “holidays” were held so that whites could picnic and watch a black person being beaten, hanged, mutilated or burned, and finally killed.

Many African Americans began to leave the South during this period. As news of these horrific events reached Woodson’s family, they were deeply saddened and more than a little nervous about their well-being. Woodson’s father had escaped from slavery and joined the Union Army during the Civil War. He settled in Buckingham County in 1872, and Carter Godwin Woodson was born three years later.

At an early age, Woodson developed a deep hunger for learning. Jacqueline Goggins, a Woodson biographer, wrote of him, “Even as a small boy, Carter G. Woodson was passionate about history. When he founded the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, it seemed as if he was destined to do so and it became his life work” (Papers of Carter G. Woodson and the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1915–1950, University Publications of America, Introduction by Goggin, 1999).



**Carter Godwin Woodson.** *Dedicated to correcting the biased view of blacks in America's history books, Woodson was a cofounder of the ASNLH and the founder of Negro History Week, which later expanded into Black History Month.*

GENERAL RESEARCH & REFERENCE DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

As the world would learn, Woodson possessed a rare combination of genius and intellect coupled with unstoppable determination and almost boundless energy.

The young Woodson was not able to attend the local district school during the customary five-month period because he was needed to work on the small farm of his parents. Woodson's father was a carpenter and a farmer who was unable to read or write. His mother and an uncle had somehow learned to read and write however, and taught him the rudiments of reading. He attended a one-room grammar school that was open only four months per year, but he was largely self-taught until he entered high school at the age of twenty. Like other literate blacks of the era, Woodson was often paid to read to groups of illiterate men and women in his spare time, a situation that enlightened both him and his listeners.

In 1892, Woodson left Buckingham County and joined his brother Robert Henry in Huntington, West

Virginia. At first he worked on the railroad laying railroad ties, and later he worked in the dangerous mines of the Fayette County coalfields. Woodson became the black community "reader" for many illiterate coal miners, including one Oliver Jones, who despite his inability to read had built up a surprisingly good collection of black historical works. Using Jones's books, Woodson became the literate attraction of the area.

#### WOODSON'S EDUCATION

In 1895 Carter G. Woodson entered Douglass High School in Huntington, West Virginia. He earned his diploma in less than two years. In the fall of 1897 and the winter of 1898, Woodson attended Berea College in Kentucky, one of the few white schools of that day that had a liberal policy of opening its doors to black students.

Woodson taught in Winona in Fayette County, West Virginia, from 1898 to 1900. Just four years after his graduation from Douglass High School, young Woodson returned to the school first as a teacher then as its principal and remained there from 1900-1903. After several interruptions he received his degree of Bachelor of Literature from Berea College in 1903.

Woodson took a position as supervisor of schools in the Philippines until 1907. He completed correspondence courses in Spanish and French at the University of Chicago while overseas, and in 1907 he traveled to Europe and Asia and took classes at the Sorbonne in Paris, where he learned to speak French. In 1908 he went to the University of Chicago, where he simultaneously took undergraduate and graduate classes. In March 1908 he received his second bachelor of arts degree and in August received his master's degree. Late in 1908, he began work on his doctorate in history from Harvard University.

In 1909 Woodson returned to Washington D.C. to make full use of the Library of Congress. He continued work on his doctoral thesis while teaching French, English, and History at the fabled M Street (Paul Laurence Dunbar) High School. Later he became principal at the nearby Armstrong Manual Training High School, while still managing to do research on his thesis. While Woodson worked on getting his degree, Edward Channing, one of his Harvard professors, argued that Negroes had no history. Channing later challenged Woodson to undertake research to prove that Negroes had a history. He discovered that Albert Bushnell Hart, another of his professors, believed blacks to be an inferior race.

Woodson satisfied his dissertation committee in 1912 and received his Ph.D. from Harvard University. He was the second African American to receive this degree from Harvard; William Edward Burghardt (W. E. B.) DuBois, the only son of freeborn parents, had been awarded the same degree from the same department in 1895.

Sometime in 1913 or 1914, Woodson became a member of the American Negro Academy, a scholarly organization founded in 1897 by Alexander Crummell, an erudite black Episcopalian minister. Modeled on the Académie Française and limited to forty members, the academy had the following objectives: to defend African Americans against vicious racist attacks, to publish scholarly works on racial issues, and to encourage higher education and an appreciation for literature, science, and art within the black community. It was the first organization to bring together black scholars and artists from all over the world, and it had a strong influence on Woodson.

#### THE FOUNDING OF THE ASNLH

In the summer of 1915 Woodson journeyed to Chicago to attend the Exposition of Negro Progress, which was being held to mark fifty years of black freedom. While living at Chicago's downtown YMCA during the exposition, Woodson met a number of other black history enthusiasts and became convinced that the time was ripe to organize them. Thus on September 9, before returning to Washington, Dr. Woodson organized the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (ASNLH). According to Dr. Charles Wesley, one of Woodson's biographers, "he was convinced by this date that the Negro would become a negligible factor in the thought of the world and would stand in danger of being exterminated unless something was done to rescue him from history's neglect at that time" (Wesley 1965, p. 173).

Four people helped Woodson form the ASNLH: George Cleveland Hall, Booker T. Washington's personal physician; W. B. Hartgrove, a teacher in the Washington D.C. public schools; Alexander L. Jackson, the executive secretary of the Wabash YMCA in Chicago; and James Stamps, a Yale University graduate student in economics. In October Woodson returned to Washington and incorporated the ASNLH as a not-for-profit historical and educational organization. The board of directors included its founding members. He bought a house at 1538 Ninth Street, Northwest. In addition to living here, the house served as the association's national headquarters for the remainder of his life. Also in 1915, Woodson published his first book, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*, which is often referred to as his most scholarly book.

On January 1, 1916, Woodson published the first issue of his quarterly *Journal of Negro Life and History*. To finance the printing of the first issue, Woodson borrowed four hundred dollars against his \$2,000 life insurance policy. He mailed copies of the first *Journal* to the ASNLH membership and to white foundations, and each copy was accompanied by a request for donations and subscription orders. He raised enough money in this way to pay for the printing of the second issue.

While Woodson served as executive director of the association, George Cleveland Hall became its first president in 1916. A renowned surgeon, social activist, and community leader, Hall was a vice president of the Urban League, an early member of the NAACP, and a tireless leader for black rights. He was also instrumental in the operation of Chicago's now extant Provident Hospital. (For many years Provident was the only private hospital in Chicago that would treat blacks.) The Dr. Cleveland Hall Library, located on the south side of Chicago, is a monument to his memory.

Robert E. Park, a white sociologist with nine years experience as public relations director for Booker T. Washington and the Tuskegee Institute, became the only white president of the association in 1917. He served in this position until 1921. Park had been a professor at the University of Chicago, and he was to become a teacher and mentor of the pioneering black sociologists Charles S. Johnson and E. Franklin Frazier.

In 1917 the first national meeting of the ASNLH was held in Washington, D.C. Since then the annual meeting of the association has attracted members and observers from all over the country. Held in different cities each year, the event attracts upward of a thousand participants who attend educational and historical workshops, meetings, and a variety of other events. Current leaders in the fields of history, education, sociology, and other relevant professions are invited to speak and make presentations. Representatives of other scholarly associations and book publishers usually are present.

Whereas the association is now housed at Howard University and has a small staff, during its early years it barely survived. The publicity engendered by his Harvard degree helped Woodson create an Executive Council, which once included luminaries such as Julius Rosenwald, the millionaire retailer; George Foster Peabody; J.G. Phelps Stokes, of the Phelps Stokes Fund; and Jesse Moorland, the national secretary of the YMCA.

Woodson worked like a one-man band, lecturing, teaching, researching, writing, and publishing. He used part of his salary from his regular teaching jobs to help keep the ASNLH afloat. To save money he often cleaned the association's office himself. In 1918 he was appointed principal of the Armstrong School in Washington, D.C. He also published another scholarly work, *A Century of Negro Migration*, in which he documented some of the most pressing issues facing African Americans.

Howard University appointed Woodson to the position of Dean of the School of Liberal Arts in 1919. However, a conflict with Howard's white president, J. Stanley Durkee, over the issue of academic freedom led to his being fired just one year after he joined the staff. His friend John Davis, who had just become president of West

Virginia State College (then known as West Virginia Collegiate Institute), offered Woodson a position at his school. After two years at this institution, Woodson found that academic administration was not to his liking, and he left the college.

In 1921, while he was still living in Virginia, he published *The History of the Negro Church*, a pioneering work on the subject. In 1922 he published *The Negro in Our History*, one of his best-selling works. By 1972 twelve editions of the book had been printed. In 1922 he also established Associated Publishers, an independent book publishing organization that he created after having trouble with biased white publishers.

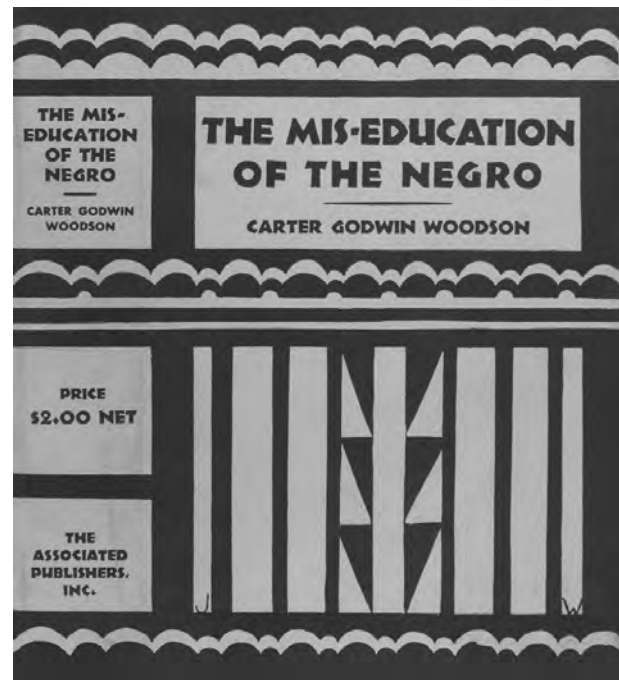
### NEGRO HISTORY WEEK

In 1926 Woodson and the association began the celebration of Negro History Week, which was to be used to shed light on and celebrate the contributions blacks had made to America. Woodson stated "What we need is not a history of selected races or nations, but the history of the world void of national bias, hate and religious prejudice. There should be no indulgence in undue eulogy of the Negro. The case of the Negro is well taken care of when it shown how he has influenced the development of civilization" (Woodson 1940). The month of February was selected for Negro History Week in honor of the birthdays of Frederick Douglass and Abraham Lincoln. In explaining the need for Negro History Week, Woodson said:

The fact is that so-called history teaching in our schools and colleges is downright propaganda, an effort to praise one race and to decry the other to justify social repression and exploitation. The world is still in darkness as to the actual progress of mankind. Each corner of the universe has tended to concern itself merely with the exploits of its own particular heroes. Students and teachers of our time, therefore, are the victims of this selfish propaganda. (Woodson 1940)

### WOODSON'S LATER LIFE AND WORKS

In the 1920s and 1930s Woodson donated many of the materials that he had collected to the Library of Congress. In 1926 the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) awarded Woodson the Springarn Medal for his contributions in promoting a more accurate view of blacks in America. From the 1920s through the late 1940s Woodson spent a great deal of time traveling throughout the country, speaking about black history at schools, churches, colleges and universities, fraternities, social and cultural groups, and wherever else there was an audience. *The Mis-Education of the Negro*, Woodson's best-known book, was first published



**The Mis-Education of the Negro.** Carter Godwin Woodson's book, published in 1933, criticized the Eurocentric approach to education in the United States. GENERAL RESEARCH DIVISION, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

in 1933 and remains in print in the early twenty-first century. In 1937 he published the first issue of the *Negro History Bulletin*, a history magazine designed for school children and the general public. Woodson's great ambition, beyond isolated books and articles, was to create a massive coherent historical document, which he entitled *Encyclopedia of the Negro*. Other black scholars (DuBois in particular) dreamed of creating a similar work, each hopeful of receiving philanthropic financing. Some seventy-odd years were to pass before such a volume appeared under the title of *Africana: the Encyclopedia of the African and African American Experience* (1999), edited by Kwame Anthony Appiah and Henry Louis Gates.

Woodson had much greater success in popularizing the idea that black history was intrinsically and socially important. Black History Week highlighted this importance, as did the publication of the *Negro History Bulletin*. From his Washington office Woodson promoted the establishment of state and local chapters of the ASALH. Throughout the nation, in the various state and local chapters, thousands of African Americans read his publications and were stimulated to share their ideas with other blacks. Black History Week was a natural outgrowth of these chapters. In 1927 Woodson established a division within the association that contained units he dubbed

“Lecture Bureau” and “Home Study Department.” The purpose of this division was to coordinate the work of local ASNLH chapters (Goggin, 1993, pp. 86–87).

For years, Carter G. Woodson was the only African-American historian working independently of any formal educational institution, an unusual situation that attracted the attention of the U.S. government. In 1938 the FBI, the Military Intelligence Division of the War Department, and the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) began monitoring Woodson’s activities, thinking it odd that a black Harvard Ph.D. recipient was devoting his professional life to promoting a different version of the nation’s past than that presented by mainstream educators. HUAC subjected Woodson to heightened surveillance after he spoke to nontraditional white organizations such as the Samuel Adams School for Social Studies in Massachusetts and the Rackham Educational Memorial School in Detroit. In addition, several of his publications critical of the state of race relations were favorably reviewed by the Communist Party newspaper, the *Daily Worker*.

Woodson received an honorary doctorate degree in Laws from West Virginia State College in 1941. On April 3, 1950, he died abruptly of a heart attack at his home in Washington D.C. He was seventy-five years old. Over the course of his life, Woodson wrote a total of eighteen books, published dozens of articles, and was a regular columnist in several magazines and newspapers. Among the books Woodson wrote and edited are *Negro Orators and Their Orations* (1926), *The Mind of the Negro as Reflected in Letters Written During the Crisis, 1800–1860* (1926), *Negro Makers of History* (1928), *The History of the Negro Church* (1927), *The Negro Wage Earner* (1930, with Lorenzo Greene), *The Rural Negro* (1930), *The Negro Professional Man and the Community* (1934), *The Story of the Negro Retold* (1935), *The African Background Outlined* (1936), and *The Works of Francis J. Grimké* (1942, 4 volumes).

#### FUNDING THE ASSOCIATION

From the outset, Woodson had trouble raising substantial funds from white foundations and philanthropic organizations. In 1916 he received his first donations from white foundations; a commitment of an annual \$200 donation from the Phelps-Stokes Fund, a pledge of \$800 a year from the Julius Rosenwald Foundation, and other small donations.

Beginning in 1916 Woodson submitted proposals to the Rockefeller Foundation, the Carnegie Foundation, and others. His proposals were rejected for many years, however. Finally, in 1922 the Carnegie Institute awarded Woodson his first grant in the amount of \$25,000. The money from this grant was to be spread over a five-year period, and it was used to secure additional funding from the Laura Spelman Memorial Fund. With these funding

commitments in place, he was able to retire from teaching and devote all of his time to the association and his research and writing. Until this time, Woodson’s main challenge was finding enough money to support himself, the association, and the *Journal*. He often told people that he was married to the association, and that that was the reason he never married. Beginning in 1922, the ASNLH was finally able to pay Woodson a salary of \$3,000 a year.

In 1922, however, Woodson clashed with the transplanted Welshman Thomas Jesse Jones, the educational director of the Phelps-Stokes Funds, over educational policy, and the association lost most of its foundation support. Woodson supported liberal education, while Jones favored low-level vocational education, which he felt better suited the “realities” of black life. By the height of the Great Depression in the 1930s, Jones had succeeded in blocking almost all support for the ASNLH from other white philanthropic organizations and foundations. Despite this loss, as well as pressure to make the association a unit of an existing college, Woodson remained defiantly independent, relying on African Americans for the bulk of the group’s revenue.

#### GREAT LEADERSHIP

In addition to Woodson’s tireless efforts on behalf of the organization, the ASALH has been led by some of the most brilliant and influential scholars that the United States has ever produced. The directors of the association have played a large role in making black history a part of the fabric of American life. Presidents of the ASNLH have come from the fields of education, sociology, black studies, and history and more. Among those who have served as president were John Hope, a Morehouse College president; Mary McLeod Bethune, founder/president of Bethune Cookman College; Andrew Brimmer, an economist and member of the Federal Reserve Board; Lorenzo Greene, professor at Lincoln University; and historians Edgar Toppin, Earl E. Thorpe, and William Harris.

After Woodson’s death, Rayford Logan, who was chairman of the History Department at Howard University, became executive director of the association for a year. While the association searched for an executive director to replace Woodson, Charles Wesley filled the positions of president and executive director. Wesley ended up working for the association until 1964, when he left to become president of Central State College in Ohio.

Wesley was a historian, minister, and educator. Born in Louisville, Kentucky, he received his master’s degree in art from Yale University. He then attended Harvard University, where, in 1925, he received the third doctorate degree ever awarded to an African American. He served on the faculty of Howard University from 1913 to 1942. Wesley first joined the ASNLH in 1916, and he served as

president from 1950 to 1965. In 1965 Wesley returned to Washington, D.C., and he was again elected executive director, a position he held until 1972. Later Wesley became president of Wilberforce University in Ohio, one of the oldest historically black colleges or universities in the United States. He served as the first director of the Afro-American Historical and Cultural Museum in Philadelphia in 1976.

For more than twenty years Wesley also served as a minister in the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) church. For several years he served as president of Alpha Phi Alpha, a black fraternity about which he wrote a book. He wrote several other books including: *Collapse of the Confederacy* (1937); *Negro Labor in the United States, 1850–1925* (1967); and *The History of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs: A Legacy of Service* (1984). Charles Wesley died in 1987.

#### THE ASSOCIATION CHANGES ITS NAME

By 1970 the word *Negro* had become offensive to many people. In keeping with the changing times, in 1972 the association changed its name to the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History. The name was then changed to the Association for the Study of African American Life and History. The association expanded Negro History Week to Black History Month in 1976. That same year Woodson's home was designated a National Historic Landmark by the National Trust for Historic Preservation. In 2003, after years of effort, the U.S. Congress authorized the National Park Service to acquire the house and operate it as a museum, an office for the association, and as a National Historic Site. Renovation on the house began in 2004. During the renovation the association's headquarters was temporarily moved to Howard University.

A library in Chicago was named in honor of Dr. Carter G. Woodson in 1975. In 2003 a ceremony was held for the installation of a historical marker in his honor in West Virginia. In 2004 the state of Virginia's Archives and History Department honored Woodson with a historical marker near his birthplace. Also in 2004, Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia, finally opened to the public the collection of papers, books, and other materials that Woodson and the association had donated to the university's library. Lorenzo Johnson Green, a former president of the association, once said, "The Association is indelibly stamped upon me. It is my cause and shall transcend everything else, even my allegiance to Woodson" (1989, p. 424).

In the first decade of the new millennium the ASALH is a membership organization that has more than twenty branches in many U.S. cities and college campuses. Every

year its members choose a new African-American history theme on which to focus for the year. In 2007, for instance, the focus was from slavery to freedom. The association hosts an annual conference—a tradition that began in 1915—where researchers, historians, and scholars present the newest research on African-American history and related topics. Throughout the year they offer teacher training, book signings by new and noted authors and scholars, student activities, and cultural and historical programs. Their annual awards luncheon honors historians, scholars and researchers who have made significant contributions to African-American history. In 2000 the association partnered with the Library of Congress to create an oral history project to collect the stories of U.S. veterans. The *Black History Bulletin*, a publication targeted to primary and secondary teachers, continues to be published semi-annually.

SEE ALSO *Bethune, Mary McLeod.*

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*Anderson Thompson*

## ATHLETICS AND SOCIAL MOBILITY

SEE *Basketball, Boxing, Football (U.S.).*



## AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINE PEOPLES

What it means to be “Australian” cannot be understood without appreciation of how race, as a marker of difference, has permeated the colonial and national psyche. In Australia, “race” once implied a difference of appearance perceived as inferior, unworthy, polluting, or threatening, but it has increasingly come to simply mean “different.” Two parallel histories interweave to ensure the hegemony of whiteness: one of the exploitation of indigenous peoples, and the other of the vulnerability of a settler colony and nation distant from its founding metropolis.

### INDIGENOUS MULTIETHNICITIES

Although imaginings of Australia held throughout the world are predominantly of a “white” nation, it has been and remains one of the most multiethnic nations in the world. The appropriation of an entire continental land mass—with its hundreds of distinct peoples, languages, and cultural expressions—by the British in the late 1700s meant the colony, and later the nation, would always be multiethnic. Military force ensured the suppression of resistance from peoples indigenous to the continent. In homogenizing hundreds of thousands of people as a single “Aboriginal” Other, the diversity of cultural practice was camouflaged, as were the distinctive experiences of colonialism’s violent displacements, including the genocide of whole societies.

Different cultural traditions are subsumed under the notion of “indigenous,” including the hundreds of societies on the mainland and in Tasmania glossed as Aboriginal peoples, as well as the maritime Torres Strait Island societies that lie between Cape York and Papua New Guinea. It is impossible to do justice to cultural and historical differences here, but they should be borne in mind, for pan-continental generalizations do not serve them well. None of Australia’s indigenous peoples developed theories of human social difference based on race. They distinguished “us” from the “other” on the basis of cultural or religious difference. The “us” were linked through relations to kin and country, which established rights and legitimacy. To have neither kin nor country—which might happen to someone fleeing because of serious transgressions—left a person without rights and at the mercy of the society that took in him or her. The first infants of mixed white-indigenous ancestry (generally from white fathers and Aboriginal mothers) were often killed as evidence of abnormality, as were deformed or twinned infants. In time, these children began to be accepted by their stepfathers into the wider Aboriginal social world. It was rare for white fathers to acknowledge their children, preventing acceptance of such children in white Australia.

### COLONIAL RELATIONS

The British colonists brought labor to Australia in the form of convicts. They had little need of Aboriginal workers, therefore, but they did need knowledge. The Dharug people of the Sydney area were unimpressed by the new arrivals and kept their distance, so much so that Captain Arthur Phillip arranged for adult men to be kidnapped so he could learn more about them and the harsh country in which he had arrived. Although Aboriginal people found new foods and artifacts attractive, they evidenced little desire to enter into social relations with the colonists or change their own ways of life and belief. Within five years, Phillip gave up trying, commencing a century of government indifference. By the twentieth century, if Aboriginal people appeared at all in Australian history books, it was as an ethereal presence drifting into the mists of time. It was not until the 1970s that historians started to address the silence about the high price Aboriginal peoples had been paying for the building of the Australian nation.

The appropriation of land and the exploitation of women led to hostile retaliation by Aboriginal men, although this was remarkable for its targeting of the actual people who had done them harm. This was not the case for the British, however, whose responses were indiscriminate and often included women and children. The British had the firepower to subdue armed resistance, and one society after another found itself repeating the pattern of resistance, casualties, and eventual accommodation as British pastoralists took over Aboriginal lands.

Labor shortages were common in the rural sector, for heat, loneliness, and a life without luxuries were not attractive to British colonists. As hostilities ceased, Aboriginal people found opportunities to stay on their own land by developing relations with pastoralists. Those pastoralists prepared to accept an Aboriginal presence found themselves with valued workers, and these relations were often reproduced over generations. Aboriginal workers came into their own in the 1850s with the beginning of a half century of gold rushes, the announcement of which would deplete a sheep station of its non-indigenous workers in an hour. Aboriginal labor kept the vital wool industry healthy on one station after another.

The gold rushes also attracted migrants, a large number of whom were nonwhite (particularly Chinese), and this intensified concerns that nonwhite labor would erode working conditions. Racism in the workforce became entrenched and was upheld by trade unions for the next century. Aboriginal workers had better conditions in the Southeast because they were a nonthreatening, and Australian, minority. Equal wages were legislated in New South Wales in the late 1920s. The North, dependent on Aboriginal labor, was very different. Conditions ranged from

tough to slave-like, and workers were kept in line by a harsh regime. Equal wages came to the Northern Territory in the mid-1960s, but not without much protest from property owners. This decade also saw mechanization replace many rural workers, including a high percentage of Aboriginal people. Aboriginal employment opportunities have been in decline ever since, statistically camouflaged by a “work for the dole” scheme (the Community Development Employment Program) that records participants as employed.

As the colonies of Australia were being established, liberal democratic and humanist ideas that stressed the equality of all people were developing in Europe. Slavery became anathema, as did repressive regimes. The appropriation of land and exploitation of labor in the colonies clearly contradicted these values, but a concurrent idea, that of progress, sustained the contradiction. “Progress” was a search for purity that encouraged an obsession with social diversity and origins. When Lewis Henry Morgan categorized human societies in 1877 as being in states of savagery, barbarism or civilization, he placed Australian Aborigines into the “middle status of savagery,” thus feeding Australia’s version of “social Darwinism.” On the basis of this retrospective confirmation of the legitimacy of British rule, Britain affirmed the rightness of its appropriation of Aboriginal lands on the grounds that savages didn’t have systems of law, governance, property, or religion. Aboriginal people were depicted as the evolutionary forebears of the civilized English, from whom one could learn one’s origins, but who were inevitably doomed by their encounter with the modern.

#### ABORIGINAL PEOPLES UNDER THE NEW COMMONWEALTH

The racializing of Aboriginal peoples’ differences constituted them as “less than human” and thus justified excluding them from a modern state. When Australia decolonized from Britain in 1901, Federation further entrenched Aboriginal peoples as Other. Although the Australian Constitution accorded the rights of citizens to all, it explicitly restricted Aboriginal people from certain of those rights by excluding them from the Commonwealth census. The Constitution’s “race clauses” protected the colonial hegemony, for citizenship implied judicial equality and the right to vote, an alarming prospect for states with large Aboriginal populations. Aboriginal people who, according to the state in which they lived, had been able to work, vote, buy land, develop small farms and businesses, marry as they chose, and choose their own lifestyle were now denied such rights throughout Australia. Because Commonwealth legislation did not apply to them, individual states had a *carte blanche* to treat Aboriginal peoples as they wished. Subsequently, they became some of the most legislatively

restricted people in history, ensuring their segregation from the developmental prospects of the nation.

One of best known of Australia’s racist laws is the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901, known colloquially as the “White Australia policy.” It symbolizes Australia’s preoccupation with racial purity and was designed to exclude nonwhite migrants. So, while the Constitution targeted the racialized Other within, this act targeted the racialized external Other. Both reinforced a nationalist discourse about white superiority, which was now assured by institutions of the state. Even the fiercely egalitarian Australian Labor Party committed itself to cultivating an Australian ethos “based upon the maintenance of racial purity.” In the half century to follow, Australia strove to remain the most monoethnic nation in the world. Excluding indigenous peoples, less than 2 percent of the population was nonwhite by the time of World War II.

#### PEOPLE OF MIXED ANCESTRY

Miscegenation (both voluntary and forced) was common but not discussed, except to condemn its frequency. Manne (2006) has written of this “discomforting new racial type” emerging at the frontier, noting Western Australian Chief Protector, Henry Prinsep’s concern that half-castes were “a menace to the future moral safety of the community” and lamented that the law did not allow the removal of Aboriginal children from native camps without parental consent. Western Australian traveling protector, James Isdell, agreed, writing in 1908, “I consider it a great scandal to allow any of these half-caste girls to remain with the natives.” He thought sentimental protests detailing the “cruelty and harrowing grief of the mothers” was nonsense as he didn’t believe the Aboriginal mother felt the forcible removal of her child any more deeply than did a bitch the loss of a pup. “I would not hesitate,” he wrote, “to separate any half-caste from its aboriginal mother, no matter how frantic momentary grief might be. They soon forget their offspring” (cf. Manne 2006). The Chief Protector in North Queensland, Walter Roth, likewise described “half-caste waifs and strays” in 1904 as a “menace to society and a moral disgrace.” He pushed for, and received, the legislation to remove children at will (Haebich 2000, p. 215), as did all other states during that same decade.

Racializing discourses argued that the white blood in the “half-caste” meant they had capacities of value and could be civilized into menial work. Decades of legalized abductions of children, even at gunpoint, followed. Most of those taken were children sufficiently fair-skinned to be raised in institutions or foster homes and trained for domestic or farm labor. They have become known as the “stolen generations,” and there are many thousands of them throughout Australia.

It took until the 1930s for Australian governments to accept that Aboriginal peoples were not “dying out,” and that the “problem” of their presence had to be tackled. A 1937 Commonwealth-wide conference led to policies of assimilation, which were ostensibly moral and material programs of civilizing. Their rationale stemmed from the characteristic belief of liberal democracies that social engineering is a means to shape and manage the good society. But the policy was supported by little public or political will. White Australia was not prepared to assimilate the risks they had been taught to believe indigenous people posed. Aboriginal people had been labeled as biologically inferior, innately hostile and lazy, a health hazard, a moral pollutant, criminal, or simply disorderly and unsightly. Assimilation simply continued a harsh regime of segregation, with some training but more surveillance, legitimated within liberalist philosophy because it was “for their own good.” The New South Wales representative, Harkness, reported: “We have 1,000 full-bloods, and the number is diminishing, and about 10,000 half-castes, and the number is rapidly increasing.” He added, “It is awful to think that the white race in the Northern Territory is liable to be submerged, notwithstanding that on this continent 98 per cent of the population is of British nationality. It is not for this generation that we must work, it is for the next generation” (Commonwealth of Australia 1937). Assimilation was to particularly target the half-castes. The fear of submergence was real and legitimized the violent dismembering of families.

Aboriginal protest and suffering was intense but ignored. Jack Patten and Bill Ferguson, both of mixed ancestry, were campaigning for Aboriginal rights in New South Wales in the same year, 1937, and wrote a manifesto on behalf of the Aborigines Progressive Association submitted in January 1983 when Australia celebrated its sesquicentenary. It includes the following assertions (see also <http://www.reasoninrevolt.net.au/biogs/E000261b.htm>):

You came here only recently, and you took our land away from us by force. You have almost exterminated our people, but there are enough of us remaining to expose the humbug of your claim, as white Australians, to be a civilised, progressive, kindly and humane nation. By your cruelty and callousness towards the Aborigines you stand condemned in the eyes of the civilised world. . . . You hypocritically claim that you are trying to ‘protect’ us; but your modern ‘policy of protection’ (so-called) is killing us off just as surely as the pioneer policy of giving us poisoned damper and shooting us down like dingoes! . . . We do not wish to be “studied” as scientific or anthropological curiosities. All such efforts on our behalf are wasted. We have no desire to go back to primitive conditions of the Stone Age. . . .

Why do you deliberately keep us backward? Is it merely to give yourselves the pleasure of feeling superior? . . . We ask for equal education, equal opportunity, equal wages, equal rights to possess property or to be our own masters—in two words: *equal citizenship!* How can you honestly refuse this? In New South Wales you give us the vote, and treat us as equals at the ballot box. Then why do you impose the other unfair restriction of rights upon us? Do you really think that the 9,884 half-castes of New South Wales are in need of your special ‘protection’? Do you really believe that these half-castes are ‘naturally backward’ and lacking in natural intelligence? If so, you are completely mistaken. When our people are backward, it is because your treatment has made them so. Give us the same chances as yourselves, and we will prove ourselves to be just as good, if not better, Australians, than you! . . . We ask you to be proud of the Australian Aborigines, and not to be misled any longer by the superstition that we are a naturally backward and low race. This is a scientific lie, which has helped to push our people down and down into the mire. At worst, we are no more dirty, lazy, stupid, criminal, or immoral than yourselves. Also, your slanders against our race are a moral lie, told to throw all the blame for our troubles on to us. You, who originally conquered us by guns against our spears, now rely on superiority of numbers to support your false claims of moral and intellectual superiority.

Unable to be white, those of mixed descent were not regarded as legitimately Aboriginal either. Considered neither genetically nor culturally pure, they were evidence of the moral danger these liaisons posed, and they carried white Australia’s moral outrage within their persons. “Mixed bloods” became a political problem for governments simply because they existed in a category too hard to confront. Even a person with only one Aboriginal great-grandparent in eight (officially designated an “octaroon”) was tainted by this “bit of color.” The “half-caste” or “part-Aborigine” (never part-white) often aspired to become acceptable to the Australian “us,” but these individuals were consistently denied the right to do so. Their presence confronted the nation not only with its race hypocrisy, but also with its fragile hold on race-based sovereignty.

#### MOVING TOWARD INDIGENOUS RIGHTS

The civil rights movement in the United States of America turned an embarrassing spotlight on Australia and propelled change. In 1967 the Australian public overwhelming voted in favor of a referendum to change the Constitution to acknowledge indigenous peoples. Some civil rights had been restored by state governments during this decade,

and indigenous rights in the form of land rights were also put on the agenda. New freedoms of speech and movement opened up opportunities for political movements aimed at changing decades of deprivation. Attitudes towards Aboriginal people prior to the protest movements of the 1960s and 1970s are best characterized as apathetic. Although the “race” concept was becoming associated with cultural rather than genetic difference, the same inequalities were reproduced. Lorna Lippmann, a social historian and advocate for Aboriginal rights, introduced a new dimension into debates about racism by examining its impacts on Aboriginal peoples themselves. She observed that they expected to be despised, rejected, or ignored, resulting not only in their distrust of whites but also in a low self-image, with long-term negative consequences for social, psychic, and physical well-being. Attitudes and policies started to change in favor of enabling Aboriginal people to take their place within the nation. Land rights and special programs to combat disadvantage were taken seriously by governments.

At the same time, Australia’s population was changing dramatically. The White Australia policy was abandoned to accommodate the nation’s need for labor in the post–World War II boom. Within a few decades, Australia became one of the most ethnically diverse nations in the world, though this extraordinary shift was not always a smooth one. Labor and refugee migration, and the move from Pax Britannica to Pax Americana precipitated a crisis of national identity during which the distinctiveness of being Australian was often at the forefront of public discussion. In the early 1980s Australia looked forward to the 1988 bicentenary of the arrival of the First Fleet from Britain, but it was not clear what kind of Australia was to be celebrated. Nor was it clear how indigenous Australians would respond to this festival of invasion. A federal government campaign highlighted and celebrated Australia’s cultural diversity, and Australianness was redefined as the ability of many ethnicities to live together. Multicultural television, arts, and festivals were supported, and the education curriculum changed its emphasis on foreign languages (German and French) to “community languages,” meaning those spoken by Australians (such as Vietnamese, Spanish, Arabic), and languages of trade such as Japanese. Multicultural and Aboriginal studies were introduced in schools, and overt racism became socially unacceptable. However, multiculturalism was conceptualized as an add-on rather than a threat to the hegemony of whiteness. Rather than destroy the myths of purity and whiteness, multiculturalism served to fix differences in the categorization of “Other Australians.” Aborigines were incensed at being lumped into a migrant category and fought vigorously and successfully for independent representation in government portfolios.

Unlike colonies with a majority indigenous population, Aboriginal people have rarely called for the decolonization of Australia, but in *Coe v. Commonwealth* (1979), a Wiradjuri man, Paul Coe, challenged the basis of the British claim to sovereignty and the legitimacy of Aboriginal dispossession. The case was dismissed on a technicality, namely that Coe had no right to represent the Aboriginal peoples of Australia. Until 1994, courts continued to uphold the notion that Aboriginal peoples had possessed no property rights in 1788, thus upholding Britain’s right to declare sovereignty over the continent under the legal fiction of *terra nullius* (unoccupied or unowned land). In 1992 a High Court ruling in a case brought by Torres Strait Islander, Eddie Mabo, a decade earlier recognized for the first time the prior ownership of Australia by Aboriginal peoples, enabling the recognition of “native title” where these rights had not been extinguished. This led to almost hysterical debate over many months, with erroneous but influential threats that Aboriginal people could now “take over your backyard.” The federal government passed the native title act in 1994 to reassure landowners and provide a mechanism through which native title, where it did still exist, could be claimed. It was a major step in the recognition of Aboriginal rights but one vigorously contested by many Australians. In response, the act has been amended twice, reducing Aboriginal rights on each occasion.

There is currently no consensus as to whether the Mabo decision did reverse the apparently disproved notion of *terra nullius*. Isabel Coe, sister to Paul Coe and now with the support of the Wiradjuri people, took a further challenge to the high court in 1993 claiming there had been no act of state on the part of the crown that dispossessed Wiradjuri people of their lands. This case was also dismissed on technical grounds, with the suggestion that it be re-submitted as a native title claim.

Native title claims have been effectively limited by the racist demand that Aboriginal claimants prove their cultural traditions of land inheritance have remained in place, unchanged, over the entire period of their colonization. Now the designation of those with “a bit of color” became a new problem: Did these people have rights as “Aborigines”? When the mixed-ancestry Yorta Yorta people lost their native title case in 2002 it was on the dehumanizing grounds that any entitlement they had to claim Aboriginal traditions had been “washed away by the tide of history.” Defined as Aboriginal when exclusion suited the nation, they were denied it when that same nation saw itself as having something to lose. It is a racist legal system that can reinvent peoples’ histories at will and deny people the right to change in a society in which change is the hallmark of humanity’s success.

ENTERING THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Two contemporary movements in the early twenty-first century threaten boundaries that have maintained Aboriginal people as Australia's Other. One is migration into urban areas, which is collapsing two centuries of spatial segregation. The second is the recognition of the rights of those maligned as part-Aborigines to call themselves Aboriginal. The Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (1997) held an inquiry into the practices of forcibly taking thousands of Aboriginal children from their families for "a better life," highlighting the personal and social trauma this caused, as well as the denial of cultural inheritance. Although acknowledging the pain of this history, the federal government refused the opportunity for an apology, seen by Aboriginal peoples as a fundamental requirement for reconciliation.

This inquiry did open up greater understanding within Australia to the colonial and recent histories of those of mixed blood. Many who had wanted to pass as white to avoid discrimination, or who had not known they had "Aboriginal blood," were able to identify as Aboriginal. This would have been hard to imagine in an earlier Australia, so intense was the stigma. Now even well-known white Australians refer to their Aboriginal ancestry. However, this "whitening" of Aboriginality is cultural as well as genetic, and it is becoming an issue for "grass roots" Aboriginal people, who now have to deal with people claiming Aboriginality (sometimes through having lately discovered an Aboriginal great-great-grandparent), even though they have no cultural knowledge of what this means. Aboriginal cultural practice, focused primarily on the qualities of social relatedness, is not necessarily visually or materially different. Thus, the assumption that mixed-ancestry people are not different because they are lighter-skinned, wear clothes, or live in houses, which has been commonly but erroneously made by politicians and social workers, is now often made by newly identifying people who are eligible for influential Aboriginal-designated jobs.

A small, educated, and well-known Aboriginal elite is emerging. They do not constitute a single voice and rarely gain widespread pan-Aboriginal support but they do have positions of influence. These are people who understand themselves not as challengers to the state but as legitimate leaders of moves to modernize indigenous lives and reduce poverty and marginalization. Indigenous initiatives are still, however, tightly controlled by governments that hold the reins through funding. A nationally elected Aboriginal political voice, through the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC), was silenced when it was disbanded by the federal government in 2004. With no economic autonomy, political autonomy is vulnerable. Federal and state governments have been successful in



**Reconciliation March in Sydney, Australia.** On May 28, 2000, a quarter of a million people marched across Sydney Harbor Bridge to promote reconciliation between Aborigines and the majority white population. The term "Stolen Generation" refers to the Aboriginal children taken from their parents and placed in orphanages and other institutions between 1915 and 1969. © JOHN VAN HASSELT/CORBIS SYGMA.

turning around movements for political autonomy by focusing on the deplorable social and health conditions that persist throughout the nation.

The act of racializing is thus being reconceptualized through the pathologizing of the marginal Other. Accusations of substance abuse, violence, hopelessness, and laziness are common—and not without cause, as conditions in Aboriginal communities are becoming worse than they have ever been. Increasingly marginalised by conditions not of their own making, they are accorded little respect by Australians being encouraged to greater individualism and consumerism as hallmarks of success. Otherness is reinforced by an apparently concerned but nevertheless pathologizing discourse that represents "rights" as unimportant, or even as being causal (as in the "failure" of self-management programs), in the face

of these escalating social and health crises. The modernist discourse that stressed the inevitability of the demise of different other remains influential. It is an approach that legitimates further state intervention but does not deliver long-term economic viability.

#### DEFINING AUSTRALIA

An irony of Australian history making was the choice of January 26 as Australia Day, celebrating the landing of the First Fleet from Britain in 1788. In the 1980s Australia Day was reconceptualized in response to Aboriginal activism, bringing greater recognition of the act of injustice it also represented. By the early 1980s, Aboriginal peoples were sufficiently outspoken to fuel fears about how they would respond to the bicentennial celebrations in 1988. In the end, the largest ever pan-Aboriginal protest, when it culminated in a march through the streets of Sydney, was sufficiently peaceful, noisy and colorful that it was co-opted into the overall festivities and reported as just another event in an eventful day. In the mid-1990s federal politicians started to refocus the nation toward the commemoration of Anzac Day, thus de-emphasizing the contradictions of Australia Day and the multicultural ethos. Anzac Day recalls the first major loss of life of the Australian army at Gallipoli during World War I. It has allowed for a more conventional “blood and soil” form of nationalism, with the soil conveniently overseas in Turkey. Yet Aboriginal peoples who have served in the defense forces have struggled to gain recognition and even receive their medals.

The struggle for an inclusive Australianness that admits a painful past and ongoing diversity has led to the recent “history wars.” How Australia tells its national story is at stake. On the one hand are those who discredit reports of Aboriginal land appropriation on the basis of state-sanctioned, often genocidal, violence, while others argue that only by looking honestly at one’s history does one come to terms with the present and enable a shared future. The history wars have emerged in the context of the 9/11 catastrophe in the United States. Since then, Australian politicians have been faced with waves of refugees from the Middle East. Many have successfully played the “race card” in response, demonstrating the ease and rapidity with which a nation’s sentiments can be turned around. Support for Aboriginal people has significantly declined over the same period, as ongoing Aboriginal demands for justice are defused by the simple strategy of pathologizing. Poor housing, inadequate health care and schooling, and the lack of employment opportunities are creating an unprecedented social malaise, and it is not difficult to point to people in dire circumstances and render them a problem of their own making. The media is full of concerned stories about

child sexual abuse, domestic violence, organizational failures, and corruption, with Aboriginal people angry at this homogenization and the suggestion that these are uniquely “Aboriginal problems.” The late 1990s and the early 2000s were a reminder in Australia that racializing is still an effective political tool, and one that continues to speak loudly to the hip pocket.

The fear of being subsumed by the Other (internal or external) in the Australian psyche is legitimate. As a settler nation, Australians know only too well the violence, denial, and destruction involved in the colonization process. White Australians certainly do not want to become the Other. Ideas of “race” as a means of legitimizing difference change over time, but this history is so little known that the concept is able to be naturalized, as are the injustices and inequalities that “race” theories sustain. The mystification of the origins of the race concept—as an arbitrary categorization of human beings who can be exploited and excluded—works to convince Aboriginal people that if they improve their social and material conditions, the racism will cease. But racism is not the problem, it is the strategy and the symptom. By focusing on it as a problem, one risks believing in it and denying what it serves to conceal; namely the structures of power and privilege that are the reason for selective denigration and exclusion. Race and racism will not be eliminated while they serve the interests of those in power and while those in power control history.

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*Gaynor Macdonald, with Marianne Hoyd*

## AVERSIVE RACISM

Aversive racism is a form of contemporary racism that manifests at the individual level. Compared to the traditional form of racism, aversive racism operates, often unconsciously, in subtle and indirect ways. People whose behavior is characterized by aversive racism (aversive racists) sympathize with victims of past injustice, support the principle of racial equality, and regard themselves as nonprejudiced, but at the same time they possess negative feelings and beliefs about blacks or other groups. It is hypothesized that aversive racism characterizes the racial attitudes of many well-educated and liberal whites in the United States, as well the attitudes of members of dominant groups toward minority groups in other countries with strong contemporary egalitarian values but discriminatory histories or policies. Despite its subtle expression, the consequences of aversive racism are as significant and pernicious as those of the traditional, overt form (e.g., the restriction of economic opportunity).

## NATURE OF THE ATTITUDES

A critical aspect of the aversive racism framework is the conflict between aversive racists' denial of personal prejudice and the underlying unconscious negative attitudes and beliefs about particular minority groups. Because of current cultural values in the United States, most whites have strong convictions concerning fairness, justice, and racial equality. However, because of a range of normal cognitive, motivational, and sociocultural processes that promote intergroup biases, most whites also develop some negative feelings toward or beliefs about blacks. They are often unaware of these feelings, however, or they try to dissociate such attitudes from their nonprejudiced self-images. The negative feelings that aversive racists have toward blacks do not reflect open hostility or hatred. Instead, aversive racists' reactions may involve discomfort, uneasiness, disgust, and sometimes fear. That is, they find blacks "aversive," while at the same time they find any suggestion that they might be prejudiced "aversive" as well. Thus, aversive racism may often involve more positive reactions to whites than to blacks, reflecting a pro-in-group rather than an anti-out-group orientation, thereby avoiding the stigma of overt bigotry and protecting a nonprejudiced self-image. Recent research in social cognition has yielded new techniques for assessing both unconscious (implicit) and conscious (explicit), attitudes and stereotypes, and these methods provide direct evidence of the dissociated, often ambivalent, attitudes that characterize aversive racism.

In contrast to traditional approaches that emphasize the psychopathology of prejudice, the feelings and beliefs that underlie aversive racism are rooted in normal, often adaptive, psychological processes. These processes include both individual and intergroup factors. Individual-level factors involve cognitive biases associated with social categorization. For instance, when people categorize others as members of specific groups, which often occurs automatically, people evaluate in-group members more favorably than out-group members, remember positive information better about in-group than about out-group members, and discount negative actions by in-group members more than those by out-group members. In terms of motivation, people have needs for power and status, not only for themselves but also for their groups, and bias can help foster a sense of status and esteem, both individually and collectively. Sociocultural influences also contribute to aversive racists' negative feelings and beliefs. For example, upon categorization, cultural stereotypes are spontaneously activated. Intergroup processes, such as system-justifying ideologies, perceived competition over material resources, or conflict between cultural values, can also form a basis for the negative component of aversive racists' attitudes.

Other forms of contemporary racial biases, such as symbolic racism and modern racism, also recognize the

complex nature of whites' racial attitudes. Like aversive racism, Modern Racism Theory posits that whites' attitudes toward blacks have both positive and negative components, but the role of ideology is different. Aversive racism is presumed to reflect the racial biases of political liberals, whereas modern racism is hypothesized to represent the subtle bias of conservatives. Although both aversive racists and modern racists strongly endorse egalitarian values, what they mean by "equality" differs. Whereas aversive racists are concerned about equality of outcomes, modern racists, because of their conservatively based ideologies, emphasize equality of opportunity. Thus, beliefs associated with conservative ideologies, such as the perception that blacks' lack of motivation accounts for racial disparities, can justify discriminatory behaviors.

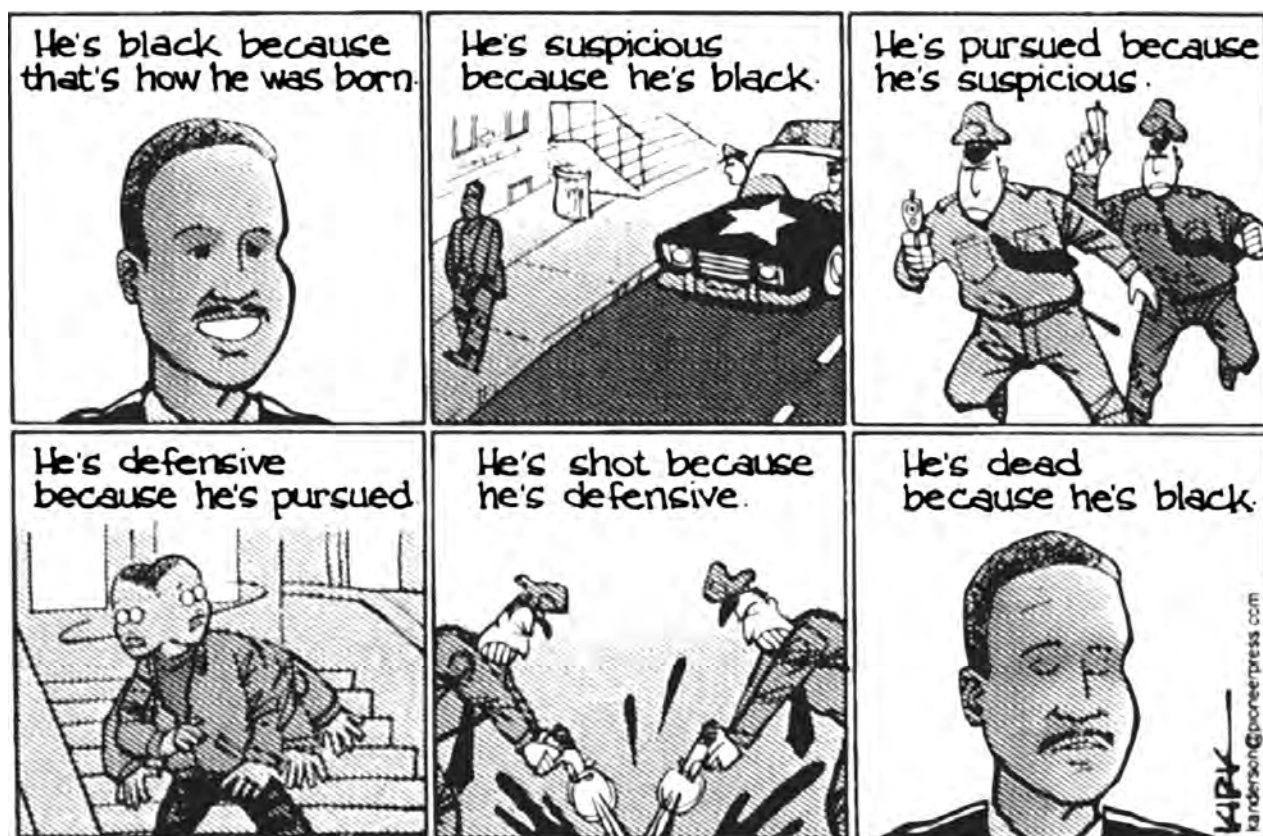
What distinguishes the aversive racism framework from Symbolic Racism Theory is the nature of the relationship between the components. The aversive racism position proposes that the attitudes of aversive racists involve separate, dissociated positive and negative components, which are in conflict and thus may, at times, be experienced as ambivalence. The concept of symbolic racism, which has evolved over time, emphasizes the blending of the different components into a single orientation. Specifically, symbolic racism reflects the unique assimilation of individualistic values and negative racial affect. It involves both the denial of contemporary discrimination and negative beliefs about blacks' work ethic, which produces resentment of blacks' demands for special benefits because of their race. Thus, although aversive racism and symbolic racism perspectives often predict similar behaviors, such as resistance to policies designed to benefit blacks, they are the result of different underlying processes.

## SUBTLE BIAS

The aversive racism framework also helps to identify when discrimination against blacks and other minority groups will or will not occur. Whereas old-fashioned racists exhibit a direct and overt pattern of discrimination, aversive racists' actions may appear more variable and inconsistent. Sometimes they discriminate (manifesting their negative feelings), and sometimes they do not (reflecting their egalitarian beliefs).

Because aversive racists consciously recognize and endorse egalitarian values and because they truly aspire to be nonprejudiced, they will not discriminate in situations in which strong social norms would make discrimination obvious to others and to themselves. Specifically, when people are presented with a situation in which the normatively appropriate response is clear (i.e., in which right and wrong is clearly defined), aversive racists will not discriminate against blacks. In these contexts, aversive racists will





*Aversive Racism and Police Violence.* A cartoon by the sometimes controversial Kirk Anderson highlights the circular thinking that can lie behind race-based prejudice and violence. KIRK ANDERSON.

be especially motivated to avoid feelings, beliefs, and behaviors that could be associated with racist intent. To avoid the attribution of racist intent, aversive racists will either treat blacks and whites equally or they will respond even more favorably to blacks than to whites. In such a situation, wrongdoing, which would directly threaten their nonprejudiced self-image, would be too costly. However, because aversive racists still possess feelings of uneasiness, these feelings will eventually be expressed, but they will be expressed in subtle, indirect, and rationalizable ways. For instance, discrimination will occur in situations in which normative structure is weak, when the guidelines for appropriate behavior are vague, or when the basis for social judgment is ambiguous. In addition, discrimination will occur when an aversive racist can justify or rationalize a negative response on the basis of some factor other than race. Under these circumstances, aversive racists may engage in behaviors that ultimately harm blacks, but they will do so in ways that allow them to maintain their self-image as nonprejudiced and that insulate them from recognizing that their behavior is not color-blind.

Evidence in support of the aversive racism framework comes from a range of paradigms. For instance,

white bystanders who are the only witness to an emergency (and thus are fully responsible for helping) are just as likely to help a black victim as a white victim. However, when white bystanders believe that others also witness the emergency (distributing the responsibility for helping), they are less likely to help a black victim than a white victim. In personnel or college-admission selection decisions, whites do not discriminate on the basis of race when candidates have very strong or weak qualifications. Nevertheless, they do discriminate against blacks when the candidates have moderate qualifications and the appropriate decision is therefore more ambiguous. In these circumstances, aversive racists weigh the positive qualities of white applicants and the negative qualities of black applicants more heavily in their evaluations. Analogously, aversive racists have more difficulty discounting incriminating evidence that is declared inadmissible when evaluating the guilt or innocence of black defendants relative to white defendants in studies of juridic decisions. In interracial interactions, whites' overt behaviors (e.g., verbal behavior) primarily reflect their expressed, explicit racial attitudes, whereas their more spontaneous and less controllable behaviors (e.g., their

nonverbal behaviors) are related to their implicit, generally unconscious attitudes.

Aversive racism also contributes to opposition to policies designed to benefit blacks, such as affirmative action, but also primarily in rationalizable ways. Whites generally support the principle of affirmative action more than specific policy implementations, which contain elements that allow them to rationalize opposition on the basis of factors other than race (e.g., unfairness). Thus, aversive racists' responses to public policies are substantially influenced by how these policies are framed. They express general support for affirmative action when addressing historical and contemporary discrimination, but they tend to oppose a policy when it is portrayed as benefiting blacks in particular, or when the description implies it involves quotas or reverse discrimination.

Generally, then, aversive racists may be identified by a constellation of characteristic responses to racial issues and interracial situations. First, aversive racists, in contrast to old-fashioned racists, endorse fair and just treatment of all groups. Second, despite their conscious good intentions, aversive racists unconsciously harbor feelings of uneasiness towards blacks, and thus they try to avoid interracial interaction. Third, when interracial interaction is unavoidable, aversive racists experience anxiety and discomfort, and consequently they try to disengage from the interaction as quickly as possible. Fourth, because part of the discomfort that aversive racists experience is due to a concern about acting inappropriately and appearing prejudiced, aversive racists strictly adhere to established rules and codes of behavior in interracial situations that they cannot avoid. Fifth, their feelings will get expressed, but in subtle, unintentional, rationalizable ways that disadvantage minorities or unfairly benefit the majority group. Nevertheless, in terms of conscious intent, aversive racists do not intend to discriminate against people of color—and they behave accordingly when it is possible for them to monitor the appropriateness of their behavior.

#### COMBATING AVERSIVE RACISM

Traditional prejudice-reduction techniques have been concerned with changing conscious attitudes ("old-fashioned racism") and blatant expressions of bias. Attempts to reduce this direct, traditional form of racial prejudice have typically involved educational strategies to enhance knowledge and appreciation of other groups (e.g., multicultural education programs), emphasize norms that prejudice is wrong, and involve direct (e.g., mass media appeals) or indirect (dissonance reduction) attitude-change techniques. However, because of its pervasiveness, subtlety, and complexity, the traditional techniques for eliminating

bias that emphasized the immorality of prejudice and illegality of discrimination are not effective for combating aversive racism. Aversive racists recognize that prejudice is bad, but they do not recognize that *they* are prejudiced.

Nevertheless, aversive racism can be addressed with techniques aimed at its roots at both the individual and collective levels. At the individual level, strategies to combat aversive racism can be directed at unconscious attitudes. For example, extensive training to create new, counter-stereotypic associations with social categories (e.g., blacks) can inhibit the unconscious activation of stereotypes, an element of aversive racists' negative attitudes. In addition, aversive racists' conscious attitudes, which are already egalitarian, can be instrumental in motivating change. Allowing aversive racists to become aware, in a nonthreatening way, of their unconscious negative attitudes, feelings, and beliefs can stimulate self-regulatory processes that not only elicit immediate deliberative responses that reaffirm conscious nonprejudiced orientations (such as increased support for policies that benefit minority groups), but that also produce, with sufficient time and experience, reductions in implicit negative beliefs and attitudes.

At the intergroup level, interventions may be targeted at processes that support aversive racism, such as in-group favoritism. One such approach, the Common In-group Identity Model, proposes that if members of different groups are induced to conceive of themselves more as a single, superordinate group, or as subgroups within a more inclusive social entity, rather than as two completely separate groups, attitudes toward former out-group members will become more positive through processes involving pro-in-group bias. Thus, changing the basis of categorization from race to an alternative dimension can alter perceptions of "we" and "they," thus undermining a contributing force to contemporary forms of racism, including aversive racism. For example, black interviewers are even more likely to obtain the cooperation of white respondents than are white interviewers when they emphasize their common group membership (e.g., shared university identity, as indicated by insignia on their clothes) than when they do not. Intergroup interaction within the guidelines of the Contact Hypothesis and anti-bias interventions with elementary school children that emphasize increasing their social inclusiveness can also reduce bias through the processes outlined in the Common In-group Identity Model.

Despite apparent and consistent improvements in expressed racial attitudes over time, aversive racism continues to exert a subtle but pervasive influence on the lives of black Americans and members of other disadvantaged groups. Although the expression of this form of bias is more subtle than are manifestations of old-fashioned

racism, aversive racism has consequences as significant as blatant bias. Even though it is expressed in indirect and rationalizable ways, aversive racism operates to systematically restrict opportunities for blacks and members of other traditionally underrepresented groups.

In addition, because aversive racists may not be aware of their implicit negative attitudes and only discriminate against blacks when they can justify their behavior on the basis of some factor other than race, they will commonly deny any intentional wrongdoing when confronted with evidence of their bias. To the extent that minority-group members detect expressions of aversive racists' negative attitudes in subtle interaction behaviors (e.g., nonverbal behavior) and attribute the consequences of aversive racism to blatant racism, aversive racism also contributes substantially to interracial distrust, miscommunication, and conflict. Nevertheless, aversive racism can be addressed by encouraging increased awareness of unconscious negative feelings and beliefs, emphasizing alternative forms of social categorization around common group membership, and providing appropriate intergroup experiences to support the development of alternative implicit attitudes and stereotypes and to reinforce common identities.

**SEE ALSO** *Affirmative Action; Social Psychology of Racism; Symbolic and Modern Racism.*

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## AZTLÁN

The concept of Aztlán has had a long life in the realms of myth, symbolism, and archetype in both Mexican and Chicano cultures. While the common denominator can be found in the two cultures' perception of themselves with respect to origins and identity, the application and associations are measurably different. Mexican culture, for example, tends to view Aztlán as an abstract historical past that vaguely defines the mother lode in which the nomadic tribe known as Mexicas or Aztecs originated in an imprecise northern region of Mexico. On the other hand, when Chicanos allude to such a mythological past they are inclined to emphasize, in real geographical terms, the contours of the region known as the Southwestern borderlands of the United States (including California, Arizona, Nevada, New Mexico, Texas, and parts of Colorado, Oregon, and Utah). While Mexicans characterize their connection with Aztlán as an integral part of cultural anthropology, Chicanos tend to couch it more in terms of cultural politics for the sake of ethnic reaffirmation.

Aztlán invokes an indigenous past, a point of reference shared by a common foundation in culture. Archaic myth dictates that the Aztecs, a kind of chosen people, set out on a legendary pilgrimage or migration in a southerly direction to duplicate, or recreate, the promised land of Aztlán, which was to be identified by a series of specific conditions: an eagle, perched on a cactus plant on an island or patch of land in the middle of a lake, devouring a serpent. Archival documentation prior to Hernán Cortés's incursion into the Aztec capital in 1519 claims that the Aztecs made such an encounter in 1325, thus creating the beginnings of the Aztec civilization and empire. Having met their destiny, they nostalgically recalled Aztlán—meaning "place near/of the white herons"—as a kind of earthly paradise, a hill dotted with caves and grottoes, for which they forever longed. Here, people did not age, starve, suffer or experience evil. This worldly utopia, according to the colonial historian Fray Diego Durán in his *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España e Islas de Tierra Firme (History of the Indies of New Spain, 1588)*, was a lush setting teeming with flora and fauna capable of sustaining a culture: "Our ancestors went about in canoes and made floating gardens upon which they sowed maize, chili, tomatoes, amaranth, beans and all kinds of



**The Founding of Tenochtitlan.** A Painting in the Museo de la Ciudad de México depicts a vision of an eagle swallowing a snake. This was the divine prophecy that told the Aztecs where to build the city of Tenochtitlan in 1325. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSEO CIUDAD MEXICO/DAGLI ORTI (A).

seeds which we now eat and which were brought here from there” (p. 134). Abandonment of the mythical Aztlán by these indigenous peoples, much like leaving the biblical Garden of Eden, had its consequences: It brought on hardship and their inevitable downfall as prescribed by some aspects of their myth. Such conditions paved the way for the Aztecs to believe that Cortés might be their forsaken deity/cultural hero Quetzalcóatl (“plumed serpent”) who had promised to return from the East. Aztlán, therefore, conveyed a sense of cosmic tragedy of what could have been.

Since pre-Columbian times, Mexicans have desired to locate Aztlán as the point where history and myth merge to create a cultural narrative of a primordial nature, but the quest has been heightened by Chicanos in the United States in their pursuit of reconnecting with their indigenous ancestors to recover a sense of the past.

Much like an elusive Atlantis, Ponce de León’s fountain of youth, or the golden cities of Quivira in New Mexico, Aztlán does not readily adhere to a single point in geography. Some cultural anthropologists and historians assert that it can be found just north of Mexico City, or near the coastal state of Nayarit, or even possibly north of the Gulf of Mexico and as far north as Washington state and southwestern Canada. Others believe it could be in Wisconsin, Florida, Southern California, New Mexico, or China. Clearly, the power of myth, legend, and symbolism provokes multiple interpretations—most of them exercises in fantasy. The earliest allusion to Aztlán in the United States appeared in a 1885 work by William G. Ritch, then Secretary of the Territory of New Mexico. This book, titled *Aztlán: The History, Resources, and Attractions of New Mexico*, served as a promotion ploy to attract easterners to the Hispanic state.

Despite varying notions about Aztlán, it still carries considerable cultural weight as a concept. In his 1987 study *In Search of Aztlán*, Luis Leal asserts that Chicanos tend to render it two meanings: First, it identifies the American Southwest as the original source of their past; secondly, “Aztlán symbolized the spiritual unity of the Chicanos, something that is carried within the heart, no matter where they may live or where they may find themselves” (p. 8). One fundamental difference between Mexicans and Chicanos is noteworthy here: The former couch it within a mythic framework of fate, while the latter emphasize its regenerative qualities. For Chicanos, Aztlán completes the full circle of existence by returning to and “claiming” their mythic and spiritual homeland. It conveys a sense of roots and background, myth, and history, partly justifying the trajectory of immigration into the Southwestern United States. They do not perceive themselves as intruders, but rather, as a people coming back home.

Aztlán acquired a new sense of significance and relevance with the Chicano Movement of the 1960s, a decade that fostered a critical inward examination into the nature of ethnicity and its role in American history. Among U.S. minorities, one result was the emergence of new labels of self-identification (“black” instead of “Negro” or “colored,” and “Chicano” instead of “Mexican American” or “Spanish”). Chicanos sought to reconnect with the remote past of Mexico while romanticizing what they knew of Mexican culture (i.e., its music, traditional dress, historical figures, events such as the Mexican Revolution, and so on). Pride in anything Mexican overflowed, thus helping to compensate for the pressures of assimilation through the processes of Americanization experienced in schools, work, and other institutions. Chicanos sought to reshape their identity, and possibly their essence.

The backdrop of social unrest led persons of Mexican descent in the United States to seek and construct a new identity. The term “Chicano” conjured up echoes of the ancient Mexicas (“Me-shica” evolved into “Mejicano,” so “Chicano” would appear to resemble the original pronunciation). Suddenly, Chicanos felt they had pinpointed a name that had deep cultural roots, connoted political defiance, and crystallized an ethnic label, thus providing the four basic ingredients of social legitimacy as a people: 1) a unique *cultural identity*; 2) the beginnings of accepting their hybrid *language*—code-switching or Spanglish (the use of Spanish and English in the same sentence)—as a viable form of artistic expression; 3) a sense of community; and 4) a place to which they belonged that fulfilled the yearning for nationhood—that is, Aztlán. Rudolfo A. Anaya shares a slightly different perspective in *Aztlán: Essays on the Chicano*

*Homeland* (1989): “[T]hrough Aztlán we come to better understand psychological time (identity), regional makeup (place), and evolution (historical time). Aztlán allows us . . . to maintain ourselves as fully integrated individuals” (p. iv).

It is Alurista, the renowned poet of code-switching, however, who is credited with the re-emergence of Aztlán as applied to Chicanos. While reading an article in 1968 by the anthropologist John Disturnell in *Life* magazine, he came across this concept, thus changing the course of Chicano history. It became a key rallying point for the Chicano Movement, a centerpiece and foundation for promoting a given social agenda. In addition, it defined a geographical, cultural, psychological, political, and symbolic entity modeled in myth and archetype, except that he considered it a living, decolonized entity. Aztlán became the instrument for proposing a new consciousness about the condition of his people, while alluding to a long history of suffering and quiet oppression. Alurista also explicitly associates the term with the Mexican territory ceded to the United States in 1848. In the First National Chicano Youth Liberation Conference in Denver in 1969, he officially introduced Aztlán in a spiritually charged manifesto referred to as *El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán*. As Michael Pina observes: “*El Plan* weaves both strands of the Chicano nationalism’s mythic horizon into a comprehensive program that calls for the geographical and spiritual resurrection of Aztlán” (Pina 1989, p. 39). Alurista declared that “before all our brothers in the bronze continent, we are a nation, we are a union of free pueblos, we are *Aztlán*” (Alurista 1989, p. 1). As a plan of liberation, he claimed that nationalism was the key for mass mobilization and organization, defining the Cause (“La Causa”) as a united front: “Our struggle then must be for the control of our barrios, campos [fields], pueblos [towns], lands, our economy, our culture, and our political life” (Alurista 1989, p. 2). One of the results of the conference was the creation of a militant student organization called MECHA (Movimiento Estudiantil de Chicanos de Aztlán [Chicano Student Movement of Aztlán]).

As a result, Aztlán became an inexorable symbol that spurred a new sense of creativity. In the spring of 1970 the first issue of the UCLA journal *Aztlán: Chicano Journal of the Social Sciences and the Arts* appeared, with a prologue by Alurista called “Poem in Lieu of Preface” in which he reasserted the practicality of Aztlán to his era. Shortly thereafter, in 1972, Alurista co-edited with Jorge González an anthology titled *Omblijo de Aztlán*, which propagated an artistic agenda of tapping into an indigenous sensibility. In the same year he published *Nation-child plumaraja*, a deeply philosophical, and sometimes obscure, rendition of an indigenous worldview in which

he imagines what Aztlán has to offer. “Nationchild” here refers to the offspring from that mythic homeland.

A proliferation of titles either using or suggesting the concept of Aztlán appeared in quick succession. For example, Miguel Méndez cast his novel *Peregrinos de Aztlán* (1974) within the framework of migrants returning to their homeland. However, their apparent movement is actually a form of stagnation and inertia, and the characters encounter alienation and exploitation. Consequently, Aztlán here becomes even more elusive (but it must be stated that the novel traces a pilgrimage in reverse, that is, from south to north instead of the typical construct conceptualized by the Aztecs as north to south), a place of self-realization or entrapment, or somewhere in between.

The work that perhaps provides the definitive critical assessments is *Aztlán: Essays on the Chicano Homeland* (1989) by Rudolfo A. Anaya and Francisco A. Lomelí. The twelve essays in this volume offer critical opinions, scientific data, historical documentation, anthropological criteria, philosophical angles, political applications, and examples of specific literary analyses. While considerable overlapping is evident among the essays, they succeed in outlining virtually every perspective extant up to 1989—including Gloria Anzaldúa’s refashioning from a gender, border dweller, and gay person’s vantage point.

The term has also been borrowed for a number of social-science projects, such as *Return to Aztlán: The Social Process of International Migration from Western Mexico* (1987), by Douglas S. Massey et al., which examines the complex nature of migration as an international process. On the other hand, Rafael Pérez-Torres, in an essay titled “Refiguring Aztlán” (1997), proves the durability of the term by reconsidering its significance in postcolonial times: “To call Aztlán an empty signifier is not to say the term is vacuous or meaningless. On the contrary, if anything, Aztlán is overly ‘meaningful’ ” (p. 16). He problematizes how Aztlán embodies a rich network of discussion regarding its fundamental meaning as a form of hybridity, and he demonstrates the contradictions of its usage due to its political and ideological vagueness. In sum, he claims that its richness is its multiple meanings, particularly if the vague idea of “homeland” is replaced by the more specific “borderlands.” Pérez-Torres concludes by pointing out how the term has played a key role in Chicano critical thought, in that it refers more to “an absence, an unfulfilled reality in response to various forms of oppression” (p. 37). He shows that Aztlán continues to haunt those involved in attempting to define a space of liberation in the present instead of focusing on the past.

Aztlán is many things to many people, but it appears to function as an apex of measuring Chicanos’ progress in their respective social, historical, political, and mythic spheres. Therefore, it is something highly personal, even

psychological, though its application to social reality is useful through the various facets it represents for both Mexican and Chicano culture.

**SEE ALSO** *Anzaldúa, Gloria; Chávez, César Estrada; Chicana Feminism; Chicano Movement; Mexicans.*

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## **BAKER, ELLA** *1903–1986*

Ella Josephine Baker was a leading radical democracy crusader, adviser, organizer for social justice, and a key figure in U.S. civil rights activism. As a civil rights activist from the 1930s onward, she fought racism and oppression in its many forms, both in America and around the world, particularly in Africa. She was a central figure in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

Born in Norfolk, Virginia, on December 13, 1903, Ella Jo was the second of three surviving children of Georgianna (Anna) Ross Baker and Blake Baker. She repeatedly credited her mother as her guiding influence, particularly in the black Baptist tradition of directing women, no less than men, to take personal responsibility for doing good works. After the 1910 Norfolk race riot, the seven-year-old Ella—along with her mother, her older brother Blake Curtis, and her younger sister Maggie—moved to Littleton, North Carolina, where her parents had grown up.

The church was the center of this rural black community. Her mother and grandmother were active in the church, and her grandfather, Ross Baker, a black Baptist preacher, had been a church leader until his death in 1909. Thus, early in her life, Ella Jo learned lessons of a hard-working leadership of service in a respectful community of equals.

Education was a key tenet of Baker's family belief in cooperative Christian uplift. In 1918, after attending

grammar school in Littleton, the fourteen-year-old Ella was sent to Raleigh, North Carolina, to attend Shaw University, a historically black college affiliated with the Baptist Church. Here, she attended both the institution's normal school and the college. She graduated in 1927 with a bachelor of arts, and as the class valedictorian she exhorted her classmates to "accept this noble challenge of salvaging the strong ship of civilization by the anchors of right, justice and love."

Baker considered doing graduate work in sociology, and she also harbored hopes of becoming a medical missionary, which she viewed as an ideal means of productive personal service in what she called "the uplift of the fallen humanity." Money was an issue, however, as the late 1920s economic downturn collapsed into the Great Depression, putting further schooling out of her reach. Rather than heading for the University of Chicago, as she once hoped, Baker went to stay with her cousin Martha Grinage in New York City's Harlem. She waited tables, took factory jobs, and learned about the new mix of people she encountered. The need for fundamental social reform became ever more palpable to her, and she put her considerable talents to work espousing wrongs and advocating rights. She was determined for people to see things as they were, so information and insight were ever important to her. In 1928 she organized a Negro History Club at Harlem's 135th Street YMCA. She served on the editorial staff of the *American West Indian News* from 1929 to 1930 before joining the *Negro National News*, where she worked until 1932.

Understanding the value of collective economic power, Baker joined the Young Negroes Cooperative League, where she urged collective and selective buying. She continued

advocating this approach as an employee of the federal Works Progress Administration, which she joined after its creation in May 1935. Then, in 1938, she became a field organizer for the NAACP. Traveling around the South, she raised money and recruited members. She eventually became a field secretary and in 1943 national director of branches. She had a hand also in the 1940 founding of the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund. Everywhere she went, Ella connected with the people—she knew everyone, and everyone knew her. But she was a woman, and the male-dominated national NAACP hierarchy bristled at her brashness. In 1946 she left the NAACP national office to work for school desegregation in New York City. She became the local NAACP branch president there in 1952, and she ran unsuccessfully as a Liberal Party candidate for New York City Council in 1953.

Campaigning against racism and segregation, Baker spent time in the South after the 1955–1956 Montgomery Bus Boycott success in Alabama. She worked with Bayard Rustin, Martin Luther King Jr., and others in 1957 to form the SCLC and develop its voter registration drive, “Crusade for Citizenship.” She served as SCLC interim executive director until April 1960. But she again bumped heads with a male hierarchy. The SCLC dropped “interim” from the job title of Reverend Wyatt Tee Walker, the man who replaced her.

Before leaving the SCLC, Baker convinced its other leaders to allow youth independence in the civil rights movement. She organized a Youth Leadership Conference at her alma mater, Shaw University, on Easter weekend 1960. The immediate result was SNCC, where Baker went to work helping to arrange the 1960 sit-ins and the 1961 freedom rides. She worked also with the Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA) and the interracial Southern Conference Educational Fund to further integration in southern higher education.

Working with SNCC, Baker helped organize the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), and she delivered the keynote address at its 1964 state convention in Jackson. Again confronting the political mainstream with its hierarchical and segregated local and national parties, Baker orchestrated the interracial MFDP delegation’s challenge to Mississippi’s old-line, lily-white delegation at the National Democratic Party’s 1964 Atlantic City convention. In the credentialing battle, Baker helped secure new party rules to insure seating blacks and women as future delegates.

Bucking the established hierarchy seldom made Baker politically popular or put her in good stead with national leaders, whether it was President John F. Kennedy or Martin Luther King Jr. Her backing of the anti-Vietnam War movement and the feminist movement in the 1960s and 1970s similarly distanced her from broad popular acceptance. But she was never interested in the limelight. She was interested in helping people solve problems.

Baker’s group-centered, direct-action approach to social change through participatory democracy infused a broad range of organizations, from SNCC to the radical Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). Her work endeared her to many, particularly SNCC veterans, as the “godmother of civil rights.” Preaching and teaching people empowerment, she insisted on the value of grassroots development and action as the truest solutions to social problems. She dismissed “great leader” schemes, believing effective change arose from what she described as “group-centered leadership, rather than a leadership-centered group.” Her mantra was “give light and people will find a way.”

While unsung on the national stage, Baker stood as a heroic model of selfless service for racial and social justice. She lived her credo that “a life that is important is a life of service.” In her later years she spread her aid and assistance ever more broadly, working with groups ranging from the Harlem Youth Council to the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee and the Third World Women’s Coordinating Committee. But her activities were increasingly limited by Alzheimer’s disease. She died in New York City on December 13, 1986, her eighty-third birthday. The Ella Baker Center for Human Rights, founded in 1996 in Oakland, California, carries forward her name in a mission of direct-action grassroots organizing and mobilizing against human rights abuses.

SEE ALSO *NAACP*.

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*Thomas J. Davis*

## BALDWIN, JAMES 1924–1987

James Baldwin was a novelist, essayist, playwright, poet, scriptwriter, and filmmaker. Born in Harlem, New York, on August 2, 1924, he understood poverty, injustice, and the parasitic nature of city streets. Some of his teenage experiences with bigoted police and sexual predators are



recounted in the well-known volume, *The Fire Next Time* (1963). Also in that volume, in the section titled "Letter to My Nephew on the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Emancipation," Baldwin articulates his position on race: "You must accept them [whites] . . . accept them and accept them with love." He considered racism a matter of morality and human dignity, and it was blacks' responsibility to save whites from their own ignorance, fear, and loss of identity. His ideas about racism were not the most popular, but they clearly distinguished him as an eloquent visionary.

The oldest of nine children, Baldwin was the son of a domestic worker mother and a hostile and hateful stepfather, who thought his son was ugly and disavowed his intelligence. Baldwin was raised in a Pentecostal church, dominated by the theology of "sinners in the hand of an angry God." He followed his preacher-father to the pulpit, and by the age of fourteen he was preaching the fundamentalist doctrine of his parents. For three years, he bellowed out Old Testament scriptures, while also realizing that the church provided no sanctuary from social, economic, and political injustices.

Baldwin found his refuge in reading and writing when he attended DeWitt Clinton High School. Realizing he was black and smart, and that his mind belonged solely to him, he declared he would take advantage of his intelligence. He wrote for the school paper and published several short stories that often reflected his religious background. This beginning led to an international reputation as one of the world's most gifted writers.

When Baldwin finished high school in 1942, he did freelance writing and worked for the railroad in New Jersey. After a succession of jobs, he moved to Greenwich Village. It was there that he met the writer Richard Wright, who helped him secure a fellowship, after which Baldwin expatriated himself to Paris in 1948. Some of his essays indicate that he left America to escape racial discrimination only to discover that his adopted country, France, was no panacea for social justice and equality.

Baldwin's treatment of racism, though engaging and thoughtful, is comparatively restrained in much of his work. While the scope of his most critically acclaimed novel, *Go Tell It on the Mountain* (1953), covers religion and personal identity, the second part of the three-part story, "The Prayers of the Saints," reveals the racial hostility and violence of the Jim Crow South, as well as the social and economic inequality of the urban North. Some of his other work, notably the 1964 play, *Blues for Mister Charlie*, and the short story collection, *Going to Meet the Man* (1965), explore racial conflict, with the title story, "Going to Meet the Man," from the point of view of the racist.

Baldwin's essays are more fervent in the exploration of race. *Notes of a Native Son* (1955), offers a view of

expatriation that contradicts the notion of Paris as the promised land, while *Nobody Knows My Name* (1961) deals, in part, with race relations in the United States. Some of his fiction, including *Another Country* (1962), *If Beale Street Could Talk* (1974), and *Just Above My Head* (1979), present characters who suffer deliberate racism as they negotiate other problems in their lives. With graceful eloquence, James Baldwin stirred the moral consciousness of a nation bogged down in matters of race.

SEE ALSO *Gay Men*.

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Angelene Jamison-Hall

## BARRIO

Barrios are urban neighborhoods within the United States that have a high concentration of Hispanics, variably identified as Latinos, Hispanos, Mexicans, Chicanos, Puerto

Ricans, or other nationalities from Central and Latin American. These neighborhoods often have deep emotional and cultural meanings for those who live there, for they are places where families and friends share both the positive and negative experiences of growing up Latino in the United States. Individuals often have a strong identification with their barrio, a pride in being from this place and of knowing other people from the barrio. It is a place where the inhabitants can be themselves, speak Spanish, conduct business, and generally feel accepted by others. It also serves at times as a refuge for poor and marginalized people who have been affected by the consequences of poverty, segregation, and discrimination. The barrio, then, is both a place of familial and cultural identification and a place where there is often an experience of crime, poverty, and racism. Many barrios are characterized as having poor housing, bad schools, gangs, police harassment, and illicit drugs. Nevertheless, the Latinos who live there often feel a pride in being “from the barrio.”

#### **BIRTH OF THE BARRIO**

Perhaps the first barrio within the United States was the Tlascalan barrio of Analaco, located in Santa Fe, New Mexico. This barrio was inhabited by the Mexican Indian servants and slaves who accompanied the Spanish settlers to New Mexico in 1598. After 1848 many barrios grew up within Southwestern cities as the result of the Anglo-American military conquest. Sometimes, as in the case of Los Angeles, San Antonio, and Tucson, the Mexican barrio grew out of the historic pueblo or town where the Mexicans had always lived. As Anglo-Americans came to predominate in these areas, they surrounded and isolated the barrios, which became segregated areas where Mexican workers and their families were expected to live.

Before World War II, the mining towns of New Mexico, Arizona, and Colorado were strictly segregated, with the Mexican miners being restricted to the less favorable part of town, where they were forced to live by the mining company who owned the dwellings. By custom, and sometimes by regulation, Mexican residents were expected to stay on their side of the town. In the agricultural towns of California and Texas, Mexican farm workers and their families were often segregated by having to live “on the other side of the tracks” in dilapidated housing. In the late nineteenth century, white Americans developed a culture of segregation with respect to African Americans, and they often applied this to dark-skinned Mexicans, who were also segregated to prevent mixing with whites in public places such as movie halls, schools, parks, “plunges” (swimming pools), barber shops, churches, and the like. Almost everywhere in the Southwest before World War II, ethnic Mexicans were segregated in public schools, public facilities, and housing.

As a result of this segregation, Latinos developed their own ways of surviving, fashioning a culture that relied on family and cultural relationships within the barrio. They formed social, political, and cultural groups, and mutual aid societies sprang up in the barrios to provide emergency relief for those who were unemployed or to pay for funeral expenses of loved ones. The barrio was also the place where Mexican musicians, singers, dancers, and performers could find an eager audience. Local restaurants, owned and operated by barrio residents, catered to Mexican and local tastes. In southern Texas, especially before World War II, the barrio was the political base of many aspiring Tejano leaders who managed to achieve modest electoral successes because of the voter concentrations in the barrio.

#### **POST-WORLD WAR II GROWTH**

Barrios emerged outside of the traditional Southwest as different groups from Latin America immigrated to the United States. Puerto Rican immigrants established urban barrios in New York City, and especially in Brooklyn, following World War II. Over the years their barrios have grown in size, mixing with other urban poor, particularly African-American and Afro-Caribbean immigrants in central Brooklyn. Puerto Rican immigrants also found their way to south Chicago, where they lived in barrios along with Mexican immigrant working-class families. The Puerto Rican barrios, whether in New York or Chicago, remain vital communities in the early twenty-first century, and new immigrants from Puerto Rico still go there to find jobs, housing, and a familiar culture. As the numbers of poor urban residents increase, however, so do the accompanying problems of family stress, illicit drugs, underemployment, and school dropout rates.

Cuban immigrants to the United States came in great numbers after the end of the Cuban Revolution in 1959. Encouraged by the U.S. government and given special assistance, the Cuban enclave established itself primarily in Miami, Florida, living in several barrios. Because of the large number of educated, middle-class Cuban immigrants who were assisted by the U.S. government because they were anticommunist, the barrios developed into a launching pad for economic success and political achievement. Within their barrios, the Cubans have an extremely high sense of cohesion and unity. Spanish is spoken by rich and poor alike, and family solidarity and assistance is high. Involvement in local, state, and national politics is the norm, and Cubans have a high rate of graduation from secondary schools and colleges. There are also poor Cuban and other Caribbean immigrants in the barrios, and they provide the low-wage laborers for Cuban-controlled businesses.



*Mural in Los Angeles, California.* A 1993 mural by Ernesto de la Loza and others adorns the Estada Courts Housing Project in East L.A. Depicted are Emiliano Zapata, Pancho Villa, and the Spanish comic actor Cantinflas. © STEVE CRISE/CORBIS.

#### THE BARRIOS OF LOS ANGELES AND SAN ANTONIO

The most important Hispanic barrios, in terms of numbers and visibility, are those in Los Angeles and San Antonio, where the majority are of Mexican descent. According to the 2000 census, Los Angeles had a Latino population of 1.7 million. Not all of these individuals live in barrios, however. A large number live in suburban enclaves mixed with other groups and nationalities. The historic Mexican barrios of Los Angeles, located in East Los Angeles, have been followed by newer ones emerging further east. Immigration from Mexico and Latin America has been a major factor in changing barrio life, renewing language and culture even as older barrio residents move out. As noted by Joan Moore and Raquel Pinderhughes (1993), the trend has been toward increased political participation and a decline of community-based organizations. Family ties and loyalties are still important

for linking barrio residents to those who have moved out. The barrio merchants, schools, churches, theaters, and restaurants reflect a revitalization of a metropolis. At the same time, gang violence and crime remain a constant reality of life in the barrios.

During the civil wars in Central American republics in the 1980s, hundreds of thousands of refugees and immigrants came to Los Angeles. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, it was estimated that more than 500,000 of these individuals lived in barrios located in the central and south central part of the city. Of necessity, the Central American communities are mixed with other nationalities and groups. Whites, Mexicanos, Salvadorians, Guatemalans, Nicaraguans, African Americans, Chinese, Vietnamese, and other immigrant groups vie for inexpensive housing and jobs within the regions of heavy Central American residence, such as Pico Union, the Westlake District, and Watts. Despite a high crime

## Baseball

rate, gangs, and drug dealing, the Central Americans have revitalized the decaying inner-city neighborhoods that have become their barrio. Churches, social action agencies, schools, and political organizations are working to meet the community's special needs.

According to the 2000 census, 60 percent of San Antonio's population is Latino, mostly of Mexican descent. This means that these barrios, some historic and some relatively new, predominate in city life. San Antonio's urban problems are the problems of the barrios: Poverty, crime, inadequate housing, and bad schooling are all on the agendas of the local politicians and numerous community agencies. City life remains vibrant in places, attracting tourists who enjoy the Mexican flavor and ambiance. San Antonio's older barrios, particularly the Westside, have a long history going back to the nineteenth century. The economic, cultural, and political elite of the city have come from its barrios. While Mexican immigration to San Antonio's barrios continues, it is not a major cause of the city's growing Latino population. The rising birth rate is. The barrios have experienced a general population growth, and they have a strong tradition of family and community leadership. The barrios are responsible for a growing Tejano music industry as well as a thriving Spanish-language media industry.

The diversity of the Hispanic condition in the United States must be considered when thinking about the word *barrio*. There are barrios with histories going back 300 years (Albuquerque); there are barrios where Latinos live with African-American, Central-American, and Asian neighbors. Some Cuban barrios reflect an affluence that one would not encounter in Spanish Harlem in New York. In most barrios, a degree of urban decay and lawlessness is mixed with a vibrant, hopeful, and confident rebirth of cosmopolitan life. Ancient traditions from Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean mix with modern technology and behavior. The barrio in the United States has become a metaphor for the future of urban life: a fast paced, multi-lingual and cultural experiment that offers creativity mixed with challenges.

**SEE ALSO** *Caribbean Immigration; Central Americans; Latinos; Mexicans; Puerto Ricans.*

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## BASEBALL

As "America's pastime," baseball is inextricably bound to the history of U.S. race relations and racism. At its 1867 convention, baseball's first national organization, the National Association of Base Ball Players (NABBP), called for the banning "of any club which be comprised of one or more colored persons" (Peterson 1970, pp. 16–17). It did so based on the patronizing rationale that "if colored clubs were admitted there would in all probability be some division of feeling, whereas excluding them no injury would result to anyone." (Tygiel, quoted in Hogan 2006, p. vii).

The development of professional major league baseball through the 1880s, however, saw the signing of about twenty black players. Segregation was reintroduced in the late 1880s, and by 1890 no integrated teams remained. This was consistent with the 1896 Supreme Court decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, which affirmed separation of white and black social institutions. As a result, the number of African-American teams grew, and in 1920 the Negro Leagues were formed. The segregation of professional baseball lasted until 1947.

Baseball was central to the civil rights movement of the mid-twentieth century. Martin Luther King Jr. called the breaking of the color line by Jackie Robinson and his fellow black ballplayers fundamental to the desegregation of American society (Aaron and Wheeler 1992). At the same time, the abuse Robinson endured reflected the resistance of white Americans to racial integration.

Whereas the primary story line of baseball and racism pertains to African Americans, Latin Americans and Native Americans have played important roles in the history and evolution of baseball. Baseball's globalization, beginning in the late twentieth century, continued to intertwine issues of race and ethnicity, especially with regard to players from Latin America and Japan.

### EARLY BASEBALL

American baseball, which was probably derived from a form of English baseball, has been documented since

colonial times. George Washington played “base ball” with his troops, while the earliest black baseball was played by slaves. The game became increasingly popular during the Civil War, when it was played in army camps and military prisons. By the late 1860s, baseball was becoming organized through the formation of more than 100 professional teams. African-American players were on the rosters of many of these minor league teams, although racist attitudes and Jim Crow laws made it difficult for black ballplayers to play and travel with their teams. Black players often had to eat and sleep on their team busses or stay in the private homes of black families in towns where they played.

One response to this discrimination was the formation of Negro teams and leagues. The Philadelphia Pythians, formed in 1869, was one the first Negro teams. When they were not allowed to join the NABBP, they joined the National Colored Base Ball League, which was the first professional Negro league. Unfortunately, the league ran out of money after two weeks and disbanded.

During the 1860s, black baseball teams formed in northern cities. The first intercity games were played in 1866 between Albany and Philadelphia teams. The Washington Mutuals’ third baseman was Charles Douglass, the son of Frederick Douglass. The first baseball game between black and white teams occurred on September 3, 1869, when the Pythians played the Olympics. The final score favored the Olympics 44-23, but as Hogan notes, “the Pythians were . . . the real winners of the day, having had recognition from the white sporting community finally bestowed upon them” (Hogan 2006, p. 16).

The first nationally recognized black team was the Cuban Giants. This team evolved from the Keystone Athletics, formed in 1885 as a team of barnstorming all-stars comprising the best players from the Philadelphia Orions and Washington, D.C., Mannhattans. They won many games against white teams, but perhaps their greatest accomplishment was playing (although losing to) two major league teams, the Philadelphia Athletics and the New York Metropolitan. The team was renamed the “Cuban Giants” to attract white fans. Team members also pretended to speak Spanish in order to pass as Latino.

#### EARLY BLACK PROFESSIONAL PLAYERS

John W. Jackson, who subsequently took the name Bud Fowler, was the first African-American professional baseball player. Born in Fort Plain, New York, in 1858, Fowler grew up in Cooperstown, New York, the subsequent home of the National Baseball Hall of Fame and the mythological place of origin of baseball. He joined a white team from New Castle, Pennsylvania, around 1872. He was a gifted second baseman and played for

nearly twenty-five years. He was the first of about sixty black players to play on white teams before 1890.

Moses Fleetwood Walker is considered the first black major league ballplayer. Born in 1857—the year of the Dred Scott decision and the formation of the NABBP—“Fleet” Walker’s career and life reflect the history of baseball and race in the late nineteenth century. The son of a medical doctor, he played baseball at Oberlin College, one of the first integrated colleges in the United States, and at the University of Michigan. In 1883, he played for the Toledo Blue Stockings in the Northwestern League (part of the NABBP) and became the first black major league ballplayer when his team joined the American Association in 1884. He was an accomplished bare-handed catcher (catchers did not start wearing gloves until the 1890s). He played only on integrated teams, and his experiences of racial abuse led him to become a part of the Back-to-Africa movement, on which he wrote a major treatise, *Our Home Colony* (1908). In 1883, Cap Anson, the manager and star of the Chicago White Stockings, threatened to cancel his game against Toledo if Walker played. The Toledo team called Anson’s bluff, however, and the game was played. Unfortunately, this event was the start of Anson’s campaign to get the team owners to ban black ballplayers.

George Stovey, the first great African-American pitcher, played for several white clubs. In 1886 he was the top pitcher for the Jersey City team. He played for the Newark Eagles in 1887, the year the team set an International League record for wins. Frank Grant was probably the most accomplished black baseball player of the nineteenth century. Grant joined the Buffalo Bisons team in 1886 and became the first black to play on the same team in organized baseball for three consecutive seasons. By 1887, approximately twenty black ballplayers were on the rosters of major league teams. Even more significantly, the League of Colored Ball Players, formed in 1887 and sometimes referred to as the National Colored Baseball League Clubs, was considered a legitimate minor league.

In 1887, the baseball owners resumed discussing a “color line” in baseball. Some players were refusing to sit beside black ballplayers, and others balked at playing integrated teams. The owners ultimately bent to these racist attitudes by assenting to a “gentleman’s agreement” not to sign any black ballplayers. Cap Anson again announced that his team would not play any team that had black players on its roster. Because his team drew the league’s largest attendance, the other owners yielded to his economic blackmail. By 1890 there were no longer any black players on major league or minor league teams.

The story of the great Penobscot ballplayer Louis Sockalexis is another episode in nineteenth-century American race relations. Sockalexis, the first Native American to play major league baseball, was signed by the Cleveland

Spiders in 1897. Although he played only parts of three years, his prowess as a ballplayer is legendary. Indeed, his accomplishments led to the team being renamed the Cleveland Indians. At the time, team nicknames were sometimes given to celebrate great players. This use of laudatory nicknames contrasts sharply with the practice of using racial caricatures as mascots—such as Chief Wahoo of the Cleveland Indians—who was adopted in 1933. The tension between celebrating ethnicity and dehumanizing ethnic groups through the use of sports mascots came to the fore in 2005 when the National Collegiate Association banned the use of Native American mascots for all schools. Subsequently, Florida State University's use of Seminoles as its nickname was exempted because the Seminole tribe agreed to this sponsorship.

### THE NEGRO LEAGUES

The Negro National League was established on February 13, 1920, at a YMCA in Kansas City, Missouri. It was founded by Andrew "Rube" Foster, a star pitcher who served as the league's first president. He undertook the challenge to create a league that would ultimately merge with the white major leagues. The Negro Leagues had great success, with the teams playing before big crowds in major league parks. Negro League teams also played against white teams in barnstorming tours and developed some of the greatest players in baseball history.

The Negro League World Series and All Star "East-West" Game were national events that attracted tens of thousands of fans and national press coverage. In 1924 the first Negro League World Series was played between the Kansas City Monarchs (Negro National League Champions) and the Hilldale Club (Eastern Colored League Champions). Kansas City won the series championship, five games to four. The first East-West Colored All-Star Game was played at Chicago's Comiskey Park before more than 20,000 fans.

### SOME GREAT NEGRO LEAGUE TEAMS

Most major cities east of the Mississippi River had great Negro League teams. The Newark Dodgers merged with the Brooklyn Eagles to form the Newark Eagles in 1936. The Eagles were owned by Abe and Effa Manley. Effa Manley, who was raised by a white mother and an African-American father, was the first woman to operate a professional baseball team. Though her biological father was white, she portrayed herself as black and was an important member of the black community. The Eagles rented Ruppert Stadium from the Newark Bears (a New York Yankees affiliate) for 20 percent of the gate receipts, providing an economic incentive to maintain the segregation of the leagues. The team also produced four Hall of Famers:

Larry Doby, Leon Day, Monte Irvin, and Roy Dandridge. Both Doby and Irvin eventually played in the major leagues.

In the 1930s and 1940s, Pittsburgh was the home of two of the Negro League's most talented teams. In 1935, Gus Greenlee's Pittsburgh Crawfords' lineup showcased five future Hall-of-Famers: Satchel Paige, Josh Gibson, Cool Papa Bell, Judy Johnson, and Oscar Charleston. Cumberland Posey's Homestead Grays won nine consecutive Negro National League titles from the late 1930s through the mid-1940s. They featured former Crawfords stars Gibson and Bell and Hall-of-Fame first baseman Buck Leonard.

From 1936 to 1948, the New York Black Yankees heralded such great players as Clint Thomas, Fats Jenkins, DeWitt "Woody" Smallwood, Barney Brown, "Crush" Holloway, and the powerful George "Mule" Suttles. In 1937, the Negro American League was formed from the best western and southern teams. The league featured some of the greatest players in baseball history, including Jackie Robinson, Willie Mays, and Hank Aaron.

### TWO GREAT NEGRO LEAGUE PLAYERS

Leroy "Satchel" Paige (1906–1982) is considered by some to be the greatest right-handed pitcher in baseball history. He was certainly the most durable, winning most of more than 2,000 games. He pitched almost daily, and claimed to have won 104 or 105 games in 1934. That same year, he refused a salary offer from Gus Greenlee and the Pittsburgh Crawfords and was banned from the Negro National League. He subsequently joined several Negro League stars to play in the Dominican Republic for the team owned by the country's president, Rafael Trujillo. Determined to have his professional team win the Dominican championship, Trujillo recruited Paige, Josh Gibson, and Cool Papa Bell. The Negro Leaguers played for one year and then returned to the United States. When Paige was sold to the Newark Eagles in 1938, he left again, this time to play in Mexico. He was again banned from Negro League Baseball, this time for life. In 1948, Paige was signed by the Cleveland Indians and became major league baseball's all-time oldest rookie at the age of forty-two. Joe DiMaggio called Satchel Paige "the best and fastest pitcher I've ever faced."

Josh Gibson (1911–1947), is considered by some to be baseball's greatest hitting catcher. He is often referred to as "the black Babe Ruth," though some baseball historians have commented that Ruth should be considered the white Josh Gibson. Gibson, who is reputed to have hit more than 800 home runs, desperately wanted to be the first black ballplayer in Major League Baseball. Tragically, he died at the age of thirty-five in 1947, the



*Newark Eagles, 1936. The Eagles were part of the Negro League from 1936 until 1948. One of the team's players, Larry Doby, became the first black player in the American League (with the Cleveland Indians), and Don Newcombe went on to be a star for the Brooklyn Dodgers. © LUCIEN AIGNER/CORBIS.*

year baseball was integrated. He was elected to the Hall of Fame by the Negro Leagues Committee in 1972.

#### JACKIE ROBINSON AND THE INTEGRATION OF BASEBALL

The signing of Jackie Robinson in 1945 by Branch Rickey of the Brooklyn Dodgers marked a new era of integration in baseball, as well as the beginning of the demise of the Negro Leagues. Significantly, Robinson's signing occurred one year after the death of baseball commissioner Kenesaw Mountain Landis. A staunch segregationist, Landis had presided over the 1913 trial that convicted Jack Johnson, the black heavyweight boxing champion of violating the Mann Act. He asserted that the integration of baseball was not necessary, because "colored" ballplayers had their own league (Burns 1994).

Jackie Robinson, a stellar college athlete, lettered in baseball, football, basketball, and track and field at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). Just as important as his athletic talent, however, was Robinson's strength of character. While serving in the U.S. Army,

Robinson was court-martialed for not going to the back of a public bus while in uniform. He stood his ground and was acquitted.

Robinson first played professional baseball in 1945 with the Kansas City Monarchs of the Negro American League. When he signed with the Brooklyn Dodgers on October 23, 1945, he became the first African American to join a major league organization in almost fifty years. Knowing that this was going to provoke racist reactions by many fans and players, the Dodgers assigned Robinson to their Canadian farm club, the Montreal Royals, and they moved the Dodgers' spring training to Havana, Cuba. Robinson made his major league debut on April 15, 1947. He excelled immediately, stealing two bases in his first game. He won the 1947 National League Rookie of the Year Award, despite the verbal and physical abuse he took all year from fans, players, and managers. Robinson retired in 1957 and was inducted into the Hall of Fame in 1962.

Jackie Robinson's debut was followed shortly by the Cleveland Indians' signing of Larry Doby, who integrated

the American League and won that league's Rookie of the Year Award. But the breaking of the color line in Major League Baseball also meant the end of the Negro Leagues. The last Negro League World Series was played in 1949 between the Birmingham Black Barons and the Homestead Grays. The Negro National League folded in 1950 after the last East West All-Star game was played, although some Negro League teams played into the 1950s.

The integration of baseball continued very slowly. The final two teams to integrate were the New York Yankees in 1955 and the Boston Red Sox in 1959. Spring training facilities in Florida were not fully integrated until 1962. Wendell Smith, a journalist for the African-American newspaper *The Pittsburgh Courier*, was a leader in the fight to integrate baseball. His stories on spring training facilities in Florida, where African-American ballplayers had to stay in private residences and could not bring their families with them, brought the story of segregation to the public.

Many African-American ballplayers followed Robinson into the major leagues, some of whom became the game's greatest stars. Hank Aaron started his professional play with the Negro League's Indianapolis Clowns at the age of nineteen. He signed with the Milwaukee Braves in 1950 and eventually became Major League Baseball's all-time home run leader. As Aaron approached Babe Ruth's record of 714 home runs, he received numerous death threats from racist white fans who feared a black ballplayer bypassing their white hero. When he retired in 1976, Aaron was the last Negro Leaguer playing in the integrated major leagues.

Because his high school had no baseball team, Willie Mays began playing semi-pro ball on his father's team at age fourteen. He joined the Birmingham Black Barons at sixteen. He was paid the significant sum of \$250 per month for just playing home games during the school year. He began his professional career by hitting a double against Satchel Paige in his first at bat. Mays was signed by the New York Giants organization in 1950 and was sent to play for their Trenton, New Jersey, team when one of their southern minor league teams would not accept a Negro ballplayer. He soon joined the Giants, leading them to the 1951 World Series. His total career statistics are among baseball's best, despite giving up two of his prime athletic years to the U.S. Army.

### THE HALL OF FAME

The movement to induct black ballplayers who played before racial integration into the Hall of Fame began seriously in the 1960s. Baseball researchers began compiling information and statistics on early black baseball in the 1960s, and Robert Peterson's seminal book *Only the Ball Was White* (1970) spurred additional research. John Holway's *Voices from the Great Black Baseball Leagues* (1975) included interviews with ballplayers and Effa Manley. When the great Boston Red Sox player Ted Williams was

inducted into the Hall of fame in 1966, he called for Negro Leaguers to be included in the Hall of Fame balloting process. The Society for American Baseball Research formed a Negro League research group in 1971 (Hogan 2006).

Beginning in 1971, Negro League ballplayers began being admitted to the Hall of Fame. The first group to be inducted included Satchel Paige, Rube Foster, Josh Gibson, Ray Dandridge, Buck Leonard, Leon Day, Monte Irvin, Willie Foster, Cool Papa Bell, Willie Wells, Judy Johnson, Bullet Rogan, Oscar Charleston, Smokey Joe Williams, John Henry "Pop" Lloyd, Turkey Stearnes, Martin Dihigo, and Hilton Smith.

From 1995 through 2001, Hall of Fame electors were given supplemental lists of Jim Crow era players, and several of them were elected. In 2003, Major League Baseball funded a project to research the statistics of pre-integration black ballplayers. This has resulted in a comprehensive compilation of baseball statistics, as well as Larry Hogan's *Shades of Glory* (2006) companion narrative. In 2005 the National Baseball Hall of Fame determined that there was sufficient knowledge to nominate more than seventy players and administrators from the Negro League and pre-Negro League eras for a special Hall of Fame election. In February 2006, seventeen players and administrators were elected to the Hall of Fame from this list. Among these were Effa Manley, the first woman voted into the hall of fame, and J. L. Wilkinson, the white owner of the Kansas City Monarchs.

### LATIN AMERICAN BASEBALL

The first organized baseball game in Cuba occurred in 1868, only twenty-two years after the invention of the modern game of baseball on the diamond at Elysian Fields in Hoboken, New Jersey, in 1846. In 1878 the first Cuban baseball league was formed. By 1871 Esteban Enrique Bellán, a Cuban who had studied at Fordham University, was playing for the Troy Haymakers, part of the National Association of Professional Baseball Players. Between 1890 and 1911, U.S. teams regularly visited the Caribbean. Racism intervened in 1911, when Ban Johnson, the president of the American League, banned these visits. Several white Cuban players were signed by U.S. teams around the turn of the twentieth century.

The corporate expansion of the Boston-based United Fruit Company into the Caribbean in the early twentieth century and the 1916 U.S. military occupation of the Dominican Republic helped spread the game throughout the Caribbean. Cuba built baseball into a national game, especially after the Revolution of 1959.

Prior to the integration of U.S. baseball, only light-skinned Latinos, primarily Cubans, could play professional baseball in the United States. Players who could not pass as white played in the Negro Leagues. Three Negro League Latino players from this time were





**Ichiro Suzuki, 2002.** Suzuki won the American League MVP and the Rookie of the Year Award in 2002. The growing popularity of baseball around the world has brought players from other nations, particularly Japan and Latin American countries, to teams in the United States. AP IMAGES.

eventually elected to the Hall of Fame: José Méndez (The Black Diamond), Cristóbal Torriente, and Martín Dihigo. After integration, Latino players increasingly succeeded in U.S. professional baseball. In 1947, only three Latin Americans were playing in Major League Baseball. By 1854, this number had increased to fifty-four, and by 2006, almost 30 percent of the 750 major league players were Latino. The 2005 All-Star game had representatives from eight Latin American countries.

The proper recognition of Latin American ballplayers has been called into question by the omission of Roberto Clemente, a Hall of Fame Player for the Pittsburgh Pirates, from Major League Baseball's All-Century Team. Clemente, who was of Puerto Rican descent, died in an airline crash while delivering supplies to Nicaragua after the 1972 earthquake in that country. In 2005, partly in response to this controversy, Major League Baseball launched a campaign to recognize great Latin American ballplayers, includ-

ing those who played in the Negro Leagues. The result was the Latino Legends Team.

#### JAPANESE BASEBALL

The history of baseball in Japan goes back to the late 1800s, when Japanese plantation workers formed company teams. In 1903 a Japanese baseball team came to the United States for the first time, and this was followed by the formation of many Japanese teams in the United States. Kenso Nushida played in the Pacific Coast league as the first Japanese minor league player. Babe Ruth's tours of Japan with other major league all-stars in the 1930s also spurred an increased interest in baseball.

The popularity of the game among the Japanese is illustrated by the fact that baseball was played in all of the World War II Japanese internment camps. After this unfortunate episode in U.S. history, Japanese Americans played widely on college teams and in Japan. The first Japanese player to play in the major leagues was Masonori Murakami, a pitcher who played for the San Francisco Giants from 1963 to 1965. It took thirty years for the next Japanese player, the pitcher Hideo Nomo of the Los Angeles Dodgers, to play Major League Baseball. Despite notions that Japanese players were not good enough to play positions other than pitcher, the first Japanese position players, signed in the 1990s, had great success. Ichiro Suzuki and Hideki Matsui, have indeed become all stars, while Kenji Johjima was signed in 2006 as the first Japanese catcher. There have only been a few Japanese-American players, however. Ryan Kurosaki signed in 1975, while in 1977 Lenn Sakata became the first Japanese-American position player in the major leagues.

#### BASEBALL AND RACE

Baseball has always reflected U.S. race relations. At times it has reinforced racial division, as in the "gentleman's agreement" that kept owners from signing black baseball players to professional contracts. At other times, it has led the way toward social justice, as the signing of Jackie Robinson demonstrates. The biographies of black ballplayers reveal the injustices of racism. Henry Aaron's recounting of his Negro League team eating in a restaurant in Washington D.C., and hearing the wait staff break the plates that the players had used reveals the virulent, personal nature of racism (Aaron and Wheeler 1992). Throughout the history of the sport, baseball and American culture have remained intertwined.

**SEE ALSO** *Basketball; Boxing; Football (U.S.); Genetics and Athletic Performance; Track and Field.*

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Stanton W. Green

## BASKETBALL

The perceived dominance of African Americans in basketball has been taken as proof of the natural athleticism of blacks (defined as any people of African origin). However, the history of sport quickly dismisses this notion.

Basketball was invented by the Canadian-born James Naismith in December 1891. Naismith, a physical education teacher at the School for Christian Workers (now Springfield College) in Springfield, Massachusetts, was charged with inventing a game to entertain the school's athletes during the winter. The original game used a soccer ball, two peach baskets attached to the railing of gym balcony, two nine-player teams, and thirteen rules. Between 1906 and 1916 a series of rules changes were implemented, including opening the net to allow the ball to fall through after a goal. Players fouled out after committing five fouls, and foul shots were awarded depending on the severity of the infraction. In 1916 dribbling followed by a shot was allowed. (Prior to this players could not move after the ball was passed to them.)

Many of the early basketball games were played in gymnasiums with floor to ceiling netting separating the crowd from the players. This is where the term "cager" originated, though the practice was discontinued in 1929.

In 1892, Senda Berenson Abbot, a Lithuanian-born physical education teacher at Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts, twenty miles north of Springfield, developed a modified game for women because it was believed that the men's game was too physically demanding for the "fairer" sex. The court was divided into three equal sections, with players required to stay in an assigned area; players were prohibited from snatching or batting the ball from the hands of another player; and they were prohibited from holding the ball for longer than three seconds and from dribbling the ball more than three times.

The spread of basketball in the United States and abroad was facilitated by the Young Men's Christian Associations (YMCAs), the armed forces, and colleges. Factors that helped it grow in popularity were the simple equipment requirements, indoor play, competitiveness, and easily understood rules. These were also the same attributes that would make it well-suited for the urban African-American neighborhoods that would spring up across America after World War II.

The first intercollegiate league, the New England Intercollegiate Basketball League, was formed in May 1901. It included teams from Yale and Harvard Universities and Trinity, Holy Cross, Amherst, and Williams Colleges. It is highly unlikely that any African Americans played in this first league. Indeed only eight African Americans are recorded as having played for European American collegiate teams from 1904 to 1919 (see Table 1).

African-American athletes were not allowed to play basketball for predominantly European American institutions in the Jim Crow South until after the 1950s. Colored YMCAs and YWCAs throughout the nation formed the first African-American teams. This effort

### African Americans Who Starred for European American Colleges Prior to 1920

Player	Years	University or College	State
Samuel Ransom	1904–08	Beloit College	Wisconsin
Wilbur Wood	1907–10	University of Nebraska	Nebraska
Fenwich Watkins	1909	University of Vermont	Vermont
Cumberland Posey	1909, 1916	Pennsylvania State University, Duquesne University	Pennsylvania
Sol Butler	1910	Dubuque College	Iowa
William Kindle	1911	Springfield College	Massachusetts
Cleve Abbot	1913	South Dakota State	South Dakota
Paul Robeson	1915–18	Rutgers University	New Jersey

SOURCE: Adapted from Ashe, Arthur. (1988). *A Hard Road to Glory: A History of the African-American Athlete 1619–1918*. Warner Books: New York, p. 175.

Table 1.

was hampered in the South however, due to poor gymnasiums, a lack of equipment, few coaches, and year-round warm weather. YMCA college student associations played a major role in introducing African-Americans' colleges to basketball.

### PROFESSIONAL BASKETBALL IN THE GOLDEN AGE

Professional basketball began in 1896 at a YMCA in Trenton, New Jersey, and in 1898 the National Basketball League (NBL) was founded. The NBL consisted of six franchises from Pennsylvania and New Jersey. At the same time, club teams were being formed. The Smart Set Athletic Club, from Brooklyn, New York, was the first African-American club team, and it was soon joined by the St. Christopher Athletic Club and the Marathone Athletic Club. These clubs formed the Olympic Athletic League. Similar clubs were formed in Washington, D.C., Baltimore, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Wilmington, Delaware, and northern New Jersey. The Buffalo Germans, a team with players of German descent that won 111 straight games between 1908 and 1911, and the Original Celtics (who were started by Irish players from New York's Hell's Kitchen), were extraordinarily successful professional teams in the early twentieth century. The Original Celtics pioneered many of the tactics still used in modern basketball, including zone defense and post play. The first successful national professional league was the American Basketball League (ABL), which lasted from 1925 to 1931 and resumed play again from 1933 to 1934. The ABL was formed without any African-American players; teams and league rules disallowed games against African-American teams. For this reason, the Original Celtics refused to join.

The racially segregated character of American society meant that most sports clubs were composed of a single ethnic group, or of groups that were considered socially equivalent (such as poor Irish and Jews). The 1920s through 1930s saw three prominent ethnically based professional teams dominate basketball: the Original Celtics, the South Philadelphia Hebrew Association team (the SPHAs), and the New York Renaissance (the Rens), an all-African American team. The Original Celtics compiled an amazing record as a barnstorming team, with more than 700 victories and only 60 losses in the 1920s. (*Barnstorming* refers to the practice of touring a region playing local club teams). They were eventually forced into the ABL when the league disallowed its members to play nonmembers, thus reducing the number of competitors. In 1926 and 1927 the Original Celtics won the first two league championships. The league owners responded by breaking up the team and dispersing their players throughout the league. In 1928 the New York Rens won the championship, defeating the Original Celtics, who featured the future Hall of Famers Joe Lapchick and Nat Holman. A year later, the Original Celtics again won the title. The contests between the Celtics and the Rens were some of the hottest tickets in town, and at least five race riots were sparked by their games.

The SPHAs won seven ABL titles between 1933 and 1945, and they lost in the championship series twice. The team's uniform tops featured the Hebrew letters spelling SPHAs and a Jewish star. The back of the team's road uniforms said "Hebrews"! In 1926 during a break in ABL play, the SPHAs defeated both the Original Celtics and the New York Renaissance in best-of-three game series, showing that, though a minor league team, they were able to compete against the best professional teams of the period.

The early success of Jewish athletes in basketball spawned biologically based racial theories to explain this phenomenon. Paul Gallico, a sports editor for the *New York Daily News* wrote in his 1938 *Farewell to Sports*: "The reason, I suspect, that basketball appeals to the Hebrew with his Oriental background is that the game places a premium on an alert, scheming mind, flashy trickiness, artful dodging and general smart aleckness." Other writers suggested that Jews had an advantage in basketball because short men have better balance and more foot speed. They also suggested that they had sharper eyes, which was in contradiction to the stereotype that Jewish men were nearsighted.

In 1923, the New York Rens became the first full-salaried African-American professional basketball team. Like the Original Celtics and the SPHAs, the Rens were a barnstorming squad that had to take on all levels of competition to earn a living. The Rens were not allowed to join the ABL or the National Basketball League (NBL), which was formed in 1937. Yet in their nearly three-decade existence, starting in 1922, the Rens compiled a 2,588–529 record. They took their name from Harlem's

**World Basketball Champions, Chicago Herald  
Tournaments, 1939–1948**

Winning Team/Runner Up	Race/Ethnicity	Year
New York Rens/Oshkosh All-Stars	African Am./European Am.	1939
Harlem Globetrotters/ Chicago Bruins	African Am./European Am.	1940
Detroit Eagles/Oshkosh All-Stars	European Am./European Am.	1941
Oshkosh All-Stars/Detroit Eagles	European Am./European Am.	1942
Washington Bears*/ Oshkosh All-Stars	African Am./European Am.	1943
Fort Wayne Zollner Pistons/ Brooklyn Eagles	European Am./European Am.	1944
Fort Wayne Zollner Pistons/ Dayton Acmes	European Am./European Am.	1945
Fort Wayne Zollner Pistons/ Oshkosh All-Stars	European Am./European Am.	1946
Indianapolis Kautskys/ Toledo Jeeps	European Am./European Am.	1947
Minneapolis Lakers/ New York Rens	European Am./African Am.	1948

Note: The Washington Bears featured many of the New York Rens in this year.

SOURCE: Adapted from statistics compiled by William F. Himmelman in Peterson, Robert W. (1990). *Cages to Jump Shots: Pro Basketball's Early Years*. New York: Oxford University Press.

**Table 2.**

Renaissance Casino, which opened in 1922. Bob Douglas, called the “father of black basketball” organized the team, which practiced and played home games at the casino’s dance hall. The Rens games were part of combined social-athletic events, with dances usually beginning right after the games.

During the Depression era, professional basketball leagues were not financially lucrative enough to allow players to make a living or team owners to make sufficient profits. Thus many teams survived by barnstorming. These teams were often ethnically based, such as the Terrible Swedes, the Harlem Globetrotters (African Americans out of Chicago, not New York), the House of David (Jewish), an even the Hong Wah Q’ues (a Chinese-American team.) During the 1940s many cities hosted basketball tournaments for professional teams, including the World Professional Basketball Tournament, played in Chicago Stadium each year from 1939 to 1948. At this time, professional teams were either owned by individuals or by corporations. On the corporate teams, the players had year-round jobs with the company, though they owed these jobs to the fact that they could play basketball. The records of the World Professional Basketball Tournament show no evidence of “African-American superiority” in basketball (see Table 2).

**THE RACIALIZATION OF MODERN  
BASKETBALL**

The history of early basketball does not support any theory of biologically based racial participation in the sport. Beginning in the 1960s, however, there was an increased participation of African Americans in the sport at all levels, including some of the greatest superstars of American sport. This pattern has spawned biologically based racial theories of African-American participation, including ideas of biologically superior athletic ability—particularly leaping ability—as explanations for the predominance of African-American stars. One CBS sports commentator, Jimmy “the Greek” Snyder, pronounced that the superior athletic ability of blacks was due to the fact that “blacks had been bred like race horses” during slavery. Another prominent racially based athletic theory is the supposedly greater innate jumping ability of African Americans. (Conversely, European Americans are supposed to suffer from the “white man’s disease,” or the inability to jump.) The supporters of this theory cite the results of slam-dunk competitions, which have been overwhelmingly dominated by athletes of African descent.

As convenient as these theories are, they all suffer from lack of genetic or physiological evidence to support their claims. In fact, the dominance of African Americans in American basketball is more easily explained by social and cultural changes that occurred in the United States between the 1940s and 1970s. In this period, governmental policies allowed persons of European descent to escape the inner cities while African Americans were denied access to the means to live elsewhere. Between 1934 and 1962, Federal Housing Authority (FHA) programs provided \$120 billion in loans, but less than 2 percent of these went to nonwhites. The loans made cheap housing available to European Americans outside the cities and created the American suburbs. This occurred just as new waves of African Americans migrated to the northern cities in search of greater economic opportunity and freedom from racial discrimination. New Deal projects, such as government-owned buildings designed to save the poor from the dilapidated tenements, began to concentrate poor African Americans. These buildings were appropriately called “the projects.” The youths living within their confines were encouraged to pursue athletic activities that could be played on the blacktop surfaces of this urban landscape, and basketball was a natural candidate for this environment.

Sports culture, like music and the arts, was influenced by this new form of segregation. In the 1950s, many African-American educators and community leaders were still touting sports as a way to get ahead in a racist society. Holcomb Rucker was an example of someone who held

these notions. Rucker was a New York City Department of Public Works employee who developed teen-oriented summer basketball leagues in Harlem. By 1955 his summer tournaments were heavily attended by scouts from major universities. The Rucker tournaments included such future basketball greats as Wilt Chamberlain, Walt Hazzard, Willis Reed, and Julius Erving, who played against equally talented individuals, many of whom later died of drug overdoses or went to prison. The emphasis on sports as a way to overcome racism meant that some of the brightest and most talented African Americans in this era pursued careers in sports.

While a student at Oakland's McClymonds High, the future Boston Celtic great Bill Russell imagined new ways of playing defense in basketball. He devised the idea that defensive players could leave their feet to block a shot and keep the ball in play so that it could be recovered by a teammate. At playgrounds all over the inner cities of America, basketball skills that had been pioneered by earlier professionals of European descent, such as the jump shot and behind-the-back dribbling, were being improved on by African-American youth. In 1962, John McLendon, a former student of James Naismith and a successful college coach, published *Fast Break Basketball: Fine Points and Fundamentals*. Thus, during the 1950s and 1960s a distinctive African-American style of basketball developed and became as integral a part of African-American culture as "the blues" and "rhythm and blues" music.

Concomitant with the demographic shifts in the cities, a series of rules changes made basketball a faster and more athletic sport. Prior to these rule changes, basketball had essentially become football played on hardwood floors. On the inner-city playgrounds of America, African-American athletes had already begun to redefine how the game was played. Soon, college basketball could not ignore the lure of these talented individuals. The 1949-1950 NCAA champions, City College of New York (CCNY), were integrated and coached by basketball legend Nat Holman (of the Original Celtics). Conversely, the 1951 NCAA champions, the University of Kentucky, were all European Americans and coached by segregationist Adolph Rupp (a college basketball coaching legend). Despite their athletic greatness, both schools were shown to be involved with point-shaving gambling scandals, but at the time more was made of the CCNY problem due to the participation of African-American athletes.

The late 1950s would see four stellar African Americans open the doors to integrating basketball at the college level. These were Bill Russell at the University of San Francisco, Wilt Chamberlain at the University of Kansas, Elgin Baylor at Seattle University, and Oscar Robertson at the University of Cincinnati. In 1966, Texas Western would be the first team to win a NCAA basketball title



**Texas Western, 1966.** Texas Western was the first team to win a NCAA basketball title with an all-black starting five. The team defeated a heavily favored—and segregated—Kentucky squad 72-65. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

with an all-black starting five. They defeated a heavily favored—and segregated—Kentucky squad.

#### INTEGRATION AND THE BIRTH OF THE NATIONAL BASKETBALL ASSOCIATION

In 1950, Chuck Cooper became the first African-American player drafted by the fledgling National Basketball Association (NBA). By the 1960s, African-American participation at both the college and professional level had drastically increased, so much so that the Boston Celtics had an all-African-American starting line-up in 1964. The percentage of African Americans playing in the collegiate and professional ranks continued to increase in the 1970s.

The increase in African-American dominance of professional basketball during the latter decades of the twentieth century was such that a survey of NBA all-franchise players in 1994, covering the league from its beginnings, showed that out of 124 players, 86 were African Americans, 35 were European Americans, 1 was African, 1 was European, and 1 was an Iranian American. The NBA named its fifty greatest players from its first fifty years in 1996. Of these, thirty-one were African Americans and eighteen were European American. In 2001, the Basketball Hall of Fame included 34 African Americans and 77 European Americans. James Naismith and the Nigerian-born Hakeem Olajuwon were the only non-American-born inductees.

However, this increase in African-American participation coincided with a decline in the popularity of the

## *Basketball*

professional game. By the end of the 1970s, the NBA (which had merged with the American Basketball Association, or ABA, in 1977) was the only one of the three major spectator sports without a national television contract. In 1981, sixteen of the twenty-three teams were losing money, and there was serious talk of folding the small-city franchises and downsizing to a twelve-team league. Earvin Magic Johnson (an African American from East Lansing, Michigan) and Larry Bird (a European American from French Lick, Indiana) helped to change all of that. Their rivalry began in the 1979 NCAA tournament and continued on into the NBA. Magic Johnson was one of the most versatile players the game had ever known, while Larry Bird was one of the game's greatest pure shooters and competitors. Johnson's Lakers and Bird's Celtics faced each other in the NBA finals three times in the 1980s, and one of their teams captured the title eight out of ten years in that decade. This stimulated the rebirth of the NBA and set the stage for the emergence of the one of the greatest athletes the world has ever known, Michael Jordan of the Chicago Bulls.

Jordan is of African-American descent, and he played his college basketball under NCAA legend Dean Smith at North Carolina. Smith's coaching style did not allow Jordan to showcase his formidable talents, and few expected him to be the superstar he became in the NBA. Jordan's Bulls won six titles in the 1990s and he became the center of one of the greatest sports merchandising franchises of all time. Before signing Michael Jordan in 1987, annual sales of the athletic-shoe company Nike were only \$900 million. Ten years later, based on the impact of their "Air Jordan" line, Nike annual sales were \$9.19 billion, an increase of more than 1,000 percent. The popularity of basketball had changed so much in fifty years that Michael Jordan was still earning \$33 million per year in endorsements two years after his retirement.

### **RACIAL GENETICS OF BASKETBALL**

In a period of fifty years, professional basketball in America went from 100 percent to 16 percent European American. In the 2000-2001 season, African Americans dominated NBA rosters. European Americans, or "whites," are persons whose genetic ancestry can be traced to some area in Europe and who have no detectable African ancestry. African Americans, or "blacks," have genes that originated among Western Africans, Europeans, and American Indians. The average percentage of non-African genes in African Americans has been estimated to vary from as low as 6 percent to as high as 40 percent. Many of the early twenty-first century's successful black athletes are the children of men who were athletically or socially successful in the last generation and who married European-American wives. Racial theories of basketball performance rely on the

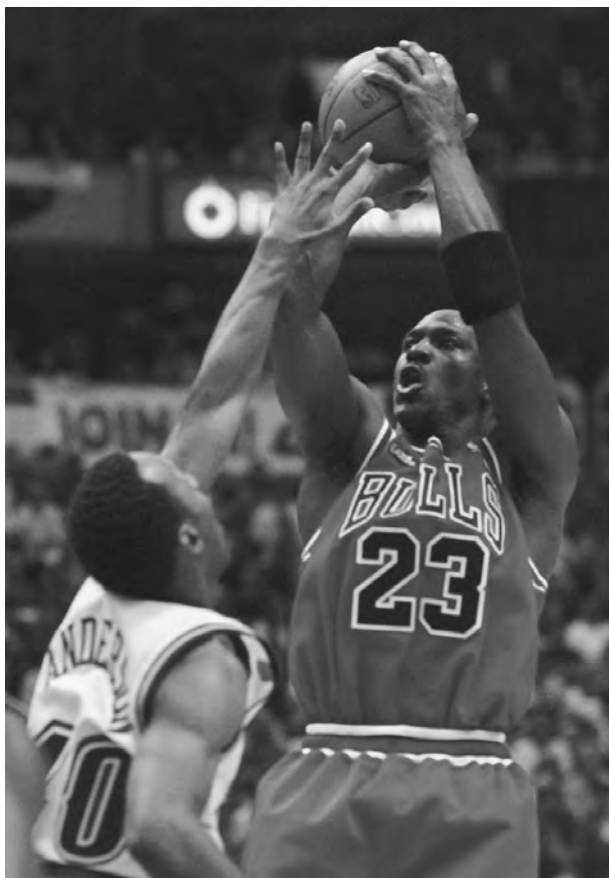
idea that there is something genetically "African" that predisposes an individual to be a better basketball player.

To test this assertion, however, it would be best to compare the number of Africans versus the number of Europeans in the NBA. African Americans are, in fact, not appropriate in this regard because a substantial fraction of their genes originated in Europeans and American Indians. In 2000, there were three Western Africans, nine Europeans, and one Australian in the NBA. An examination of the NBA 2002 rosters showed twenty-one Europeans, one East Asian, and nine Africans in the league. In that same season, Yao Ming, formerly of the Shanghai Sharks, made a particularly dramatic entry into the NBA, finishing second in Rookie of the Year voting. Thus, in a direct comparison of individuals who have "purely" African or European genes, there are more of those with European genes than African. This is directly opposite to the racial theory of basketball participation.

### **THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF BASKETBALL**

Basketball was introduced to the Summer Olympic Games in 1936. Since then, the United States has pretty much dominated the competition. The 1972 victory of the Soviet Union has always been attributed to dubious officiating. In 1988, however, the Soviet Union won the gold, Yugoslavia the silver, and the United States settled for the bronze medal. Americans criticized this defeat as due to the essentially "professional" character of the European basketball programs. This criticism led to a changing of International Olympic Committee rules, and by 1992 professional athletes could compete in the Olympic Games. The 1992 Barcelona Olympics featured the U.S. "Dream Team," consisting of eight players of African-American ancestry and four players of European-American descent. The Dream Team easily won the gold medal, but their victory also helped to spread the popularity of basketball to such an extent that the dominance of the United States, and of African Americans, in basketball may soon be a thing of the past.

Indeed, the 2002 U.S. men's international basketball team, which was predominantly African American, was eliminated by Yugoslavia in the quarterfinals and lost to Spain in the consolation game of the World Championships. The USA finished seventh, while the only African nation in the competition finished in an abysmal eleventh place. At the men's competition in the 2004 Olympic Games, Argentina won the gold, Italy the Silver, and the United States the bronze. In the women's competition, the United States won the Gold, Australia the Silver, and Russia the Bronze. No African nations qualified for the medal rounds at these Olympics. Of the 177 players drafted by the NBA from 2003 to 2005, 28 were



**Michael Jordan in the NBA Finals, 1998.** Considered by many to be the best basketball player in history, Jordan led the Chicago Bulls to six NBA championships. AP IMAGES.

Europeans, 2 were East Asians, 1 was from East Africa, 22 from West Africa, and 4 were from Latin America. Finally, the 2005 NBA championship was won by the San Antonio Spurs, who featured five international players on their twelve-man roster. Two of their three most important players, Tim Duncan and Tony Parker, have some detectable African ancestry. These results indicate that the “black” dominance of professional and international basketball is fading.

Basketball ability, just like any other human behavior, is determined by a complex interplay between individual genetic ability, personality, culture, and society. African Americans, who currently dominate the game, represent a genetically and culturally unique population, one that is not equivalent to any particular Western African population, either in genes or in culture. Success at the modern game of basketball is facilitated by speed, endurance, agility, strength, height, hand-eye coordination, and leaping ability, among other athletic traits. There is no reason to suppose that these traits are found disproportionately among people of African descent in

the United States, nor is there any scientific way of separating the genetic, environmental, or cultural effects that determine athletic predisposition. Thus, any claims of African genes providing superior athletic performance are at best speculation, and at worse racist ideology. The difference between the ethnic composition of the participants of American basketball and volleyball illustrates the social construction of sports performance. Both games require similar athletic skills, yet basketball is currently dominated by African-American athletes, while volleyball is dominated by European-American athletes.

When Michael Jordan retired from professional basketball, he was asked once again by reporters why he thought black players dominated the sport. “Okay, I’ll tell you,” he said. As reporters leaned forward, pencils poised, he whispered into the microphone, “We practice.”

**SEE ALSO** *Baseball; Football (U.S.); Genetics and Athletic Performance; Track and Field.*

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## BATES, DAISY 1912–1999

Daisy Bates was born Daisy Lee Gatson in Huttig, Arkansas, on or around November 12, 1912. In her autobiography, *The Long Shadow of Little Rock*, she described Huttig, located at the very bottom of the state, as a “sawmill plantation,” where “everyone worked for the mill, lived in houses owned by the mill, and traded at the general store run by the mill.”

Tragedy struck the Bates family when Daisy was only a child. Her birth mother was raped and murdered by three white men, and her father, fearing for his safety, fled town. Orlee and Susie Smith, two family friends, adopted Daisy. It was not until she was older that she would learn the truth about her mother and father.

Growing up in Huttig, a town of less than 1,000 persons, Bates said she did not really understand what being black meant until she was seven. She went to the store to buy some meat for her mother and was told by the butcher, “Niggers have to wait ‘til I wait on the white people” (1987 [1962], in chapter “What It Means to Be Negro”). Bates developed a deep-seated hatred of the white race living in the Jim Crow South. Her adoptive father, bothered by his daughter’s rage, counseled her not to hate white people just because they are white. “Hate can destroy you,” he told her. “If you hate, make it count for something. Hate the humiliations we are living under in the South. Hate the discrimination that eats away at the soul of every black man and woman. Hate the insults hurled at us by white scum—and then try to do something about it, or your hate won’t spell at thing” ([http://ut.essortment.com/whoisdaisybat\\_ogp.htm](http://ut.essortment.com/whoisdaisybat_ogp.htm)).

When Bates was a teenager, her father’s friend, Lucius Christopher (L.C.) Bates, an insurance salesman and former journalist, came calling. He pursued her for several years before they finally tied the knot in 1942. Bates and L.C. moved north to Little Rock. L.C. dreamed of returning to his journalistic roots so he and Daisy leased a printing plant and started the *Arkansas State Press*.

The *State Press*’s circulation reached 10,000 in its first few months of publication. It soon grew into the largest, most influential black newspaper in the state. It publicized violations of the Supreme Court’s 1954 *Brown*

*v. Board of Education* desegregation ruling, as well as gruesome instances of police brutality, and it fought to free blacks from slum housing, menial jobs, and injustice in the courtrooms.

In 1952 Daisy was elected president of the Arkansas NAACP. As state president, she participated in litigation to pressure the Little Rock School Board to abide by the *Brown* decision and integrate. “To the nation’s Negroes,” she wrote in *The Long Shadow*, “the Supreme Court decision meant that the time for delay, evasion, or procrastination was over.”

Facing increasing pressure from black parents, the NAACP, and a Supreme Court ruling, Virgil Blossom, superintendent of the Little Rock Public School District, announced a plan to begin the desegregation process with Little Rock Central High School in September 1957.

Seventy-five black students initially registered for admission into Central High, but school officials chose the nine whom they thought were the most emotionally mature. The Little Rock Nine, as they came to be known, were Ernest Green, Elizabeth Eckford, Jefferson Thomas, Terrence Roberts, Carlotta Walls Lanier, Minnijean Brown Trickey, Gloria Ray Karlmark, Thelma Mothershed-Wair, and Melba Pattillo Beals. Bates served as an adviser and mentor to these students. She provided protective custody for them and was their leading advocate. She had no children of her own, and the Little Rock Nine were affectionately referred to as “Daisy Bates’s children.”

The Little Rock Nine were initially slated to enter Central High on Tuesday, September 3, 1957. The night before, Governor Orval Faubus called up the state’s National Guard to surround Central High and prevent the students from entering. He did this, he claimed, in order to protect citizens and property from white supremacists that were headed in caravans toward Little Rock. If the Little Rock Nine attempted to enter Central High, Faubus said, “blood would run in the streets.” The Nine did not, in fact, attend Central High on September 3, the first day of school. On September 4, Bates phoned them and instructed them to meet a few blocks from Central and walk to school as a group. Elizabeth Eckford did not have a phone in her home, however, and never received the message. She attempted to enter Central High by herself, through the front door. As the Arkansas National Guard looked on, she was met by an angry white mob who berated her and threatened to lynch her. Ironically, it was two whites who stepped forward to assist her. They helped her get on a city bus and away from the school without injury. The rest of the Little Rock Nine were denied entry by the National Guardsmen.

The National Guard troops finally left Central High on September 20, after a federal judge had granted an injunction against Faubus’s use of National Guard



troops to prevent integration. On Monday, September 23, school resumed. There were no troops, but Central High was surrounded by policemen. A white mob, numbering close to 1,000, gathered in front of the school, waiting to spew more hatred at the black students. But instead of entering through the front door, the police escorted the Nine through a side entrance. When the mob learned that the Nine had made it inside, they began to attack the police and charge towards the building. For their own safety, the Nine were removed from school before noon.

With a crisis on their hands, Congressman Brooks Hays and Mayor Woodrow Mann asked the Eisenhower administration to intervene. "Hysteria in all of its madness enveloped the city," Bates later wrote, and "racial feelings were at a fever pitch." On September 24, Mann sent a telegram to Eisenhower requesting federal troops. Eisenhower obliged, and federal troops were dispatched that day. He also federalized the Arkansas National Guard, which removed Faubus's power over them. On September 25, the Little Rock Nine entered Central High School under the protection of 1,000 members of the 101st Airborne Division of the United States Army.

The Little Rock Nine were not the only ones who were tormented during the Central High Crisis. In August 1957, a rock was thrown through the picture window of the Bates home. A note attached to the rock read, "Stone this time. Dynamite next." Two days later, an eight-foot cross was burned on the Bates's lawn, accompanied by the message, "Go back to Africa. KKK." On July 7, 1958, a bomb was set off in front of the Bates home, but no one was injured. Bates said it took many weeks for her to become accustomed to seeing "revolvers lying on tables in my own home" and "shotguns loaded with buckshot, standing ready near the doors."

The Bates family was also forced to shut down the *State Press*. After Daisy became involved in the civil rights struggle, white businesses stopped advertising in the paper, and it had to stop publishing because of lost revenue. L.C. Bates joined the paid staff of the NAACP in 1960.

Only three of the Little Rock Nine eventually graduated from Central High. Ernest Green became the school's first black graduate in 1958. Jefferson Thomas and Carlotta Walls Lanier graduated in 1960. Minnijean Brown Trickey was expelled from the school in February 1958, after several incidents, including one in which she dumped a bowl of chili on one of her tormentors. Throughout their time at Central High, Bates remained deeply concerned about their welfare, often intervening with school officials during conflicts.



**Daisy Bates in the Little Rock Municipal Court, 1958.** Bates's involvement with the Arkansas NAACP and the Little Rock Nine led to her arrest for violating the "Bennett Ordinance," which required that various organizations submit membership and other information. She was convicted and paid a \$25 fine. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

After the success at Central High, Bates worked in voter registration campaigns for the Democratic National Committee, and President Lyndon Johnson appointed her to help administer his antipoverty programs. She revived the *State Press* in 1984, only to sell it three years later.

After Daisy Bates passed away on November 4, 1999, the state of Arkansas permitted her body to lay in state in the rotunda of the capitol. The third Monday in February has been established as an official state holiday in her honor, the Daisy Gatson Bates Holiday, making Arkansas the first state to honor an African American woman with a named holiday.

SEE ALSO *Civil Rights Movement*.

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*Greg Johnson*

## **BETHUNE, MARY McLEOD 1875–1955**

Mary McLeod Bethune dedicated her life to promoting education and combating the debilitating effects of racism in America. Two of her major accomplishments—the founding of a school for young black girls, which in the early twenty-first century is one of the major historically black colleges and universities, and organizing the Council for Negro Women, now housed in its own building on Pennsylvania Avenue in the nation's capital—have insured her place as one of the great leaders in black American history.

Born near Mayesville, South Carolina, on July 10, 1875, Mary Jane McLeod was the fifteenth of seventeen children born to Samuel and Patsy McLeod. Her parents were former slaves, and they wanted their children to receive an education. They also desired to be independent, so they worked hard and sacrificed to buy a farm for the family. As a child, Mary McLeod was eager to learn as much as she could. When the Mission Board of

the Presbyterian Church opened a school for blacks four miles from her home, her parents registered her. Mary had to walk the eight miles each day, but she understood at an early age that education was the key to a better life for blacks. Her love of learning may also have had roots in an incident that occurred when she was a child. When the young white children at the home where her mother worked saw her pick up a book, they reproached her and told her books were not for blacks. Indeed, they believed blacks did not have the ability to read. This accusation made Mary even more determined to excel in school.

Mary McLeod did indeed stand out at the mission school, and she was given a scholarship to attend Scotia Seminary in North Carolina. She was then awarded a second scholarship to attend Moody Bible Institute in Chicago, where she also performed exceptionally well and completed the school's two-year missionary training program. She was told, however, that there were no positions available for black missionaries in Africa. Though deeply disappointed, she returned to Mayesville and taught for one year in the mission school she had once attended. She then taught at Haines Institute in Augusta, Georgia, for one year, after which she went to Kendall Institute in Sumter, South Carolina, where she taught for two years.

### **CALLED TO FLORIDA**

In 1898, while still at Kendall, she married Albertus Bethune. The couple left South Carolina and moved to Savannah, Georgia, where her husband had a new job. Their only son, Albert, was born in Savannah in 1899, the same year she got a teaching job at a mission school in Palatka, Florida. After settling in Florida with her family, Mary taught school and visited local prisons, where she read to the mostly illiterate inmates.

Feeling more could be done to help African-American girls, she resolved to start a school of her own. A minister in Palatka suggested that she considered going to Daytona Beach to found a school for the children of black railway workers, who were extending the Atlantic Coast Line into Florida. Though she knew nothing about Daytona Beach, she decided to give it a try. She arrived there in 1904, virtually penniless, and found a vacant house for her school. She used old boxes and crates for desks and chairs, and the Daytona Educational and Industrial Training School opened for business in October 1904 with five young girls, a budget of one dollar and fifty cents, and a lot of prayers. In addition to teaching the domestic arts, such as cooking and sewing, the girls were taught the "three R's" (reading, writing, and arithmetic).

Because of her tireless efforts, and the great educational needs among the blacks in Daytona Beach, within

three years Bethune was able to relocate the school to a permanent facility, literally transforming what was a garbage dump into an institution of learning. In 1923 her school became coeducational when it merged with the then all-male Cookman Institute of Jacksonville, Florida. At the time of Bethune's death in 1955, Bethune-Cookman College had a faculty of 100 and an enrollment in excess of 1,000 young African-American men and women. In the first decade of the twenty-first century, it served some 3,000 students.

Following the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920, which gave women the right to vote, Bethune joined the Equal Suffrage League and taught at a night school, helping blacks learn how to read and write well enough to pass the literacy tests necessary to vote. This activity drew threats from the local Ku Klux Klan, but she stood her ground, and more than one hundred blacks voted in the next election. Her school's library was, for a time, the only free library open to blacks in the state of Florida.

#### A NATIONAL FIGURE

As Mary Bethune's school grew in reputation and influence, she was called on to lend her support to several causes. She was elected to the National Urban League's executive board in 1920, becoming its first female board member as well as its first black member. In 1935 she founded the National Council of Negro Women, an umbrella group of different black female organizations throughout the nation. She also served as the council's first president. Because of the scope of her work, presidents of the United States, from Calvin Coolidge to Franklin D. Roosevelt, appointed her to several governmental positions, including Special Advisor on Minority Affairs, director of the Division of Negro Affairs of the National Youth Administration, and chair of the Federal Council on Negro Affairs. This last organization was known to many as the "Black Cabinet." Bethune was one of the three black consultants to the United States delegation involved in crafting the United Nations Charter. She was a friend of President Roosevelt's mother in the 1920s, and she later formed a close friendship with the president's wife, Eleanor Roosevelt.

Mary McLeod Bethune became a revered figure in America and throughout the world. In 1935 she was the recipient of the NAACP's highest honor, the Spingarn Award. She died of a heart attack on May 18, 1955. In 1974 a statue was erected in her honor in Lincoln Park, in Washington, D.C., making her the first African American to be honored with a statue in a public park. Bethune's portrait hangs in the State Capitol in Columbia, South Carolina, and a U.S. postage stamp bearing her likeness was issued in 1986.

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*Russell Mootry Jr.*

## BIBLICAL JUSTIFICATION

SEE *Genesis and Polygenesis*.

## BIKO, STEPHEN BANTU

1946–1977

Stephen Bantu Biko was born to Alice Duna Biko and Mzingaye Biko, Stephen was the third of four children. His eldest sister Bukelwa and elder brother Khaya were born in Queenstown in 1942 and 1944 respectively. His youngest sister Nobandile was born in 1949. Biko's birthplace is uncertain because his parents frequently moved around. As a policeman, his father was transferred to different locations in the Eastern Cape province of South Africa. At the time of Stephen's birth his father was stationed in the small town of Tilden just outside of Queenstown, and his mother was staying at her home in the nearby town of Tarkastad. Home births were common among black people because of lack of other health facility options.

Mzingaye Biko had resigned from the police force by 1948 and took a position as a government clerk in King William's Town. Because of apartheid laws, the family moved into the nearby black township of Ginsberg. Alice took various jobs as a cook at the local hospital and a domestic worker for the township's superintendent. She devoted her weekends to the Anglican Church in Ginsberg. However, Mzingaye died from a mysterious illness soon after their arrival in Ginsberg, and Alice was left to fend for the children from her meager wages. Young Stephen attended primary and secondary school in Ginsberg, where by all accounts he was a gifted student,

always at the top of his class. In 1963 he obtained a scholarship to attend the prestigious Lovedale College in Cape Province, South Africa, just outside of the small town of Alice also in the Eastern Cape, where his older brother Khaya was enrolled. However, the two Biko brothers were expelled in March 1963, mainly because of Khaya's political activities. They were also barred from attending government schools. The unfairness of it all had a radicalizing impact on Stephen. In Khaya, according to Biko, "the giant was awakened" (said in frequent conversations with the author).

In 1964 Biko was admitted to the equally prestigious missionary school at St. Francis in Marianhill, just outside Durban in Kwazulu-Natal. He excelled academically at St. Francis and was admitted to the University of Natal Medical School in Durban. It was while at St. Francis that Steve started writing letters to his mother questioning the church's support of apartheid. His mother's friends were progressive white priests, David Russell and Aelred Stubbs (who had been sent to South Africa by the U.K.-based Community of the Resurrection). They took to writing back, and from there on began to develop lifelong friendships.

The political seed had already been planted when Biko arrived at the University of Natal. There he found a group of older students who often got together to discuss the place of black students in a predominantly white university and their specific political role in the predominantly white National Union of South African Students (NUSAS). They tried to get Biko to leave NUSAS, but he remained steadfast in his belief that black students needed to be part of the multiracial student movement. A wakeup call for Biko took place during a NUSAS conference at Rhodes University in 1967. The university authorities went along with the government's position that black students had to leave the university campus every evening to sleep in the townships. Biko asked the white students to join them in the township. He also proposed a motion that the conference be cancelled until a venue where they could all be accommodated in one place could be found. He lost both arguments.

Biko then left the conference to join another conference organized by the newly established University Christian Movement (UCM). Led by two white radical clerics—Colin Collins and Basil Moore—UCM was far more radical than NUSAS. The group invited him to attend a subsequent UCM conference in 1968 in the small town of Stutterheim. One of apartheid's stipulations was that black people could not be in a white area for longer than seventy-two hours, so black students were forced to leave the boundaries of the town, then reenter it. Biko stood up at one of the plenary sessions and suggested that black students needed to have a separate meeting to discuss their

continued participation in white-led organizations. The students left the meeting, having decided to explore the formation of an all-black organization. The South Africa Student Organization (SASO) was thus launched in 1968 at the University of the North (Turfloop), and Biko was elected the first president. However, SASO immediately recognized its limitations as a student body trying to organize a community that had been demoralized when the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress had been in 1960.

SASO set on a course of building community-based organizations in the arts, education, health, the economy, and politics. It established community-based research institutes and newspapers and journals. These programs were later incorporated into the activities of the Black Community Programmes. In 1972 Biko announced the formation of the Black People's Convention as the home of black political opinion in the country, thereby formally filling the political hole left by the banning of the ANC and the PAC. The apartheid government first welcomed the birth of black consciousness and thought these were harmless activities. Little was the government aware of the potential for revolution being awakened in communities and students through the movement's cultural, theological, and political consciousness raising. This changed with the explosion of the student uprisings on June 16, 1976.

For a very long time Biko wanted to unite South Africa's various liberation movements—the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and the Unity Movement. On August 17, 1977, he undertook a dangerous journey from King William's Town—where he was restricted from leaving—to meet for unity talks with veteran activist Neville Alexander of the Unity Movement. The meeting however did not materialize and Biko had to return to King William's Town immediately. He was arrested on 18 August 1977 together with his colleague Peter Jones at a roadblock near the small town of Grahamstown, only an hour from his home, and taken to the notoriously violent police headquarters in Port Elizabeth. After severe beatings he was transported naked and manacled at the back of a van for 800 miles to Pretoria. Stephen Bantu Biko died from brain damage on September 12, 1977.

The apartheid government covered up for his murderers, and they all died before they could face a court of law. But as Biko had prophesied in one of his writings, his death became "a politicizing thing." The international outcry and mass mobilization following his death would in less than a decade lead to the first tentative steps toward a negotiated settlement in South Africa. The unique contribution of the black consciousness movement lay in its political approach to black identity.



**Stephen Biko's Funeral, 1977.** A man holds a poster of Stephen Biko, with a large group of anti-apartheid militants in the background, at Biko's funeral in King William's Town, South Africa. STF/AFP/GETTY IMAGES.

Instead of defining blackness as a matter of skin pigmentation, the movement defined blackness in terms of identification with the black liberation struggle. Blacks were defined, according to the generally prevalent description from black consciousness activists, as all those who are by law and tradition discriminated against and identify themselves as a unit towards their liberation. Instead of seeing themselves as distinct groups, the so-called colour-eds, Indians, and Africans now saw themselves as part of one black political identity. Inspired by people such as Aimé Césaire, Paulo Freire, Malcolm X, and Frantz Fanon, they gave the black community a new sense of pride, dignity, and political agency, leading ultimately to the reclamation of political space and the birth of democracy in 1994.

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*Xolela Mangcu*

## BIRACIALISM

The term *biracial* refers to a person with parents of two different “races.” However, the more inclusive term *multiracial* is increasingly being used instead. Biracial and multiracial Americans can come from any combination of racial backgrounds. While all multiracial Americans have faced, and continue to deal with, some degree of discrimination, those with both black and white parentage have encountered the most bias and negative treatment in the United States. Although interracial sexual relationships have existed throughout the history of the nation, the number, acceptance of, and recognition of these unions and the multiracial offspring they produce have changed dramatically over the years. The fluctuating attitudes towards interracial relationships, and the changing notions of how to define racial groups, are evident in the way multiracial Americans have been counted as part of the U.S. population. Few Americans who lived in the 1800s would recognize the racial demarcations taken for granted in the twenty-first century.

### INCONSISTENT RACIAL CATEGORIES ON THE U.S. CENSUS

The racial categories used by the U.S. Census Bureau are based on socially determined ideas of race, underscoring the fact that race is a social construction rather than a biologically based reality. Moreover, not all respondents share the same definitions of race assumed by the Census Bureau. Different societies have different understandings of race. Many Latino Americans, for example, do not identify themselves in racial terms in the manner that Census officials assume they will. The fact that race is a social creation is made evident by the way the definitions and uses of racial groupings have changed throughout the history of the U.S. Census. For example, the Censuses of 1790 through 1820 the categories “Free white males and females,” “Slaves,” and “All other free persons, except Indians, not taxed.” The 1820 Census added “foreigners not naturalized” and the 1830 census dropped “all other free persons, except Indians not taxed.” The 1850 Census, the first to include options for black-white multiracial Americans, had the following racial categories: “White,” “Free Black,” “Free Mulatto,” “Slave Black,” and “Slave Mulatto.” With the 1870 Census (after the end of slavery), “Slave Black” and “Slave Mulatto” were removed and “Indian” and “Chinese” were added. “Japanese” became a category in 1880. The term “Mulatto” was used by the Census Bureau to enumerate all

## *Biracialism*

persons having any trace of black heritage. Black-white race mixing was tallied in even more detail in the Census of 1890, when “Quadroon” (one-quarter black) and “Octoroon” (from any trace to one-eighth black) were added. However, this level of detail proved too complicated, and these designations were not included on the 1900 Census.

An “other” category was added in 1910. By 1930, black-white multiracial categories were dropped, but other Asian groups were added, along with a “Mexican” category. The “Mexican” category was deleted in 1940, and different Asian groups were added through the 2000 Census. On the 2000 Census, respondents were asked to answer whether they were “Hispanic or Latino” or “Not Hispanic or Latino,” and to then choose one or more of the following racial categories:

- White
- Black, African American, or Negro
- American Indian or Alaska Native
- Asian Indian
- Chinese
- Filipino
- Japanese
- Korean
- Vietnamese
- Other Asian
- Native Hawaiian
- Guamanian or Chamorro
- Samoan
- Other Pacific Islander
- Some other race

Clearly, understandings of race and the racial choices deemed necessary on the U.S. Census have changed in relation to the political power of the different racial groups in the U.S., the discrimination they face, and the changing demographic characteristics of the nation’s population.

### THE RISE AND FALL OF THE “ONE-DROP RULE”

The deletion of the “Mulatto” category after the 1920 Census was directly related to the increased separation of whites and blacks after the end of Reconstruction in 1877. Discrimination against black Americans gained legal support with the 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* Supreme Court decision, which established the legality of “separate but equal” public facilities for blacks and whites. As the distinctions among races became accepted social and legal practice, the need to distinguish clearly between black and white Amer-

icans resulted in the “one-drop rule,” by which any American with any trace of black ancestry was deemed black. Therefore, the U.S. Census no longer carried any terms connoting mixed black-white races. All those who had a “drop” of black “blood” were considered black.

The civil rights movement and the abolishment of Jim Crow legislation that accompanied civil rights legislation in the 1960s did not lead to the immediate demise of the one-drop rule. However, it did create conditions in U.S. society that began to challenge and undermine the rule in the decades to follow. Civil rights legislation and affirmative action policies enabled black Americans to gain more social and economic power, as well as leading to increased interaction among racial groups. The identity movements that followed the civil rights movement (e.g., the black liberation movement, the women’s movement, the lesbian and gay movements) led, in turn, to the formation of a multicultural movement. Starting in the 1970s, Americans began to seek out, embrace, and celebrate their various racial and ethnic roots.

### IMPACT OF CHANGING DEMOGRAPHICS

The Immigration Act of 1965 was passed at the height of the civil rights movement, amid pressure to overturn legalized racial discrimination in the United States. It abolished national quotas (replacing them with quotas for the Eastern and Western Hemispheres) and did much to increase immigration and alter the racial makeup of the United States. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, the foreign-born population rose from 4.7 percent in 1970 to 11.7 percent in 2003. Among those U.S. residents who were born outside the United States in 2003, 53.3 percent were from Latin America, 25 percent were from Asia, 13.7 percent were from Europe, and 8 percent were from other areas of the globe. These different racial groups were an important impetus for the rise and success of the multicultural movement in the United States. While intergroup tensions have grown as more immigrants enter the United States, the influx of diverse groups has also led to larger numbers of interracial marriages and multiracial offspring.

### IMPACT OF LEGALIZATION OF INTERRACIAL MARRIAGE

Before racial intermarriage was legalized throughout the United States with the *Loving v. Virginia* Supreme Court decision, it was very rare and, in fact, was still against the law in sixteen states as of 2007. Since the *Loving* decision in 1967, the number of interracial relationships and marriages has increased dramatically, and there has been a growing acceptance and appreciation of all racial backgrounds, leading to a strong multiracial community. A

“biracial baby boom” has taken place over the decades since the Supreme Court struck down laws against interracial marriage. Between 1970 and 2000, the racial intermarriage rate grew from less than 1 percent to 5 percent of all marriages. According to the Population Reference Bureau, in 1970, only 0.4 percent of married whites were in interracial marriages. In 2000, 3 percent of married whites were married to a person of color. Similarly, the percentage of blacks married to nonblacks moved from 1 percent to 7 percent. In 2006, 16 percent of married Asian Americans in the United States were married to non-Asians and approximately one in four Hispanics/Latinos marry a non-Hispanic/Latino (usually a white person).

In 2000, when people were allowed to choose more than one race on the U.S. Census for the first time, 2.4 percent of the population did so. Moreover, 4 percent of Americans under the age of eighteen indicated a biracial identity. An additional 5.5 percent said they were some “other” race than those listed on the Census form. As American culture has embraced multiculturalism and experienced the biracial baby boom, support groups for interracial couples and their offspring have been formed. In addition, an increasing social acceptance has enabled biracial persons to proclaim both sides of their racial background.

#### DEBATE OVER MULTIRACIAL CATEGORY

Multiracial organizations have led large-scale efforts for the establishment of a multiracial category on official forms of racial demarcation. Many members of interracial unions, and many of the offspring of such unions, have organized effectively to advocate for a “Multiracial” category on the U.S. Census form. Organizations such as Project RACE (Reclassify All Children Equally) maintain that a multiracial designation will make people of mixed racial heritage visible, allow them to acknowledge all parts of their racial heritage, and give them the rights and benefits that other racial minority groups enjoy. For example, groups can only be protected from racial discrimination if the government tracks people by racial category. It is very difficult, if not impossible, to determine the levels of discrimination facing multiracial Americans because of their racial background if there is not an officially designated multiracial category. Members of these organizations have proposed the addition of a multiracial category, with subheadings consisting of all the monoracial categories included on the U.S. Census. Respondents of more than one race would check off “Multiracial” and then check off the racial subcategories that apply to them. This method of racial demarcation allows mixed-racial persons to have a universal racial label—multiracial—while recognizing their unique racial backgrounds.

On the other hand, racial/ethnic advocacy groups such as the Asian American Justice Center (formerly the National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium) and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) have worked to prevent the establishment of a multiracial category. They note that legislative districting and the allocation of federal education and health-care dollars are based on population numbers. They fear that the establishment of a multiracial category will result in their losing members of their own racial/ethnic groupings to the new category, thereby reducing their own political power and allocation of resources.

#### THE COMPROMISE ON CENSUS 2000

The decision to allow people to choose more than one racial box on the 2000 Census was a compromise that enabled respondents to check off as many boxes as they wished, while also allowing officials to group the statistics in ways that satisfy the racial/ethnic advocacy groups that fear a multiracial category will siphon their power. The decision to forego a separate multiracial box but allow people to check off more than one race allows statisticians to count all those who check off two racial groups in the group with the lowest number of respondents. For example, someone who checked off both Black/African American and White would be counted as Black/African American when population figures are determined.

On the other hand, allowing people to check off more than one box also makes it possible to track how many people identify with more than one racial grouping. On the 2000 Census, when people were given the opportunity to identify with more than one race for the first time, 2.4 percent of all Americans did so. Among those who checked off Black/African American, 4.5 percent also checked off another race. While this figure is not necessarily an accurate picture of how many Americans with both a black and a nonblack parent identify as multiracial, it does indicate that the “one drop rule” is beginning to lose its power. The relative youth of the biracial population provides further evidence of this trend. In 2000, the median age of all U.S. residents was thirty-five but the median age of those who checked off both White and Black/African American was just ten.

#### A DEMOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW OF THE BIRACIAL POPULATION

While the word *multiracial* is replacing the term *biracial*, 93 percent of people who checked off more than one race on the 2000 Census checked off only two races. It is also important to remember that the U.S. Census considers Hispanic/Latino an ethnic, rather than a racial, category. Therefore, those Latino Americans categorized as being

from “more than one race” checked off “Hispanic or Latino” plus two or more racial groups. The Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander population was the racial group with the highest number of respondents (54.4 percent) checking off two or more races on the 2000 U.S. Census. They were followed by American Indian and Alaska Native (39.9 percent), Asian (13.9 percent), black or African American (4.8 percent) and White (2.5 percent). However, because two-thirds of Americans are white, most interracial unions consist of a white person and a person of color. Thus, even though white people are least likely to marry outside of their racial group, most biracial Americans have a white parent.

Most biracial Americans live in states with relatively high levels of diversity and metropolitan centers. According to the 2000 Census, 40 percent of biracial persons reside in the West, 27 percent in the South, 18 percent in the Northeast, and 15 percent in the Midwest. The state with the highest percentage of multiracial persons is Hawaii, with 21 percent. In descending order, the other states with above-average biracial populations are Alaska, California, Oklahoma, Arizona, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Washington, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, and Texas. Each of these states has a biracial population greater than the 2.4 percent national average.

#### BIRACIAL AMERICANS IN THE SOCIAL SCIENTIFIC LITERATURE AND POPULAR MEDIA

The literature on biracial Americans before the biracial baby boom that followed the civil rights era was primarily negative, focusing on the problems that biracial Americans might have fitting into a monoracial society. The sociologist Robert Park notes that in this era the biracial individual was often referred to as “marginal,” condemned to live as a “stranger” in “two worlds.” Interracial couples who announced plans to marry were automatically asked “But what about the children?” This question is indicative of the difficulty biracial children faced in a racist society with a one-drop rule.

Since then, however, social science research and popular writing on the topic of biracial Americans has been much more positive. Since the 1990s, most published work on biracial Americans has stressed their ability to bridge racial divides and see both sides of racial issues, indicating an increasing acceptance of multiracial identity in the United States. The question “But what about the children?” has a very positive answer in the early twenty-first century.

The popularity of biracial artistic stars such as the singer Mariah Carey and the mixed-race golfer Tiger Woods has also done much to publicize the benefits of a

multiracial background. As their numbers and presence grow, more and more biracial Americans are questioning the traditional racial hierarchy in the United States and embracing all sides of their racial heritage. This transformation from the one-drop rule to a society in which all aspects of racial heritage are acknowledged and appreciated reveals how definitions of race are continually constructed and reconstructed. Future U.S. Census racial categories will certainly change as the understanding of race continues to evolve and U.S. society becomes more multiracial.

**SEE ALSO** *Affirmative Action; Families.*

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*Kathleen Korgen*

## BIRNEY, JAMES GILLESPIE 1792–1857

James Gillespie Birney was born in Danville, Kentucky, on February 4, 1792. A politician and reformer, Birney was one of the leading abolitionists in the United States, serving as corresponding secretary of the American Anti-Slavery Society (AAS) and twice as the presidential candidate of the abolitionist Liberty Party.

The son of a southern slaveholder, Birney graduated from the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University) in 1810, and later he privately studied law. Upon returning home to Kentucky in 1814, he was elected to the town council of Danville, and then to the state legislature in 1816. In that same year, Birney acquired his first slaves. In 1818 Birney moved to Alabama



Territory, where by 1821 he had a total of 43 slaves. Although not a delegate, he played an important behind-the-scenes role in the writing of Alabama's first state constitution, and served in Alabama's first state legislature in 1819.

However, Birney soon experienced a crisis that changed his life. Business reverses, crop failures, gambling debts, and extravagant spending brought him to financial ruin. These problems and the death of a daughter led to alcohol abuse. After selling most of his slaves, he moved to Huntsville, Alabama, to practice law and serve as a state attorney from 1823 to 1827. Birney ultimately found solace in religion. He joined the Presbyterian Church in 1826 and quickly became a zealous convert and moral reformer. He was elected to Huntsville's Board of Aldermen in 1828, and he became mayor of the city in 1829. Birney served in both positions until 1830, pursuing a controversial reformist agenda of securing free public education and a municipal temperance ordinance.

Increasingly, however, Birney focused on the problem of slavery. He had long held mildly antislavery views, claiming that slavery was a great economic, social, and moral evil that did much harm to the nation. He saw slavery as a necessary evil, however, one that would have to be borne with patience until some practical plan of emancipation could be found. As a politician, Birney tried to soften the laws of slavery in Kentucky and Alabama. After his religious conversion, Birney increasingly supported African colonization, the plan to resettle American blacks in Africa. Birney hoped this plan would encourage slaveholders to free their slaves, while also removing African Americans to a place where—freed from the limitations imposed by racism—they could achieve success. In 1832 and 1833, Birney served as a full-time agent for the American Colonization Society, promoting the cause in several southern states.

After returning to Kentucky in 1833 to be near his aged father, Birney initially continued his work of promoting gradual abolition and colonization. Yet he had increasing doubts about colonization, a logistically complex and expensive plan that had so far stirred little genuine support from slaveholders, except from those who believed colonization might actually strengthen, rather than weaken, slavery. Colonization or any other plan of gradual emancipation now seemed fundamentally flawed to Birney, who saw that gradualism failed to condemn slavery—and the selfishness and prejudice that undergirded it—as immoral.

Encouraged by his antislavery friend Theodore Dwight Weld, the now well-known and highly regarded Birney shocked the South in 1834 by publicly denouncing slavery as sin and calling for its immediate abolition. He underscored the sincerity of his conversion by freeing

his own slaves and paying them back wages. Birney went even further in 1835, when he announced his intention of publishing an abolitionist newspaper, the *Philanthropist*, in his hometown of Danville. Threats of mob violence against him soon forced Birney to move to Cincinnati, Ohio, for his physical safety. There he finally established the *Philanthropist* in January 1836, under the sponsorship of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society. In July 1836, a mob attacked the publication's offices as well as Cincinnati's African American community. Birney, however, persevered and quickly resumed publishing the *Philanthropist*.

By 1836, Birney's nationally publicized conversion from slaveholder to abolitionist and his heroic defense of freedom of the press made him arguably the most universally respected and admired figure among the abolitionists. For this reason, as well as for his legal training and long experience as a professional reformer, Birney was appointed corresponding secretary of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1837.

At a time of growing factionalism among the abolitionists, it was hoped that this widely admired figure could be a peacemaker and unifier. Instead, Birney became entangled in growing controversies regarding the role of women and political action in the abolitionist movement. A born and bred southern gentleman, Birney was too cautious to breach the gender line by supporting leadership roles for women, and he feared that radical positions on side issues like women's rights and nonresistance might alienate potential supporters. Birney, therefore, sided with Lewis Tappan and others who fought against the radical followers of William Lloyd Garrison, trying unsuccessfully to limit the role of women in the AAS. After the Garrisonians gained control of the AAS in 1840, Birney withdrew from the organization and increasingly concentrated on abolitionist political activity.

Although he initially opposed the formation of an abolitionist third party, believing that it would be more practical to convert one of the two major parties to anti-slavery, Birney allowed himself to be nominated for the presidency by the newly formed Liberty Party in 1840. Birney's candidacy in 1840 was largely symbolic; he did not bother to set up a campaign organization and was in England attending the World Antislavery Convention for virtually the entire period between his nomination and the election. Not surprisingly, he won only about 7,000 votes. Upon returning to the United States, Birney moved to the Michigan frontier, hoping to find opportunities to improve his family's financial circumstances.

In 1844, Birney ran as the Liberty Party candidate for a second time and waged a much more vigorous campaign, speaking throughout the northeastern states in opposition to the candidates of the two major parties, the Democratic

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expansionist candidate, James K. Polk, and the Whig candidate, Henry Clay. In a campaign dominated by the issue of Texas annexation, thousands of abolitionist Whigs shifted their votes to Birney when Clay softened his earlier opposition to annexation. Although observers at the time believed this defection cost Clay the election, many modern historians have cast doubt on this idea.

Birney anticipated running again in 1848, but a stroke in August 1845 virtually ended his political career. He continued to write antislavery articles and pamphlets, and he also tried to influence Liberty Party politics. He opposed, unsuccessfully, the merger of the party with the Conscience Whigs and Democratic Barnburners to create the Free-Soil Party in 1848. In 1853 Birney retired to a utopian community, the Raritan Bay Union, in Eagleswood, New Jersey, where he died on November 25, 1857.

SEE ALSO *Abolition Movement; American Colonization Society and the Founding of Liberia; Garrison, William Lloyd.*

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Harold D. Tallant

## BIRTH OF A NATION, THE

African Americans were concerned about race and racism in the motion picture industry from its inception. The negative portraits of blacks on film resulted from popularly held, romantic beliefs in the white community about blacks and black lifestyles as depicted in historical and contemporary literature and personal accounts about the old plantation and happy, faithful slaves. Film is a powerful medium, and any study of race and racism must examine the impact of negative motion picture images of blacks on the larger community, because images carry ideas, and in the social construction of race, ideas are of supreme importance.

### THE HISTORICAL BACKDROP

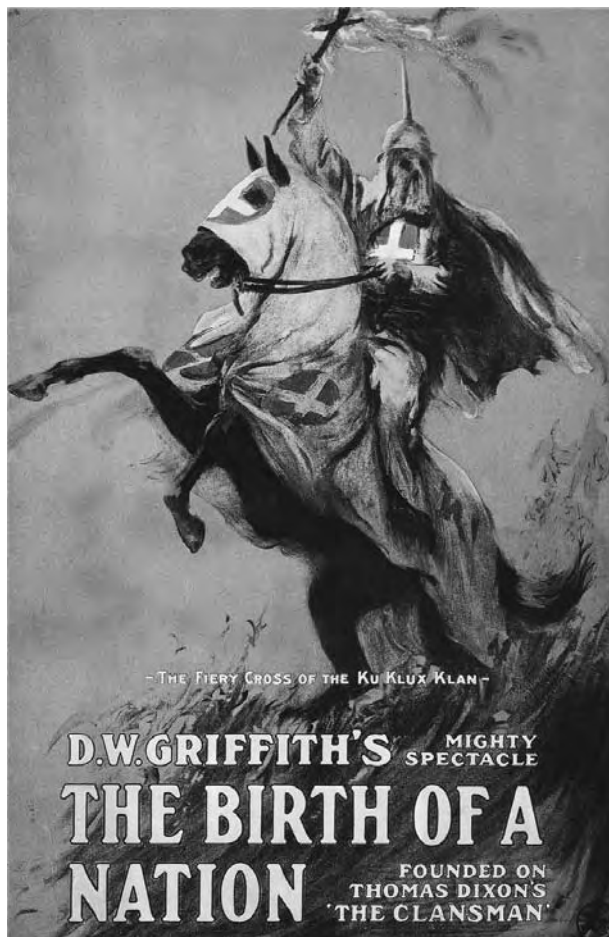
The Progressive Era, which spawned the motion picture industry toward the beginning of the twentieth century, coincided with a period of great technological advancement that resulted in more leisure time for many urban

people. The opportunity to provide recreation and entertainment for Americans became a significant endeavor. Late in the nineteenth century baseball had become a national pastime; vaudeville and blackface minstrelsy were popular forms of entertainment, as was ragtime music after the black pianist and composer Scott Joplin appeared in concert at the Chicago World's Fair in 1893; and the old and the young, black and white, working and middle classes enjoyed such leisurely activities as attending amusement parks and circuses. Eventually, however, going to the movies would be one of the most fascinating and popular forms of entertainment, and the images one saw created a lasting impression.

From the time that new technology made possible the creation of moving pictures and their projection on a screen, the images of African Americans on film were pejorative caricatures that presented them as lazy, stupid, happy-go-lucky, watermelon-eating, thieving "darkies." For example, a few seconds of footage from an early Thomas Edison film (c. 1896) simply presented blacks as chicken thieves. Many of these early films had suggestive and derogatory titles such as *The Wooing and Wedding of a Coon* (1905) and *A Nigger in a Woodpile* (1904). Nevertheless, none had the same political or social impact as a single, racist, entertainment film that David Wark Griffith (known as D. W. Griffith) would make.

Filmmaker Griffith was born in Floyd's Fork (now Crestwood), Kentucky, in 1875. His father was a Confederate officer during the Civil War and was among the many politically disaffected whites who blamed Radical Reconstruction for their plight. Griffith grew up in an environment where white carpetbaggers (white Northerners who sided with blacks during Reconstruction) and scalawags (white Southerners who cooperated with both) were viewed with contempt and distrust. African Americans, especially in the South, were seen as inferior people who required the guiding hand of the civilized white man to prevent their further degeneration into uncontrollable savagery.

The historical and other literature of the time confirmed these racist beliefs for Griffith. As early as 1873, James S. Pike published *The Prostrate State* in which he denigrates black legislators elected during Reconstruction. Pike contends that they were ignorant and incompetent and were in power only through a conspiracy with President Ulysses S. Grant to punish white Southerners. Respected historians such as James Ford Rhodes and William Archibald Dunning accepted the view that blacks were inferior. In 1907 Dunning published a critical study on Radical Republicanism in the South titled *Reconstruction* in which he accuses blacks in state legislatures of being corrupt, irresponsible, and incapable of governing. Dunning, a professor at Columbia University, taught and mentored many white students from the South, who in turn



**Poster for *The Birth of a Nation*.** A hooded member of the Ku Klux Klan strikes a heroic pose in this American poster of Griffith's film. Also highlighted is the source material, Thomas Dixon's novel *The Clansman*. THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK.

published a variety of historical monographs that castigated the North for forcing Radical Reconstruction on the South and placing despicable, uneducated, and corrupt blacks in control of the political system. These studies formed what was called the Dunning school of Reconstruction interpretation, which became the standard and accepted view of Reconstruction for nearly half a century.

While this historical literature would provide Griffith with what he believed was a factual background for his views on blacks, his film was an adaptation of Thomas Dixon's racist novel *The Clansman* (1905). This novel, along with *The Leopard's Spots* (1902) and *The Traitor* (1907), comprised a trilogy that Dixon wrote romanticizing the Ku Klux Klan as the savior of whites in the South from bestial blacks who, unchecked, would eventually destroy white civilization through miscegenation. Dixon, a fervent racist and ordained minister, asserted that his

novels were based on the truth, and they were advertised as such. These novels were very popular and had a significant impact in many white communities. White Americans in general believed that these powerful antiblack images were true, particularly that oversexed black men lusted for white women and that it was the duty of the Klan to protect their women. Ignored was the fact that at this time it was expected that white men would have sexual relations with their black domestics as a teenage rite of passage.

Indeed, from the 1880s forward black sexuality and white female virtue were at the center of the ghastly and barbaric practice of lynching. For white males, cross-racial sex was a mark of "manhood"; for black males, the same action mandated as gruesome a death as possible. Any cross-racial sexual encounter by black males was interpreted as "assault" or rape requiring vigilante vengeance, the intention of either party being irrelevant. The infamous Atlanta Race Riot of 1906 provides an example.

In September 1906 the *Atlanta News* published several editions detailing alleged violent sexual attacks against white women committed by blacks. Immediately, white mobs gathered and began to roam the streets beating and assaulting random blacks. A full-scale riot ensued that left twenty-five blacks and two whites dead. An investigation by a Northern journalist showed that a play based on Dixon's novel, *The Clansman*, had been presented in Atlanta just prior to the riot and that it helped to exacerbate antiblack feeling among white Atlantans.

#### THE FILM'S PORTRAYALS AND PLOTLINES

In 1915, eight years after the Atlanta riot, Griffith made and released perhaps the most controversial film of the twentieth century, *The Birth of a Nation*. Griffith used innovative cinematic techniques including fade-outs, close-ups, parallel action shots, elaborate costuming, high-angle panoramic shots, and realistic battlefield scenes to tell an emotional and compelling story in an epic and spectacular manner. In deference to Southern sensibilities, he used white actors in blackface to portray black characters that came into close contact with or touched white actors and actresses. Real blacks had only small roles in the film. *Birth* was a message film designed to stigmatize blacks in the most offensive way. It was clear that images in motion pictures could be used for more than just entertainment and that their potential use as propaganda was unlimited.

Thematically, *Birth* was a relentless attack against Radical Reconstruction and a glorification of the pre-Civil War South. In Griffith's South, Northern carpetbaggers and Southern blacks were the villains, and those whites who upheld traditional Southern values, including keeping black people in their place, were the heroes. The film glorified racial vigilantism, lynching, Jim Crow segregation,

and the Ku Klux Klan. It helped to revive the Klan; it rationalized lynching in the interest of protecting the virtue of white women; it incited rioting and prompted protests; it helped to launch the race movie industry; it gave credence to a school of historiography that claimed that Radical Reconstruction was a failure; and it received an official stamp of approval from the president of the United States. Dixon, who knew President Woodrow Wilson from their college days at Columbia University, persuaded the president to have a special showing of *Birth* at the White House. After the screening in the company of his daughters, Wilson described the film as akin to seeing history “written with lightning” and claimed it was a true account of Reconstruction.

Griffith’s epic film traces the impact of the Civil War, Radical Reconstruction, and Redemption on the citizens of Piedmont, South Carolina, through the eyes of two families, the Camerons, who live in Piedmont, and the Stonemans of Pennsylvania. Austin Stoneman is the powerful leader of the Radical Republicans, but his sons have known the Camerons since the romantic days of the idyllic antebellum South. Prior to the Civil War, Dr. Cameron and his family are depicted as being kind and caring toward their slaves. The slaves in turn, are portrayed as happy-go-lucky Negroes who just love picking cotton for the master. In fact, everyone on the Cameron plantation is happy because all understand and are satisfied with the social order. Griffith creates an environment where benevolent paternalism assures that conflicts are minimized. As the Civil War begins, the Stonemans and the Camerons find themselves on the opposite sides of abolitionism.

To show that many Northerners supported the Southern view of blacks, Griffith has the Stonemans arriving in Piedmont as carpetbaggers. However, they soon come to sympathize with the plight of the Camerons and Southerners whose lives had been disrupted and whose society had been thrown into turmoil under the leadership of Radical Republicans and incompetent, ignorant, and bestial blacks and Mulattoes who came to control state legislatures in the South. Griffith shows the idyllic Piedmont under siege by carpetbaggers and newly freed, sex-crazed, and uppity blacks. Disorder and chaos reign in Piedmont as disobedient ex-slaves roam the streets mistreating, disenfranchising, and disrespecting whites while the fields lay fallow because the ex-slaves refuse to work. They are more interested in dancing, singing, and mocking the good white citizens of Piedmont. The blacks who are elected to the state legislature are shown as incompetent and arrogant. In addition, they show no respect for the legislative process and are more interested in eating fried chicken, drinking, and resting their tired feet on their statehouse desks.

*Birth* addresses the theme of interracial sexual contact in a manner consistent with the view that miscegenation would

destroy white civilization. The film’s characters Gus, an uppity black, and Silas Lynch, a Mulatto, are depicted as aggressive, oversexed, and savage in their lust for white women. Lynch’s status as a Mulatto suggests that any amount of black blood, no matter how small, would be enough to pollute the bloodline of whites. Lynch’s greatest desire is to force Elsie Stoneman, the daughter of Republican Austin Stoneman, to marry him. Lynch and Gus symbolize and conjure up a once deeply held and persistent fear in white America—that every black man wants a sexual relationship with a white woman. Thus, Gus, in a lustful rage, chases the young Flora Cameron through a wood trying to convince her to marry him, but rather than submitting to his sexual advances, she hurls herself over a cliff. This unites the Camerons and the Stonemans, and even the great abolitionist Austin Stoneman comes into the Southern fold when he learns that his appointee, the Mulatto Lynch, wants to marry his daughter Elsie, who is in love with Colonel Ben Cameron, the last of the Cameron sons.

The film ends with members of the Cameron and Stoneman families having survived a siege in a local cabin where they were hiding from black renegades. Ben forms the local Klan into a fighting force, and they confront and defeat blacks in what is, essentially, a race war. They rescue Piedmont and its white citizens from the control of blacks and carpetbaggers and reestablish social order under white leadership. The triumphant Klan and the Camerons and Stonemans ride into Piedmont as heroes and prepare for the marriage of Phil Stoneman to Margaret Cameron, and the marriage of Elsie Stoneman to Ben Cameron. Griffith uses the last scene to show that Southern and Northern whites must unite to keep blacks in their place. It is only when the Stonemans see firsthand the depraved nature of black males that they come to understand that they have been misguided in their belief that blacks could ever be the equal of whites.

#### IMPACT AND RESPONSES

Most historians believe that *Birth* played a role in the reemergence of an even more powerful Klan after the film was released in 1915. William J. Simmons, a flamboyant white supremacist, chose the opening of the film in Atlanta, Georgia, to announce the rebirth of the new Klan. Simmons proclaimed himself the Imperial Wizard of the Invisible Empire of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. He cloaked the organization in the fabric of 100 percent Americanism and laid down the gauntlet to Jews, Catholics, *niggers*, and foreigners, saying that the Klan would do whatever was necessary to protect the American way of life. This meant, of course, that only white Anglo-Saxon Protestants would receive protection. Simmons would often parade around with several weapons to showcase his readiness to confront America’s enemies.



**The Birth of a Nation.** Actors costumed in the full regalia of the Ku Klux Klan hold down a white character in blackface in a still from director D.W. Griffith's 1915 movie. The film, while praised for its use of pioneering film techniques, presents a racist, white-supremacist view of American history, particularly the period of Reconstruction. It caused riots in many cities when it was released. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES.

The release of the film occurred as thousands of blacks were migrating to the North, and it was easy to transfer the antiblack message in the film to Jews and Catholics and the hundreds of thousands of eastern and southern European immigrants who were coming to the United States. In fact, in Atlanta during the late summer of 1915, two weeks before *Birth* was shown, a mob of armed men lynched and mutilated the body of Leo Frank, a Jewish American, who had been tried and convicted, on specious evidence, of killing Mary Phagan, a thirteen-year-old white girl. *Birth* served to encourage this kind of mob mentality.

Insofar as blacks were concerned, *Birth's* impact was pervasive. Threats of rioting were associated with its release, but some of the most destructive race riots in the nation's history occurred in Northern cities only a few years later, in 1919. The film echoed America's violent racial history, the roots of the Ku Klux Klan dating back to the late 1860s. From the beginning of the twentieth century to the 1920s, the Klan had grown from a few thousand members to well

over 100,000, and continued to grow throughout the country, virtually controlling the state of Indiana in the 1930s. Ironically, the white terrorist organizations that emerged during Reconstruction after the Civil War were concerned only about the political restoration of the Old South. Organizations such as the Klan, the Knights of the White Camellia, the White Brotherhood, the Pale Faces, and others wanted to disrupt radical rule and redeem the South from the clutches of what they contended were incompetent blacks, Northern carpetbaggers, and traitorous scalawags. During the period from 1867 to 1871, terrorists in secret societies flogged, lynched, shot, and murdered Republicans and their black and white supporters. Finally, the escalating violence and near anarchy in the South compelled the U.S. Congress to pass the Ku Klux Klan Act of 1871, which imposed heavy fines and jail sentences on those convicted in federal courts of terrorist acts. When President Rutherford B. Hayes withdrew the last of the federal troops from the South in 1877, and the Southern Democrats gained control, participation in secret

## Birth of a Nation, The

organizations began to decline. The Klan and other secret societies were never a major problem in the North until the Progressive Era.

The nascent National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), which black and white progressives had created in 1909, organized one of its first biracial protests as a result of *Birth*. It published a pamphlet titled *Fighting a Vicious Film: Protest against The Birth of a Nation*, calling the film filth. The NAACP moved quickly to prevent the film from being shown in cities across the nation. Their protests resulted in the banning of the film in Chicago, Denver, Pittsburgh, and St. Louis and the editing out of some of the most offensive sequences, specifically, the attempted sexual assault scene and also scenes recommending that all blacks be shipped to Africa, when the film premiered in Boston. Much to the organization's dismay, however, the NAACP's response raised the issue of censorship, and this alienated the support of some progressives and liberals. In addition, the more the NAACP protested, the more publicity the film received and the more popular it became. In New York City, moviegoers bought more than three million tickets over several months to see the film. In Atlanta, thousands of Klansmen paraded through the streets to celebrate the opening of the film in 1915. By 1920, *Birth* had grossed more than \$60 million. It was the first film treated as a major cultural event, with theaters charging an unprecedented two dollars per ticket.

Changing its tactics, the NAACP decided to make a film relating to the positive contributions of African Americans to American society. In 1915 Mary White Ovington, one of the founding members of the NAACP, approached Universal Studios about making the film. Universal was wary about undertaking such a controversial project, and because financial backing was minimal, the idea died. However, Booker T. Washington and his assistant Emmett J. Scott were also interested in making a film similar to what the NAACP had proposed. They wanted to make a film that would portray African Americans in a more positive manner from the Civil War through World War I. Scott organized and developed the project and John W. Noble and Rudolph De Cordova wrote and directed a film initially titled *Lincoln's Dream* but eventually released as *Birth of a Race* (1918). What was to have been a short film turned into a much longer one that took more than three years to complete at a cost of approximately \$500,000. The film was shot in Chicago, Illinois, New York, and Florida but inclement weather, inexperienced production crews, poorly designed sets, and financial problems hampered its completion. The final film was about three hours long but was reedited after an initial screening to sixty minutes. *Race* was neither a financial nor an artistic success when Scott released the film in 1919. Many blacks liked the film, but critics questioned the historical accuracy of the film and complained about its sexual content and violence. Scott had attempted, unsuccessful-

fully, to replicate what Griffith had accomplished, but in a manner more favorable to blacks. It appears that a non-fiction film would have been more appropriate for what Scott wanted to achieve, but, unfortunately, the documentary format had not yet become a film genre.

While *Race* was not a successful film venture, it did encourage other African Americans to make their own films that would present blacks as normal human beings unlike the black caricatures so pervasive in *Birth*. In 1916 the Johnson brothers, George and Noble, founded the Lincoln Motion Picture Company, one of the first black film companies, and produced and released two films, *The Realization of a Negro's Ambition* (1916) and *Trooper of Troop K* (1916). The Lincoln Company was short-lived and produced only a few films, but black film companies such as Ebony Pictures, The Birth of a Race Company, and others quickly joined the filmmaking fray.

In retrospect, the Johnson brothers may well have been more successful had they agreed to work on an Oscar Micheaux film project. Micheaux was an enterprising black entrepreneur and writer who started the Western Book Supply Company as an outlet to publish his books. George Johnson read one of his novels, *The Homesteader* (1917), which was about the difficulties of a black farmer and wanted to make a film based on the book. Micheaux agreed, but only if he could direct the film. In addition, he disagreed with Johnson about the location and length of the film, and the deal was never consummated. Micheaux returned to his home in Sioux City, South Dakota, and reorganized his company into the Micheaux Film and Book Company and, in time, would become the most important of the independent black filmmakers who made what became known as "race" films. Two of Micheaux's best-known films, *Within Our Gates* (1920) and *The Symbol of the Unconquered* (1920), as well as several of his other films, concern interracial marriage and sexual contact, lynching, and the Ku Klux Klan, but from a black perspective. These films directly challenge many of the views on blacks set forth in *Birth*.

One need not accept a single premise or theme in *The Birth of a Nation* to understand why it is one of the most important films in the history of cinema. It literally changed the way films were made. For good or bad, feature films with a message attempted to persuade the audience to accept a specific point of view, and *Birth* was the first film in this genre to have such a pervasive impact on American society. Unfortunately, it created black phenotypes and genotypes in film consisting of coons, toms, Mulattoes, mammies, and bucks that have persisted and that refuse to die easily. Even in the early twenty-first century, *Birth* generates heated discussion, much of it involving the balance between artistic creative freedom and social responsibility. The film gave the movies its technical vocabulary, but it also gave comfort to the racism that continues to

besmirch America's social life. In the meantime, Griffith died in 1948, having made and lost a fortune trying and failing to replicate the financial success of *Birth*. Two years earlier, Dixon had died a wealthy man from monies he made and kept as a result of his one-fourth financial interest in *Birth*.

SEE ALSO *Black Reconstruction; Ku Klux Klan; NAACP; NAACP: Legal Actions, 1935-1955.*

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Donald Roe

## BLACK CIVIL WAR SOLDIERS

The service of black soldiers in the Union army during the American Civil War (1861-1865) represents one of the most dramatic episodes in African-American history. Over a short time period, black men went from being powerless chattel to being part of a liberating army, helping to free nearly four million slaves from bondage. Yet their experience was not entirely positive. Their services as soldiers were initially refused, and they had to fight for the right to fight. Even when the Union army did accept them, black men had to serve in segregated units under the command of white officers. The federal government also tried to pay African Americans less than white soldiers, and it subjected them to other humiliating forms of discrimination and ill treatment. Nonetheless, black soldiers served loyally and proved their worth in battle, winning the grudging admiration of even their Confederate enemies and a permanent place in the post-war U.S. Army.

The service of black soldiers seemed unlikely at the beginning of the Civil War. White Northerners and Southerners alike were of the opinion that the conflict would be a war for white men only. In part, the resistance to black soldiers was the result of racist beliefs that African Americans were mentally and temperamentally unsuited for military service. Whites accepted this myth in spite of the participation of black men in the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812, and African Americans were turned away in both the Union and the Confederate ranks. However, resistance to black military service also stemmed from conceptions of citizenship in the nineteenth-century. At the time, Americans tended to see citizenship as not only bestowing rights, but also entailing duties—the foremost of which was military service. If black men were allowed to serve, they would have a strong argument for claiming citizenship rights, having borne the most onerous obligation of citizenship.

Black leaders were keenly aware of this connection between citizenship and military service. Frederick Douglass famously told an audience in July 1863, "Once let the black man get upon his person the brass letters U.S.; let him get an eagle on his button, and a musket on his shoulder, and bullets in his pocket, and there is no power on earth or under the earth which can deny that

he has earned the right of citizenship in the United States” (Foner 1999, p. 536). This belief helps explain the later presence of Frederick Douglass and other African-American leaders at the forefront of Union recruitment efforts in free black communities. In addition to Douglass, prominent leaders such as Henry Highland Garnet, William Wells Brown, Martin R. Delany, and George T. Downing recruited literally thousands of young blacks for the Union army in the hope that their service would help transform the struggle into one that would free the slaves and bring African Americans equal rights in a transformed and redeemed republic.

Some white persons shared the aspirations of black Americans. Army officers and politicians with abolitionist sentiments, dissenting from racism and the apathy toward slavery in the North, saw black enlistment as a way to undermine slavery and bolster postwar claims of African Americans for citizenship, and so they sought to organize black military units without the blessing of the federal government. James H. Lane, a Kansas abolitionist turned U.S. senator, organized the first all-black unit in the Union army, the Kansas Colored Regiment, in July 1862. General John W. Phelps, in the Department of the Gulf in Louisiana, and General David Hunter, in the Sea Islands region of South Carolina and Georgia, also recruited African Americans for military service shortly thereafter. None of these men had the authority to recruit black soldiers, however, but they hoped to force the hand of President Abraham Lincoln and the War Department to accept black soldiers by presenting their presence as a fait accompli.

The Lincoln administration disavowed the activities of Lane, Phelps, and Hunter as unauthorized and premature. Until September 1862, Lincoln was reluctant to take any action that might alienate slaveholders in the loyal border states and in areas of the Confederacy under Union occupation. During the fall of 1862, however, Lincoln was reaching the conclusion that black soldiers in the Union army were a military necessity. Congress pushed the President in this direction by passing the Militia Act of July 1862. This law authorized the recruitment of “persons of African descent” for “any military or naval service for which they may be found competent.”

With the legal obstacles and executive resistance to black recruitment melting away, other Northern leaders began organizing black regiments in the fall of 1862. Governor John A. Andrew of Massachusetts had long favored black enlistment in the Union army, and that autumn he organized the 54th Massachusetts Infantry, recruiting African Americans not only in Massachusetts but throughout the North. In the wake of the Battle of Baton Rouge, Louisiana, where Confederate forces had seriously called into question Union control of the state, General Benjamin

F. Butler began recruiting three “Native Guards” regiments to bolster his forces. The Native Guards, drawn from New Orleans’ free elite, were especially notable because initially many of their officers were of African descent. Both the 54th Massachusetts and the Louisiana Native Guards would achieve lasting fame by becoming the first African-American units to see combat in the Civil War. The 54th would bravely assault Fort Wagner, South Carolina, outside of Charleston in July 1863; and the Native Guards would go into battle even earlier, at Port Hudson (May 1863) and Milliken’s Bend (June 1863) in Louisiana.

The success of black soldiers at Fort Wagner, Port Hudson, and Milliken’s Bend, and the insatiable need of the Union army for fresh soldiers, encouraged the large-scale enlistment of African Americans. President Lincoln gave his blessing to the effort in his final Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863. Union recruiters fanned out across the North, the border states, and the Union-occupied South. They found thousands of willing black men, eager to enlist to help liberate their race from bondage. Some recruiters, however, were not above using trickery or coercion when African-American recruits were not immediately forthcoming. With tens of thousands of black men pouring into Union ranks, it became necessary to regularize the administrative supervision of black troops. In May 1863, the War Department organized the Bureau of Colored Troops. It also reorganized existing black regiments as federalized units (except for the Massachusetts and Connecticut black regiments). By war’s end, the United States Colored Troops (USCT) consisted of 163 regiments (mostly infantry, but there were also cavalry and artillery units), and federal statistics indicate that 178,975 black men served in the Union army during the Civil War. In addition, some 18,000 black men joined the U.S. Navy.

With few exceptions, soldiers in the USCT served under white officers. The War Department was extremely reluctant to commission African Americans as officers, and few if any white soldiers or officers were willing to place themselves in a position where they would be required to take orders from a black man. During the war, qualified African Americans sometimes received commissions as chaplain or surgeon, which left them outside of the chain of command.

Of course, the Louisiana Native Guards were a significant exception, because they were organized with African-American officers. General Butler, a former Democratic congressman from Massachusetts, was in charge of Union-occupied New Orleans. He was impressed with the intelligence and refinement of the city’s free colored elite, and he shrewdly recognized that the promise of commissions would make leading men in that community energetic recruiters. Consequently, the Native Guards regiments were





*Civil War “Contrabands.” Throughout the war, fugitive slaves sought protection behind Union lines. Those that stayed under U.S. protection were termed “contrabands of war.” The seven former slaves shown here are dressed in old Union uniforms.*  
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quickly filled, and Butler came through with the promised commissions. These black officers led the Native Guard regiments into their initial battles, assaulting Port Hudson some thirty miles above Baton Rouge and blocking Confederate movement from the west at Milliken’s Bend. Black troops performed heroically at each location.

Yet despite their success as combat leaders, Butler’s successor, Nathaniel Banks, made a determined, and ultimately successful, effort to purge African-American officers from the Native Guards. Banks encouraged white soldiers to defy African-American officers. He also ordered black officers to appear before qualifying boards, a humiliating requirement for men who had already proven themselves as leaders. A Native Guard officer who resigned as a result said he did so “because daily events demonstrate that prejudices are so strong against Colored Officers that no matter what be their patriotism and their anxiety to fight for the flag of their native Land, they cannot do it with honor to themselves” (Berlin et al 1982, p. 327).

Outside of Louisiana, the struggle for black men was not to keep commissions, but rather to obtain them in the first place. Leading noncommissioned officers in the Massachusetts 54th and 55th Infantry, drawn from the cream of the prewar African-American community in the North, were eager to join the ranks of commissioned officers. They had a powerful ally in Governor Andrew. In March 1864, he commissioned Stephen A. Swails, a light-skinned sergeant in the 54th Massachusetts, as a lieutenant. However, neither Swails nor any of the other six other men commissioned by Andrew were able to exercise their promotions because the War Department refused to discharge them as enlisted men, a necessary preliminary step to taking up an officer’s commission. It was not until early 1865 that the War Department reversed this position, and only Swails received his commission before the war’s end. During the war itself, most black commissioned officers were recruiters, physicians, or chaplains, activities that did not involve commanding anyone.

A small number of African Americans received commissions in the aftermath of the war. For example, O.S.B. Wall was commissioned as a captain, and Martin Delaney was made a major. Both men served with the Freedmen's Bureau after a short stint with the 104th U.S. Colored Infantry. All told, including the Native Guard regiments, non-line officers, and men commissioned near the end of the war, about 100 African Americans served as officers during the Civil War.

Far more troubling to black soldiers than the lack of officers' commissions for African Americans was the matter of unequal pay. Black men recruited in 1862 and early 1863 had often enlisted with the promise that they would receive the same pay and allowances as white Union soldiers (\$13 per month, with an additional \$3.50 allowance per month for clothing). In June 1863, however, the War Department decided that the pay of black soldiers was covered under the 1862 Militia Act, which fixed the pay of African Americans working for the government at \$10 per month, regardless of their type of employment. Then, adding insult to injury, the War Department determined \$3 per month would be deducted for clothing, leaving black soldiers with only \$7 per month, regardless of rank. (Normally, higher enlisted ranks above corporal received more pay.)

African-American troops were outraged by this decision. Not only did it make it harder for black soldiers to support their families, it was also an insult to their manhood. In the 54th Massachusetts Infantry, black soldiers refused to accept their pay until they were paid the same as white soldiers. They even declined an offer from Governor Andrew to use state funds to make up the difference in pay. Clearly, the men of the 54th were concerned about the black soldiers outside of Massachusetts who would not have their pay differential covered by a sympathetic state government. In addition, accepting Andrew's offer would compromise the principle of equal pay for all Union soldiers. Seeing the racist intent of the War Department in offering unequal pay, they made a resolute and principled stand, at considerable hardship to themselves and their families.

Yet the reaction of the men of the 54th Massachusetts was restrained compared to black soldiers in South Carolina. In November 1863, a company of the 3rd South Carolina Volunteers (later the 21st U.S. Colored Infantry), led by Sergeant William Walker, stacked their arms and refused to continue serving until their pay was equalized with those of white men. This action constituted mutiny in the eyes of federal authorities, and Colonel Augustus G. Bennett, despite being sympathetic to his men's plight, had Walker arrested when he refused to lead his men back to duty. Walker was convicted of mutiny, and he was executed by firing squad in front of the regiment on Feb-

ruary 29, 1864. Upon hearing of Walker's death, Governor Andrew declared that "the Government which found no law to pay him except as a non-descript or a contraband, nevertheless found law enough to shoot him as a soldier" (Trudeau 1998, p.254).

The actions of the 54th Massachusetts and the 3rd South Carolina brought the unequal pay controversy to the attention of the Northern public. Nowhere else was racial discrimination so blatant, quantifiable, and demonstrably unfair. Finally, in June 1864, Congress passed legislation equalizing pay retroactively to Jan. 1, 1864. Later, Congress equalized pay for free blacks back to the time of their enlistment, and subsequent administrative action by Attorney General Edward Bates effectively did the same for African-American soldiers who had enlisted in the Union army straight out of slavery.

The unequal pay issue politicized black troops to a degree neither they nor anyone else could have anticipated before the war. In protesting the pay inequity, they learned political skills such as organizing, formulating arguments, wooing allies, and petitioning higher authority for redress of grievances. They thus came to realize their political power, which they would continue to exercise in the postwar period.

These soldiers would also discover their power in the execution of their military duties. As previously indicated, African-American soldiers saw their baptism in blood in the late spring and summer of 1863. Their contributions in battle disproved the racist ideas that African Americans were cowardly by nature and lacked either the discipline or intelligence to succeed in combat. Yet such notions died hard, and the use of black soldiers in battle was largely limited to units from states that pressed for them to be used in combat, or in places where military commanders were willing to employ them or could not dispense with their services. Nevertheless, as a practical matter, the significant use of black soldiers in battle during the Civil War is indicated by the fact that these soldiers took part in 39 significant battles and 419 skirmishes, even though they did indeed have disproportionate fatigue, picket, and garrison duties.

Casualty statistics bear out the reality that racism played a role in the use of black troops. Of the 300,000 Union dead of all causes, 90,638 whites were killed in battle or as a result of wounds, compared to 7,189 blacks killed in battle or as a result of wounds. Figures compiled by Frederick H. Dyer (in *A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion*, Vol. 1) show that a total of 36,847 black men died in Union service, or about one in five of the 178,975 that enlisted in the USCT. Yet 29,658 of these men died of disease rather than from combat-related causes, constituting more than 80 percent of all black

deaths in the Union army. While the majority of white soldiers also died of disease, only about 60 percent did so.

Although black troops fought in many engagements in Grant's yearlong effort to crush Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia, their most prominent moment arguably came in July 1864 at the Battle of the Crater. This engagement occurred early in Grant's siege of Petersburg, Virginia. Union troops dug a mine below the Confederate trenches, hoping to literally blast a hole in the Southern defense. Black troops were initially supposed to lead the charge once Union engineers exploded four tons of gunpowder charges in the mine, but General Grant decided he could not use them for this purpose because he feared he would be criticized for using African Americans as cannon fodder.

As it turned out, casualties were high anyway among African-American troops at the Crater, because both they and the white troops leading the assault plunged into the crater caused by the explosion, rather than following its edges through to the Confederate rear. Many found themselves unable to climb out of the crater and exposed to deadly Confederate fire. Like many other battles involving black troops in the Civil War, black troops fought bravely but were poorly used by white commanders who put them into essentially impossible tactical situations.

That African-American soldiers fought bravely nonetheless speaks to their recognition that even when they fought in a failing effort, they were showing manly fortitude and could win a moral victory. This courage and determination won them the admiration of their white officers and soldiers, and of members of the Northern public who read about their exploits in the paper. By the end of the war, the army had recognized their valor by awarding black soldiers many decorations, including sixteen Congressional Medals of Honor.

Yet the reality was that most black troops in the Union Army saw little or no combat. Many Union commanders could not overcome their own racism sufficiently to trust African Americans in combat, and they chose to utilize them only for labor or garrison duty, thus freeing up white soldiers for battle. For example, William Tecumseh Sherman refused to use black troops directly in his 1864-1865 campaign in Georgia and Carolinas, except for "Pioneer" units that were used to build roads. He detailed most black units under his command to labor and garrison duty guarding his rear, or to units of General George H. Thomas's Army of the Cumberland (with whom black troops did see combat at Franklin and Nashville).

Yet despite this racism, black soldiers in the Union army had lower desertion rates than their white counterparts. More than 14 percent of white Union soldiers deserted during the Civil War, compared to fewer than 5 percent of

African-American troops. In part, the lower desertion rate was a reflection of the fact that whether they were free-born volunteers or confiscated slaves, many black soldiers realized they had no place else to go. Certainly the fate of former slaves was tied up with Union victory and the end of slavery. These men understood they were fighting for the freedom of their race and for legal equality and civil rights.

The value of black troops to the Union cause received recognition near the end of the war from the most unlikely of sources: the Confederate government. In March 1865, on the eve of the fall of Richmond, the Confederate Congress authorized the recruitment of black soldiers, reversing a long-standing policy of only using them in noncombatant support roles. In 1861, free southern blacks had formed quasi-military units in Savannah, Georgia; Richmond, Virginia. Nashville, Tennessee; Fort Smith, Arkansas; and in New Orleans, Louisiana. Confederate authorities declined their services, however, including those of the Louisiana Native Guards. But when faced with a possible defeat, the Confederates were willing to have African Americans, enslaved or free, work digging trenches, hauling supplies, cooking food, tending to the wounded, and providing personal service. They would not permit them to serve formally as soldiers, however. While most Confederate leaders denied throughout the war that the preservation of slavery was a war aim for the South, it is unlikely that Southern grievances would have ever caused secession had many white Southerners not feared for the survival of the "peculiar institution." For most of the war, Jefferson Davis and other Southern leaders energetically squashed proposals to arm the slaves, most notably from Confederate Gen. Patrick R. Cleburne on January 2, 1864. It was not until last desperate hours of the Confederate government that its leaders were willing to risk slavery's survival in order to recruit black troops.

Yet their action was not just a sign of how hopeless the Confederate cause had become. It also was an implicit recognition of the value of black troops. In its desperation, the Confederate Congress was acknowledging that black men had made a significant enough contribution to the Union cause, and that it would be worthwhile for the Confederacy to take the same measure. Yet their decision came too late for significant recruitment to get underway prior to the final Southern collapse, let alone the organization and deployment of black Confederate troops.

Hence, it can be said with great certainty that the tens or hundreds of thousands of black Confederate soldiers claimed by modern neo-Confederates did not and could not have existed. Certainly many thousands of African Americans worked for and moved with the Confederate army during the course of the war, but they acted in support roles only. Persons of African descent may have worked as spies and scouts, and a few might even have been

formally enlisted or served by virtue of being able to pass as whites. Yet their existence is poorly documented at best, and their numbers pale in comparison to the hundreds of thousands of black men who can be documented to have joined the Union cause. A small minority of African Americans in the South may have harbored Confederate sympathies, but their existence is an obscure and insignificant phenomenon.

One governmental organization that needed no education on the value of African Americans, and recruited them from the earliest days of the war, was the U.S. Navy. Always more desperate than the army for personnel because of its rougher conditions of service, the navy had never barred African Americans from enlisting (although prior to the Civil War service was limited to free persons of color). Likewise, the realities of shipboard service meant it was impossible to segregate crews by race, although African Americans generally were limited to the lowest "ratings" or enlisted naval ranks of boys, landsmen, or ordinary sailors. The great need for new personnel to expand the navy during the Civil War led Navy Secretary Gideon Wells to authorize the enlistment of slaves in September 1861 (an entire year prior to the Emancipation Proclamation).

The integration of crews makes it difficult to determine exactly how many black men served in the Union navy. Figures vary from as high as 29,511, a figure provided by the U.S. Navy and promoted by the historian Herbert Aptheker, to as low as 10,000, a sum arrived at by David L. Valuska, who studied enlistment records for the Union navy. Perhaps the most accurate estimate comes from Joseph Reidy and his Howard University team, which made a more thorough survey of Civil War navy records than Valuska and arrived at the figure of 18,000 black enlistments. The actual number of black Union sailors is probably immaterial, for whatever the number, they played an important role in keeping the Union navy in operation, both in its blockade against the Southern coastline and in its activities on inland waterways, which were just as essential in defeating the Confederacy.

The U.S. Army did seek to make a permanent place for black men its ranks after the war. Congress authorized six regiments in the postwar U.S. Army (four infantry, two cavalry), based on the Civil War pattern of black enlisted men led by white officers (with occasional black officers, such as Henry O. Flipper). This organization was later scaled back to four regiments: the 24th and 25th Infantry and the 9th and 10th Cavalry. These black regiments, especially the 10th Cavalry, became renowned for their prowess fighting Native Americans on the frontier. They got their nickname, "Buffalo Soldiers," from Plains Indians who thought the curly hair of many black soldiers reminded them of the buffalo. These units would also serve with distinction in the Spanish-American War (1898) and

the Philippine War (1899-1902). They would win twenty Congressional Medals of Honor and countless lesser decorations, but they would continue to be beset by the racism and doubts about their ability that had plagued African-American troops during the Civil War. They would last see service in the Korean War, when the U.S. Army implemented President Harry S. Truman's 1947 order to desegregate the U.S. Army. The 24th U.S. Infantry was dissolved, and black soldiers thereafter served with white troops in integrated units.

Black Civil War veterans played a critical role in the early history of the postwar black regiments in the U.S. Army, providing a cadre of experienced soldiers to teach military ways to new raw recruits. A small number of these men would remain in the army for some decades, but the actual number of African-American veterans who served in the postwar army was quite small. Most black soldiers were eager to leave the army after the Civil War. Particularly for black troops who had joined as slaves, their discharge was the first moment they could truly enjoy their own freedom. Black Civil War veterans, whatever their status before the war, were eager to participate in the possibilities that the postwar period promised.

Former black soldiers would play a prominent role during Reconstruction and in the leadership of the postwar African-American community. Although veterans would actually be slightly underrepresented among black officeholders from 1867 to 1877, many of the most prominent African-American politicians of this period had served in the Civil War. Six of the sixteen black members of the U.S. House of Representatives during Reconstruction, for instance, claimed Civil War service. More importantly, as black leaders had hoped, African-American military service in the Civil War provided an important argument in favor of voting rights, culminating with the ratification of the 15th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution in 1870. Veterans would be at the forefront of leadership in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries resisting efforts to disenfranchise black voters and segregate the races. Even though they failed in this effort, they remained an honored group in the postwar black community until the death of the last black Civil War veteran, Joseph Clovese, in July 1951. Their memory as stalwart warriors against slavery and racism remains strong to the present day.

**SEE ALSO** *Buffalo Soldiers; Emancipation Proclamation; Soldiers of Color.*

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Donald R. Shaffer

## BLACK CODES

In the United States, the term *black codes* usually refers to statutes designed to regulate and define the status of free blacks. Black codes were found in some antebellum northern states, all the antebellum slave states, and, immediately after the Civil War, in most of the former slave states. In some antebellum slave states, black codes were incorporated into the laws regulating slaves, which were known as *slave codes*. Louisiana inherited the French *Code Noir*, which regulated both slaves and free blacks. After the Civil War, most of the former slave states adopted new black codes, which were designed, as much as possible, to re-establish slavery. The purpose of these codes differed significantly from antebellum codes, however. The antebellum codes discouraged or even prohibited African Americans from moving to particular states, and they provided disincentives for blacks to remain in the states where the codes existed. They were, in other words, designed to oppress blacks and to either diminish or eliminate the small free black population in the South and in the few Northern states that passed such laws. In contrast, the South's postwar black codes were designed to rigidly structure the lives of former slaves and prevent them from leaving the South.

The reasons for this difference are economic. Antebellum Southern lawmakers believed that free blacks undermined the stability of their society and threatened the institution of slavery. There were about a quarter of a million free blacks in the antebellum South, and most whites believed that they were not necessary to the economy. Thomas Jefferson expressed the common view of antebellum southern whites when he told a correspondent

that free blacks were "as incapable as children of taking care of themselves" and that they were "pests in society by their idleness, and the depredations to which this leads them." After the war, however, Southern whites needed the labor of millions of recently emancipated African Americans, and the postwar black codes were therefore designed to prevent free blacks in the South from moving elsewhere or having any economic independence.

The postwar black codes disappeared after the adoption of the federal Civil Rights Act of 1866 and the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868. However, after Reconstruction all of the former slave states as well as West Virginia and, after it gained statehood, Oklahoma, would adopt elaborate systems of segregation, which had some of the elements of the older black codes, but were different in significant ways.

## ANTEBELLUM NORTHERN BLACK CODES

In 1804, Ohio passed an act "to regulate black and mulatto persons." This law became the prototype for subsequent laws passed in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and the Michigan Territory. A few other states adopted scattered provisions from these laws, but they never had full-fledged black codes. The 1804 Ohio law required blacks migrating to the state to provide proof that they were free, and not fugitive slaves. Any white hiring a black who did not have such proof would be fined up to fifty dollars. On its face, this law could be seen as a good faith effort to help masters from Kentucky and Virginia, whose slaves might try to escape to Ohio. In fact, this law and others that followed were designed to discourage or even prevent black migration into the new state. An 1807 law raised the fine for hiring an undocumented free black to one hundred dollars. This law also required migrating blacks to find two sureties to guarantee their "good behavior" by signing a surety bond for five hundred dollars. This bond did not require that any cash change hands—bond sureties merely promised to pay the county up to five hundred dollars if the free black migrant ever needed public assistance or did not maintain "good behavior." There were several ways to avoid actually having to pay on the bond, but the law still presented a severe limitation on blacks coming to the state. Subsequent amendments to these laws prevented blacks from serving on juries and testifying against whites, as well as severely limiting their access to public schools. Although discriminatory, these laws did not prevent blacks from owning real estate, entering professions (including law and medicine), or exercising the freedoms of speech, press, assembly, and worship. Moreover, once legally present in a state, the black codes of the North did not inhibit their geographic mobility.

**By Jacob Radcliff Mayor, and Richard Riker  
Recorder. of the City of New-York,**

It is hereby Certified, That pursuant to the  
statute in such case made and provided, we have this day ex-  
amined *one* certain *male* \_\_\_\_\_  
Negro Slave named *George* \_\_\_\_\_  
the property of *John S. Shaw* \_\_\_\_\_

which slave *is* about to be manumitted, and *he* appearing  
to us to be under forty-five years of age, and of sufficient  
ability to provide *for himself* we have granted  
this Certificate, this *twenty first* day of *April* in the  
year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and *fourteen*

*Jacob Radcliff*

*R. Riker*

*Register's Office Lib. No. 2 of Manumissions page 62*  
*W. S. Stocum Register*

**Manumission Certificate.** This certificate of manumission signed by New York mayor Jacob Radcliffe and city recorder Richard Riker freed a slave named George in 1817. Southern whites considered free blacks to be a dangerous class that threatened social stability. MANUSCRIPTS, ARCHIVES AND RARE BOOKS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

These laws were generally ineffective in inhibiting the growth of the free black population. From 1803 to 1860, Ohio's black population actually grew at a slightly faster rate than did its white population. Between 1830 and 1860, Indiana, Illinois, and Ohio all saw growth in their black populations of over 300 percent. There is little evidence that migrating blacks were usually asked to prove their freedom, or that anyone enforced the

requirement that migrating blacks find sureties to sign bonds for them. There are no recorded cases of any whites being fined for hiring blacks who failed to provide proof of their freedom. Iowa, California, and Oregon also adopted some aspects of the Northern black codes, although Iowa and California abandoned virtually all of these rules before or during the Civil War.

Michigan repealed its black laws almost immediately after its admission to the Union, and Ohio did the same in 1849. The Ohio black law repeal was part of an elaborate legislative compromise that also sent the abolitionist Salmon P. Chase to the U.S. Senate. Only Indiana and Illinois retained their discriminatory laws until after the Civil War.

Legal discrimination against African Americans in the North had subsided by the end of the Civil War with the exception that blacks could not vote or serve on juries in most states. These legal disabilities disappeared after the ratification of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, in 1868 and 1870, respectively. After 1870, some Northern states still prohibited marriages between blacks and whites, and schools were segregated in some states, but otherwise most remnants of the black codes were no longer on the books. In the 1880s and 1890s almost every Northern state passed civil rights acts that prohibited discrimination in public accommodations. Michigan banned segregated education and specifically allowed for interracial marriages. Widespread social discrimination remained, but except for education and marriage regulations in a few states, this discrimination was not openly enforced, and it often took place in violation of the law.

#### ANTEBELLUM SOUTHERN BLACK CODES

In 1860 there were nearly four million slaves and just over 250,000 free blacks in the South. Southern whites considered free blacks to be a dangerous class that threatened social stability, for they believed that free blacks, by their very presence, fostered discontent among those blacks who remained enslaved. Whites also believed free blacks were likely to start rebellions. Thus, the purpose of Southern black codes (as opposed to slave codes) was to suppress free blacks, prevent them from moving into the state, and make them so uncomfortable that they would leave.

Almost every slave state made it illegal for a free black to move into the state, and all of the slave states with ocean ports passed laws requiring the incarceration of any free black sailor who entered the state while serving on a ship. South Carolina set the standard for such laws in 1822 by requiring that ship captains bring their black sailors to the local jail, where they would be held for a fee until the ship was ready to set sail. If the fees were not paid, the black sailor would be auctioned off for temporary service and then expelled from the state. Similar rules applied to emancipated slaves. By 1860 most of the eleven states that formed the Confederacy prohibited the emancipation of slaves within their jurisdiction. Thus, if a master wanted to

free his slaves he had to remove them from the state, either before emancipating them or immediately afterwards.

Southern states also prohibited free blacks from engaging in professions that might enable them to foster or aid slave revolts. Thus free blacks could not be pharmacists, gunsmiths, printers or publishers, or operate taverns or places of entertainment. Mississippi made it a crime for blacks to even work for printing offices. Georgia prohibited free blacks from being masons or mechanics, or from contracting to build or repair houses. Most of the slave states prohibited free blacks from learning to read or write. They could also be severely punished for owning antislavery literature. Under a Mississippi law of 1830, whites who circulated "seditious pamphlets," which would have included antislavery pamphlets, could be jailed, but free blacks were to be executed for the same offense. In 1842, Virginia made it a felony for free blacks to receive abolitionist material in the mail.

Free blacks faced other criminal penalties that free whites did not face. Alabama made attempted rape a capital offense for free blacks but not for whites. A number of states followed Virginia's rule of whipping free blacks for minor offenses, rather than giving them jail terms or fining them as they would with whites. A Georgia law prohibited anyone from selling goods to slaves who did not have written permission from their masters to purchase such goods. Whites might be fined for this, but free blacks who sold goods to slaves would be whipped. While most states prohibited private gambling, the crime carried a greater punishment if a white gambled with a free black.

Such rules were not limited to the Deep South. In the 1840s, Missouri prohibited free blacks from entering the state, made it a crime to "keep or teach any school for the instruction of Negroes or mulattoes in reading or writing," and prohibited free blacks from holding religious services without a law enforcement or judicial officer being present. In 1859, Arkansas passed a law "to remove the free Negroes and mulattoes from the state." However, secession and the Civil War prevented the implementation of this law.

#### POST-CIVIL WAR SOUTHERN BLACK LAWS

The most important outcome of the war was the emancipation of four million formerly enslaved African Americans. The loss of the war and the abolition of slavery immediately and dramatically affected Southern society. Emancipation upset the system of racial control that had kept blacks subordinate to whites since the seventeenth century, and it also destroyed the economic relationship that allowed planters to count on a pliable and ever-present source of labor. With slavery gone, the legal status of the freed men and their role in the postwar South was uncertain. Immediately after the war, Southern

legislatures began to adopt “black codes” to define the status of former slaves, to insure that the former slaves would continue to provide labor in the South, and to cope with the emerging problems resulting from emancipation.

The new black codes did give former slaves some rights. For example, the laws not only allowed African Americans to marry each other (but not whites), they also declared that all slaves who had lived as married couples would be considered legally married. The black codes also gave the former slaves some other rights. The end result, however, was to give former slaves most of the responsibilities of freedom, but few of the benefits. Mississippi’s laws of 1865—the first adopted in the postwar South—illustrate the nature of these new black codes.

An 1865 Mississippi law, misleadingly titled “An Act to confer Civil Rights on Freedmen,” declared that blacks could “sue and be sued” in all state courts. This law gave the freedmen rights they did not have as slaves, but it did not give them equal rights. For example, the law allowed them to testify only in cases involving blacks, and it prohibited them from serving on juries. It allowed the freedmen to acquire and dispose of property “to the same extent that white persons may,” but at the same time, it prohibited freedmen from renting any land, except in “towns or cities.” In other words, free blacks could not rent farm land. In the overwhelmingly rural Mississippi, this meant freedmen would become a peasant class, forced to work for white landowners and unable to acquire land on their own.

Another provision of this law required that all labor contracts made with freedmen lasting longer than a month had to be in writing, even though most freedmen could not read and write. They were therefore at the mercy of unscrupulous whites, who could put almost anything into a written contract, with the black who signed the contract not knowing what it really said. This law also provided that any freedman who quit before the end of the term of a contract would “forfeit his wages for the year,” including those earned up to the time he quit. In a provision similar to the antebellum slave codes, this law obligated “every civil officer” to “arrest and carry back to his or her legal employer any freedman, free negro or mulatto, who shall have quit the service of his or her employer before the expiration of his or her term of service.” This effectively made the free blacks of Mississippi slaves to their employers, at least for the term of their employment. Anyone attempting to hire a black under contract to someone else was subject to a fine, jail term, and civil damages.

Another Mississippi statute allowed counties to apprentice African-American children if their parents appeared too poor to support them. To many, this appeared to be an attempt to re-enslave the children of the freedmen. Still another statute, also enacted in 1865, declared that any

blacks who did not have a labor contract would be declared vagrants and subject to fines or imprisonment. This law provided punishments for free blacks who were “found unlawfully assembling themselves together either in the day or night time,” whites who assembled with such blacks, or whites and blacks who married or cohabitated.

Other states adopted laws with similar intent but different provisions. Rather than prohibiting blacks from renting land, South Carolina prohibited them from working in nonagricultural jobs unless they paid special taxes that ranged from \$10 to \$100. South Carolina also enacted harsh criminal laws that were aimed at blacks. The stealing of a hog could lead to a \$1,000 fine and ten years in jail. Other crimes had punishments of whipping, the stocks, or the treadmill, as well as fines and long prison terms. Hired farm workers in South Carolina could not even sell farm produce without written authorization from their employers. Other provisions of the law created special taxes and fines for blacks, as well as imprisonment or forced labor for those who lacked the money to pay them. Like Mississippi, South Carolina also provided for the apprenticing of black children. These, and similar laws, created something close to a reimposition of slavery in South Carolina. In 1865, Louisiana and Alabama adopted laws similar to those of South Carolina and Mississippi.

The black codes of 1865 shocked the North. In South Carolina, General Daniel E. Sickles, who was serving as the military governor of the state, suspended the law, and even some white governors, including William L. Sharkey of Mississippi and Robert Patton of Alabama, opposed some of the more blatantly discriminatory laws. In Congress, Republicans responded by introducing legislation that led to the Civil Rights Act of 1866, and eventually to the Fourteenth Amendment.

In 1866 the rest of the former Confederacy adopted black codes. Florida’s code was as harsh as those of Mississippi and South Carolina. The Florida code provided whipping, the pillory, and forced labor for various offenses. Florida prohibited any blacks from moving into the state, prohibited African Americans from owning firearms, and allowed the creation of schools for blacks, while prohibiting the use of state money to pay for them.

Other states were more discreet in their legislation, trying to avoid giving ammunition to Republicans in Congress who were growing increasingly impatient with the South’s attempts to reimpose bondage and oppression on the freedmen. Virginia’s vagrancy law carefully avoided any reference to race, but still allowed forced labor and was clearly directed at the freedmen. Not surprisingly, General Alfred H. Terry, one of the military commanders in Virginia after the Civil War, suspended its operation because he saw that the law was subterfuge for an attempt to reenslave blacks. During the war Terry had pushed for



the enlistment of blacks, and was deeply sympathetic to black equality. Two other generals, in other parts of Virginia, however, allowed it to go into force. Tennessee's new criminal code provided the death penalty for breaking and entering with the intent to rob, for robbery itself, and for horse stealing. This law did not use any racial terms, but was clearly aimed at blacks. Similarly, Georgia and North Carolina tried to avoid the use of racial terms that might have jeopardized their chances of readmission to the Union. Nevertheless, none of the former Confederate states were ready to have racially blind statutes, much less racially blind justice. North Carolina's law, arguably the least offensive, nevertheless provided a death penalty for blacks who raped whites, but not for whites who raped whites or whites or blacks who raped blacks.

Like the 1865 laws, those passed in 1866 regulated the movement of blacks, their ability to live where they wished, and their ability to sell their labor on an open market. All of the 1866 laws also tried to create racial controls to keep African Americans in a subordinate role, even as they tried to avoid the appearance of racial discrimination.

These laws were the subject of investigation by Congress's Joint Committee on Reconstruction. Congressional responses to these laws (coming out of the Joint Committee's report) included the passage (over President Johnson's veto) of the Civil Rights Act of 1866 and the drafting of the Fourteenth Amendment, which Congress sent to the states in 1866. By 1867, Southern legislatures had repealed most of the provisions that designated specific punishments by race. But even without racial designations, courts were able to enforce the codes to keep blacks subordinate. Even without racially specific language, courts continued to apply solely to African Americans provisions of the black codes regulating vagrancy, contracts, and children. In 1868 the states ratified the Fourteenth Amendment, and in 1870 the Fifteenth Amendment led to the enfranchisement of black adult males. In the next few years, what remained of the black codes disappeared. After 1877 the South gradually reimposed those provisions of the black codes that segregated blacks and regulated labor contracts. Such laws led to peonage and a second-class status for Southern blacks in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

SEE ALSO *Slave Codes; United States Constitution.*

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Paul Finkelman

## BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

*Black consciousness* is a broad category that encompasses things as varied as race consciousness, race relations, black pride, black power, and even rebellion and revolutionary consciousness as it relates to a historically oppressed community, nation, or group acting and reacting against its oppression. The scholar, Dorscine Spigner-Littles, an elder from Oklahoma who lived through the civil rights era, defined black consciousness as "being aware of the history of your people and understanding your place within it; maintaining the same level of commitment that your ancestors brought but realizing also that you are not blazing new trails but are simply carrying on a tradition with a long past." Changa Masamakali, a young male hip-hop generation activist, described it as "a framework of thoughts that pushes you to action which is defined in a black nationalist or Pan-African way." Although it began in all instances as a reaction to forces such as white supremacy, slavery, colonization, and/or social and economic oppression, in the process of developing black consciousness became a force in itself that compelled the group or community to look deeply within itself and seek out a self-definition rooted within its own history and culture and not simply its oppression.

A group or community's development of black consciousness is frequently characterized by several specific realizations and actions. The prerequisite is recognition on the part of a downtrodden people that they are trapped in an oppressive system that depends for its own survival on their racial, economic, political, social, and often cultural exploitation. Coming to consciousness within such a system involves an awareness that strategies of survival must come from within the oppressed community. At such a point, the group has to remember the long tradition of survival and resistance that has been a part of the life of both Africans on the continent and their descendants all over the world for several hundred years. A deep understanding of the particular history of struggle that the people or group has gone through is also crucial to the evolution of

its consciousness at this stage. How deeply it takes root and how long-lasting this consciousness becomes depends on the group or nation's self-love and belief in the power of its culture to renew itself. The life span of this consciousness also depends on the group's ability to internalize and transmit this new sense of itself to its descendants and the community at large. The evolution of black consciousness has taken different forms in the United States, South Africa, and Brazil.

#### ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT

Within the United States, black consciousness on the most basic level originated in the resistance to slavery. *Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World* (1829), by David Walker (1785–1830), functioned as a black nationalist counterpoint, written by a free black, to the more integration-oriented rhetoric of Frederick Douglass. Reacting to the brutality and violence of the transatlantic slave trade and the institution of New World slavery, he writes, “The whites have always been an unjust, jealous, unmerciful, avaricious and blood-thirsty set of beings, always seeking after power and authority” (p. 16). The scholar Sterling Stuckey states that for Walker, “the essence of European character was . . . a desire for power linked to an insatiable love of gain. . . . Walker's cry was at bottom one of hatred of the spirit of capitalism as well as of slavery and racism” (1987, p. 121). Walker went to an early grave, dying of a suspected poisoning, but his rhetoric laid the foundation for a radical tradition of resistance within the United States.

Following Walker, Martin Robinson Delany (1812–1885), abolitionist, doctor, and soldier, could be seen making the notion of black consciousness more of a reality than it was in Walker's lifetime. He wrote *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States, Politically Considered*, after he and several black students were dismissed from Harvard medical school due to the protests of white students who objected to integrated education. His book argued that there was no future for black people in the United States, and emigration to Africa was a more desirable alternative. His novel, *Blake: Or the Huts of America*, imagined as part of its plot, resistance and rebellion to the system of slavery. The novel was also conceived of as a response to Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which Delany thought depicted blacks too passively.

Delany traveled to West Africa in 1859 and apparently negotiated with several African chiefs, garnering permission for a new settlement of formerly enslaved Africans to occur in exchange for their contributing to the community's overall development. Although this venture never came to fruition, for twenty years on and

off Delany remained interested in making emigration to Liberia a reality. In the meantime, he was instrumental in recruiting black men to fight on the side of the North in the Civil War, assisting black cotton farmers in improving their business, working for the Freedman's Bureau, and running for political office. In 1877 the Liberia Exodus Joint Stock Steamship Company was formed and Martin Delany was chairman of the finance committee. This particular venture was a precursor to, and may have laid the foundation for Marcus Garvey's *Black Star Line* ships and his widespread Pan-African movement to follow. Delany died of consumption in 1885.

Following in David Walker and Martin Delany's footsteps, Marcus Garvey (1887–1940), born in Jamaica two years after Delany's death, is probably the most significant single individual in terms of the promotion of black consciousness on a worldwide scale. His organization, the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), began and flowered in the United States but had chapters throughout the black world. The scholar Horace Campbell states:

Garveyism brought together diverse working people, independent trade unionists, pacifists, cultural nationalists, women liberation fighters, militant self-help groups, socialists, members of church organizations and a whole host of unorganized black folk. . . . Garveyism used the propaganda . . . available at that time to give meaning to the claim that the UNIA spoke for the liberation of all blacks and for the liberation of the African continent. . . . On the specific question of the liberation of Africa . . . it was instilled in the minds of the Africans in the West that their freedom was inextricably bound up with the freedom of the African continent. (1988, p. 173)

More than any movement before it, the Garvey movement made black consciousness more of a concrete reality for black folks dispersed throughout the West. It laid the foundation for the Rastafari movement in Jamaica, and, as Campbell further states, “South Africa at this time was an area of intense capitalist penetration. . . . It is therefore not accidental that the UNIA took deeper roots in that society than elsewhere on the continent [of Africa]” (1988, p. 173).

In South Africa nineteenth-century Ethiopianism, which was a fusion of spirituality and black consciousness, had spawned several independent black churches throughout southern Africa and helped to lay a foundation that was receptive to Garvey's message. What seemed to have particularly struck the consciousness of the South African masses was the slogan, “Africa for Africans,” and the idea of the UNIA's *Black Star Line* fleet of ships as a naval battalion transporting black Americans ready to fight

Europeans and liberate oppressed Africans. Robert Hill and Gregory Pirio describe this period:

The recurrent myth of imminent black liberation from America was clearly an active feature in the South African arena of struggle, on the eve of the black mine-workers' strike of 1920. A native identified only as "Mgoja of Johannesburg" took the floor at a meeting of the Transvaal Native Congress, at Boksburg, on 8 February, a few days before the strike began, stat[ing] that... "the Congress members who were sent to Europe are on their way to America and that they will get satisfaction there, America said they will free all natives, and they will help. *That America had a black fleet and it is coming.*" (1987, p. 211)

Apparently, many rural native South Africans at the time held the view that "all Americans were Negroes—who would drive the whites of South Africa into the sea" (Hill and Pirio 1987, p. 227). However, at that time the South African state "viewed all Afro-Americans as agents of racial consciousness who were bent on contaminating the African natives with visionary and disruptive ideas" (Hill and Pirio 1987, p. 225). Rural native South Africans—for whom this mode of independent resistance to the state, unconnected to any spiritual directive, was new—apparently viewed even the local leaders of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of South Africa (ICU) (a black, nationally founded organization) as "ambassadors of Marcus Garvey... and American Negroes who had come to deliver them from slavery... The image of the 'American Negro' ha[d] come to symbolize a radical black consciousness... [This was reinforced by the] multitude of organizational and political linkages between the ICU and UNIA and their respective leaders in Cape Town" (Hill and Pirio 1987, pp. 215–216).

Garvey's influence in South Africa provoked a backlash on a variety of levels. On March 12, 1921, the *Umteteli wa Bantu*, the newspaper of the Chamber mines, stated that "the American Negro is a force to reckon with—a force which may well affect the destiny of South Africa through its effect upon South Africa's black population" (Hill and Pirio 1987, p. 214). Further, heads of state who had previously claimed to dismiss the power of Garveyism expressed great national anxiety when Garvey announced that he intended to visit Africa. Despite conflicting views and reactions to the influence of Garveyism in South Africa, the movement is still credited with shifting popular black focus away from the belief that benevolent British rule was better than Dutch rule and toward the concept of black self-rule. Garveyism set off a chain reaction in the United States, and research shows that figures such as Malcolm X and former Black Panther Geronimo Ji Jaga Pratt, among

others, were the product of parents who were members of the UNIA.

#### CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

In the United States in the 1950s and early 1960s, the lynching of Emmett Till (1955) and the struggles faced by activists within the Civil Rights movement created the conditions for the ideological shift toward black power, black consciousness, and black nationalism. Between 1963 and 1966 several events turned the tide of consciousness. Severe confrontations arose involving civil rights marchers, police dogs, and white mobs; Malcolm X was assassinated; the racism of white activists within the movement created tension over the formation of a new nonracial society; and the Johnson administration made it clear that racial progress would be slow at best and nonexistent at worst when, at the 1964 Democratic Convention, the delegates from the all-white Mississippi Democratic Party were treated by and large as the representatives of the citizens of Mississippi as opposed to those people who were members of the movement-inspired Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party.

This series of events, among other events, spawned recognition within the Civil Rights movement that America was not a democracy and that, despite rhetoric to the contrary, corporate values superceded human rights. Writing about Martin Luther King Jr., Malcolm X, and the movement as a whole, the scholar Grace Lee Boggs sharply summarizes and quantifies the implications of these transformations:

King's great contribution to the movement was the clarity with which he stated his goal and the consistency with which he pursued his strategy. His goal was *integration* but his strategy was *confrontation*, and in the actual struggle the first was turned into its opposite by the second. The strategy of confrontation, or disciplined demonstrations in search of reform, systematically exposed both the pitiful inadequacy of the reforms and the bestiality of the whites with whom the demonstrators were seeking to integrate. Thus, while King's professed *aim* was civil rights legislation and integration, the *means* of confrontation taught black people that all the civil rights legislation in the world could not solve their real grievances and led them to question whether, after all, whites were good enough to integrate with. As the saying goes, "Why fight to get into a burning house?" or "Why integrate with cancer?"... King did not draw the dialectical conclusion of his movement. This was the historical contribution of young blacks in SNCC [the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee] who pursued his strategy in every state of the South. Thus in 1966 the movement arrived in

practice, before the eyes of the whole nation, at the concept of *the struggle for black Power* which Malcolm had been developing before black audiences in the North since his break with the Muslims. (1970, p. 213)

As Stokely Carmichael (Kwame Toure, or Ture) stated in the documentary *Eyes on the Prize*, SNCC workers were made to realize that the issue of morality on which the civil rights movement was based was in reality an issue of power. The SNCC workers had seen raw terror, and they realized that the political, social, and economic system of governance in the United States might in fact have no moral center; but it would not hesitate to continue to exert its raw power against the demonstrators, while allowing whites with implicitly more social and economic power to continue to oppress blacks without consequence. These events provoked a collective turn inward—a reassessment of the nature of the black self within American society. This was the moment when the U.S. black population began to seek a definition that was not simply based on fitting into mainstream society or reacting against it. This consciousness fueled the concrete development of black nationalist organizations as well as an inner transformation within the population resulting in a rebirth of black pride and an interest in African culture and style. Out of this era of black consciousness emerged iconic and internationally known black figures such as James Brown and Muhammad Ali.

#### RAMIFICATIONS FOR SOUTH AFRICA AND BRAZIL

In South Africa between 1970 and 1972, Steve Biko, influenced by his exposure to the speeches and writings of Malcolm X, Eldridge Cleaver, Stokely Carmichael, Martin Luther King Jr., and James Cone, wrote a column titled “I Write What I Like” for the newsletter of the South African Student Organization (SASO), in which he described the tenets of black consciousness and its relationship to South Africa as he saw it. SASO represented black university students who had split off from the National Union of South African Students, an integrated group with a philosophy of “liberal nonracialism.” The split can be explained in part by black students’ recognition that certain contradictions existed; these were best expressed when Biko claimed that working with whites during apartheid was like “expecting the slave to work with the slavemaster’s son to remove all the conditions leading to the former’s enslavement.” He further stated that until “blacks gained self-confidence, integration would be artificial . . . with whites doing all the talking and blacks doing all the listening” (as quoted in Sanders 2002, pp. 166–167). Despite influences from the Black Power movement in the United States, it was the specific homegrown conditions of oppression faced

by blacks in South Africa that shaped and molded resistance in that context. Although Biko did not live to see the world change its official position on South African apartheid, years later an emancipated Nelson Mandela thanked Fidel Castro for sending troops to support the Angolan resistance, as shown in Estela Bravo’s documentary *Fidel*. Cuban backing of the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) made the training of Angolan guerrilla fighters possible and provided essential medical support to those troops. This created the conditions for the MPLA to resist South African troops in 1975, while also weakening the geopolitical position of South Africa in the region. Some scholars claim that it was this regional pressure that forced the South African government to make the concession of freeing Mandela.

In Brazil, with the largest black population in the Western Hemisphere, the development of black consciousness had yet another incarnation. Brazilian society is organized not by a system of apartheid but by the existence of a so-called “racial democracy” in which race is not an institutionalized part of the bureaucratic daily affairs and “black” as a category does not carry the legal weight that it does in either the United States or South Africa. However, these ambiguities apparently coexist with the vast majority of the black Brazilian population having proportionately less social and political access to institutional power than does the colored elite in South Africa or the African-American middle class in the United States. *Frente Negra Brasileira* was founded in 1930 as a black civil rights organization, but its societal influence was relatively small, considering the size of the Brazilian population and the impact that the civil rights movement and student demonstrations had in both the United States and South Africa.

However, African culture appears to have its strongest continuities in Brazil, of all the countries affected by the African diaspora. Here, the Angola-originating martial art of capoeira, the Yoruba-influenced spiritual practice of Candomble, and the rich heritage of Maroon settlements such as Palmares (one of the largest Maroon communities in the Americas) laid the foundation for a culture in which music and dance were inextricably connected to the fabric of everyday life. Although black consciousness appears to have split off from indigenous African spirituality in the case of South Africa, and functions in relation to Christianity and Islam in the United States, transplanted African spiritual practices are inextricably and directly linked to music and dance and a cultural sense of self in black Brazil. It is no surprise therefore that James Brown, as the godfather of soul in the United States; Bob Marley, as the father of reggae in Jamaica; and the contemporary music phenomenon hip-hop have made some of the most significant inroads within this Brazilian culture. Since the one-hundredth

anniversary of the official end of slavery in Brazil and the election of Benedita da Silva as the country's first black female senator in 1994, a rebirth in Brazilian black consciousness has been taking shape.

Black consciousness continues to be a transformative part of the life of oppressed populations in the Americas, the Caribbean, and continental Africa. Its form changes and expands with the times. Although it officially took shape in response to racism and oppression, in the processes of these struggles, Africans and their overseas diasporic descendants discovered that their music, their dance, and the spiritual ethos at the core of these forms of expression had the power to transform both their own communities and influence the larger societies in which they exist.

SEE ALSO *African Diaspora; Antiracist Social Movements; Apartheid; Biko, Stephen Bantu; Malcolm X; Walker, David.*

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Catherine A. John

## BLACK FEMINISM IN BRAZIL

Among women of African descent in Brazil, feminist consciousness is positioned at the intersection of racism and women's concerns. It is generally approached in two ways. First, women activists place the roots of their consolidation in the post-slavery era, when former slaves started to organize themselves. The early twentieth century witnessed important achievements in this regard, including the formation of the first association of Brazilian female domestic workers in 1936 in Santos, São Paulo, and the 1950 inaugural convention of the National Council of Black Women in São Paulo. The 1970s represented a moment of considerable expansion, and the establishment of links with international feminism had a great impact on women in Brazil. At the 1975 Brazilian Women's Congress held in Rio de Janeiro, delegations of Afro-Brazilian women denounced racial and sexual discrimination. In the early twenty-first century, there are various nongovernmental Afro-Brazilian women's organizations, with the important ones located in the cities of São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Bahia.

The second approach is historical in nature and important to Afro-Brazilian writers and activists. In their quest to revert the legacy of invisibility, militants and researchers have emphasized that there is substantive evidence of female initiative and leadership in Brazil's historical past. Their approach adds another dimension to the idea of "feminism" by indicating that long before slavery's end women of African descent in Brazil participated in struggles to defend their communities and families and to ensure their basic human rights. What has been elusive is a recognition of their achievements.

#### THE ROLE OF RELIGION

Over time, women of African descent in Brazil have established their own arenas in which they have been able to assume positions of leadership and control. Political and social spheres continue to provide increasing

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opportunities for debating with the state, political parties, the legal system, and institutions of education. But it is in the sphere of religion that Afro-Brazilian women have achieved unquestioned respect, power, and dignity. As *mães de santo* (mothers-of-saints) of the Candomblé religion, they are the unquestioned authorities on all matters that pertain to the spiritual, physical, and mental well-being of their religious followers. These stately older women are associated with a legacy of spiritual understanding inherited from their African forbears and a wisdom that cannot be merely learned. They collaborate with organizations at all levels, and their influence among black activists and women's groups is due to the fact that many militants are Candomblé followers.

In Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo, there are many revered mothers of saints and priestesses. Born in 1923 in Bahia, Mãe Hilda Jitolu exemplifies this legacy. She is the director and founder of Ilê Aiyê, one of the important Afro-Brazilian cultural entities in Salvador, Bahia. A Guardian of the Faith and the African Tradition, she has spent more than sixty-five years as a Candomblé priestess and has earned the respect and admiration of politicians, followers, and the community. In 2004, Ilê Aiyê paid homage to her during their Carnival celebrations marking their thirtieth anniversary.

### AFRO-BRAZILIAN FEMINISM

The Brazilian black women's movement has succeeded in empowering women and their communities far beyond expectations. It is a movement that is not homogeneous, but rather diverse and widespread. It comprises associations and groups whose specific agendas serve the needs of the communities in which they are located. During the late 1970s and early 1980s these movements did not separate from the Brazilian black movement, and many did organize within its parameters. Increased autonomy arose due to the black movement's insufficient attention to the race, gender, and class specificities of black women. Feminist consciousness is also associated with distinguished Brazilian icons, including Benedita da Silva, a former governor of the state of Rio de Janeiro, and Lélia González (1935–1994), an anthropologist, feminist, researcher, and black militant. González is revered as one of the Afro-Brazilian women whose untiring efforts transformed the lives of many.

While there are women's organizations all over the country, the most well-known are Geledés (São Paulo), Fala Preta (São Paulo), Criola (Rio de Janeiro), and Casa de Cultura da Mulher Negra (Santos). These groups share some characteristics in terms of infrastructure and organization, and each one owes its establishment to a woman activist who was initially involved in black movement militancy. They all operate in the early twenty-first century with boards of directors, subcommittees, and teams work-



**Benedita da Silva.** Born in a favela (shanty town) in Rio de Janeiro, da Silva went on to become the first black woman in Brazil's National Congress. A member of the Worker's Party, she also served as governor of the state of Rio de Janeiro. She is seen here in November 2002 addressing a meeting of the Organization of American States. AP IMAGES.

ing on long-term and short-term projects. They collaborate fully with men and women in all walks of life, government agencies, feminists, and black activists. These organizations also express a reverence for African cultural symbols, a strategy that reinforces diasporic connections and serves as reminders of their origins. Their inspirational figures are famous Afro-Brazilian women who have been leaders of rebellions and resistance movements or advocates against injustice, such as the African princesses Anastácia and Aqualtune, Maroon leader Dandara, insurrection leader Luiza Mahin, prominent slave leader Xica da Silva, first Afro-Brazilian woman writer Maria Firmina dos Reis, and slum dweller and writer Carolina Maria de Jesus.

### TWO NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

Geledés, Instituto da Mulher Negra (Geledés, The Black Woman's Institute) is an organization located in São Paulo that has attained recognition in the arenas of politics, race, and women's rights. The name is originally derived from Geledé, a secret society of women found in traditional Yoruba societies. It refers to female power over the land, fertility, procreation, and the community's

well-being. The organization was founded in 1988, with Sueli Carneiro as founding director. It is a politicized entity dedicated to combating racism and sexism and to promoting black women and the black community. It emphasizes the need for changes in public policy in order to guarantee the principles of inclusion, equality, and opportunity for all. With its primary fields of activity centered around human rights, racism, education, and health, Geledés stands as the example of a successful nongovernmental organization (NGO) in Latin America. The organization has also received numerous awards, including the Human Rights Award granted by the Ministry of Justice on the Human Rights International Day in 1996 and the Human Rights Award granted by the government of France in 1998 on the fiftieth anniversary of the Human Rights Declaration.

Located in Santos, the Casa de Cultura da Mulher Negra (Black Women's Cultural Center) confirms how feminism has influenced women to take control, become political, and effect transformations in their community. One of the earliest of these groups to be formed, it was the brainchild of Alzira Rufino, one of the leading advocates of women's rights, a founding member of the Partido dos Trabalhadores (the Workers' Party) and a serious black movement activist. A feminist, author, poet, essayist, and *ialorixá* (or priestess of Candomblé), Rufino is known for her studies and publications on the biographies and historical experiences of Afro-Brazilian woman.

When it was first established under Rufino's guidance in 1984 the group represented a community effort among women, bearing the name Coletivo de Mulheres Negras da Baixada Santista (the Baixada Santista Black Women's Collective). In the early 2000s, as Casa de Cultura da Mulher Negra, it is an NGO with its own headquarters located in the city of Santos. Since its inception Rufino has been its first and only director, and it is acknowledged as one of the success stories of the women's movement in Brazil. It has a very community-oriented agenda and is dedicated to combating racial, domestic, and sexual violence. Through a professional staff of lawyers and psychologists it provides legal aid, counseling, and psychological assistance; and courses, work studies, seminars, workshops, and campaigns are part of an ongoing program of community outreach in the areas of health, education, and development. Other projects include an archive and an Afro-Brazilian restaurant, and the center hosts many cultural events.

#### CONNECTING WITH INTERNATIONAL FEMINISM

Afro-Brazilian feminists promote contact with women's organizations in the Caribbean and Latin America pri-

marily through conference networking. International caucuses and gatherings provide a number of forums for women of the region to exchange ideas, share experiences, and discuss strategies for dealing with issues such as globalization, poverty, labor, health, and political representation. Important examples of international encounters include the first meeting of the Afro-Caribbean and Afro-Latin American Women's Network (in the Dominican Republic, 1992), the Women's Caucus to the World Conference against Racism (South Africa, 2001), the meeting of the Black Women's Network (Costa Rica, 2002), the Fifth International Women's Conference (Cuba, 2003), and the Tenth Latin American and Caribbean Feminist Encounter (Brazil, 2005).

Sonia Alvarez, a professor in Latin American Politics and Studies at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, believes that Brazilian black women's movement is more ideologically diverse than ever, following many paths that are largely determined by the issues black women seek to prioritize. Feminism, a close alliance with black men to fight racism, and a rejection of the "feminist" label represent the three major directions that shape current groups and are determining the kinds of relationships they maintain with black men and white women.

**SEE ALSO** *African Feminisms; Black Feminism in the United Kingdom; Black Feminism in the United States; Feminism and Race.*

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*Dawn Duke*

## BLACK FEMINISM IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

Black feminism in the United Kingdom (UK) has its roots in the postcolonial activism and struggles of black women

migrants from the Caribbean, Africa, and the Indian subcontinent. These women came to Great Britain during the post-World War II recruitment drive for cheap labor. Official statistics as well as historical and social texts documenting this period often overlook the female contribution to this major wave of migration during the 1940s and 1950s. However, stories of black women's participation have been kept alive by black women writers whose accounts disrupt the official historical narratives of those times. Among these women are Una Marson (1905–1965) who campaigned for the League of Coloured Peoples in the 1940s; the political activist Claudia Jones (1915–1964) in the 1950s; and the grassroots activist Olive Morris (1953–1979) and the trade unionist Jayaben Desai (*d.* 2003) in the 1970s.

As a theoretical and intellectual movement, black British feminism emerged in the 1970s. A fundamental premise of this movement is that to be black and female in Scotland, England, or Wales is to disrupt all the safe closed categories of what it means to be white and British and living in the United Kingdom. With its questioning of the racial and gendered subtext of Britishness, black British feminism profoundly challenges the meaning of British national identity and its unspoken assumption of whiteness. In this sense, black British feminism as a body of scholarship occupies a unique and destabilizing position, often referred to as a “third space.” From this position, black women reveal “other ways of knowing” that challenge the way white privilege and patriarchal power is constructed and pervades everyday interactions. In her seminal essay, “Difference, Diversity and Differentiation,” Avtar Brah explains this unique positioning, asserting that black feminism pried open previously closed ways of thinking that had asserted the importance of class or gender over all other axes of differentiation, such as race. Black feminism thus questioned the primacy of simplistic unified constructions such as gender or class in mainstream explanations for inequality and oppression.

Though there are many different voices among black feminists, they all speak of black feminism, not black feminisms, as if the political project has one single purpose. This purpose is to reveal the normative absence (i.e., everyday invisibility of black women from mainstream analysis) and the pathological presence (i.e., negative descriptions of black women when they are visible) of a group of women collectively assigned as the “black other.” Black women are largely invisible in the separate narrative constructions of race, gender, and class. Situated at the intersection of these ideological blind spots, black women are seen to occupy a critical place in racial discourse, where the subject is black and male; in gendered discourse, where the subject is white and female; and in class discourse, where “race” and gender have no place.

The concept of “black” as an umbrella term to signify multiracial difference emerged in Britain in 1960s. It was seen as a strategic political term embracing African, Caribbean, and South Asian peoples living in postcolonial Britain. Colonial and former colonial subjects, who were perceived as mainly male (not female) “colored commonwealth citizens,” found themselves occupying a broadly similar structural position as migrant workers facing racist discrimination in arenas such as employment, education, housing, media, the criminal justice system, immigration, and the health services. Though divided by language, religion, nationality, and culture, a new politics of solidarity became possible for postcolonial migrants under these new, shared economic and social relations of equivalence.

However, the concept of “black” has not been without its tensions, as the call to Afro-Asian unity by the Organisation of Women of African and Asian Descent (OWAAD) demonstrates. In the 1960s and 1970s, black British feminism evolved as a political project. In *The Heart of the Race: Black Women's Lives in Britain* (1985) Beverly Bryan, Stella Dadzie, and Suzanne Scafe show how in 1978 the grassroots black women's movement became important to an emerging black British feminist consciousness. Their struggles reveal the political agency of black women of different languages, religions, cultures, and classes who consciously constructed a politically based identity in response to the exclusion of women's experiences of racism within the antiracist movement. While Afro-Asian unity appeared to be a strategic political articulation at the time, OWAAD folded under pressure from internal tensions within the organization as it became increasingly difficult to subsume women's diverse ethnic and political identities within a single movement. Other black women's coalitions, such as Southall Black Sisters and Women Against Fundamentalism, that have campaigned for African and Asian women's rights over many years still survive, demonstrating the value of difference and diversity and the conflict it engenders as a dynamic for expanding democratic practices within feminist organizations.

Black British feminism, in the context of the globalization of capital, places gender at the center of the new radicalized working class. In the 1970s and 1980s the insidious erosion of rights in the workplace emphasized Asian, African, and Caribbean women's shared social and material conditions in a highly-structured, gendered, and radicalized labor market. Amina Mama's article “Black Women: The State and Economic Crisis” (1984) maps the clear-sighted, lucid project of a restructuring postcolonial capitalist state, rationalizing its logic through the active production of a disenfranchised—and thus contingent and disposable—workforce. Black women, in large numbers (compared to the white female population), were (and are) disproportionately employed in low-paid, low-status work. The pervasive image of the invisible or passive black



woman was interrupted by the labor struggles that exploded in the 1970s and exposed the world of British sweatshops. Amrit Wilson, in *Finding a Voice: Asian Women in Britain* (1978), gives a first-person account of the conditions and struggles for social and economic justice among Asian women workers on the picket line in the Grunwick (photo processing) dispute.

In the 1980s and 1990s, black British feminism—as a critical theoretical project—was concerned with a micro, or localized, analysis revealing the mechanisms that promote, contest, and resist racist logics and practices in the everyday lives of the collectively constituted “black woman.” One such critique was the struggle of black women to claim a space within the modernist Western feminist discourse. The effort to raise the racial consciousness of white feminists through engendering critical self-reflection consumed the black feminist project in 1980s. Hazel Carby’s seminal article “White Woman Listen! Black Feminism and the Boundaries of Sisterhood” (1982) embodies the classic black British feminist response to white feminist exclusion and authority. Centering her argument around the key areas of feminist discourse (e.g., the family, patriarchy, and reproduction), Carby explores the contradiction of the white feminist theoretical claim to universal womanhood, on the one hand, and the practice of excluding women who are different on the other.

While black feminists called for the recognition of racism in white feminist theorizing in the 1980s, white feminists were reluctant to relinquish their authority to define the social reality of the gendered subject. They strategically responded with liberal recognition of their ethnocentrism (the assumed authority of the white cultural perspective). In a heated debate in the pages of the journal *Feminist Review* (1984–1986), British white socialist feminists suggested that the solution to the problem of black female invisibility was to simply insert an appreciation of black cultural difference into the analysis of the family, work, and reproduction. Black feminists responded by arguing that racism had to be acknowledged if a truly critical position in relation to the discourse on whiteness was to take place.

By the end of the 1980s, the black feminist theoretical legitimacy began to be questioned by black women themselves, as the tensions of incorporating different ethnic, religious, political, and class differences among women under the banner of “black” remained unresolved. Sensitive to the limitations of such racial reductionism, and to the desire of many to explore emerging theories on postmodern difference, black feminist theorists have since turned to locating black female identity at the center of their analysis. In the space opened up by the discourse on postmodern identity and difference, black women continue

the critical task of excavating new forms of cultural racism legitimated by dominant regimes of representation.

Key writings in collections such as *Black British Feminism: A Reader*, edited by Heidi Safia Mirza (1997), are orientated around issues of identity and difference, exemplifying new directions within critical black British feminist theory. Black feminist scholars explore issues as diverse as mixed-race identity, lone motherhood, popular culture, literature, art and media representations. They challenge theories of racism and nationalism through their writings on citizenship and belonging, hybridity, diaspora, religion, culture, and sexuality. By placing the “self” and the body at the center of their theorizing on power and patriarchy, black British feminists are challenging fixed ideas of racial difference (i.e., essentialism) by rethinking “black” and Asian identity as fluid, complex and fragmented in nature. Through a variety of methodologies—such as the oral traditions of storytelling, life histories, and autobiography, and reworking sociological and psychological theory—black British feminists have demonstrated the critical creativity engendered by the “marginal” or “third” space they occupy.

As a critical social force, black British feminism is an intellectual and activist movement that is contingent in nature, shifting, confronting, and deconstructing the intersectionality of class, gender, and racial exclusion wherever it appears, not only in Eurocentric and Western feminist academic discourse, but also in regions and nations historically associated with Great Britain.

**SEE ALSO** *African Feminisms; Black Feminism in Brazil; Black Feminism in the United States; Feminism and Race; Womanism.*

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*Heidi Safia Mirza*

## BLACK FEMINISM IN THE UNITED STATES

A major sociological issue in any analysis of race and racism is the absence of a gender lens in race studies. This may seem surprising in the early twenty-first century in the wake of the growth and development of the feminisms of women of color in general and black feminist theorizing in particular. Nonetheless, the attempt to fully integrate gender and class into studies of race and racism remains incomplete. Yet the effort to transform studies of race and racism to reflect a complex matrix of inequalities continues. For at least two decades the absence of embedding race and racism relationally and interrelationally with gender, class, and sexuality has been challenged by black feminist thinkers and activists in the United States. Thus, black feminist thinkers have played a major role in recentering our understanding of race through an intersectional analysis: gender, sexuality, race, and class. Indeed, capitalist patriarchy profoundly shapes male/female relations generally, but it operates in the context of racism and white supremacy. This fundamental idea is at the core of black feminist thinking. Black feminist E. Frances White (2001) points out that in the race-centered political stances found in black nationalism, a gender-centered analysis is often not visible. This erasure of gender among black men is matched by the erasure of race in white feminism. As White asserts, neither of these approaches is analytically sound and both need to be rethought. In short, black women are rendered invisible in such either/or approaches.

Another signature move in the theory and practice of black feminism is placing black women at the center of analyses of race and racism. By theorizing from the bottom up, that is, through the everyday lives of African-American women and from the top down by analyzing social structure and political economy, the explication of the interplay between agency and social structure is central to black feminist theory and practice. Moreover, running

through black feminist analyses is the principle of what Gloria Hull, Patricia Bell-Scott, and Barbara Smith, in their 1982 book, call “the simultaneity of oppression.” These systems of inequality are in play at the same time but must be viewed in historical context. Race, for example, operates as a master signifier in a white supremacist society such as the United States, but not without being deeply shaped by class and gender. This is the conceptual underpinning of much of black feminist conceptualizations of African-American life.

The black feminist sociologist Deborah King (1988) calls attention to the multiplicative effects of race, class, and gender. These are not simply in additive relationship to one another (race + class + gender); these systems forcefully shape one another. Her work critiques additive thinking, parallelist tendencies, and oppositional dualistic thinking found in Western European intellectual thought. Gender must be articulated and theorized in the context of race and racism. This is a point largely absent from the “race alone” analyses of racism.

Black feminism is also rooted in a relational framework. This idea of relationality can be thought about in the context of the gendered, racialized, and class histories of peoples of color. These interrelated histories cannot be written strictly as comparative narratives. The issue is how deeply dependent and interconnected these legacies are. Indeed, the decisions and actions regarding the history of Asians, for example, is connected and informed by the decisions and actions regarding Africans, Native Americans, Europeans, and Latinos/Chicanos. Race, for example, is called into being simultaneously around the making of whiteness and the othering of so-called “non-whites.” This fundamental ideological rationalization for exploitation takes on a number of dimensions. Certainly the centrality of blackness and “absolute inferiority” of Africans, as was argued by racist scientists, conditions the way other groups are thought about in relationship to “whites.” Whiteness is made as are these other identities. Race is called into being in deep relationality to the expropriation of labor, enslavement, land theft, and the making of empire.

The gender dynamic must be considered in these histories. If white maleness represented the height of the “Great Chain of Being,” as Anne McClintock contends (1995), women of all groups were inferiorized and black, brown, and yellow men were feminized. Black women were masculinized and sexualized; and Asian women were sexualized and exploited. Latinas were sexualized as well as exploited as workhorses. Native women were sexualized and killed. These stories have to be thought about in relationship to the issues of labor and land as well as the deep intersectionality of race, class, and gender in these interconnected histories.

Most critically, black feminist theoretical moves are grounded explicitly in the black cultural experience in the United States and go beyond the simple inclusion of black feminist thought in white feminist sociology. This is the thanks that black feminists give to black nationalism, even in the wake of its gender problem. The power of representation and self-definition is a key theme in black nationalism, and these important ideas have certainly influenced black feminist thinkers. Analysts like White (2001) understand that race is deeply embedded in gender and class in the United States. Oyuranku Oyewumi (2005) contends that a feminist framework, rooted in white privilege and power, too often imposes a conceptual logic on black women that distorts or misrepresents that experience.

In sum, what is central about black feminism in the United States is its rootedness in the articulation of multiplicity, intersectionalities, relationality, and the simultaneity of oppressions. This intellectual frame not only challenges traditional studies of race and racism but a range of existing frameworks in sociology, women's studies, ethnic studies, and other disciplines that treat these inequalities in analytical isolation. Patricia Hill Collins (1986), for example, defines the disciplinary liability of dichotomous oppositional thinking. Upon this epistemological assumption is built the categories "white" over "black," "male" over "female," and all other hierarchies of oppression. An intellectual agenda that draws on the both/and cultural traditions of African-American women represents a healthy transformation of Eurocentric epistemologies.

Nonetheless, conflict around the meaning of black feminism is evident. The philosophical splintering on meaning runs the gamut from a mild form of feminism that weakly chastises men for sexism, placing a strong emphasis on the significance of complementarity in African life, to womanism in its various expressions. Complementarity and African womanist articulations of the gender dynamic in black life are rooted in more conventional black nationalist notions of womanhood. Some versions of womanism, such as that of Clenora Hudson-Weems (1998), locate it deeply in African principles rather than white European women's so-called culturally saturated feminism. This Afrocentric feminist perspective places itself squarely in a framework articulating the centrality of African culture, especially the principles of complementarity, self-determination, self-definition, and race first. These ideas coincide, of course, with the basic tenets of cultural nationalism.

Whatever the philosophical bent, black women's feminist or proto-feminist organizations have defined themselves broadly. Organizations such as Combahee River Collective stressed the simultaneity of oppressions: race, class, gender, sexism, and heterosexism. Black fem-

inists have called to task and criticized analyses that miss the powerful interplay of gender, race, and class. Their inventions have implications for the way the social sciences conceive of race. Most important, black feminist interventions have influenced the way black life in the United States is conceptualized.

At the center of black feminist thinking in the academy are the following questions: Where are the black women in scholarly analyses? How might one shift the center of much of the disciplinary scholarship locating the nexus of race, class, and gender as organizing frames in the production of knowledge? How do we render visible the history of lived experiences of black men and women in Africa and the African diaspora? African feminist centered knowledge(s) underpin a good deal of the current critique of black feminist thought in the United States. Oyewumi (2005) locates African thought and culture in knowledge reconstitution. She challenges through her cultural lenses the body logic of Western gender frames. Finally, a queer color critique has developed in the innovative work of scholars such as Roderick Ferguson (2004). Ferguson draws deeply on black feminist thinking while simultaneously challenging the embrace of the heteronormative in sociological theorizing.

The influence of black feminist thinking appears to be shaping the scholarship of those analysts who do not explicitly define themselves as black feminists. They seem to be somewhat more attuned to gender and race as interlocking realities in studies of race (for example, see the 2000 work of Joe Feagin, *Racist America*). Also worth noting is the recognition that black feminists in the academy, such as Angela Davis (1981), give to black women's activism and everyday lived experiences in the development of black feminist thought. As evidenced by Beverly Guy-Sheftall's 1995 anthology, this knowledge has begun to be systematically incorporated into the social sciences and humanities. Black feminist scholarship has affected the arts, humanities, history, social sciences, black studies, and health sciences, among other fields.

Yet some questions still remain: Whose interests are served by black women's scholarship within the academy? How might these scholars balance social responsibility with career imperatives? Studies in established university and research settings are centered in issues of power and inequality. Even so, the case can be made that African-American women have forged a resistive, self-defined, even sometimes feminist identity in the academy. Even before black feminism's visibility in the halls of academe, there was a long history of black women acting along both gender and race lines. Racially conscious women such as Anna J. Cooper and Ida B. Wells-Barnett were active in race and gender struggles at the turn of the twentieth century and into its early years.



**Angela Davis.** In the 1960s, Davis was associated with the Communist Party USA and the Black Panthers. She has also been outspoken on many women's issues and is a professor at the University of California, Santa Cruz. AP IMAGES.

The power of representation and self-definition is a key theme in black feminism, and these important ideas have certainly influenced the way social scientists have begun to rethink African-American agency. Yet the difficulties of understanding multiplicity within black communities, cross-cut by age, region, ethnicity, and class, are not resolved. Nevertheless, black feminists have placed gender at the center of race and class analyses. This intervention is changing the way race is being conceptualized and the way black life and thought are being imagined through the intersectional frames of black feminism.

SEE ALSO *African Feminisms; Black Feminism in Brazil; Black Feminism in the United Kingdom; Feminism and Race; Sexism; Sexuality; Womanism.*

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Rose M. Brewer

## BLACK INDIANS

The term *Black Indian* is used to describe a broad range of roles and identities that are very different from one another. At one end of the spectrum are people of African ancestry who also have Native Americans in their genealogies but generally have not participated in native society or culture. These include such prominent Americans as Crispus Attucks (a victim of the Boston Massacre in 1770), Frederick Douglass, Langston Hughes, Martin Luther King Jr., Oprah Winfrey, and Tiger Woods. At the other end of the spectrum are people of African ancestry who "went native" by joining an Indian nation and staying there as adopted citizens. These include such interesting and significant persons as Joseph "Black Joe" Hodge, a trapper and trader who joined the Seneca Nation of upstate New York about 1771 and served as interpreter and mediator between them and the English colonists. Perhaps the most celebrated of black people who joined the Indians was Jim Beckwourth. Born in Virginia in 1798, Beckwourth became a "Mountain

Man” in the Rocky Mountain area, married a Crow Indian woman, and became a chief of the Crow Nation. His testimony was crucial in exposing the atrocities of the Sand Creek Massacre in 1864. He narrated his biography to one T. D. Bonner, and it was published in 1856.

### MAROON COMMUNITIES

Such personages as these, however, constitute only a tiny fraction of those who combined African ancestry in some manner with Native American culture. Among the earliest were the “Maroon” populations that developed in the Atlantic coastal areas from Brazil to Virginia, and in the Caribbean, during the time of the slave trade. Some of them had an “Amistad” experience, having seized their slave ships and gone ashore as fugitives. They were soon joined by thousands of escaped slaves, and some took spouses from local Indian tribes. In this manner, they soon came to constitute a hybrid society. Because they spoke different African languages, some of them developed a European Pidgin language. In other cases, they learned a local Indian language that they developed to suit their own purposes, with the addition of some African vocabulary. The northernmost remaining representatives of these Maroon communities are the “Gullah” people of the Georgia Sea Islands, and the most numerous South American group comprises the “Bush Negroes” of Suriname (formerly Dutch Guiana). In between, geographically, the most numerous group is the Garifuna, or “Black Caribs,” of Central America and the Caribbean. Altogether, the Garifuna number several hundred thousand people.

As southern slave society expanded along the Atlantic coast of North America in the eighteenth century, the Maroon communities along the coast increasingly came under attack from slave raiders who sold them to southern planters. The Maroons were forced to gradually move south to seek refuge. Some joined with Indian nations, notably the Seminoles of Florida and the Creeks of Georgia and Alabama, who had a history of accepting foreign allies into their Confederacy. Previously, the Creeks had accepted hundreds of escaped white indentured servants, as well as thousands of refugees from devastated eastern tribes, such as the Hitchitis and Shawnees. Individuals or families could be absorbed by the existing towns of the Confederacy, but larger groups of Maroons could negotiate some kind of “client” status. As clients, they paid an annual “tribute” in products or services to their Indian patrons, but were not under their direct control.

The “elite” ranks of southeastern Indian tribes, or those who owned land and livestock, also took on black people, but as chattel slaves rather than clients. These slaves lived under the same conditions that existed under the institution of slavery elsewhere in the United States.

Both groups of blacks—slaves and clients—became somewhat “Indianized” in this situation, but the extent varied depending on local circumstances. At the extreme, Seminole blacks, who became known as Freedmen, spoke the Seminole language and participated fully in tribal politics. The man known to history as “Negro Abraham” was the chief negotiator for Seminole treaties with the U.S. government. Fully half the Seminole warriors who defeated the United States in a succession of three wars in the early nineteenth century were black. At the cessation of warfare, some black Seminoles joined the U.S. Army in the Southwest, where four of them earned the Congressional Medal of Honor.

After the Emancipation Proclamation, some confusion developed concerning the meaning of the word *freedmen*. The term *free black* was in use during slave times to designate a black who was not a slave. The newly freed slaves tended to use the term *freedman* to indicate their new status, though the term was already in use among Black Indians. But the Black Indians among the southeastern tribes, who were largely descended from Maroons, resented the implication that they were former slaves, and their descendents are still adamant in reserving the designation for themselves, stating that their ancestors “never were slaves.”

The last major incident of organized Maroon resistance to slavery in North America occurred in 1815, when the British abandoned their fort near Pensacola, Florida, leaving it and its armaments under control of 330 of their Maroon and Indian allies. Eight hundred black warriors from surrounding tribes soon joined them. The fort became known as “Negro Fort” and was attacked by the U.S. Army in March of 1816. After a lucky shot to the powder magazine by the Americans nearly destroyed the fort, the survivors who did not escape were killed or sold as slaves.

Some of the surviving Maroons joined major southeastern Indian tribes, while others fled to one of the small communities in isolated areas of the eastern United States, which became known as “triracial” communities. The people in these communities had ancestry among whites, blacks, and Indians, and they tried to remain inconspicuous to avoid persecution as blacks or removal to Indian Territory as Indians. Some are only now emerging from obscurity, hoping to be recognized as Indians by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. There are more than a hundred such communities, some of the more visible being the Brass Ankles and Turks of South Carolina, the Haliwas of North Carolina, the Melungeons of Tennessee, and the Red Bones of Louisiana. Some of them have Web sites supporting their historical claims.

### BLACK INDIANS IN INDIAN TERRITORY

Most Black Indians attached to the five “Civilized Tribes” of the Southeast (the Seminoles, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Cherokees) ultimately moved with these tribes when they were moved onto reservations in what is now Oklahoma in the 1830s. Their role in tribal government varied, however, from direct participation to a more marginal status, but they were all regarded legally as Indians, for example, when land was distributed to individuals under the Dawes Act in the early 1900s. As tribal claims have arisen since then concerning land and other settlements, Black Indians, or freedmen, have always demanded and received their share.

Ever since Indian Territory became part of the state of Oklahoma in 1907, there has been a steady tendency of Black Indians to melt into the general African-American population, unless there was some issue in the tribe that maintained their attention. In the city of Tulsa, Oklahoma, for example, there are a large number of African Americans descended from Black Indians on the Dawes enrollment rosters. Periodically, there have been attempts by racist elements in the Indian tribes to expel their black citizens. One such incident occurred in March 2006, when Cherokee Principal Chief Chad Smith proposed the removal of 2,800 Black Cherokees from the tribal roster.

### BLACK INDIANS IN CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA

The experiences of Black Indians south of the United States has been rather different, for both economic and geographic reasons. In Dutch Guiana, which the Dutch received as a colony from England in 1667 in exchange for Manhattan Island, the original inhabitants were Arawak and Carib Indians. The Dutch imported West African slaves for agriculture and treated them very brutally, perhaps not understanding that the slaves understood quite well how to live in the tropical forest and could escape and live successfully in the interior, which was not occupied by the colonists. Hundreds of slaves escaped in the first few decades of slavery and intermarried with the two tribes of Indians. Over the next three centuries, Indians and Africans created a mosaic of hybrid societies in the interior, which evolved through time to become the Djuka, Saramaccaner, Matuwari, Paramaccaner, and Quinti tribes, with a present population of about 30,000 persons. Collectively, they became known as “Bush Negroes.”

From the first, the Bush Negroes aggressively attacked the Dutch plantations, raiding them for goods and to free other slaves, so that a “no man’s land” was created between what is now known as the district of Sipaliwini, in the

interior, and the coastal area that the Dutch were developing for agriculture and mineral extraction. Dutch Guiana was renamed Suriname when it became self-governing in 1954, and political tensions became exacerbated among all the ethnic groups, resulting in an outright Bush Negro insurgency in 1986. The revolt, which became known as the “Maroon Insurgency,” was led by a former soldier named Ronnie Brunswijk, who began attacking economic targets in the interior. The army retaliated brutally, forcing many Bush Negroes to flee to neighboring French Guiana. A peace treaty, called the Kourou Accord, was negotiated in 1989, but it was not implemented. The political situation has remained tense and complex since then, but the Bush Negroes have emerged as a significant and independent political force in the national arena.

The Black Indians called Garifuna have a past that may be, in part, mythological, beginning with a pre-Columbian incident in which the Arawaks of St. Vincent Island were attacked by Kalipuna from mainland South America, who killed the Arawak men and married their women. A more reliable story concerns the arrival of Africans aboard two Spanish ships carrying slaves for the Americas in 1675, which were wrecked on the same island. The Spanish-Kalipuna-Arawak-Nigerian admixture is supposed to be the origin of the Garifuna, or Black Caribs.

More historical documents come into play with the struggle between British and French forces for control of the island. The British won in 1763 and promptly expelled the Garifuna, killing many of them out of fear that a population of free blacks would be troublesome on an island where they wanted to establish slave plantations. The expelled Garifuna were then settled around the Caribbean in appropriate places, providing the seeds for a pan-Caribbean population that now numbers about 200,000 people. The Spanish helped in the dispersion of Black Caribs, transporting them to Spanish colonies to become independent farmers, craftsmen, and even soldiers. Because of their presence in the Spanish army, the Black Caribs were made to feel unwelcome when the former Spanish colonies became independent in the nineteenth century. Consequently, many Black Caribs migrated to Belize, then under British control and called British Honduras. The date of their arrival, November 19, 1832, is referred to as Garifuna Settlement Day among Garifuna communities, and it has become a major holiday.

Because of their participation in maritime trade, the Garifuna have established colonies in major cities around the world, especially New Orleans, Los Angeles, and New York City. Present population estimates for nearly 200,000 people from various sources are as follows: Honduras, 120,000; Belize, 17,000; Guatemala, 3,000;

New York City, 30,000; Los Angeles, 25,000; and New Orleans, 4,000.

The historical experience of the Garifunas has been quite different from that of other Black Indians. Instead of being forced to defend their territories from an encroaching colonial frontier, they found themselves transported around the Caribbean by various colonial powers for political and economic purposes. Spread among many countries, they have not constituted a unified political threat to established governments. But their proficiencies in the arts and crafts are widely celebrated, and they are currently the focus of efforts to increase tourism in the countries where they live. The experiences of other groups of Maroons around the Caribbean are included in the collection *Maroon Societies*, edited by Richard Price and originally published in 1973.

SEE ALSO *Triracial Isolates*.

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John H. Moore

## BLACK POPULAR CULTURE

Although black popular culture involves all people of African descent internationally, U.S. black popular culture is often highlighted because it is within U.S. culture and U.S. culture is increasingly exported to the entire world. Black popular culture is the part of all black cultures that is concerned with pleasure, enjoyment, and amusement; that represents the identity and politics of black cultures according to each culture's beliefs, values, experiences, and social institutions; and that is expressed through aesthetic codes

and genres. British cultural studies pioneer Stuart Hall in *Black Popular Culture* (1992) describes the "black repertoire" of which black popular culture originates as involving style, music, and the use of the body as a canvas of representation. He further qualifies "good" and authentic black popular culture as the kind that refers to black experiences, black expressivity, and black counternarratives. Eight distinguishing features characteristic of popular culture are also applicable to black popular culture:

1. Its components of people, objects, activities, events, and the arts.
2. Theological aspects, including ultimate concern, faith, religious symbols, and revelation and ecstasy.
3. Cultural struggle, resistance, contestation, and opposition.
4. Production, circulation, consumption, reproduction, and distribution.
5. Its socially constructed nature.
6. System of signs and symbols.
7. Mode of communication.
8. Commodification, commercialization, and stereotyping.

In general, black cultural expression has always been a way of resisting racial oppression, articulating experiences of resistance and struggle, and articulating oppositional identities. Historian Kevern Verney in *African Americans and U.S. Popular Culture* (2003) notes several key issues that exist between black popular culture and the concepts of race and racism. These include:

1. The persistent negative stereotyping of African Americans in popular culture, and the impact this had on the racial perceptions of both black and white Americans.
2. The role of popular culture in holding back or facilitating change in U.S. race relations, particularly between blacks and whites (but with far-reaching impact on race relations of all groups in the United States).
3. The recurring historical paradox that whereas white Americans have frequently recognized black cultural achievement, African Americans themselves continued to be perceived as socially and racially inferior.
4. The enormous, and continuing, contribution made by African Americans to U.S. popular culture.
5. How Hollywood and the entertainment industry in particular have encouraged racism through misrepresentations and caricatured images of African Americans.

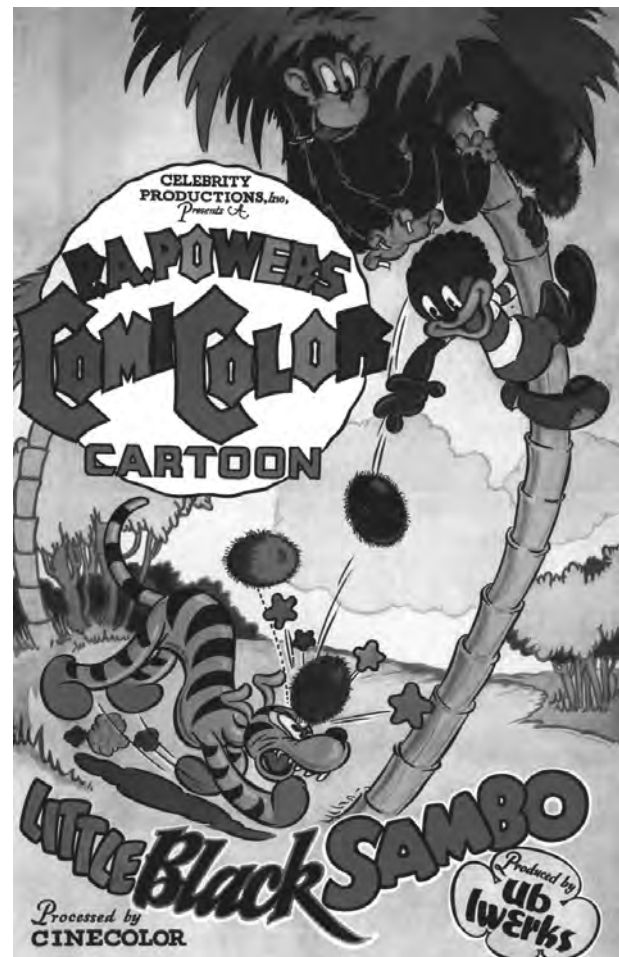
## INTELLECTUAL GENEALOGY OF STUDY OF BLACK POPULAR CULTURE

The intellectual genealogy of the study of black popular culture begins with the first collection of Negro spirituals (or black spirituals), *Slave Songs of the United States* (1867), edited by William Allen, Charles Ware, and Lucy Garrison, and the work of several African American intellectuals, professors, and composers. Ethnomusicologist Portia Maultsby explains in her essay “Music in African American Culture” (1996) that the introduction to *Slave Songs of the United States* and research by scholars such as Maud Cuney-Hare (1874–1936), R. Nathaniel Dett (1882–1943), W. E. B. Du Bois (1868–1963), Zora Neale Hurston (1891–1960), Alain Locke (1886–1954), Eva Jessye (1895–1992), James Weldon Johnson (1871–1938), James M. Trotter (1842–1892), and John Work (1901–1967) were the first scholarly studies on African American music, focusing particularly on black spirituals. They represent early attempts to provide a sociocultural context for understanding the complexities of this black American religious musical tradition.

In all, these studies not only initiated the scholarly study of black music but also initiated the study of black popular culture. The connection between the study of black music and the study of black popular culture is important to note because music has been often characterized as *the* central element of all black cultures. In his book *Black Talk* (1981), sociologist Ben Sidran states that black music is both conspicuous and “crucial” to black culture. In addition, he contended that music was “not only a reflection of the values of black culture but, to some extent, the basis upon which it is built” (p. xxi). Stuart Hall concurred when he described black music as the “deep form, the deep structure” of black popular culture (1992, p. 27). Sociologist Ellis Cashmore, in *The Black Culture Industry* (1997), describes black music as being “virtually synonymous with black culture” (p. 3). Furthermore, when describing an African American aesthetic in her book *Signifyin(g), Sanctifyin’, and Slam Dunking* (1999), Gena Degal Caponi asserts that music is the “key” to the aesthetic she is discussing and the “fulcrum of African culture and the expression that sustained African aesthetic principles in the Americas” (p. 10). Scholarship on black music provides cues for locating and discovering other forms of black popular culture.

## DU BOIS AND THE STUDY OF BLACK POPULAR CULTURE

The leading black intellectual who bridged the gap between the study of black music and black popular culture was sociologist William Edward Burghardt Du Bois. Du Bois, a preeminent scholar-intellectual, wrote



**Little Black Sambo, 1933.** The character of Little Black Sambo first appeared in a children’s book in 1899. Set in India, it did not have the racist overtones that later depictions would highlight. The poster shown here is a vivid example of such versions. IMAGE COURTESY OF THE ADVERTISING ARCHIVES.

extensively on the sociology and history of African Americans and pioneered the editing of numerous journals of opinion devoted to racial issues. Not only did Du Bois analyze black slave songs in his *Souls of Black Folk* (1903) and *The Gift of Black Folk* (1924), he also wrote about the sociological implications of popular culture and blacks in a little-known article in 1897 titled “The Problem of Amusement.” Du Bois did not label the phenomenon he was describing and pondering as “black popular culture” but rather “the question of the amusements of Negroes” (2000 [1897]). However, it was an inquiry into black popular culture because he referred to dancing, playing cards, drinking, smoking, and playing football, all of which are activities considered to be popular culture.

In “The Problem of Amusement,” Du Bois described late-nineteenth-century black urban attitudes toward popular



culture, what institutions among them conducted popular culture, and what the “tendency of indulgence” was toward particular types of popular culture. Whereas Du Bois maintained that the pursuit of popular culture in the city by young black men and women from rural communities was “disastrous,” he believed amusement was a necessary and legitimate pursuit. Du Bois reveals an interesting problematic that had to do with conditions that were peculiar to urban black Americans and their pursuit of popular culture at that time. The first condition was that African Americans were excluded from mainstream public amusements in the cities to which they migrated and, second, that the chief purveyor of popular culture to black people was the black church, which in theory was opposed to modern popular culture. Du Bois concludes that the activities of the black church should become differentiated and that it must surrender its default function of providing “amusement” for its members to the school, home, and other social organizations. This was because he surmised that it was difficult for the black church to deny the need for popular culture while at the same time dissipating its spiritual purpose by furnishing popular culture activities for its members.

Largely a sociological analysis of the role of popular culture in the lives of late-nineteenth-century urban black Americans, Du Bois’s essay revealed the need to study black popular culture in American culture, connected the production and experience of black popular culture to American culture and society, articulated the importance and relationship of the black church to popular culture and its members, and formulated questions about the issues of pleasure, race, racism, and the African presence in America.

#### CRITICAL ISSUES IN BLACK POPULAR CULTURE

Scholars of black popular culture generally examine it from two broad theoretical approaches: popular culture as object and popular culture as practice. This is to say that one type of scholarly work about black popular culture isolates its forms and discovers and interrogates its components. The other approach regards popular culture as a practice that facilitates an understanding of how political, social, and economic conditions and contexts affect the everyday lives of people. Therefore, for example, the first approach might examine rap music and describe its aesthetic and its relationship to African traditions, while the other approach would seek to explain how the rap aesthetic or its relationship to African traditions could empower its creators.

The first two edited volumes of essays on black popular culture are aligned with the “popular culture as object (or text)” approach. Essays in Marshall Fishwick’s *Remus, Rastus, Revolution* (1971) and Harry B. Shaw’s

*Perspectives of Black Popular Culture* (1990) investigated and introduced (as was the case with *Remus, Rastus, Revolution*) relatively unknown forms of black folk and popular expression to American scholarship on culture. Many of the contributors in both volumes incorporated semiology, or the system of signification, to explore such black cultural forms as the Sambo stereotype, the calypso tradition in the West Indies, and the black tavern. Interestingly, both volumes included essays on the Sambo stereotype, which demonstrates the enduring importance of representation and image in U.S. black popular culture. Also aligning with the “popular culture as text” approach, Gena Dagele Caponi’s *Signifyin(g), Sanctifyin’, and Slam Dunking: A Reader in African American Expressive Culture* (1999) focuses on building an aesthetic of black expressive culture (which is essentially black popular culture) in the areas of music, dance, orature, sports, and the display of the body.

Edited volumes of the 1990s were informed by the “popular culture as practice” theoretical paradigm. These include Gina Dent’s *Black Popular Culture* (1992) and Joseph K. Adjaye and Adrienne R. Andrews’s *Language, Rhythm, and Sound: Black Popular Cultures into the Twenty-First Century* (1997). Both volumes are informed by cultural theories of the British tradition of ideology, hegemony, and counterhegemony; the French tradition of semiology; and the construction of reality and black feminism and postmodernism. Essays examine such questions as production and consumption; youth, gender, and sexuality; technology, capital, and labor; the relationship between mainstream and the marginal; and popular culture as a site of resistance. In the British tradition of cultural studies, Ellis Cashmore’s *The Black Culture Industry* (1997) examines how black culture has been converted into a commodity (usually in the interests of white-owned corporations); how blacks have been permitted to excel in entertainment only on the condition that they conform to whites’ images of blacks; and how blacks themselves, when they rise to the top of the corporate entertainment ladder, have tended to act precisely as whites have in similar circumstances.

Harry J. Elam Jr. and Kennell Jackson’s 2005 collection of essays on popular culture and global performance, *Black Cultural Traffic*, is significant for its stress on the actual movements of black cultural material from place to place geographically. Elam and Kennell describe Paul Gilroy’s *The Black Atlantic* (1993) as the seminal work promoting black cultural traffic. Contributors analyzed various forms of black popular culture and “tracked” them in travel, observing what happened to the materials as they crossed local, regional, national, racial, and ethnic boundaries. They also extended or challenged the meaning of such concepts in cultural studies as authenticity (the capacity for cultural



**Richard Pryor.** The comedian and actor Richard Pryor became famous for his brilliant stand-up comedy routines in the 1970s and 80s. Pryor transformed African American culture into humorous performance art. AP IMAGES.

productions to be true to their roots and origins), appropriation (the borrowing, or theft, of an element of cultural expression of one group by another group), hybridity (the idea that traces of other cultures exist in every culture), globalization (the increasing global connectivity, integration, and interdependence in the economic, social, technological, cultural, political, and ecological spheres of everyday life), commodity (the reference to such cultural expressions as music and style as standardized for consumption by the masses), and cultural tradition.

Apart from these approaches is Kevern Verney's *African Americans and U.S. Popular Culture* (2003), which analyzes the role and significance of race in several major forms of popular culture, including sport, film, television, radio, and music. Verney's study is useful because it is an introduction to the history of African Americans in U.S. popular culture, examining its development from the early nineteenth century to the present. In addition, books and

essays by black scholar-intellectuals Michele Wallace (*Dark Designs and Visual Culture*, 2004), Michael Eric Dyson (*Reflecting Black: African-American Cultural Criticism*, 1993), Todd Boyd (*Am I Black Enough for You?: Popular Culture from the 'Hood and Beyond*, 1997), and Mark Anthony Neal (*Soul Babies: Black Popular Culture and the Post-Soul Aesthetic*, 2002) should be noted because of their specific intent to explore black popular culture for insights into contemporary black American culture.

#### HIP-HOP, RACE, AND BLACK POPULAR CULTURE

The popular and academic interest in hip-hop culture and its expressive domains, rapping, graffiti writing, break dancing, emceeing, and deejaying (through mass media coverage in newspapers and magazines and in the presentation of conferences, publication of books, and college course offerings) has grown exponentially since the early 1990s. Murray Forman and Mark Anthony Neal's edited volume, *That's the Joint!: The Hip-Hop Studies Reader* (2004), attests to the depth and breadth of hip-hop cultural productions. This increase in popular and academic attention to hip-hop culture is the result in part of the fact that hip-hop culture and rap music, through globalization and the transnationalization of U.S. popular culture, is circulated internationally, giving birth to other hip-hop forms and genres in such disparate regions as Colombia, France, Poland, Bosnia and Croatia, Japan, Brazil, South Africa, Jamaica, Cuba, and Native Hawaii.

Hip-hop culture is decidedly global, urban, and connected to youth culture, according to Halifu Osumare in *Black Cultural Traffic* (Elam and Jackson 2005). Hip-hop culture, particularly rap music, brings together some of the most complex social, cultural, and political issues in contemporary American society. According to cultural studies scholar Tricia Rose in her seminal work on rap music, *Black Noise: Rap Music and Black Culture in Contemporary America* (1994), rap music is a black cultural expression that prioritizes black voices from the margins of urban America. These voices articulate the pleasures and problems of black urban life in contemporary America and the shifting terms of black marginality in contemporary American culture. Rap music's multidimensional nature builds from its primary context of development in hip-hop culture, the Afro-diasporic traditions it extends and revises, and the New York urban terrain in the 1970s.

As publications by Michael Eric Dyson (*Holler If You Hear Me: Searching for Tupac Shakur*, 2001) and Jon Michael Spencer (*The Emergency of Black and the Emergence of Rap*, 1991) demonstrate, race, racism, religion, and spirituality are connected to hip-hop culture, just as they are connected to black popular culture in general. For example, negative stereotyping persists in the entertainment industry

especially through rap videos that disseminate misrepresentations and caricatured images of African Americans and that portray black females as sexual objects. Stereotyping is also seen in such television programs as MTV's *Pimp My Ride* and VH-1's *Flavor of Love* that subtly exalt the "gangsta" lifestyle. While hip-hop culture, particularly through the lyrics and videos of rap music, illustrate the culture's valuing of sexism, consumerism, and violence, it also reflects ultimate concerns about life and death, hopes and fears, self-affirmation, social and political liberation, and the ethic of truth telling. Hip-hop culture is a microcosm of and is the epitome of contemporary U.S. black popular culture because it encompasses the meanings, values, complexities, pleasures, and experiences of being black in the United States.

SEE ALSO *Hip-Hop Culture; Rap Music.*

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Angela M. Nelson

## BLACK RECONSTRUCTION

The term *Black Reconstruction* refers to the actions and activities of both black and white Americans in the period immediately after the Civil War. It involved the transformation of Southern political, economic, and social institutions in a manner consistent with the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, which collectively established black freedom and equality. Many historians define Black Reconstruction as spanning the years from 1863 (the year of the Emancipation Proclamation, which made possible widespread black military participation in the Civil War) through 1877 (the year of

the national political agreement to remove federal troops from the South). However, significant political and other Reconstruction activity by African Americans continued at the local and state levels beyond 1877.

The rebuilding of Southern society and the political reintegration of the South into the nation after the Civil War is referred to more generally simply as Reconstruction. Unfortunately, for the first half of the twentieth century, scholarly and historical attention focused almost exclusively on the actions of whites, both in the South and in the North, and ignored the immense contributions of African Americans. Moreover, to the extent that white historians considered the activities of African Americans at all, for much of the twentieth century they adopted the white supremacist views that Columbia University professor William Dunning and his followers held at the turn of the nineteenth century. These historians denigrated Reconstruction as a “mistake” precisely because black Americans briefly attained some political power in the regions of their former bondage. This view was reproduced in popular form by the film *The Birth of a Nation* (1915) and the book on which it was based, *The Clansman* (1902), both of which stigmatized African Americans and lauded white terrorist groups such as the Ku Klux Klan. The history of Reconstruction became a principal means by which whites, in both the South and the North, manipulated historical memories in order to reify a post-slavery racialism.

A dissenting view of Reconstruction that recognized African-American achievements was preserved and developed by some scholars, most notably W. E. B. Du Bois, whose magisterial 1935 work on the period was titled *Black Reconstruction*, and John Hope Franklin, whose *From Slavery to Freedom* was first published in 1947 and is still widely read some four million copies later. Thus, the term *Black Reconstruction* operates at two levels: (1) it focuses on the overlooked contributions of black Americans to this period in American history; and (2) it presents a corrective to the racism of first decades of the twentieth century by more fairly analyzing the achievements and failures of both black and white actors during Reconstruction.

#### THE INITIAL STAGES

One can trace the beginnings of Black Reconstruction to the service of some 160,000 former slaves and 40,000 free African Americans who served as soldiers in the Union during the Civil War. These soldiers not only provided the manpower essential to the North's victory, they also staked an undeniable claim to be transformed from a state of slavery into full citizenship after the war. Many of these former soldiers became integral to the black and interracial civic and political organizations in the South. This story is evident, for example, in the experience of Abraham Galloway, who had been born a slave near Wilmington, North

Carolina, and who may have been inspired by the writings and ideas of David Walker, a free black who was also from Wilmington. Saving money as a brick mason beyond that demanded by his owner, Galloway escaped to an African-American abolitionist community in Ontario, Canada. When the Civil War began, he returned to the United States and served as a spy in the intelligence service of the Union army in eastern North Carolina. In recruiting other blacks for the Union army, Galloway was seen as a natural leader and was made a member of a delegation of blacks who met with President Abraham Lincoln in 1863 on the issue of black suffrage. Galloway attended the massive National Convention of Colored Citizens held in Syracuse, New York, in 1864 to consider the postwar situation of African Americans. He also started state and local chapters of the Equal Rights League. These leagues served as political and civic associations throughout the country, fighting for equal civil, political, and social rights for black citizens. They also represented, along with black churches, schools, and other organizations, the framework of a burgeoning African-American civic life.

Galloway and other leaders, such as Tunis Campbell in Georgia, soon discovered that the resistance of most white Southerners to citizenship claims by blacks was swift and violent. First, in 1865 and 1866, the white South passed the “Black Codes,” separate laws modeled in part on the antebellum laws restricting free blacks in both the North and South. These laws restricted basic contract and property rights for African Americans, imposed particularly severe criminal and vagrancy punishments, and otherwise established a legal basis for second-class citizenship. In turn, these reactionary laws radicalized the Republican Party in Congress, which passed the Civil Rights Act of 1866 to outlaw the Black Codes. Then, in 1867, the Congress passed Reconstruction legislation that required black suffrage as a condition of readmission of the former Confederate states to the Union.

What former Confederates could not achieve through law, however, they sought to gain by violence. Thus began, in earnest, the white terrorist or vigilante organizations such as Red Shirts, the Regulators, the Knights of the White Camelia, and, above all, the Ku Klux Klan. The Klan engaged in extreme violence, often against blacks who, in the words of one former Confederate, had attained some “status in society” through property holdings, labor or political activism, or general social standing. In the face of such violence, both Galloway and Campbell helped form black militias that provided some level of protection against white terrorism. For a time, the freedpeople depended on the federal government as a means of protection against white Southern violence and legal manipulation. The Bureau of Freedmen, Refugees, and Abandoned Lands, or the Freedmen's Bureau, had been established on March 3, 1865, to provide basic necessities to freed slaves and

refugees in the South. At first there had been some hope that congressmen committed to black rights, including Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner, would be able to implement land reform through the bureau and realize the goal of the then common phrase, "forty acres and a mule." President Andrew Johnson and his conservative allies in Congress, however, eliminated this essential reform, and the bureau thereafter concentrated on labor, education, public welfare, and access to justice. Although the Freedmen's Bureau often supported white Southern landowners in attempts to secure black labor, it also provided basic food, medical aid, education, and legal protection to many African Americans in the South. In addition, the bureau presented African Americans with opportunities for leadership as officers and agents. John Mercer Langston, for example, served as a national officer in the bureau after the war. Langston went on to establish the law department at Howard University (the school was named after the head of the bureau, General O. O. Howard), serve as the school's acting president, become a member of Congress from Virginia, and represent the United States as minister to Haiti.

Tunis Campbell had also served in the Freedmen's Bureau, where he was in charge of the initial land redistribution in the Sea Island region of Georgia. When President Johnson pardoned former Confederates in 1865 and allowed former slaveholders to reclaim their land, Campbell organized the black community and purchased land to better secure the rights, property, and safety of his community. Like many other black leaders from both the North and the South, Campbell then became a leader in Southern state and local Republican politics. With the support of congressional legislation and federal troops, many Southern states were required to implement African-American suffrage in their reconstructed legislatures and state constitutional conventions. People such as Campbell and the Reverend Henry McNeal Turner served prominently in the Reconstruction state constitutional conventions, and many black veterans and officers of the Freedmen's Bureau served in the conventions and the Reconstruction legislatures.

Through these interracial political bodies, many Southern states ratified the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, which would likely not have been ratified without black political participation, both as voters and as convention delegates. Several Southern states also passed broad legislative reform programs that included laws desegregating public accommodations, founding and supporting public schooling, and reforming criminal laws and punishments. Moreover, the composition of these legislatures reflected the broad civil society that had formed so quickly in Southern black communities. Of the African-American members of these reconstructed state legislatures, over one hundred were ministers and seventy were teachers, attesting

to the importance of religious organizations and education in the civil and political life of the black South. This is evident, for instance, in the career of Reverend Turner, a South Carolina free man. Turner was trained as a minister and appointed by President Lincoln as the Union army's first black chaplain. Like Tunis Campbell, Turner worked for the Freedmen's Bureau in Georgia after the war. He later founded the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church in Georgia and served in the state legislature until he was expelled without cause.

### BLACK POLITICAL POWER

Federal assistance also occasionally helped blacks combat white violence. Extensive Klan violence forced the hand of congressional Republicans, who, under the authority of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, enacted federal legislation to enable federal prosecution of the perpetrators. Black members of Congress, including the first African-American U.S. senator, Hiram Revels of Mississippi, and the first African-American member of the House of Representatives, Joseph Rainey of South Carolina, together praised this legislation as essential to protecting freedom and citizenship. In South Carolina, federal prosecution of the Klan under this law helped curb Klan violence and made it safer for the black majority in the state to hold and exercise political power. Indeed, this combination of federal enforcement of the laws and the initiative of black citizens—in politics, self-protection, and community organization—briefly appeared to be a viable counterweight to Southern white efforts to reimpose the slave system. In South Carolina, for instance, African-American politicians such as Rainey, Robert Smalls, and Robert B. Elliot were able to win election to the U.S. House of Representatives, African Americans held a majority in the state house of representatives for several years, and African Americans served as Speakers of the House for four years (including Elliot, from 1874–1876).

Blacks also saw significant political success in Louisiana, where Oscar J. Dunn, P. B. S. Pinchback, and Caesar Antoine served as lieutenant governors for most of the Reconstruction era. Pinchback even served as America's first black governor for a brief period. In Mississippi, African Americans held positions as lieutenant governor, secretary of state, and superintendent of education, and John R. Lynch served as Speaker of the House and was subsequently elected to Congress. All told, twenty-two African Americans served in Congress as a result of Reconstruction, and more than 600 African Americans served in state legislatures throughout the South, mostly from 1868 through 1877.

Black political power was also felt on the local level, where African Americans held numerous positions, such

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as sheriffs, justices of the peace, city aldermen, and county commissioners. Indeed, it was perhaps at this everyday level that the immediacy of racial equality had the greatest impact on whites and blacks alike. For black Southerners, the prospect of having black local officials available for dispensing government assistance or everyday justice made real the hope of equal citizenship. For many white Southerners, on the other hand, the same situation seemed to turn reality upside-down. Many whites viewed this period not as an experiment in racial equality but as an era of “Negro domination” in which blacks seemed to exercise power at all levels of government. For these whites of the postwar South, there could be no racial equality; any and all exercises of power by African Americans amounted to “domination.”

On the other hand, as long as the Republicans saw black suffrage as clearly aligned with their own political interests, federal support for suffrage was possible. Indeed, even after the Compromise of 1877, national Republicans continued for about fifteen years to support, albeit in vain, federal actions and legislation to protect black suffrage.

As part of this battle for black equality and power during Reconstruction, African Americans throughout the South developed newer strategies for claiming rights through demonstrations and protests. In New Orleans, for instance, African Americans and white supporters marched in July 1866 in favor of suffrage in what has been described as the first American civil rights march. The New Orleans Race Riot of 1866 erupted when the marchers were met by an angry, violent white mob. Other forms of protest included successful sit-ins on streetcars in Richmond, Charleston, and New Orleans in 1867. The passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1875, which gave private persons a right of action against owners of segregated public accommodations, also inspired protest actions and litigation. Black workers also engaged in strikes for better working conditions, both in the early years of Reconstruction and in the waning days of the late 1870s into the 1880s when a national union, the Knights of Labor, supported black workers in the South.

### **THE END OF RECONSTRUCTION**

Still, despite these early achievements and the tireless work of people such as Campbell, Elliot, and Rainey, conservative whites were often able to defeat or overturn Republican reform programs. Indeed, such a coalition of whites in Georgia denied the right of black legislators who had been elected in 1868 to take their seats (Georgia legislators also refused to ratify the Fifteenth Amendment). White democrats used election fraud and violence to recapture political power. The most notorious of these events occurred in Colfax, Louisiana, where, on Easter Sunday, April 13, 1873, armed whites attacked blacks in

an effort to unseat local black officeholders after a disputed local election. Over 105 blacks were killed in the violence.

The growing unwillingness of the federal government and the national Republican Party to support African Americans in the South in the 1870s culminated in the election of 1876. The presidential contest between the Republican candidate, Rutherford B. Hayes, and the Democrat Samuel J. Tilden remained undecided after election day, with the electors from three southern states—South Carolina, Louisiana, and Florida—in dispute. As part of a political compromise, Hayes was awarded the electors and the presidency, but Republicans agreed to remove all troops from the South. Blacks in the South were left without even minimal federal protection, and white Democrats were able to regain and secure full political power in the ensuing decade.

While the Compromise of 1877 marked the sharpest sign that Reconstruction was over, its full demise took several more years. In 1883, the U.S. Supreme Court extinguished the embers of Reconstruction when it ruled, in the *Civil Rights Cases*, that the federal Civil Rights Act of 1875, the last of the federal Reconstruction Acts that sought to protect civil rights in public accommodations, was unconstitutional. In this and related cases, the Supreme Court ensured that the Constitution would be transformed from a document creating equal citizenship to a roadblock to freedom. Still, for a period of about fifteen years, African Americans in certain areas of the South maintained some level of political power, particularly where they were able to join with populist white politicians, and where the law had not yet reverted to the Jim Crow regime of legally compelled segregation that had been implemented before Reconstruction under the Black Codes. The achievements of Reconstruction thus lingered for several years, finally falling away near the turn of the century with the federal acceptance of legal segregation in *Plessey v. Ferguson* and the complete implementation of disenfranchisement by the start of the twentieth century.

### **LAYING THE FOUNDATION FOR FUTURE RESISTANCE**

This defeat of Reconstruction and its promise of racial equality and equal citizenship has led many people to see that era as a tragic failure. W. E. B. Du Bois famously wrote in 1935: “the slave went free; stood a brief moment in the sun; then moved back again toward slavery.” While such a conclusion is correct in terms of the fundamental access of African Americans to political and economic power, one should not forget that some of the structures built by blacks, and some of the hopes fostered by the experiences

of Black Reconstruction, lived on. Even as federal and moderate white support for Reconstruction waned in the 1870s, and as African Americans lost many of the political and economic gains they had achieved during Reconstruction, many blacks continued to build communities and maintain some political power. With the resistance of whites to interracial politics and society plainly evident, many African Americans, including Turner and Campbell, emphasized black-centered communities and organizations. Some even formed African American towns—such as Nicodemus, Kansas, and Langston, Oklahoma—which were started by African Americans after the end of Reconstruction in 1877 as part of a black emigration known as the Exoduster movement.

In response to white efforts to impose racialism on the southern polity, and thus extend the race ideas of slavery into the postslavery world, black Southerners sought to redefine an identity for themselves. While some did this by moving out of the South, for most African Americans it was the continued building of strong black communities, rather than mass emigration, that kept alive the hopes and possibilities of Reconstruction. The foundations built during Reconstruction—foundations in black education, black churches, and black political and community organizations—would continue to provide support to African Americans in the South throughout the long years of Jim Crow.

The ways in which the Reconstruction era allowed for the building of foundations in black communities can be seen in the development of a parallel civil society within black communities, a process that began during Reconstruction and continued throughout the Jim Crow era. For example, in Reconstruction-era Richmond, Virginia, mass meetings held at local black churches to celebrate the end of slavery in 1865 quickly transformed into the political, educational, and public-assistance organizations that acted and advocated on behalf of African Americans throughout Reconstruction. Particularly important to this struggle was the contribution of black women, who were fully engaged in the activities and ideas of these organizations. Women even formed or took part in militias and carried arms in an effort to support and protect black communities and the exercise of freedom, including the protection of black men attempting to vote in the face of white violence and threats. Ultimately, despite the overwhelming failure of Reconstruction to realize equal citizenship, it was the creation of these frameworks for the development of black communities that maintained the promise of Reconstruction. Through these efforts, African Americans would attain the education, begin the economic development, and build the supportive communities that would be necessary to eventually challenge Jim Crow.

SEE ALSO *Black Codes; Civil Rights Acts; Freedmen's Bureau; Ku Klux Klan; Plessy v. Ferguson; Turner, Henry McNeal; United States Constitution; Walker, David.*

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James W. Fox Jr.

## BLACK-WHITE INTERMARRIAGE

The term *intermarriage* typically refers to marriages between individuals of different socially constructed racial and ethnic groups. In the United States, however, these unions are usually defined as *interracial*. Such unions are often depicted as being between white and nonwhite persons, with an emphasis on white-black unions. Historically, interracial sexuality, especially between white women and nonwhite men, was forbidden in both public discourse and laws; it was legally and socially stigmatized. For white men, having sex with women of any race was acceptable as long as it was not public. Legal, political, and social restrictions against these relationships have existed at various times, and even in

## *Black-White Intermarriage*

the early twenty-first century interracial marriage rates remain low, accounting for only 5.4 percent of all marriages in the country, according to the 2000 Census.

### THE EARLY HISTORY OF MISCEGENATION IN AMERICA

Maintaining racial purity within the white race has been the dominant discourse in marriage laws and intermarriage prohibitions. Historically, legal restrictions placed on intermarriage and miscegenation have varied by state. In some states intermarriage was legal, while in others it was illegal. Miscegenation had been discouraged and treated as socially deviant since the arrival of African slaves in the American colonies, but it was not until 1691 that interracial sex was made illegal. Virginia passed the first statute against miscegenation between blacks and whites. The goal was to prevent “that abominable mixture and spurious issue which hereafter may increase in this dominion, as well by negroes, mulattoes, and Indians intermarrying with English, or other white women, as by their unlawful accompanying with one another” (Wadlington 1966, p. 1192).

Since the beginning of the sixteenth century, people involved in interracial sex have faced informal sanctions, punishment, and social exclusion. White women romantically or sexually involved with black men were punished, often by being banished from the colony or by being beaten and arrested. The political and social ideology centered on protecting white womanhood and demonizing black men, and free access to black women was largely held by white men in positions of power. These beliefs and social norms were never formally legalized, but the ideology penetrated the legal system. Interracial sex was constructed as deviant within the institution of slavery, and from the beginning this view was primarily aimed at preventing black male slaves from engaging in sexual relations with white women. The frequent abuse and lynching of black men for allegedly raping or desiring sexual relations with white women, as well as the widespread rape and sexual abuse of black women by white men, played an integral part in the socio-historical construction of race and the rules of race relations.

Legal sanctions, as opposed to social ones, were more often focused on interracial unions than on interracial sex. Indeed, interracial sex reified the racial divide and hierarchy through the sexual mistreatment of black women by white men, and through the severe punishment of black men who were sexually involved with a white woman. By 1940, thirty-one states had laws against interracial marriage, but only six had laws prohibiting interracial sex. But both laws and social sanctions against interracial sex and marriage were racist social constructions, formulated largely by white men to protect the “purity” of the white race and prevent racial mixture.

Interracial sex was also used as a symbol of white male privilege. Sex between black men and white women was punished, for these relations posed a threat to the power and privilege of white men. But sex between white men and black women did not threaten the white power structure, but instead reinforced the domination of white men up through the 1800s. White men had free access to black women, and these relations often involved rape or other forms of violence. Black women were oversexualized in the minds of white men, especially in contrast to white women. White men used this depiction to justify the idealization of the white woman, the degradation of black women, and the privilege awarded to white men, especially in terms of unlimited sexual access. Interracial sex did not challenge the purity of the white race because children born of white fathers and black mothers were demoted to slave status.

### DEFINING RACIAL CATEGORIES

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the social construction of racial categories and the increasing desire to quantify race, particularly blackness, led to frequent modifications in the legal and social status of interracial marriage and children born of interracial relations. Children born to a black parent and a white parent were forced to assume the mothers’ status: children of slave mothers assumed the slave status, while children of white mothers were sold as indentured servants until the age of thirty. White mothers of mixed-race children had to serve five years and were then banished from the colony. These sentences of servitude and banishment often varied over time and place. The first legal efforts to classify race came in a Virginia law of 1787, which stipulated that any person having one-fourth black blood, or having any grandparent who was black, was considered black. The legal quantification of blackness and of people of color was revised until it eventually came to include any person who is not white, so that “white” legally meant any person with no trace of any other blood besides Caucasian, and having even “one drop” of “black blood” defined a person as black.

### DEMONIZING ASIAN IMMIGRANTS

At the same time, while the definition of racial categories became legal, so did the legal protection of white womanhood. In 1819 a code was passed in the southern United States that included the punishment of any attempted sexual relations or expressed desire for a white woman by a slave. While African Americans were the central focus of miscegenation laws, other men of color, notably Asians, were also targeted for racial exclusion. Chinese men, for example, were represented as threats to white womanhood. Congress passed laws restricting Chinese immigration even as the popular press presented them as sexually deviant and



dangerous. Chinese women were also excluded, based on perceptions of them as prostitutes and sexually immoral. In 1875, Congress passed the Page Law, which forbade the entry of Chinese and other “Mongolian” prostitutes. Immigration restriction laws passed in 1903, 1907, and 1917 allowed for the deportation of Chinese women suspected of prostitution and defined Asian women as sexual objects.

Given that prostitution was widespread at this time, singling out Chinese women for “exclusion,” and portraying them as transmitters of diseases, drug addiction, and temptation of sin, was more about controlling the reproduction and sexuality of Asian women. Given the lack of available Asian women for Asian men to marry, Asian men were also constructed as a potential threat to white women. Therefore, antimiscegenation laws were enacted against interracial marriage in general, and specific laws forbade Asian-white intermarriage. Immigration laws concerning Chinese and Japanese immigration were also enacted to control and limit intermarriages. For example, the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act prohibited Chinese from immigrating to the United States for ten years, thus eliminating most Chinese-white intermarrying. Similarly, the “Gentleman’s Agreement” with Japan was used to eliminate Japanese immigration to the United States by prohibiting Japanese laborers from obtaining passports.

#### INTERMARRIAGE IN THE CIVIL RIGHTS ERA

The legal landscape of intermarriage and interracial relations remained divided and inconsistent until the 1960s. Support of the one-drop rule persisted, and laws regarding intermarriage were changed, revised, revoked, and reestablished until 1967. In 1960, when every southern state had a law against interracial marriage, the U.S. Census documented 51,409 black-white couples in the United States. And while the U.S. Congress never outlawed miscegenation, forty-one out of fifty states had laws against interracial unions at some time in their history.

Changes in the racial landscape during the 1960s and 1970s were reflected in the legal support for interracial unions. The civil rights movement, grassroots political and social movements, and similar changing ideologies were the driving force behind the changing legal system. Legal support for interracial unions produced a significant increase in the number of black-white marriages between 1960 and 1970, when the total number of interracial marriages increased by 26 percent. Interracial couples remained mostly in the northern and western regions of the country, while the rate of interracial marriages in the South declined by 34 percent between 1960 and 1970.

The discrepancy among interracial marriages in the North and in the South may be due, in part, to the fact

that most of the southern states had laws against interracial marriages until 1967. Most of the interracial marriages were between black men and white women. These marriages increased 61 percent from 1960 to 1970, while marriages between black women and white men decreased by 9 percent during this period. The issue of interracial sex and marriage is an integral part of the construction of race and racial groups, and the fear of interracial sexuality has often been used to justify racist ideologies and practices. The case of Emmett Till, a young black teenager who allegedly whistled at a white woman and was brutally murdered in 1955, attests to the enduring strength of the ideology of protecting white womanhood.

#### LOVING V. VIRGINIA

The historic 1967 Supreme Court ruling in the case of *Loving v. Virginia* changed the legal landscape of intermarriage permanently. Richard Loving, a white man, and Mildred Jeter, a black woman, left their home state of Virginia, where intermarriage was illegal, to get married in Washington, D.C. When they returned to Virginia they were arrested and sentenced to one year in prison. However, the judge suspended the sentence on the condition that the couple leave Virginia and not return for twenty-five years. The Lovings appealed the decision in a state court, but the ruling was upheld based on a previous case, in order for the state to “preserve the racial integrity of its citizens” and prevent “the obliteration of racial pride.” Previous essentialist thinking that interracial marriages were unnatural and deviant was heavily reliant upon “scientific” assertions about the genetic and biological hierarchy of the “races.”

Finally, the decision was appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, and the ruling was overturned. Whereas Chief Justice Warren’s decision remained free of any controversial sociological or anthropological evidence or studies, the *Loving* case signaled the beginning of a change in interracial ideology within U.S. society. Racist ideologies that pervaded the legal system for more than three centuries were retracted. While these ideologies remained dominant in the larger society, they were no longer to be used to justify legal decisions. Although a majority of whites supported laws against interracial marriage, the decision to make laws forbidding interracial marriages unconstitutional legalized a relationship that had been criminalized in the United States since the seventeenth century (Romano 2003).

While the *Loving v. Virginia* case granted legal support to interracial marriages and initiated an increase in the number of interracial couples, antimiscegenation ideology persisted and adapted to the continuously changing racial landscape. In *Race Mixing* (2003), Renee Romano reports that in 1970, 56 percent of southern whites and 30 percent of nonsouthern whites supported laws against interracial relationships. Though support for antimiscegenation laws had decreased



**Richard and Mildred Loving, 1965.** *The Loving case signaled the beginning of a change in interracial ideology within U.S. society.* AP IMAGES.

by 1990, social tolerance for interracial marriage was still reminiscent of antimiscegenation ideology. Robin Goodwin and Duncan Cramer report in *Inappropriate Relationships* (2002) that 61 percent of white Americans polled in 1991 said they would oppose a union between a close family member and a black person. At the same time, two-thirds of black Americans said they would neither support nor oppose an interracial marriage between a family member and a white person.

#### RESEARCH FINDINGS ABOUT INTERMARRIAGE

Researchers have looked in great depth at interracial marriage and various aspects of interracial couples or families. This research has tended to use either psychological or sociological theories to explain how or why the couples came together. In addition, the characteristics of the couples, including their demographic similarities and differences, have been examined.

**The Assimilationist Approach.** Much of the research relies on an assimilationist framework, using intermarriage as an indicator of assimilation of the minority group or a site of comparison with same-race couples. The noted race scholars Michael Omi and Howard Winant argue that this assimilationist framework arose as an “ethnicity-based theory” in the early twentieth century as a response to biologically based theories of race. This ethnicity-based paradigm includes the debate between an assimilationist perspective, beginning with Robert Park’s race relations cycle in 1964, and the concept of cultural pluralism, which was introduced by Horace Kallen in

1924 and focuses on the acceptance of different cultures. Omi and Winant note that this framework has a number of shortcomings, especially when discussing black-white interracial marriage. In particular, it tends to use an immigrant analogy for racial groups, it reduces race to ethnicity, and it does not take into consideration the different ways racial groups are constructed and conceptualized within society.

These various studies on interracial couples all express or imply that interracial couples are inherently different from same-race couples, therefore making it necessary to explain, account for, or describe their relationships. Studies that use an assimilationist framework are problematic because they “uncritically take race as a given reality (and) contribute to the reification of race as a foundation beyond cultural interrogation” (Ferber 1998, p. 11). Underlying this work is the assumption that distinct racial groups exist in the first place, and can thus engage in “interracial” marriage. By comparing interracial couples to same-race couples, same-race couples are established as the “standard” or the “norm.” It is only within a society such as America, which places such an emphasis on race and racial groups, that the idea of an interracial couple has meaning.

Within an assimilationist framework that focuses on the couple, interracial marriage is seen as the final stage of assimilation, a sign of improving race relations that can mask any opposition that may exist towards the couple. As Stanford Lyman argues, the assimilation model of race relations “was ideology too, for Park believed that once the racial cycle was completed, the social arena would be cleared of those racial impediments interfering with the inevitable class struggle” (Lyman 1997, p. 27).

**Psychological Measures.** Interracial sexuality and marriage have also been explained using psychological approaches and theories. Different “racial motivation” theories state that interracial marriages occur because of racial differences, rather than in spite of them (see Kouri and Laswell 1993, p. 242). Among interracial couples; the white partner is usually argued to be involved in the relationship as a result of some neurotic conflict pathology, or as an act of rebellion and punishment against his or her family. One example of this type of racial motivation theory is classic Freudian theory, which explains black-white intermarriage as a function of the inadequate “repression” of attraction to the opposite-sex parent.

It is suggested that a black man and white woman, by marrying, can manage their Oedipal/incest fantasies, satisfy beliefs of sexual and sensual superiority, and provide themselves the opportunity to act out racial hostility through sexual behavior. Low self-esteem and guilt theories have also been offered to explain the motives of blacks and

whites who intermarry. Interracial marriage has sometimes been viewed as a “deviant” behavior, and those who intermarry are labeled deviant, psychologically disturbed, or maladjusted individuals whose behaviors require explanation. The “motives” for engaging in the act of intermarrying are seen as a product of something distinctive to the individual and his or her psychological history, usually a result of a certain instinctive drive. Yet it is important to consider how deviance is a consequence of the application of rules and sanctions by others to an “offender.” Howard Becker, in his book *Outsiders* (1963), notes that the crucial dimension is the societal reaction to an act, not any quality of the act itself.

**Socioeconomic Factors.** There have also been many studies about the individual traits and characteristics of blacks and whites who intermarry, examining similarities or differences in education, employment, involvement in social activities, recreation, residential area, and socioeconomic status. One study done in 2000 sought to examine factors that might influence interracial marriage such as immigration, age, college attendance, socioeconomic status, region and military service (Heaton and Jacobson 2000). In a 1997 study, Richard Lewis and colleagues looked at the role that nonracial and racial factors play in spouse selection among those who are interracially married. The goal was to determine whether nonracial factors, such as socioeconomic status, common social and entertainment interests, and personal evaluation of attractiveness, are more or less important than racial factors, such as the excitement and novelty of being interracially married and the sexual attractiveness of someone of the “opposite” race (Lewis et al. 1997). Based on surveys of 292 respondents, they concluded that nonracial factors are more important in the spouse selection process than racial factors.

Interracial couples come together for varied reasons, just as same-race couples do, and race or racial factors do not necessarily play a primary role in the couples coming together. When looking at interracial marriage, it is important to consider the socially constructed nature of racial categories, and at how interracial marriage remains an issue because “race” still matters. In a race-conscious society such as America, even when whites and blacks are similar in terms of education, employment, recreation, socioeconomic status, and other factors, the perceived and ascribed racial differences remain a deterrent to intermarriage. Furthermore, because most blacks and whites do not inhabit the same areas, acquire similar education and employment levels, and are involved in different social activities, the focus of these studies should be on the structural constraints that prevent or discourage black-white proximity and intermarriage—such as segregation in residential areas and segregation and racial discrimination in schools, the workplace, and other institutions—

rather than focusing on those individuals who do engage in interracial relationships.

One major concept that has been used to explain interracial marriage is “hypergamy.” Defined as the marriage of a female to a male of a higher caste or class standing, hypergamy has been a major theoretical thread in the study of interracial marriage. Using this type of theory to understand interracial relationships emphasizes that these couples come together primarily because black men who have a higher socioeconomic status can marry a white woman of lower socioeconomic status, and thereby exchange his class standing for her socially defined superior racial status. Recent studies have also used the hypergamy argument to explain intermarriage. In a 1993 article titled “Trends in Black/White Intermarriage,” Matthijs Kalmijn found that racial caste prestige and socioeconomic prestige still function as substitutes in the selection process of mates for interracial marriages.

These studies, however, have been faulted because they do not address cultural factors when considering the low rates of intermarriage for black women. These factors include the disturbing history of sexual relations between black women and white men; the lack of power of black women in society relative to whites, and even to black men; the white standard of beauty that devalues black women; and the opposition to intermarriage reported by black women in attitudinal studies.

#### CONTEMPORARY TRENDS

Studies that address the issue of interracial families or couples from a personal perspective offer insight into the difficulties that interracial couples and families can still face. Research on interracial couples also includes in-depth interviews with black-white couples, which provides information about the couples’ relationships, their parenting experiences, what the partners learn from each other, the role of race in the relationships, and the “special blessings” of being an interracial couple. Other works have documented the contemporary experiences of interracial couples and changing societal attitudes and behaviors, which reveal that while interracial couples are more acceptable in the twenty-first century, significant opposition remains.

Nearly forty years after the ban on interracial marriages was considered unconstitutional, interracial marriages have increased. The 2000 U.S. Census found there were 287,576 interracial marriages in the United States, making up about .53 percent of the total number of marriages. Marriages between black men and white women are still far more common than those between white men and black women, of which there were about 78,778 in 2000. These numbers are reflective of the remaining racial ideologies that inform societal



**Legalizing Interracial Marriage.** *When this couple married in early 2000, the section of the 1901 Alabama Constitution prohibiting interracial marriage was still on the books. On November 7, 2000, the voters of Alabama repealed the prohibition, making it the last state to repeal such a law.*  
AP IMAGES.

understandings of interracial relationships and, more specifically, individuals involved in interracial relationships.

The U.S. Census documents all interracial couples and marriages, including marriages between Asian, Hispanic, Native American, Pacific Islander, and multiracial individuals. Socially constructed perceptions of interracial dating also include white-Hispanic, and white-Asian marriages as interracial couples. The 2000 U.S. Census documented 504,119 white-Asian marriages. Marriage between a white person and a person of Hispanic origin are difficult to document. The socially constructed nature of racial categories in America leaves the definition of race and interracial couples ambiguous. On the 2000 Census, individuals could identify themselves racially as one or more of the following: Black or African American, White, Asian, Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander, American Indian or Alaska Native, or Some Other Race. People of Hispanic origin, however, could identify themselves as belonging to one or more of these racial categories as well as indicating their Hispanic origin, which is classified as an ethnic category, not a racial one, by the Census Bureau. Yet couples with one Hispanic partner and one non-Hispanic partner are often thought of as interracial, reinforcing the idea that any white-nonwhite

couple is an interracial couple. (The 2000 Census counted 924,352 Hispanic-white marriages, a higher number than any “interracial” pairing.) Though Hispanic is not a race, it is often socially considered a racial group. Hispanic-white intermarriage is the highest amount of all intergroup marriage, due to the ambiguity of race and the definitions of race.

Interracial relationships have long been viewed as a sign of improving race relations and assimilation, yet these unions have also been met with opposition from whites and other racial groups. While the number of interracial couples continues to rise, this does not signify a complete transformation of societal ideologies and ideas. While significant changes have occurred in the realm of race relations, U.S. society still has racial borders. Most citizens live and socialize with others of the same race, even though there are no longer such legal barriers as laws against intermarriage. The relatively low numbers of interracial couples in the United States attests to the continual reproduction and construction of dominant racial ideologies. While the ability of two individuals of different races to love each other cannot change the social structure of race, the societal responses to these relationships (e.g., the images produced, the discourses used, the meanings attached) provides insight into the social and political hierarchy of race. Issues concerning the children of interracial marriages, the racism the couple will encounter from the larger society, the disapproval of the family, and traditional ideas of race mixing are all used to challenge the formation of interracial relationships. Interracial couples are continuously being constructed not only through the couples’ experiences, but through larger society, including the family, neighborhood, community, church, school, workplace, and other social institutions.

**SEE ALSO** *Biracialism; Multiracial Identities; Racial Formations.*

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## BLACKNESS IN LATIN AMERICA

In Latin America, the Spanish Crown created two republics: the Republic of Spaniards and the Republic of Indians. Although excluded from both of these republics, African and African-descended people grew and diversified

throughout Latin America. In Spanish, the quality of blackness is called *lo negro*. The racialized ethnic category *negro* (black) emerged as a representation of human chattel between 1450 and 1480, when the Portuguese entrepreneur known as Prince Henry the Navigator sent more and more ships down the coast of West Africa, where they captured native peoples to be sold in Lisbon and throughout Europe. Ironically, perhaps, as the concept of blackness expanded in Portugal and Spain to include diverse African peoples such as Wolof, Mandingo, Ibo, and Biafara, concepts of racial mixture (European-African) together with African conversion to Christianity became important in the European-dominated West African slave markets.

A concept of blackness subsuming all African and African-descended people entered the Americas with, or soon after, the first voyage of Christopher Columbus in 1492. By 1500 the concept of *raza* (race) emerged and was applied to people of indigenous American, African, and African-descended Spaniards and Portuguese, as well as to people of "mixture." African-descended people who spoke Spanish were called *ladinos* in Spain, where they occupied positions of modest prestige and, sometimes, middle-range power. Their status contrasted with that of the enslaved Africans, who were called *bozal* (plural: *bozales*), a name derived from the horse halter used prior to the invention of the iron bit in Iberia. In the Americas, once-free *ladinos* became enslaved because of their blackness. Soon after the Europeans arrived, the categories of Spaniards and Indians were set in opposition to one another as immutable categories of people: the Spaniards to profit, the Indians to labor. The third category of humans—originally *ladinos* and *bozales*—that constituted the images of Africa and of blackness, was without a cultural place in the dominant scheme of people and profit. What blackness was to become in the New World depended on how black people (African- and dark-complexioned European-descended people, and now people of the Americas) were to represent themselves. Such representations are probably the least understood and the most ignored of all such cultural constructions in the New World.

## PERSPECTIVES ON BLACKNESS IN THE AMERICAS

African-American systems of life and thought are profoundly cultural. They are clearly African descended and African diasporic. Any study of Afro-American cultural systems must comprehend commonalities of experience as well as local interpretations of experiences at specific places in given periods in time. African-descended cultural constructions of meaningful historical pasts are ubiquitous, but they may be obliterated or highly distorted by written literature. In *Silencing the Past* (1995), Michel-Rolph Trouillot discusses two dimensions of

history that must always be considered. The first is what actually happened. This could be an event such as a forced passage from an African location across the Atlantic Ocean to a specific slave market in the Americas, or one or more of the myriad revolts, rebellions, and movements of self-liberation of Africans in the Americas. The second dimension of history is that of the stories told about the events. When stories are not told, not remembered, or hidden, history is silenced. The stories themselves must be opened up and studied to be reasonably sure that they reflect events critical to the real cultural histories of people, not bent and distorted to the canons of a rigid dominant cultural system with many biases in written presentations.

Unfortunately, the stories told about black suffering and black liberation often come from those who are dominant in a given situation, from those whose popular and academic writings become hegemonic. Hegemonic writing, backed by those who hold political and economic power, is that which is taken as “truth” by the reader. Perspective enters here: What is often lacking in narratives of the past are the myriad of black perspectives that have been neglected or silenced. These perspectives come from real people who are able and willing to tell others what is significant in their past, their present, and their view of a future. In Latin America, what comes through strongly is not a remembrance of slavery, but rather a stress on self-liberation, an emphasis on freedom. As the Saramaka of Suriname repeatedly told the ethnographer Richard Price, people are either free or they are enslaved; there is no middle ground. Across the continent, in the Chocó of Colombia, black people refer to themselves as *libres*, or free (self-liberated) people. But anthropology and history have all too often obscured these assertions of the close association of blackness and freedom in favor of a “search for survivals” or a “legacy of slavery” that render existing black and African-descended people as hollow vessels of past cultural knowledge.

#### HEGEMONIC DIFFUSIONISM

The hegemonic perspective on cultural survivals is connected most strongly with Melville J. Herskovits (1895–1963), one of the students of Franz Boas (1858–1942), who established the Americanist school of cultural anthropology—sometimes called the cultural diffusionist, or cultural historical, school. Some Boasians countered racist thought in anthropology specifically by attacking it in society generally. Herskovits shifted the emphasis of blackness from what were often taken to be deculturated Americans of color to a timeless and seemingly unchanging “Africa”, out of which peoples from distinct “tribes” were mixed in American slave markets following the infamous Middle Passage across the Atlantic Ocean. People in the Americas, from this hegemonic diffusionist

position, were considered to be people burdened by the vestiges of retentions, reinterpretations, syncretisms, and cultural complexes.

Herskovits went so far as to rank “Africanisms” in the Americas in terms of their retained African accumulations, using A, B, C, D, and E, to denote “very African” (A grade) to “little or no African” (E grade). Those at the bottom of the “scale of intensity of Africanisms” were found in the United States and the northwest coast of South America. Such people were effectively deemed cultureless, people who had lost their basis in Africanity. They were taken to be darker people of color within mainstream lower-class life. Their histories and historicities were of no further interest to the scholarly world or to readers of popular literature. It is said that students returning from research with African-descended peoples to Northwestern University, where Herskovits founded the Department of Anthropology and long served as its chair, were themselves ranked on how many Africanisms they could find and present in their theses.

At the top of Herskovits’ scale of Africanism were the people of the interior of Suriname, once called Dutch Guiana. He and his wife spent several weeks there over two summers “studying” the Saramaka people and “mining” their African heritage. Herskovits came away with a psychological model for the study of all of Afro-America, regarded as a great, partially filled cultural vessel from which Africanisms were disappearing. Hence, “salvage” research was needed to turn up data and objects to be placed in books and museums. The actual techniques of ethnography, however, those for understanding the viewpoint and perspectives of real people (the native’s point of view), were subverted by Herskovits as he endeavored to teach the Saramaka about their Africanisms so as to record them more effectively. After a search of Herskovits’s notes at the Schomburg Center for Black Culture in New York City, Richard and Sally Price commented: “That he [Melville J. Herskovits] never quite got the Saramaka ethnography right seems in the end not to have mattered much, to him or to anyone else. Go figure” (2003, p. 87).

The anthropologist Jean Muteba Rahier, who has extensive field research experience in Northwest Ecuador, notes that “black resistances in the diaspora, just like Black identities, cannot be essentialized [e.g. Africanized], . . . African diaspora communities develop different strategies for struggles against particular forms of racism, exclusion, and exploitation” (1999, p. xxv).

African traditions, as taken from the perspectives of black people in the Americas, constitute intertwined, or braided, traditions that continue to span Africa, Europe, and the Americas. One thing found everywhere is an African-American stress on freedom and self-liberation, rather than on slavery and repression. The historian Gwendolyn Midlo



**A Maroon in Central Suriname, 1998.** A Saramaka Maroon woman carries water in her village near the Suriname River. Maroons, the descendants of escaped slaves, make up about 15 percent of the Suriname population. ROBERT CAPUTO/AURORA/GETTY IMAGES

Hall, in her book *Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas* (2005), demonstrates clearly that rich data on changing Africanity in the Americas is buried in archives, and how much of this can be revealed by serious research.

#### CIMARRONAJE/MARRONAGE: THE MAKING OF MAROON SOCIETIES

According to Richard Price, the first recorded (written) instance of an African escaping slavery took place on Hispaniola Island in 1502 when “an anonymous slave . . . ‘escaped to the Indians’” (1996, Introduction). The indigenous people who received this unknown escapee (and subsequent escapees from enslavement) were the Taíno people, who called the mountainous and forested interior of their island *haití*. They spoke a language known as Arawak. Here, early in the sixteenth century, indigenous people and African people forged a new life of freedom on the fringes of the largest profit-oriented slave-owning system the world had ever known. With sugar and slavery at the center, subsistence agriculture, fishing, and hunting were on the periphery. Although blackness was defined as a condition of slavery by the Spanish and Portuguese, self-liberation—called *cimarronaje* in Spanish and *marronage* in French—

characterized much of the region. Michel S. Laguerre writes, in *Voodoo and Politics in Haiti*:

Marronage was a central fact in the life of the colony [Hispaniola-Haiti], not only because of maroon military power and the number of slaves who constantly joined them, but also because of the danger inherent in expeditions to destroy revolutionary centers of these fugitive slaves . . . [W]herever there were slaves, there were also maroons . . . Living in free camps or on the fringes of port cities, they were a model for the slaves to imitate, embodying the desires of most of the slaves. What the slaves used to say in *sotto voce* on the plantations, they were able to say aloud in the maroon settlements. (1989, p. 41)

Indeed, from varied indigenous perspectives and cosmologies, freedom and self-liberation actually characterized the very nature of “blackness.” Chiefdoms, or even small states, sprang up within colonial territories throughout the vast area that ranges from the Caribbean and Mexico, through Central America, down the spine of the Andes to Argentina, and into the huge tract of territory of today’s Guianas, Venezuela, Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay, and the Amazonian regions of Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, and Colombia. The two most famous of these were Palmares, in Brazil, and the Zambo Republic, in Ecuador.

#### CONCEPTS OF BLACKNESS IN LATIN AMERICA

Blackness is a fluid category throughout Latin America, but it is nonetheless salient in its varied dimensions that range from a pejorative term such as black (*negroide*) to specific references to black admixture, such as *mulato* and *zambo*, connoting white-black mixture and black-indigenous mixture, respectively. The primary meaning of *lo negro* stands in opposition to whiteness, and all of the terminology denoting admixture must be seen with this fundamental contrast in mind. Unlike North America, however, whiteness and blackness grade into one another in Latin American nations; there is usually no sharp color line, and phenotype, or outward appearance, often reflects social status or cultural orientation as well as supposed biology or genetic makeup. In the French Antilles, the Martiniquan writer Aimé Césaire, coined the word *négritude* to connote the positive qualities of blackness, in contradistinction and in political opposition to concepts developed by dominant white power wielders of Europe and the United States. This has more recently caught on in Spanish as *negritud*, and in Brazilian Portuguese as *negritude*. The variety of terms, concepts, identity referents, and representations that crowd into the overarching concept of blackness is striking. But the category *lo negro* nonetheless continues to exist.

## ZAMBAJE

One concept that stands out in some regions—such as Lower Central America, the Spanish-speaking Caribbean, Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador—is *zambo*, which refers to a mixture of indigenous and African-descended peoples. Some of these mixed populations comprise African descendants of those who fled slavery and established free communities (called *palenques* in Spanish and *quilombos* in Portuguese) and of those indigenous descendants who also escaped slavery and received their African congeners. Historically, such people are well-known in various parts of Brazil; the *yungas* of Bolivia; the northwest coast of Ecuador; the Pacific and Atlantic coasts and Cauca Valley of Colombia; the Venezuelan *llanos* (eastern plains) and northern coastal crescent; the interior of the Guianas; the Darién, coasts, and interior of Panama; the Mosquitia of Honduras and Nicaragua; the west coast of Guatemala, Belize, Honduras, and Nicaragua; the mountains of Haiti and the Dominican Republic; the Jamaican Blue Mountains and Red Hills regions; and the Cuban Oriente region. A few named people include the Miskitu of Nicaragua and Honduras, the Garífuna of Central America, the black lowlanders of northwest Ecuador, and the *pardos* of the eastern plains of Venezuela. In colonial times such people were sometimes said to be “the Devil’s mix.”

The concept of *Zambaje* as an American-indigenous–African-descended fusion implying power, creativity, and adaptability has re-emerged in some Latin American nations. It illustrates an interest among many intellectuals and emergent cultural leaders in re-examining the roots of “naming.” An example is that of *llaneros* (plainsmen of color) of eastern Venezuela. These are people known as *pardos*, once allies of black Haitians in revolt. The liberator Simón Bolívar called on them in his first march into the interior of South America. In the twenty-first century, the President of Venezuela, Hugo Chávez, has sought to refurbish the positive image of *pardo* ethnicity and cultural heritage, of indigeneity and Africanity and their fusions. This assertion of *pardo* power is part of a sociopolitical movement called Bolivarian, which is directed against the elite of Venezuela and is in strong opposition to perceived United States dominance in Latin American countries.

Because of the prevalence of African-descended people and indigenous American people in historical conjuncture over a very long period of time, Norman Whitten and Rachel Corr undertook a study to see how indigenous people conceptualized blackness in selected areas of Venezuela, Lower Central America, Colombia, Ecuador, and Bolivia. What they found was that indigenous people *reject* “slavery” as the embodiment of blackness. Such a rejection clearly contradicts the dominant white perspective on slavery and its legacies as the defining

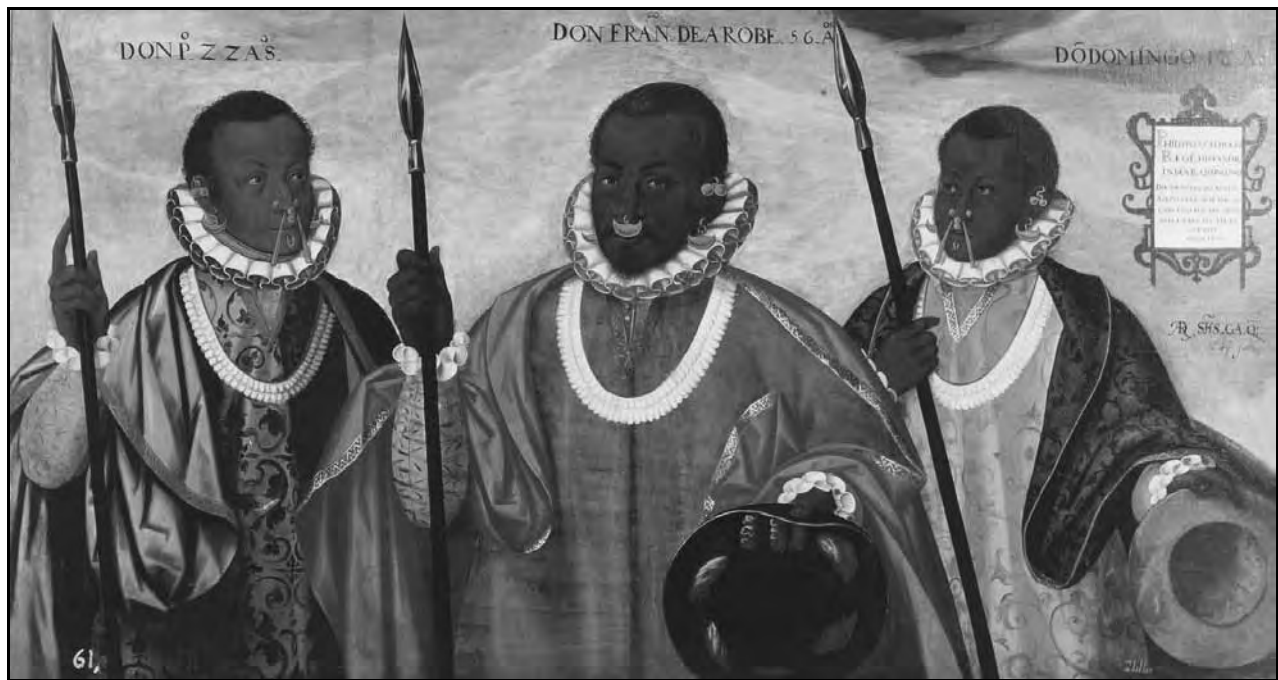
features of blackness in the Americas. *Lo negro*, Whitten and Corr found, is full of images and representations of *self-liberation*, including power, cultural creativity, adaptability in the realms of the known and the unknown, knowledge of real history and historicity, and constantly emerging and transforming cultural systems.

## AN ENDURING CONTRADICTION OF BLACKNESS AND DIVERSITY

In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, there seems to be an ideological movement in Europe and Latin America to both emphasize differences within the broad category of *lo negro* and simultaneously to crowd out those very differences by subsuming them into an immutable category of blackness, often in pejorative dimensions. There is ample historical precedent for such contradiction. In 1599, three Zambo Lords from the Zambo Republic of Esmeraldas (northwest Ecuador) trekked up the Andes to Quito to pay homage to the Spanish crown. Their portrait was painted by an indigenous artist using European techniques. This magnificent painting was eventually hung in the Museo de Américas, in Madrid, Spain; the two most common English designations of its title are “Esmeraldas Embassadors” and “Zambo Chiefdoms.” It clearly portrayed the three princes as indigenous-African descended in complexion. The crown rejected this portrayal, however, and relabeled the Zambo Lords “*mulatos*” to stress a false European admixture. Over a four-hundred-year period, what was unacceptable to the intellectuals of Spain was an indigenous-descended–African-descended admixture, the very admixture that emerged in the bursts of self-liberation that characterized the silenced part of America’s history. Then, in 1992, the Spanish museum curators decided to “restore” the painting, so they reblackened the princes to make them correspond to a more stereotypic African appearance, thereby redividing the races of the Americas into white, black, and Indian (or red).

In Spanish, it could be said that the diversity represented in the original painting was doubly *negreado*, or blackened: first by infusing European admixture sometime in the seventeenth century, and then by removing all admixture in the late twentieth century. *Negreado* is a pejorative word, which in vernacular Spanish means “blackened” or “demeaned.” It epitomizes Trouillot’s extended argument about the silencing of African-American pasts, particularly the accomplishments of black people who resisted colonial repression and, in the case of Haiti, enacted the first successful revolutionary movement against colonial rule in the Americas outside of the United States. The Haitian revolution was, in every conceivable manner, a *black* revolution. It was composed of self-liberated *bozales*, dark-complected creoles, and newly





**Esmeraldas Embassadors.** This painting by Andrés Sánchez Gallque has been the subject of much controversy for over four hundred years. THE ART ARCHIVE/AMERICAN MUSEUM MADRID.

arrived and self-liberated Congo warriors. At the time, and perhaps in the early 2000s, such a revolution was culturally inconceivable to whites; but it did happen, and it was and is very real.

Such is the ongoing paradox presented by the varied and diverse phenomena of blackness in the Americas, a category that emerged in the sixteenth century in the fires of black liberation, continued through the colonial era as forces of dark resistance to white rule and emerging *mestizaje*, played a strong hand in the wars of liberation, and in the early twenty-first century constitutes a significant, if paradoxical, congeries of peoples within modern republics. The Spaniards left no room for blackness in their colonial placement of peoples. What emerged were many black-created and black-defined cultural and value systems and systems of social relations, often in conjunction with indigenous movements and collaboration against oppression. In the twenty-first century these cultural systems of alternative modernity have yet to be explored adequately in their own right through the voices and actions of the people themselves.

**SEE ALSO** *African Diaspora; Boas, Franz; Brazilian Racial Formations; Caribbean Racial Formations; Cuban Racial Formations; El Mestizaje; Haitian Racial Formations; Latin American Racial Transformations; Latinos; Slavery and Race.*

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*Norman E. Whitten Jr.*

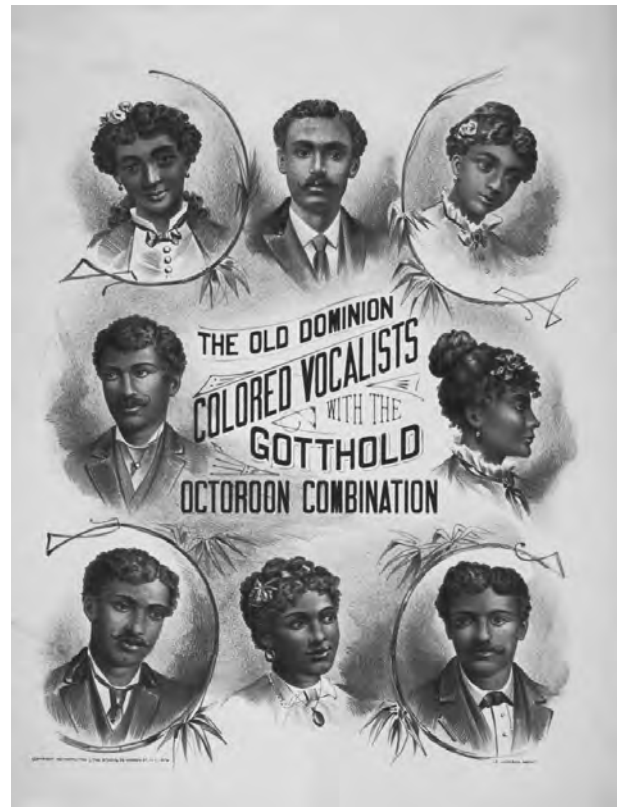
## BLOOD QUANTUM

Among Native peoples, blood quantum is an ingrained fact of everyday existence. Since its origin and institutional interjection into numerous federal policies concerning peoples of indigenous descent, it remains one of the most controversial and divisive issues afflicting contemporary Native North America. The origins of blood quantum are directly linked to the development of chattel slavery. By 1661 the institution of slavery had been formally recognized by Virginia. Over the next four decades other colonies formalized slavery as a legal economic and social institution. The development of slavery encouraged the construction and separation of races in America on the basis of phenotype.

### DEFINING "RACE"

Color, as a demarcation of race (along with other phenotypic characteristics used to define racial and social inferiority) was supported by a growing body of philosophical and scientific literature holding that Africans, Native Americans, and Mulattos possessed inferior intellectual, moral, and social qualities, which stood in direct opposition to "whiteness" and its inherent qualities.

The notion of "blood quantum" was created to track racial ancestry and define legal rights. In 1705 the Commonwealth of Virginia enacted a series of laws that denied certain civil liberties to any Negro, Mulatto, or American Indian. The laws also applied to generations, defining children, grandchildren and great grandchildren as inferior members of society, based on their ancestry. Consequently, the descendants of "full blood" members of a race were defined as half-blood ("maroon"), quarter-blood ("quadroon") or eighth-blood ("octoroon"). Following Virginia's example, other colonies adopted similar laws, using blood quantum as a mechanism to determine the status, privilege, and rights of a free person or slave. The growing body of laws, although originally rooted in the institution of chattel



**Octoroon Performers.** A poster from around 1879 advertises a performance by a musical ensemble made up of "Colored" and "Octoroon" performers. Once blood quantum became established as a mechanism for assessing inferiority, its use continued unabated into the nineteenth century. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

slavery, evolved into a legal and social system that measured the extent of participation and privileges associated with full citizenship under the banner of "whiteness."

Once blood quantum became established as a mechanism for assessing inferiority, its use continued unabated into the nineteenth century. Increasingly, the development and progress of American society was guided by the belief in the nation's racial destiny. In his 1839 publication *Crania Americana*, Dr. Samuel Morton stated that his studies of skulls showed that Native Americans had a "deficiency of higher mental powers" and an "inaptitude for civilization," making it impossible for Natives and Europeans to interact as equals. Thus, the building of an American civilization, including its future social and moral development, would be determined by its racial composition.

The construction of an Anglo-Saxon nation that extended from one coast to another under the banner of Manifest Destiny required the further separation of the races. The removal of indigenous populations, authorized

by the Indian Removal Act of 1830, provided one solution for physically separating the races. Another solution was the passage of laws prohibiting marriages between European-Americans and “inferior” races. North Carolina, early on, passed a code that forbade marriages between a white and an “Indian, Negro, Mustee, or Mulatto” or any other mixed person to the third generation. Over time, such blood quantum laws concerning race-mixing became not only widespread, but also more intensive.

Legal identity also became closely attached to blood quantum. An 1866 Virginia decree specified that every person with one-fourth or more Negro blood would be considered a colored person, whereas every person not colored having one-fourth or more Native American blood would be deemed an “Indian.”

### RACE AND EVOLUTIONARY THEORY

After the Civil War, new racial questions arose. Foremost was whether “inferior racial stocks” could be assimilated into the national fold, and whether these “races” would be a benefit to national progress. These questions coincided with the acceptance of Darwinian evolutionary principles that predicted a unity of humankind. The application of Darwinian evolution also was extended to the development of social complexity, not just biology. Therefore all societies must follow similar but separate trajectories in biosocial development, further limiting the possibilities for the incorporation of “inferior” races.

By the 1880s, most surviving Native American societies had been placed on reservations. For some policymakers, reservations were considered a refuge for a declining race that could be salvaged by forcing them out of their “inferior” state. This was to be done by breaking up the habits of savagery and replacing them with the accoutrements of civilization. From 1880 until 1934, using evolutionary theory and scientific racism as guiding principles, ethnocide became officially instituted toward solving the “Indian Problem.”

### BLOOD QUANTUM AND GOVERNMENT POLICY

Blood quantum, an insidious expression of scientific racism, became the centerpiece in many federal policies of forced assimilation. The premise that biophysical characteristics, mental attributes, and cultural capabilities were imparted through a “race’s” blood found a home in the management of Indian affairs through the passage of the 1887 General Allotment Act, or “Dawes Act.”

The degree of a person’s Indian blood was used to determine land inheritance among the descendants of original allottees. Blood quantum linked forced assimilation with scientific racism by legally defining a Native American.

The allotment process required the compilation of formal tribal rolls, which listed individuals belonging to each recognized reservation tribe. While the Dawes Act posited no specific criteria by which this would be accomplished, Indian Agents used blood quantum “standards,” as an already established mechanism for delineating racial status.

Once established, blood quantum was used by the Indian Office to not only track “civilized progress,” but also to assign entitlements as an enrolled tribal member and to define the extent of wardship restrictions. In the racialist configuration to construct and regulate Indian identity, “full-bloods” were deemed racially incapable of managing their own affairs and were issued trust patents for their allotments. “Mixed-bloods,” by virtue of their “white” racial ancestry, were deemed more competent, often receiving patents in simple fee, with fewer restrictions. Section six of the Dawes Act specified that an Indian who had “adopted the habits of civilized life, is hereby declared to be a citizen of the United States,” with all the entitled rights. Competency or the adoption of civilization equated with being biologically and socially “White” enough, meaning that they were no longer defined as being Indian. The blatant preferential treatment bestowed upon those of mixed ancestry would eventually drive societal wedges based on the false assumptions of racism that did not exist among Native people prior to the reservation period.

### BLOOD QUANTUM AMONG NATIVE TRIBES

Advanced research undertaken in the late twentieth century has shown that there is little genetic distinction to demarcate among America’s indigenous peoples, despite the pre-Contact cultural diversity across Native North America. Tribal boundaries and ethnic distinctiveness did not inhibit a high degree of reproductive exchange and gene flow between distinct societies. Thus, prior to establishing blood quantum to define racial identity, social kinship rather than biology was the core component of both societal composition and individual ethnic affiliation. Every aboriginal society employed a number of sociological mechanisms—such as adoption, marriage, capture, and naturalization—for the incorporation of individuals and groups from foreign societies. After colonization, numerous Europeans and Africans were adopted and fully integrated into Native American societies. Escaped African slaves, for example, typically were accepted among Native peoples. Whether African or European their host societies incorporated them without any phenotypic or cultural stigma.

By the turn of the century, most Native American societies replaced these social mechanisms for defining their communities with the borrowed notion of blood

quantum. The substitution insured that Native Americans would evaluate each other, phenotypically and culturally, through the prism of racialist criteria.

As Indian policy evolved, the legal significance of blood quantum expanded to determine eligibility for federal resources and services, determine tribal membership, and delineate economic and political benefits. Blood quantum criteria became internalized among Indian communities with the passage of the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act (IRA). Most IRA constitutions adopted blood quantum as a criterion for defining ethnic identity, tribal enrollment, and tribal citizenship. By advancing the prevailing quantum standard, a living vestige of nineteenth-century scientific racism, many Native Americans began to use it as the litmus test for defining "Indianness."

Most Native Americans have become indoctrinated into assessing each other in terms of blood quantum. This has led to a continual reevaluation of cultural competence and social acceptance, based largely on phenotypic characteristics. At a conference of Native American scholars held in February 1993, under the auspices of the Center for Indian Education at Arizona State University, the issue of "ethnic fraud" arose. Native American scholars in attendance were disturbed by the extent of academics in American universities falsely claiming to have Indian ancestry in order to receive educational and hiring benefits. The discussion led to six recommendations. The number one recommendation was to require documentation of enrollment in a state or federally recognized tribe, giving hiring preference to those who met this criterion. Allegations of "ethnic fraud" have continued to surface, not only on college campuses but all across Indian Country.

Three years earlier, the 1990 passage of the Act for the Protection of American Indian Arts and Crafts made it a criminal offense for anyone not enrolled in a federally recognized tribe to identify themselves as Indian while selling art. Critics claim that after its passage, "identity monitors" scoured Native American art venues demanding to see the documentation of anyone suspected of committing ethnic fraud. The evaluation of ethnic identity using blood quantum has resulted in a rise in infighting, and on occasion outright race-baiting, between and among indigenous people.

#### BLOOD QUANTUM IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

On many reservations and within indigenous communities, blood quantum is a contentious issue, one often distorted by the blind acceptance of the concept. Native American demographic data reveal that during the twentieth century there was an increasing level of mixing between tribal members and non-Indian peoples. This trend has not only continued but accelerated, raising concerns among some

about preserving tribal biological and cultural purity. Some reservation tribal leaders are arguing that tribal constitutions should be amended, this time to purge enrolled members who married non-Indians, or to raise blood quantum levels on the premise that such measures are vital to protect the "purity" of their Native American blood.

The implications of using blood quantum are evident in every aspect of contemporary Native American life. A Certificate of Degree of Indian Blood (CDIB) or a Certificate of Degree of Alaska Native Blood is issued to determine citizenship in a specific federally recognized tribe or indigenous community. An enrolled member with a CDIB is entitled to certain rights, and to the allocation of resources. In 1985, Congress passed the Quarter Blood Amendment Act, which mandated that Native students must have one-quarter Indian blood to be eligible for Indian education programs and tuition-free assistance at Bureau of Indian Affairs or contract schools. The act requires that the quarter-blood requirement be met with a CDIB.

In the 1990s, a proposal was put forth to significantly alter the manner by which the Bureau of Indian Affairs calculates and invalidates CDIBs. The proposed change in the law that received the most criticism across Indian Country was limiting the calculation of "Indian blood" to only federally recognized tribes, effectively eliminating any ancestry from terminated tribes, state-recognized tribal entities, or Native ancestry from other sources. It was, critics maintained, a mechanism to quicken the pace of self-termination.

The internalization by Native peoples of Euro-America's conception of race through the adoption of blood quantum, along with the virulence with which it is being manifested in indigenous communities, represents a culmination of federal colonial policies originating nearly three hundred years ago. Native North America, some critical scholars claim, has been rendered self-colonizing, if not self-liquidating. Over the centuries, blood quantum has divorced thousands of people from their Native American ethnic heritage by arbitrarily defining who is or is not a person of Native American descent. For some individuals, blood quantum is a eugenics policy designed to "statistically exterminate" the remaining Native American people. For others, it is a mechanism to legitimately define who may claim to be Native American. Blood quantum, as a concept, will thus remain a contested arena on the cultural and political landscape of Native North America for the foreseeable future.

**SEE ALSO** *Scientific Racism, History of.*

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Gregory R. Campbell

## BOAS, FRANZ 1858–1942

Franz Boas was the pre-eminent early-twentieth-century American anthropologist who oriented anthropology toward the view that knowledge about race is a product of culture rather than biology. Known as “the father of American anthropology,” Boas trained a whole generation of influential anthropologists who spread this view both academically and publicly. As a result, his impact was widespread.

## THE FORMATIVE YEARS

Boas was born in German Westphalia and attended the universities of Heidelberg, Bonn, and Kiel, where in 1879 he earned a doctorate in physics and geography. The subject of his doctoral dissertation was the human perception of the color of water, launching his lifelong interest in the relationship between human science and natural science. Boas, a Jew, had another formative experience in Kiel, for it was there that he first encountered anti-Semitism, sustaining facial injuries in a scuffle with anti-Semitic students. Later, Boas made anthropology into a science that combated racism and other forms of cultural intolerance.

Boas continued his studies at the University of Berlin, where he came under the influence of the historical geographer Adolf Bastian (1826–1905) and the biological anthropologist Rudolph Virchow (1821–1902). From Bastian he learned about the “psychic unity of mankind,” the precept that all human populations have the same mental capacity, with their differing cultural achievements caused by local history and geography. From Virchow, a rigorous empiricist, he learned to anchor biological generalizations with facts while mastering techniques for measuring differences in human body form.

In 1883, Boas undertook a year-long expedition to Baffin Island in the Canadian Arctic to study the Eskimo perception of sea water. The historian of anthropology George W. Stocking Jr. has shown how this experience converted Boas from physics and geography to anthropology, and particularly to ethnography, or anthropological fieldwork. Boas returned to Germany briefly to work for Adolf Bastian at the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde (Ethnology). He then returned to Canada on the first of many trips to the Pacific Northwest to study the Bella Coola and the Kwakiutl Indians of Vancouver Island, British Columbia. Upon completing the first phase of this fieldwork, he decided to settle in the United States.

After working briefly in New York City, Boas joined the faculty of Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts. G. Stanley Hall (1844–1924), the president of Clark, envisioned the university as a major center for graduate research, but his vision failed to take hold, and in 1892 Boas joined other faculty members in relocating elsewhere. Along with several of these individuals, Boas relocated to Chicago, where he ended up helping the anthropologist Frederic Ward Putnam (1839–1915) prepare exhibits for the 1893 Chicago World’s Columbian Exposition. After the Exposition, Boas supervised the transfer of the exhibits to the new Field Columbian Museum, where he expected to become head of the anthropology division. A clash of personalities, however, led to his resignation. He then returned to New York, where in 1895 he became curator of anthropology at the American Museum of Natural History. He also continued

his fieldwork in the Pacific Northwest, spearheading an ambitious project of the museum's president, Morris K. Jesup (1830–1908), called the Jesup North Pacific Expedition. At the same time, he began nurturing a relationship between the museum and Columbia University, but administrative conflict thwarted his efforts, and in 1905 he resigned and moved to Columbia full-time. Columbia became his base of operations for almost four decades, during which time it was the major center for academic anthropology in the United States.

### BOAS ON RACE

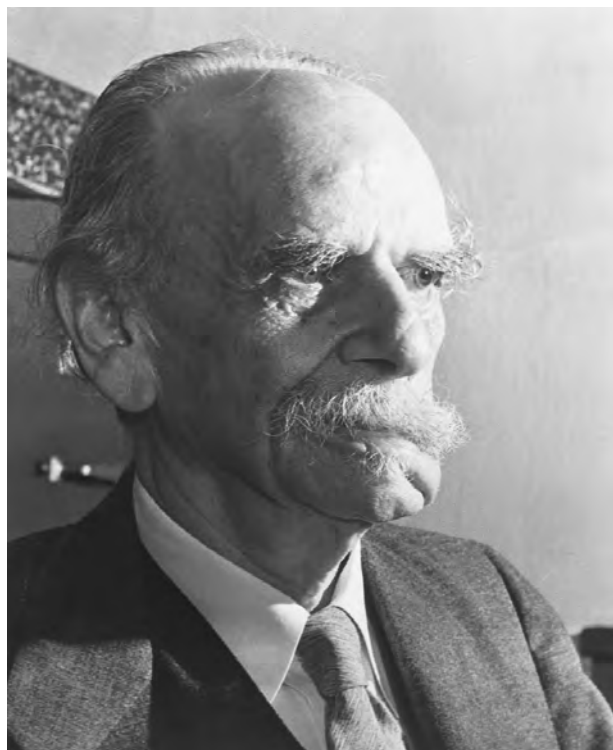
When Boas moved to Columbia, American anthropology was operating within a nineteenth-century theoretical legacy that, in retrospect, appears conspicuously racist. In cultural anthropology, the reigning paradigm was cultural evolutionism, a scheme that ranked human populations along a continuum from primitive to civilized and regarded less-than-civilized populations as stunted. In the United States, the foremost cultural evolutionist was Lewis Henry Morgan (1818–1881), whose tripartite (or three-part) scheme of savagery/barbarism/civilization implied that the civilized state was superior. Using this scheme to reconstruct prehistory, with archaeological evidence being so limited, anthropologists relied on ethnographic descriptions of living primitive populations to represent past primitive populations. Boas objected strenuously to this logic, known as the comparative method, and in 1896 he published an influential critique of it, showing it to be excessively speculative and blind to the effects of cultural borrowing (or diffusion) rather than parallel evolution in explaining cultural similarities. Every culture with the bow and arrow, for example, need not have evolved it in parallel. One culture might have borrowed it from another culture. These efforts helped overturn the concept that contemporary primitive people were essentially living in the Stone Age. The counter argument was that primitive people, while still primitive, had nonetheless changed over time.

In biological anthropology, the nineteenth-century legacy appears even more racist. At midcentury, biological anthropologists were arguing about the origin of races. The two major camps were monogenists and polygenists. Monogenists argued that human races shared an ancient common origin and then diversified, but that they remained a single biological species. Polygenists countered by arguing that human races had recent separate origins, remained unchanged, and constituted separate biological species. The polygenists were ascendant at this time, especially in the United States, where the anthropologist Samuel George Morton (1799–1851) and his followers measured skulls of different races, concluding that the skulls and (in life) the enclosed brains of

different races varied in size, and that therefore the races varied in mental capacity. In the period leading up to the American Civil War, Morton's views found favor among supporters of the institution of racial slavery. After the War, however, hard-nosed polygenism abated because of Charles Darwin's (1809–1882) theory of biological evolution, published in *Origin of Species* (1859), which showed that all biological populations are interrelated and changing. Still, many anthropologists failed to accept or fully understand Darwin's theory, and hereditarian views about race persisted. In 1896, the year Boas critiqued the comparative method, the anthropologist Daniel G. Brinton (1837–1899), in his presidential address to the American Association for the Advancement of Science, pronounced, "The black, the brown and the red races differ anatomically so much from the white, especially in their splanchnic [visceral] organs, that even with equal cerebral capacity, they could never rival its results by equal efforts" (Harris 1968, p. 256).

Boas recognized that the scientific fallacy of pronouncements such as Brinton's lay in the confusion of race, language, and culture. He had spent the equivalent of a number of years living among Pacific Coast Indians, learning their language and culture, and while working for the Chicago World's Columbian Exposition he had begun a comprehensive study of the racial, or physical, characteristics of aboriginal North Americans. He knew from these experiences that correlation does not necessarily imply cause; that is, just because a population with particular racial characteristics speaks a particular language and practices a particular culture, the language and culture are not necessarily caused by the racial characteristics. In fact, race, language, and culture are independent, each capable of changing without changing the others. Proof of this assertion was Boas himself, who remained racially white while learning how to speak the Kwakiutl language and participate in Kwakiutl culture. To right the scientific wrong of racial determinism, Boas wrote *The Mind of Primitive Man* (1911), a watershed book that helped pave the way for the modern understanding of race as a cultural construct. A similar understanding characterized his later book, *Race, Language, and Culture* (1940).

Boas's early years at Columbia coincided with great public debate in the United States about the alleged deleterious (or subtle harmful) effects of an influx of eastern and southern European immigrants. Between 1908 and 1910, he conducted a massive study for the United States Immigration Commission, in which he measured the heads of more than 17,000 European immigrants and their American-born children. For decades, going back to the heyday of polygenism, anthropologists had treated the ratio of head length and breadth, called the cephalic index, as a fixed mark of racial ancestry. Boas's statistical study, published in 1911 as *Changes*



**Franz Boas, 1941.** Known as the “father of American anthropology,” Boas was dedicated to empiricism, field research, cultural determinism, and cultural relativism. His work continues to be influential in many fields. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

in the Bodily Form of Descendants of Immigrants, proved otherwise. In just one generation, the cephalic index of immigrants had changed in response to the American environment, presumably to better diet and health. Since then, however, some anthropologists have statistically re-evaluated Boas’s study and questioned the magnitude of its reported change. Nevertheless, the study remains a landmark demonstration of how racial characteristics can change rapidly in response to the environment.

#### SPREADING THE WORD

Boas’s influence on American anthropology has been far-reaching. He was a founding member and president of the American Anthropological Association, as well as president of the New York Academy of Science, the American Folklore Society, and the American Association for the Advancement of Science. He supervised the journal *American Anthropologist*, wrote several books, and published more than seven hundred scholarly articles. He exerted his greatest influence, however, through the students he trained at Columbia University.

At Columbia, Boas was a powerful professor who attracted students with his message that, in the words of the anthropologist Ruth Benedict, “anthropology mattered.” It

mattered because it demonstrated the twin principles of cultural determinism and cultural relativism. Cultural determinism taught that nurture, not nature, was responsible for the overwhelming array of ethnographically observed cultural similarities and differences. Cultural relativism, meanwhile, taught that one culture should not be judged by the standards of another culture. Together, these two principles showed that racism and ethnocentrism were wrong.

Between 1901 and 1928, twenty students earned their doctoral degrees under Boas. Among them were Ruth Benedict (1887–1948), Alexander Goldenweiser (1880–1940), Melville Herskovits (1895–1963), Alfred Kroeber (1876–1960), Robert Lowie (1883–1957), Margaret Mead (1901–1978), Paul Radin (1883–1959), and Edward Sapir (1884–1939). Kroeber and Lowie helped establish anthropology at the University of California at Berkeley; Sapir, at the University of Chicago; and Herskovits, at Northwestern University. As a result, the Boasian view became academically entrenched in the American Midwest, and on its East and West Coasts.

Boasian anthropologists explored and promoted the importance of culture in a variety of ways. Goldenweiser, Herskovits, Lowie, and Radin wrote insightful ethnographies with African-American and Native American settings. Radin pioneered the life history approach with *Crashing Thunder: The Autobiography of a Winnebago Indian* (1926), and Herskovits wrote the first biography of Boas, *Franz Boas: The Science of Man in the Making* (1953). On a more theoretical level, Sapir, in collaboration with his student Benjamin Lee Whorf (1897–1941), demonstrated the power of language to shape categories of thought, including, in principle, thoughts about race. Kroeber and Benedict developed the idea of cultural configuration, or ethos, which they used to characterize cultures and urge respect for behavior that might otherwise appear inexplicable or odd. In *Patterns of Culture* (1934), an all-time anthropology best-seller, Benedict vividly portrayed three cultures with different standards of normalcy and deviance.

Boas also influenced his most famous student, Margaret Mead. At the time, he thought that much of psychology, especially the psychology of Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), overemphasized biology as a contributor to personality development. In particular, he objected to Freud’s assertion that adolescence is necessarily a period of psychological turmoil. Boas urged Mead to conduct her doctoral dissertation research in American Samoa, where she might find that adolescence unfolded differently than it did in the United States. After spending time in Samoa, Mead found just that. In the book based on her research, *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1928), she argued that a sexually permissive upbringing allowed Samoan girls to experience adolescence smoothly. Mead followed up this book with others in which she described cultural variation in the behavior of women and men. She went on to become widely known in the United

States as an advocate of cultural understanding and tolerance. In 1983, however, the anthropologist Derek Freeman (1916–2001) published a critical account of Mead's Samoan fieldwork in his book *Margaret Mead and Samoa: The Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth*. He argued that Mead was overly zealous in trying to prove Boas's claim for the power of culture over biology. Freeman's account touched off a major debate within anthropology about whether Boas's cultural determinism was ideological as well as scientific.

During World War II, some of Boas's students worked actively in Washington, D.C. to help the United States defeat Germany and the racist ideology of Nazism. On December 21, 1942, Boas was having lunch at Columbia University with the anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss (b. 1908) when suddenly he slumped over and died. Lévi-Strauss observed later that he had witnessed the death of an intellectual giant and the end of an anthropological era.

**SEE ALSO** *Anthropology, History of; Anti-Semitism; Cranial Index; Genesis and Polygenesis.*

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## **BODY POLITICS**

The term *body politics* refers to the practices and policies through which powers of society regulate the human body, as well as the struggle over the degree of individual

and social control of the body. The powers at play in body politics include institutional power expressed in government and laws, disciplinary power exacted in economic production, discretionary power exercised in consumption, and personal power negotiated in intimate relations. Individuals and movements engage in body politics when they seek to alleviate the oppressive effects of institutional and interpersonal power on those whose bodies are marked as inferior or who are denied rights to control their own bodies.

### **FEMINISM AND BODY POLITICS**

*Body politics* was first used in this sense in the 1970s, during the “second wave” of the feminist movement in the United States. It arose out of feminist politics and the abortion debates. Body politics originally involved the fight against objectification of the female body, and violence against women and girls, and the campaign for reproductive rights for women. “The personal is the political” became a slogan that captured the sense that domestic contests for equal rights in the home and within sexual relationships are crucial to the struggle for equal rights in the public. This form of body politics emphasized a woman's power and authority over her own body. Many feminists rejected practices that draw attention to differences between male and female bodies, refusing to shave their legs and underarms and rejecting cosmetics and revealing, form-fitting clothing. The book *Our Bodies, Our Selves*, published in 1973, aimed to widen and deepen women's knowledge of the workings of the female body, thus allowing women to be more active in pursuit of their sexual pleasure and reproductive health.

Second-wave feminist body politics promoted breaking the silence about rape, sexual abuse, and violence against women and girls, which many interpreted as extreme examples of socially sanctioned male power. The feminists who followed at the end of the twentieth century accepted this stance on rape and violence against women and girls, but they found the gender ideals of second-wave feminists too confining. Members of this generation, sometimes called third-wave feminists or post-feminists, endorse a range of body modification and gender practices that include butch-fem gender roles, gender-blending, transgender lifestyles, transsexual surgeries, body piercing, and tattoos.

Women's bodies were the political battleground of the abortion debates. A protracted struggle to establish a woman's right to terminate her pregnancy was won when the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the right to abortion in the case of *Roe v. Wade* in 1974. Almost immediately after that decision, anti-abortion (also called pro-life) activists began protesting against this extension of women's reproductive rights. Anti-abortion advocates likened aborting a fetus to murder, while pro-abortion advocates



(also called pro-choice) pointed to the legion of women who had died in illegal abortions, and to the many more who would doubtlessly follow them if abortion were to become illegal again. In that adversaries square off over the issue of individual versus social control of a woman's pregnancy, the abortion debates are prime examples of body politics.

Debates about laws and women's bodies sparked the interests other groups of women who felt that government or institutional power had unfairly exercised control over their bodies or that society should take greater responsibility for the care and protection of women and children. Noting that the abortion debates were about whether or not to have a child, activists pointed to policies and practices that denied reproduction to women in minority communities, especially the forced sterilization of Native Americans. Activists from both sides of the abortion debates joined in to press for employment rights for pregnant women and for maternity and paternity leave for new parents. Arguing that the laws and ethics governing commercial sex transactions were outdated, organizations of prostitutes argued for decriminalization of their work.

#### RACIAL BODY POLITICS

The attribution of ethical, moral, temperamental, and social characteristics to individuals or populations based on skin color, facial features, body types, and sexual anatomy figure prominently in racial body politics. This practice is most pronounced in the United States in racism against African Americans. As African people were turned into commodities in the Atlantic slave trade, western countries used bodily differences to justify African subjugation. According to racist logic, dark skin was at the negative pole in the dichotomy of white and good versus black and evil, broad facial features denote licentiousness and lack of intelligence, and the brawny bodies of black men and women cry out for hard labor. The fabled sexual organs of black men and women were credited to be the seat of excessive sexuality, a belief used to blame the bodies of black women and men for their being victims of rape, lynching, and castration. Other populations have also been subject to negative characterizations. For example, the bodies of Mexicans are supposedly built low for farm labor, while the "delicate, nimble" fingers of Asian women supposedly suit them for fine work such as computer-chip manufacture.

Because body politics covers the power to control bodies on the one hand, and resistance and protest against such powers on the other hand, body politics can both uphold and challenge racism. In the United States, the civil rights movement unseated the predominant racial body politics in abolishing Jim Crow laws and abating

racial segregation. The slogan "Black is Beautiful" heralded a moment in the 1960s when African Americans pointedly attributed positive values to black physical features. Body politics during that time included wearing hair in a natural, unprocessed "Afro" and donning African-inspired clothing. Remnants of this politics remain in those who attribute positive social and psychological qualities to melanin, the pigment that causes dark skin.

#### CROSS-CULTURAL REACTIONS TO AND STUDIES OF BODY POLITICS

A major challenge to racial body politics came from within the feminist movement. In the 1970s, Black, Latina, Native American, and Asian feminists insisted that an inclusive feminism examine and redress the historic evaluations of bodily difference that structured oppression of women according to race. Women of color objected to the narrow construction of gender politics by white feminists, and they moved to include the differences that race, class, and sexuality make in women's position in society. The welfare mothers' movement, radical lesbians of color, and black feminist theorists were among those to call attention to the ways in which race inflected feminism. The 1981 anthology *This Bridge Called My Back* captured the physical nature of the social and cultural experience of women of color who tried to bridge the gap between nationalist movements where sexism flourished and the feminist movement's singular concentration on gender. The editors, Cherie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa (1942–2004) are celebrated writers, theorists, and activists, who in this influential, transformative volume brought together poetry, critical and reflective essays, and photographs of artwork by noted women of color. *This Bridge Called My Back* contained the first publication of Audre Lorde's (1934–1992) essay, "The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House," which along with her essays on breaking silence and the erotic as power were crucial in forging a language of body politics for women of color and lesbian feminists. This push within the feminist movement contributed to the inclusive politics of diversity and multiculturalism in the United States.

Scholarly research on body politics was greatly influenced by French philosopher Michel Foucault (*Discipline and Punish*, 1977), who used the terms "bio-power" and "anatomy-politics" to refer to the insinuation of governmental and institutional power into people's everyday activities. He argued that such power shapes people's subjectivity—their sense of themselves as persons. From Foucault's point of view, disciplinary mechanisms such as prisons, as well as medical knowledge and the education system, provide the discourse, ideas, resources, and procedures through which individuals come to know who

they are and through which they learn to conform to the social and political order. What begins as externally imposed discipline becomes internalized, such that individuals become their own disciplinarians. Even though Foucault's work represents human subjectivity as caught in the thrall of discourses that impose meaning and shape action, inherent in body politics is the optimistic possibility that by changing the body's relationship to power, one might change the expression of power in society. Using the concept of body politics, scholars have studied the status of women and racial minorities, and somatic or body norms generated in particular cultures (and individuals' appropriation or rejection of them), as well the regulation of the body through hygiene, medicine, law, and sports. The study of European colonial policies and practices has been a particularly prolific area of scholarship on body politics.

Colonialism produced body politics intended to create acquiescent subjects, and it was, in part, successful. But colonialism also inspired resistance and revolution. The bodies of colonial subjects built the colonial infrastructure, fueled its economy, and bought its products. Clothing, in specified styles and patterns, and soaps and oils advertised and sold by colonizers pulled colonized bodies into the moral and aesthetic spheres of the colonizers. Colonized people were often treated as disease vectors, necessitating residential segregation and public health programs to ensure the health and well-being of the colonizers. Colonial administrations grouped colonized people according to race and tribe and used these distinctions to control their access to rights and resources. In some cultures, body politics took a supernatural turn, as the spirits of colonizers were believed to take over the bodies of former colonial subjects. This spirit possession highlights cultural memory and the embodiment of political power. Anticolonial movements rejected colonial rules of deference, fought for political sovereignty, revived older demonstrations of respect, and instituted new policies and practices to regulate the human body.

**SEE ALSO** *Feminism and Race; Forced Sterilization; Forced Sterilization of Native Americans; Rape; Reproductive Rights; Reproductive Technologies; Violence against Women and Girls.*

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## **BORDER CROSSINGS AND HUMAN RIGHTS**

Migration is a global phenomenon, a consequence of corporate globalization, neoliberal economic policies, political instability, ethnic conflicts, war, and domestic violence. The United Nations (UN) estimates that "one out of every 35 persons worldwide is an international migrant," a figure inclusive of migrant workers, families, refugees, and other immigrants. Countries typically receiving an influx of migrants are better positioned economically than the migrants' countries of origin. Migration has human rights implications because the migrating population, though often undocumented, maintains inalienable human rights. The human rights of migrants are recognized by the UN and the international community as a result of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families.

The UN and human rights groups, such as Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International (AI), monitor border crossings around the world and report that common problems occur along the world's national borders, which include a lack of legal representation or due process and lengthy detentions. Illiteracy, language barriers, racism, and xenophobia exacerbate human rights violations. Undocumented migrants can suffer indignities and human rights abuses due to their uncertain legal status because they are often treated as if they have no legal rights. The U.S.–Mexico border and Spain's borders have distinct entry points for border crossers; yet patterns of human rights abuses and the racial dimensions of those abuses are evident.

## U.S.–MEXICO BORDER

In March 2002, the UN Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights on the human rights of migrants, Ms. Gabriela Rodríguez Pizarro, visited parts of the 2,000-mile U.S.–Mexico border at the invitation from the U.S. and Mexican governments. Through her own investigation and interviews with migrants, she identified the following risks when crossing the border from Mexico to the United States:

Lack of protection against smugglers in the irregular crossing of the border; the problem of trafficking in persons; excessive use of force against migrants; crossing of the border through dangerous areas; vulnerability of children on the border; racist, xenophobic and discriminatory attitudes; and the conditions in which undocumented migrants are detained, especially when they are in the custody of private security agencies. (United Nations 2002, p. 2)

Entire families migrate to the United States from Mexico, despite the tremendous risk and insecurity involved, because of prospective better-paying job opportunities in the United States as compared to Mexico. Migrants face human rights abuses by the U.S. Border Patrol, other border patrolling units, smugglers, U.S. civilians, and private security agencies. The Special Rapporteur reviewed many allegations of abuse by Border Patrol agents, including severe beatings and shootings of unarmed migrants (Dunn 1996). Other abuses along the U.S.–Mexico border include rape and sexual assault of women (Falcón, forthcoming). Moreover, the judicial and legal rights of undocumented migrants have become severely restricted due to various immigration laws adopted in the United States since the mid-1990s (United Nations 2002, pp. 7–8). Smugglers exploit the vulnerability of migrants and have been known to leave them in the desert where many become severely dehydrated, suffer heat strokes, and die (Marosi 2005). Smugglers are also known to engage in the trafficking of persons, including for prostitution. Private security agencies are not under the authority of the U.S. government, raising questions about their obligation and accountability to human rights standards and international law. The Special Rapporteur revealed that migrants detained in private detention centers were less aware of their rights and the status of their cases when compared to U.S. government-operated detention centers (United Nations 2002, p. 14). She recommended that the United States ratify the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families to affirm the human rights of migrants along this international border (United Nations 2002, p. 7).

Redress in abuse cases has occurred in a few court cases, but it is far from common. Fearful of reprisals,

migrants may forego filing a formal complaint, making it extremely difficult to investigate alleged abuse. Many of these alleged abuse cases happen in remote areas of the U.S.–Mexico border, with no additional witnesses beyond the U.S. official and the undocumented migrant(s). The undocumented migrant can file a complaint, but the prospect of challenging a very powerful state is intimidating for many. At the international level, the UN has established an individual complaints system available on its Web site for reporting human rights violations experienced by migrants, which is reviewed by the Special Rapporteur. But this international process can be complicated if there is lack of access to the Internet.

## SPAIN'S BORDERS

Spain shares borders with Portugal and France and has a unique entry point for migrants in its southern region due to its coastline. Migrants entering Spain are from other European countries, Latin America, and Africa (in particular Morocco). Many of these migrants qualify for refugee consideration and they enter Spain via Madrid's international airport and by using boats to cross the strait of Gibraltar. Rodríguez Pizarro and AI conducted investigations regarding the treatment of migrants by the Spanish government during the period 2003–2005.

AI's investigation specifically focused on the plight of refugees fleeing human rights violations. In its 2005 report, AI stated that the public discourse concerning migrants in Spain and other European countries is focused "almost exclusively on immigration control," which has "undermined the protection of refugees." In some cases, asylum-seekers throughout Europe "are returned to third, supposedly 'safe,' countries" until their case is reviewed, a practice that AI condemned (Amnesty International 2005, p. 3). The number of refugee applicants in Spain, including those granted refugee status, fell between 2000 and 2005 as a result of restrictive state immigration policies. In 2001, only 278 out of 9,490 applicants were granted asylum, whereas 166 out of 5,544 applicants were granted asylum in 2004 (Amnesty International 2005, p. 4). According to the AI report, "Spain has one of the lowest per capita rates in the European Union [of refugee applicants]: one application for every 10,000 residents," which it cited as a grave concern (p. 3).

Both AI and Rodríguez Pizarro have documented similar kinds of human rights abuses and both expressed concern over the treatment of minors, women and girls, members of ethnic minorities (i.e., Roma), and foreign nationals. They documented an "excessive use of force when expelling foreign nationals" and an "increase in complaints of racist or xenophobic behaviour" (Amnesty International 2005, p. 4). Examples of human rights issues

identified by AI for migrants entering through Cueta, Spain, include:

- Clandestine expulsion of foreign nationals.
- Illegal expulsion of asylum-seekers.
- Illegal expulsion of minors.
- Inadequate reception facilities for asylum seekers and foreign nationals.
- Inadequate information provided to foreign nationals on arrival.
- Insufficient legal and interpreting/translation assistance.
- Problems and irregularities in the asylum process (pp. 16–29).

Many of these issues were also outlined in Rodríguez Pizarro's report on Spain. Following her visit in September 2003, the Special Rapporteur, also troubled by the inadequate legal guarantees (guarantees that should be afforded to all migrants), stated "migrants are frequently confronted with the risk of defencelessness in the face of possible abuses and violations due to the absence or insufficiency of legal assistance" (United Nations 2004, p. 2). Concerned about incidents of racism and xenophobia, the Special Rapporteur encouraged the Spanish media and government to "avoid statements and remarks which tend to foster fear of foreigners" (p. 21). She also recommended that Spain ratify the migrant workers convention.

The human rights concerns along the world's borders are strikingly parallel and show a clear pattern. Rodríguez Pizarro also found similar human rights abuses and a resistance to reporting abuses during her investigation of the treatment of Peruvian migrants crossing the borders of Ecuador, Colombia, Chile, and Brazil (United Nations 2005). The Peruvian economy is noticeably divergent from that of its neighbors, with more than half of Peru's population living below the poverty line. Dependent on jobs outside of Peru for survival, these undocumented migrants prefer not to file complaints "in order to be able to continue going . . . to work" (United Nations 2005, p. 8). Filing a formal complaint could result in reprisals for undocumented migrants. The Special Rapporteur's report on Peruvian migrants, the majority of whom are poor, indigenous, and female, cited additional problems with human trafficking, exploitative working conditions, and violence.

Human rights abuses range from not informing migrants of their legal rights to violent and degrading treatment by border patrol units. Minors, women, and the undocumented are particularly vulnerable. Migrants experience racism and xenophobia by border patrol groups, whose actions are supported by state immigration

policies that jeopardize the rights of migrants. Domestic and international redress are difficult to process due to the lack of documentation regarding abuses and migrants' fears of reprisals. Migration is a direct consequence of the domestic, global, and geopolitical context in which everyone lives. International law and human rights groups are not opposed to governments controlling immigration, however; they argue that all people—including undocumented migrants—are entitled to dignified, humane treatment and legal rights. As of 2005, thirty-four countries have ratified the human rights convention on migrants and their families, but the United States and Spain have yet to ratify it.

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## BORDER PATROL

The National Origins Act of 1924 placed strict limitations upon legal immigration to the United States. Persons prohibited from entering the United States included, but were not limited to, Chinese and Japanese

laborers, epileptics, beggars, prostitutes, lunatics, convicts, and those likely to become public charges. Further, the National Origins Act established a national quota system that promoted immigration from western Europe while limiting the number of legal immigrants from other regions of the world, particularly Asia, Africa, and eastern Europe. Congress understood, however, that prohibited persons would seek illegal entry into the United States by crossing U.S. borders without official inspection and sanction, and it established the U.S. Border Patrol to enforce U.S. immigration restrictions.

### THE EARLY YEARS

In addition to preventing persons from crossing into the United States without official sanction, the Border Patrol was assigned the job of policing borderland regions to detect and arrest those who had successfully effected illegal entry. The Border Patrol's jurisdiction stretched along the 5,525-mile Canadian border, spanned the 2,000-mile U.S.-Mexico border, and, in time, extended to include the Florida Gulf Coast region and various coastlines. In the early days and months of its existence, the new Border Patrol officers were confused about how to translate their broad mandate and jurisdiction into a practical course of law enforcement. But as the years wore on, Border Patrol officers along the U.S.-Mexico border began to focus almost exclusively upon apprehending and deporting undocumented Mexican nationals. During the early 1940s, the entire national emphasis of the U.S. Border Patrol shifted to the southern border, where officers continued to target unsanctioned Mexican border crossers. Since the end of World War II, this national police force, which had been established to broadly enforce U.S. immigration restrictions, has been almost entirely dedicated to policing the problem of unsanctioned Mexican immigration in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands. The rise of the U.S. Border Patrol in this region reshaped the story of race in twentieth-century America by racializing the crime of illegal immigration.

Illegal immigration is a crime that is inscribed upon the lives of those who enter the national territory of the United States without sanction. Denied official recognition and living under the constant threat of detection and deportation, those who commit the crime of illegal immigration live in zones of social, political, and economic marginalization. For them, every breath and every movement is illegitimate. Illegal immigration, therefore, is a living crime that transforms persons guilty of the act of illegal entry into persons living within the condition of being illegal. The condition of being illegal is articulated through an overall unequal distribution of political rights, social protections, and economic defenses. As the historian Mae Ngai describes it, illegal immigrants are "a caste,

unambiguously situated outside the boundaries of formal membership and social legitimacy." (2004, p. 2)

Despite the deep marginalization of being illegal, the caste of "illegals" is highly abstract in everyday life. There are countless ways of becoming illegal. In addition to entering without inspection, one can enter with false documents or fail to maintain the conditions of legal residency. Without any precise indicators of the crime of illegal immigration, it is difficult to detect the illegals among the population. However, with a mandate to detect, detain, interrogate, and apprehend persons for the crime and condition of being illegal, officers of the U.S. Border Patrol spend their working hours personifying the abstract political caste of illegality. Border Patrol officers, therefore, have played a critical role in shaping this site of political disenfranchisement, economic inequity, and social suspicion within the United States. Despite the many peoples and groups that have fallen into the category of illegal immigrants, Border Patrol officers have mostly targeted Mexican nationals for the crime of illegal immigration. This focus on policing unsanctioned Mexican immigration has assigned the inequities, disenfranchisements, suspicions, and violence of being illegal to persons of Mexican-origin, thereby effectively "Mexicanizing" the set of inherently and lawfully unequal social relations that emerge from the crime of illegal immigration.

While there is no question that the racialization of U.S. Border Patrol practice took shape in response to the large number of Mexican nationals who illegally crossed the U.S.-Mexico border during the twentieth century, police practices and priorities are socially and politically negotiated processes rather than a system of unmitigated responses to criminal activity. Police officers do not police every crime or criminal so much as rationalize and prioritize their mandate for law enforcement in response to the social anxieties, political tensions, and economic interests invested in the overall police project of using state violence to establish and maintain social control. The U.S. Border Patrol's racialization of the caste of illegals, therefore, must be understood within the sociohistorical context of the politics of policing the crime of illegal immigration.

### RACE AND THE POLITICS OF MIGRATION CONTROL

In the years following the passage of the National Origins Act, Border Patrol officers were uncertain as to how to create a practical course of law enforcement. They could have patrolled the border to prevent unsanctioned crossings; they could have enforced the spirit of the law by focusing on apprehending the law's main racial and ethnic targets, particularly Asian and eastern European

immigrants; or they could have policed prostitutes and clinics, searching out immigrants whose alleged moral depravity or poor health rendered them illegal. Despite the broad field of possible subjects of Border Patrol work, the officers received little guidance from supervisors within the Immigration Service. The men hired as Patrol Officers, therefore, were able to exert significant control over the everyday development of U.S. Border Patrol priorities and practice.

In the U.S.-Mexico borderlands, a region where the deeply rooted divisions between Mexican migrant laborers and white landowners dominated social organization and interactions, Border Patrol officers—who were often landless, working-class white men—gained unique entry into the region's principal system of social and economic relations by directing the violence of immigration law enforcement against the region's primary labor force, Mexican migrant laborers. Mexican immigration was the foundation of the region's primary economy, agribusiness. During the 1920s and 1930s, an "army" of migrant laborers moved northward from field to field, beginning with 25,000 laborers in the Lower Rio Grande Valley and growing to 300,000 migrants at the height of the cotton-picking season between July and September. In California, 35,000 laborers were required for the cotton crop alone. In 1940, the Texas State Employment Service estimated that 85 percent of full-time migrant laborers were Mexicanos. Until the arrival of white dustbowl immigrants in California in the mid-1930s, Mexicans comprised between 80 and 95 percent of the migrant workforce. Mexican labor, therefore, played a pivotal role in making the Southwest the nation's most productive and profitable agricultural region. Some estimated that up to 85 percent of the Mexicans in the mobile "army" of migrant laborers lived and worked in the United States illegally. Border Patrol officers, therefore, with the power to police the crime of illegal immigration, held considerable authority over the region's primary labor force.

Although disputes with agribusinessmen were not uncommon, Border Patrol officers during the 1920s and 1930s typically enforced federal immigration law according to locally defined interests in maintaining an accessible, temporary, and disciplined labor force. Most important, officers did not interrupt the flow of Mexican workers during peak seasons, but rather focused on apprehending and deporting workers at the end of the harvest. Working in an intensely local context of labor control, these early Border Patrolmen did not imagine the impact of their work beyond their local communities. Yet while they were busy enforcing federal U.S. immigration laws according to the seasonal labor needs of local ranchers and farmers, U.S. Border Patrol officers during the 1920s and 1930s transformed the story of race in twentieth-century America.

## THE CROSS-BORDER POLITICS OF U.S. MIGRATION CONTROL

World War II ripped the Border Patrol from its local roots and transformed the politics of migration control. Within the context of international military conflict, U.S. national borders assumed new significance as the first lines of defense against invasion and sabotage. During 1940 and 1941, wartime worries about saboteurs illegally entering the United States across the southern border threatened to undo the long history of targeting Mexican nationals. At this time, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS) supervisors assigned U.S. Border Patrol officers to guard Japanese internment camps and warned officers to be on the lookout for European saboteurs. The new demands placed upon Border Patrol officers promised a transformation in U.S. Border Patrol practice along the U.S.-Mexico border by shifting the officers' focus away from Mexicans and toward racially and socially ambiguous saboteurs. The establishment of the Bracero Program in 1942, however, placed migration control in a binational context that refocused Border Patrol attention upon policing the unsanctioned border crossings of Mexican nationals.

The Bracero Program (1942–1964) was a series of agreements between the U.S. and Mexican governments that facilitated the migration of short-term Mexican contract laborers into (and out of) the United States. Known as *braceros*, these laborers generally worked on southwestern farms, and U.S. and Mexican officials closely managed their movement between the United States and Mexico. At a time when the Mexican government was sponsoring an ambitious project of rapid industrialization, Mexican politicians, in part, agreed to participate in the Bracero Program as a strategy to limit the loss of Mexican laborers to higher-paying jobs in the United States. In exchange for legal bracero workers, Mexican officials demanded that the United States prevent Mexican laborers from surreptitiously crossing into the United States and, when unsuccessful in this, aggressively detect and deport those who had effected illegal entry.

In response to Mexican demands within the context of the Bracero Program, INS officials shifted the entire national organization of the U.S. Border Patrol. Prior to 1943, more U.S. Border Patrol officers worked along the northern border than along the southern border. Beginning in 1943, the INS doubled the number of Border Patrol inspectors working in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands and established the U.S.-Mexico border as the national center of operations for the Border Patrol. With additional officers and new strategies, the number of Mexicans, as a percentage of the national total number of apprehensions, increased from a roving average of 17 percent to 56 percent between 1924 and 1940 to a steady



**Patrolling the U.S.–Mexican Border.** A U.S. Border Patrol agent looks out over the desert south of Sunland Park, New Mexico, on May 15, 2006. Concerns over both illegal immigration and terrorism have made border security an important political issue in the United States. AP IMAGES.

average of more than 90 percent between 1943 and 1954. Therefore, at a time when detecting, detaining, and deporting enemy aliens and saboteurs could have emerged as a priority of migration control within the United States, the bilateral promises of the Bracero Program directed the U.S. Border Patrol's attention to policing the southern border and deporting undocumented Mexican nationals (see Lytle-Hernández 2006)

Further, the rise of the U.S. Border Patrol in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands developed in partnership with the Bracero program as a cross-border system of migration control during the 1940s and early 1950s. During the Bracero years, U.S. and Mexican officers participated in joint raids upon border settlements, cooperatively patrolled the border, and coordinated collaborative deportation schemes that removed undocumented Mexicans from the U.S.-Mexico border to the interior of Mexico. Mexican participation in creating, shaping, and collaborating with U.S. migration control practices added a binational dimension to the problem of race that emerged from the U.S. Border Patrol's uneven enforcement of U.S. immigration restrictions. What had first begun as a local interpretation of federal immigration laws evolved upon the cross-border foundation of U.S. and Mexican collaboration during the Bracero era.

When the Bracero Program ended in 1964, the U.S. Border Patrol entered its third generation of U.S. immigration law enforcement. In these years, INS and Border Patrol officials reframed the Border Patrol's mission away from controlling unsanctioned labor migration and toward preventing a broad range of cross-border criminal

activities, such as prostitution and drug trafficking. This shift allowed the Border Patrol to maintain its institutional relevance despite the low apprehension rates between the mid-1950s and late 1960s. Further, the switch from migration control to crime control linked immigration law enforcement to border enforcement and drug interdiction, each of which were core elements of the rising U.S. war on crime in the late twentieth century. In these years, the policing of the unsanctioned migrations of poor Mexican-born workers increasingly intersected with the policing of the cross-border trafficking of marijuana and narcotics, such as Mexican-grown heroin. The impact was an implosion of race, crime, and immigration at a moment when the United States embraced crime control as a primary system of governance and social organization. Border Patrol officers and INS officials, therefore, played a critical role in linking the racialized problem of illegal immigration to the problems of crime that have dominated American politics and social organization since the late 1960s.

#### RACIALIZATION AND LEGITIMIZATION

The United States Supreme Court legitimated the U.S. Border Patrol's racialized policing of the crime of illegal immigration in a case that had begun on the evening of June 11, 1973. That evening, two Border Patrol officers sat in a parked car on the northbound side of Highway 5 in southern California. Sometime after dark, the officers looked into their headlights and saw a car carrying Felix Humberto Brignoni-Ponce and two of his friends. According to the officers, the three men appeared to be of "Mexican descent," which was sufficient evidence to suspect the men of the crime of illegal immigration. The officers launched a short pursuit, pulled the men over, and questioned them about their citizenship status. Brignoni-Ponce was a U.S. citizen, but his two passengers both admitted that they had entered the country illegally. The officers arrested all three men: the two passengers for illegal entry and Brignoni-Ponce for "knowingly transporting illegal immigrants," a felony punishable by a fine of \$5,000 and up to five years in prison for each violation.

Brignoni-Ponce appealed his conviction in a legal battle that ended in the Supreme Court in June 1975. According to Brignoni-Ponce and his lawyers, "Mexican descent" was insufficient evidence of the crime of illegal entry and the Border Patrol officers had therefore violated Brignoni-Ponce's Fourth Amendment protections against unreasonable search and seizure. The Supreme Court, however, decided that decades of Border Patrol statistics revealed a close relationship between the problem of illegal immigration and persons of Mexican

origin. While acknowledging Brignoni-Ponce's Fourth Amendment concerns regarding the uneven distribution of state surveillance and violence toward persons of Mexican origin through U.S. Border Patrol practice, the Supreme Court legitimated the Border Patrol's use of "Mexican appearance" as an indicator for the crime of illegal immigration. The Border Patrol's practice of linking persons of Mexican origin to the caste of illegals, therefore, entered the late twentieth century as a legitimate practice of racialization.

In the years following the *Brignoni-Ponce* decision, war and poverty pushed increasingly large numbers of Salvadorans and Guatemalans to seek both sanctuary and work in the United States. Many entered the United States by crossing the U.S.-Mexico border without sanction. Although the U.S. Border Patrol remained focused upon policing unsanctioned Mexican immigration, the intensive regional focus of U.S. Border Patrol practices entangled Salvadoran and Guatemalan immigrants in the racial projects of U.S. immigration law enforcement.

SEE ALSO *Immigrant Domestic Workers; Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA); Immigration to the United States.*

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**BOXING**

Today the sport of boxing is associated with a variety of racial stereotypes. In the late twentieth century these included the belief that no white man would be able to contend for the world heavyweight championship. This idea results from the general racial stereotype circulating in the Western world that persons of African descent are simply better athletes compared to persons of European descent. In addition, stereotypes concerning the innate violence of the African American male support the notion that Africans or African Americans should dominate boxing, which is by nature a violent sport.

In the early 1990s both the in-ring and out-of-ring behavior of then heavyweight champion Mike Tyson contributed to bringing these disturbing images to the forefront of European American consciousness. Tyson was convicted of raping Desiree Washington, then Miss Black Rhode Island, as well as being in possession of twenty-nine pounds of marijuana and cocaine. Tyson served three years of a six-year sentence. In 1997, in his match with Evander Holyfield, Mike Tyson's ring behavior sank to a new low. In the third round, Tyson clinched Holyfield, biting off a piece of his ear. This display feeds into the modern idea that violence and blackness are associated. For example, in 1995 President Bill Clinton stated that "violence for white people too often comes with a black face" (Hutchinson 1995).

The history of boxing does not indicate that Africans or African Americans per se dominate it. Rather, this history shows that participation in professional boxing is multiethnic and mostly associated with poverty rather than socially defined race. This becomes more apparent as one examines boxing participation across weight classes as opposed to just the heavyweight category. Also, virtually every cultural group has some form of boxing, including the Eastern martial arts and Latin American forms such as Brazilian capoeira.



## ORIGINS OF WESTERN BOXING

The sport we know today as boxing probably began in ancient Greece and was included in the first Olympic Games. In ancient Rome, the sport was part of gladiatorial contests, and the boxers often wore a metal-studded leather hand covering called the *cestus*. Serious injury or death often resulted from these contests. The sport came to England with the arrival of the Roman Empire (Fleisher and Andre 1993). Modern boxing began there in the eighteenth century. In 1719, James Figg was recognized as the first heavyweight champion, and he is now recognized as the father of boxing. Figg openly advertised exhibitions of his skill and taught the sport. He was also a master swordsman, and thus he attracted the patronage of the English “bloods,” the socially well-to-do sportsmen of the country. His boxing exhibitions were held on a stage with wooden rails; the referee called the bouts while standing outside the ring. In 1734, another English champion, John Broughton, formulated the first set of rules and invented the boxing glove, though boxing gloves were used only at sparring exhibitions. Broughton’s rules governed boxing until 1838 and eliminated the practice of hitting opponents when they were down or grabbing opponents by the hair.

In 1838, the Original London Prize Ring rules were devised. Soon after, these were modified to form the Revised London Prize Ring rules (1853), and finally, at the turn of the century, the Queensberry rules were adopted. John Graham Chambers authored these rules under the patronage of John Sholto Douglas, eighth marquis of Queensberry.

Boxing in eighteenth-century England was dominated by contests of brute strength. Champions tended to be men who both could inflict great bodily harm on their opponents and withstand such harm themselves. Daniel Mendoza, a man of Spanish-Jewish descent, is credited as being the first boxer to change this model. After sustaining significant injuries in his first victorious bout, he spent three years developing a system of guarding, sidestepping, and effective use of the straight left (today called the left jab). Mendoza utilized these tactics to be crowned English champion in 1794. However, this victory was not without a price. Many boxing critics of the day characterized his tactics as “cowardly,” as opposed to standing up in the true “British bulldog” style (Fleisher and Andre 1993). Yet it was fighting in this style, as well as the adoption of the Queensberry rules, that would establish boxing as a legitimate sport as opposed to its prior image as a barbaric spectacle.

## PERSONS OF AFRICAN DESCENT IN EARLY BOXING

Bill Richmond was the first person of African descent to make a mark in English boxing. During the occupation

of New York by the British in 1777, Richmond was noticed by General Earl Percy after he routed three English soldiers who accosted him in a tavern. Percy took Richmond into his household as a servant, and later that year sent him to England to apprentice as a carpenter. There he developed a style of fighting similar to that of Mendoza. Richmond stood 5 feet 6 inches and weighed 170 pounds. He listed among his most important victories those over George Moore, Paddy Green, and Frank Mayers. His prowess in the ring earned him the nickname “The Black Terror.” In his later years, Richmond ran a boxing academy in London, dying in that city on December 28, 1829, at the age of sixty-six.

Tom Mollineaux was born in Virginia on March 23, 1784. He arrived in England in 1809 and was trained by Bill Richmond. A year later, Mollineaux fought in the first international title involving a person of African descent. His opponent was Tom Cribb. The bout, which took place in December, lasted thirty-nine rounds, after which Mollineaux collapsed from exhaustion. English boxing correspondent Pierce Egan described Mollineaux as “the tremendous man of colour” and wrote that he had “proved himself as courageous a man as ever an adversary contended with” (Fleisher and Andre 1993). Egan was also impressed with both Mollineaux’s strength and knowledge of the science of boxing. Cribb and Mollineaux fought a rematch in September 1811 before a crowd that swelled to more than 25,000 spectators. Once again Cribb was the victor.

Mollineaux would defeat William Fuller in 1814. These fights made Mollineaux a celebrity in England. He lived there for the rest of life, engaging in periodic sparring bouts. He died in Dublin, Ireland, in 1818.

At this point in history there seemed to be no specialized racial theory of boxing, apart from the general racial theories of the time. The ability of non-Europeans in any sector of social endeavor was always viewed through the prism of the existing racial ideologies, which uniformly viewed such persons as inferior. Successful non-European individuals were exceptions to the general racial norms of day.

## BOXING COMES TO AMERICA

In 1816, Jacob Hyer and Tom Beasley fought the first publicly acknowledged boxing match in the United States, in New York City. In 1849, the first heavyweight championship fight was held, pitting Jacob Hyer’s son Tom against “Yankee” Sullivan at Still Pond Creek, Maryland. Yet, it is important to understand that prize fighting was still considered illegal throughout the United States. In 1849, most states had enacted “prize fight statutes.” In 1876, the Massachusetts Supreme Court held that “Prize fighting, boxing matches, and

encounters of that kind serve no useful purpose, tend to breaches of the peace, and are unlawful even when entered into by agreement and without anger or ill will” (Sammons 1988). That same year, organizers of the reputed world heavyweight championship fight between Englishman Joe Goss and American Paddy Ryan chose Colliers, West Virginia, so that if the fight was raided by hostile police officers, the participants would be able to flee quickly across state lines to Ohio or Pennsylvania.

The illegality of the sport meant that it stayed popular with the urban masses, many of whom were immigrants who saw it as a way to work themselves out of poverty. This is also a characteristic of modern-day boxing and to some degree accounts for the racial stereotyping associated with it. The Social Darwinists of the period supported boxing as consistent with Darwinian laws. William Graham Sumner declared that a society with “no-holds” business competition was in consonance with Darwinian law and that boxing was the reduction of “survival of the fittest” to its simplest and most tangible terms (Altschuler and LaForse 1983). These views explain why many early boxing contests revolved around the theme of “native-born” Americans pitted against Irish immigrants. Animosity against the Irish, both in America and England, was great in this period. For example, Professor Edward Freeman of Oxford, a devotee of the Count de Gobineau, carried out a successful lecture tour in the United States between 1881 and 1882. His lectures decried the corruption of the Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic bloodlines by the Irish, Jews, and Negroes. The solution Freeman offered the Americans was that every Irishman would kill a Negro and be hanged for it (Chase 1977).

The final sixty years of boxing in the nineteenth century was dominated by Irish Americans. The most notable was John L. Sullivan, who first began to garner national attention in 1879 with impressive victories over Joe Goss, John Donaldson, and John Flood. In February 1882, Sullivan fought for the U.S. heavyweight crown at Mississippi City against Paddy Ryan. The public’s interest in the fight attracted major media attention, with newspapers hiring famous journalists and authors to record their impressions of the fight. Henry Ward Beecher, Reverend Thomas De Witt Talmage, Nat Goodwin, and Oscar Wilde were among those who covered the fight (Fleisher and Andre 1993). Sullivan dispatched Ryan in nine rounds.

Sullivan, now dubbed “the Boston Strong Boy,” took on all comers in the heavyweight ranks for the next ten years. Sullivan fought and won the last sanctioned bare-knuckle fight in 1889, against Jake Kilrain. The fight was held in Richburg, Mississippi, and lasted seventy-five rounds.

Sullivan’s willingness to fight all candidates did not extend to persons of African descent. Sullivan consistently refused to fight Peter Jackson, an Australian boxer of African descent, even though most considered Jackson a serious contender for the heavyweight title (Ward 2004). Jackson was born in the West Indies in 1861 and began his boxing career in Australia in 1882. In May 1891, Jackson fought a sixty-one-round draw with Jim Corbett in San Francisco. It was Corbett’s success against Jackson that led to calls for a championship match with Sullivan. That match was held on September 7, 1892, in New Orleans, which had become the capital of American boxing. This fight was conducted with gloves under the Queensberry rules and Sullivan lost. This event also featured, in the featherweight division, George “Little Chocolate” Dixon against Jack Skelly. Dixon’s victory against Skelly, and the violently negative European American reaction to that victory, led to “interracial” fights being banned in that city (Sammons 1988).

#### THE GREAT WHITE HOPE

Sullivan’s decision not to entertain bouts with persons of African descent can be linked to his manager, William Muldoon. Muldoon wished to spare his champion the humiliation of being defeated by a Negro. Given the symbolic role that the heavyweight boxing champion had taken on as the “emperor” of manhood, it was inconceivable for them that this mantle would be held by a Negro (Ward 2004). However, within sixteen years of Sullivan surrendering the belt, Jack Johnson, an African American born in Galveston, Texas, would be declared heavyweight champion of the world. Johnson began his boxing career in contests called “battle royals,” which pitted several African American men in the ring until the last man standing was declared the winner. European Americans would then throw coins into the ring as payment for the bout. Johnson turned professional in 1897 and amassed a string of impressive victories, until finally he forced then world champion Tommy Burns into a bout in Rushcutters Bay, Sydney, Australia. The fight promoter, Snowy Baker, had to guarantee Burns \$30,000 for him to agree to the match. Johnson greatly outclassed Burns, and the police stepped in to end the bout in the fourteenth round. The new heavyweight champion won a string of impressive victories within the year, and the search for “a great white hope” began, with fight promoters all over Europe and the Americas hunting for a “Caucasian” challenger to win the title back for the “white” race.

Johnson’s victories dispelled a variety of racist theories in boxing that had developed over the nineteenth century. It is argued that Johnson pursued the Burns fight in a way to expose the fallacies that black fighters



**Jack Johnson Defeats Jim Jeffries, 1910.** Johnson defied every racist convention of the early twentieth century. Most significantly it was his relationships with white women that turned the public against him. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

were weak in the stomach, that they betray a yellow streak under pressure, and that they were unable to think on their feet like white fighters (Ward 2004). All of these stereotypes were consistent with the general nineteenth-century racial views of the Negro. However, it was not Johnson's behavior inside the ring that aggravated European Americans; it was his personal life. Johnson defied every racist convention of the early twentieth century. Most significantly, it was his romantic affairs with a series of European American women that turned both the African and European American public against him. For example, on March 12, 1909, Texas authorities threatened to arrest Johnson if he brought his white wife with him to that state. He was going to Galveston to attend a parade in his honor. D. A. Hart, the African American editor of the *Nashville Globe*, chastised Johnson for not marrying a member of his own race, thus insulting Negro women and placing others of his race in mortal danger (Ward 2004).

Shortly after the Burns defeat, Anglo-Saxonist author Jack London implored Jim Jeffries to come out of retirement to take the crown back from Johnson. The

Jeffries–Johnson match, fought in Reno, Nevada, on July 4, 1910, had all of America's attention. Twelve hundred African Americans prayed for a Johnson victory in Hutchinson, Kansas, and a special telegraph line was installed at Tuskegee Institute to receive round-by-round reports of the fight. Booker T. Washington disapproved of Johnson and prize fighting, but he allowed the fight to be broadcast to Tuskegee. In the ring, the band began with "Just Before the Battle Mother," "America," and "Dixie." Johnson demolished Jeffries in fifteen rounds, so much so that Jack London could not bear watching the finish. African Americans in Chicago swept Johnson's mother on their shoulders and carried her around the south side. At every stop on the return train ride to Chicago, Johnson was greeted by cheering crowds, including 1,000 members of the all-African American 9th Calvary (Buffalo Soldiers) in Cheyenne, Wyoming.

Not everyone was happy; race riots broke out over the Johnson victory in Chattanooga, Tennessee; Clarksburg, West Virginia; Columbus, Ohio; Los Angeles; Manhattan; New Orleans; Norfolk, Virginia; Pueblo, New Mexico; Philadelphia; Roanoke, Virginia; Uvalde, Georgia; and Washington, D.C. It is estimated that from eleven to twenty-six people died, and hundreds were wounded, the vast majority African Americans.

Johnson maintained the heavyweight championship until April 5, 1915. The pressure of being the champion as well as the disorders of his personal life combined to defeat him at the age of thirty-seven. He lost the championship to the last of the great white hopes, Jess Willard, in Havana, Cuba. In 1920 he would surrender to federal authorities for violation of the Mann Act (which prevented the transportation of white women across state lines for "immoral" purposes) and spent eight months in prison. After he was killed in a car accident in 1946, he was buried in Graceland Cemetery next to Etta Duryea Johnson, the European American woman who had been the love of his life. For his courage against insurmountable odds, many rank Johnson as the most significant African American athlete of the twentieth century (Ward 2004).

#### FIGHTING FOR DEMOCRACY

The next notable heavyweight champion was Jack Dempsey ("the Manassa Mauler"), who took the title from Jess Willard on July 4, 1919, in Toledo, Ohio. Dempsey was a European American born in Colorado, one of eleven children, and started fighting as a matter of survival. He rode the rails looking for work in assorted mining towns. Dempsey amassed sixty wins, fifty by knockout, over his career. Dempsey lost the title to Gene Tunney on September 23, 1926. Tunney, also European American, grew up the son of a longshoreman. He also learned

how to fight to survive on the brutal streets of New York City. He won the armed forces title while a member of the expeditionary force in France during World War I. Tunney's lifetime record was sixty wins, forty-five by knockout. Dempsey's and Tunney's championships occurred at a time when America had locked the African-American athlete out from competition for the world heavyweight title. This reaction was a direct response to the success of Jack Johnson.

With Tunney's retirement, the heavyweight championship passed over to Europe. A series of contenders vied for the belt, but on June 30, 1931, German Max Schmeling was declared world champion after a bout with Jack Sharkey. Schmeling's victory came at a time when boxing had completely moved out of its former criminal/sideshow atmosphere into the mainstream of respectable public entertainment (Bathrick 1990). Indeed, boxing in general and Schmeling in particular took on tremendous importance in the cultural transformation of German society during the Weimar period (1918–1933). This transformation involved the glorification of the human body. In the 1920s, Germany, which had labored in the corset and stiff collar, moved to embody a new cult of nakedness in cultural venues from vaudeville to sport (Bathrick 1990). This was also the period in which racial hygiene ideas were gathering strength throughout German society. The eugenics (racial hygiene) of the Weimar Republic was mainly concerned with preventing the decline of the German "volk," or "rasse" (Weiss 1990).

In this way, achievement in sport represented the antithesis of racial degeneration. The one-time European heavyweight champion Georges Carpentier (a Frenchman) stated that boxing had done more to improve the moral and physical character of the younger generation than had previous centuries of physical and moral teaching. He also stated that there was reason to hope that France's military prowess would increase because of boxing (Carpentier 1926). Carpentier's claims about the value of boxing seem to be at odds with modern science. A 2005 study of 477 boys in Norway found that participation in boxing was associated with a significantly greater probability of being involved in violent or antisocial behavior outside the ring (Endresen and Olweus 2005).

Bertolt Brecht, considered by many the most important German playwright of the twentieth century, also became enamored with boxing in the Weimar period (Bathrick 1990). In the same years, Adolf Hitler wrote of the importance of boxing in *Mein Kampf*: "There is no sport that cultivates a spirit of aggressiveness, that demands lightning-quick decisiveness, that develops the body to such steely smoothness." Further, Hitler argued that had Germans studied boxing instead of etiquette, then the deserters,

pimps, and rabble responsible for the Weimar Republic could have never taken power (Margolick 2005).

Schmeling became the world heavyweight champion on June 11, 1930, defeating Jack Sharkey before 79,222 fans in Yankee Stadium. Schmeling met Sharkey again for a second defense of his title in June 1932, losing by decision in fifteen rounds. Four years later Schmeling would be matched against Joe Louis (nicknamed "the Brown Bomber") in Yankee Stadium before 39,878 fans. The term "Brown Bomber" had been developed by the American press to stir up racial animosity in preparation for the Louis-Carnera fight of 1935. Louis was portrayed as symbolic of Ethiopia, fighting off the Italian fascist invasion, symbolized by Primo Carnera (Sammons 1988). The cultural significance of the Louis-Schmeling bouts will always be intertwined in the context of American and German racism and the international political situation culminating in World War II. This is ironic, since neither fighter was particularly racist or anti-Semitic; for example, Schmeling's manager, Max Jacobs, was of Jewish descent. Schmeling, however, would become the darling of Nazi sports culture, especially after he defeated Louis in the first fight. He would support the Nazi Party throughout his career, although there is no conclusive evidence that he agreed with its anti-Semitic and genocidal policies. Schmeling was a man of the period, and before Louis-Schmeling I, American newspapers were still portraying Louis using racist Sambo stereotypes. One newspaper showed Louis trembling with fear of Schmeling, after the Mantan Moreland character "feets don't fail me now," while another represented him as a chicken-stealing thief in farmer Max's henhouse (Wiggins 1988). German caricatures of Louis were just as bad. A cartoon that appeared in *Der Kicker* on June 23, 1936, portrays Schmeling spanking a Sambo caricature of Louis (Margolick 2005). Response to the Schmeling victory followed racial and ethnic lines: Jews, African Americans, Africans, and other colonized populations were plunged into immediate depression, while southern whites, Germans, South Africans, and other European populations in racially stratified societies jumped for joy. Films of the first Schmeling-Louis fight were rapidly made available throughout the United States. This was in contrast to the ongoing ban of films from the fights that Joe Louis had won against white opponents (Margolick 2005).

#### LOUIS KOs THE FASCISTS

Louis-Schmeling II was undoubtedly the greatest professional fight of the twentieth century. This was not because of the technical mastery that either fighter showed in the ring but rather the social significance of the fight. No one was neutral. Aryanists, German Bundists in the United States, South African colonialists, and

American white supremacists were all pulling for Max Schmeling to win again. American Jews, as well as the Communist Party, had originally opposed the fight to protest treatment of Jews in Germany. However, both groups realized that a Joe Louis victory would be a crushing blow to the theory of Aryan supremacy. African Americans were divided. Many were worried that Louis would lose again, but all of them were praying for the Brown Bomber. W. E. B. Du Bois sat listening to the fight with a group of academicians in Atlanta, Eleanor Roosevelt sat by the radio, and the owner of the Hope diamond, Evalyn Walsh McLean, had a ringside seat. The fight was carried live over German radio from New York. No one had to wait long; Louis defeated Schmeling by technical knockout (TKO) at 2:04 in the first round. Schmeling was knocked down three times, the last ending the fight. After the fight, to save face, Schmeling claimed he was fouled, but no one believed him.

Despite the abuses that occurred during some of the celebrations following, some argued that the Louis victory did more to improve race relations in America than any event since the Civil War. One writer wrote that the decline of Nazi prestige began with a left hook delivered by a former unskilled autoworker who had never read Neville Chamberlain's policies (Margolick 2005, p. 322). Nazi propaganda minister Paul Joseph Goebbels distanced himself from the Schmeling loss immediately, as did Nazi Germany as a whole. The United States entered the war against the Nazis with a segregated army. Louis served the war effort more as an icon than as a soldier, although he later served in the U.S. Army.

#### BOXING AND SOCIAL MOBILITY

The Johnson–Jeffries and Louis–Schmeling fights illustrate all of the racial themes associated with boxing. When fighters from socially subordinated groups win, their victories are attributed to natural athleticism or innate animal-like savagery. Conversely, if the victory goes to fighters from socially dominant groups, it supposedly resulted from their greater courage and intellect. Try as it may, professional boxing has always had an unsavory reputation. Its appeal has always been to the poor and disenfranchised, who often barter their physical health and sometimes their lives as a way out of their social situation. In addition, this peddling of human flesh was consistently connected with various kinds of greed and crime (organized and individual). Yet boxing has seen its fair share of great athletes, and these individuals have originated from all portions of the formal racial spectrum.

Boxing and sports in general have given the public the idea that it is possible for individuals to better their condition by exemplary achievement in the professional ranks. This idea has been particularly popular among

African Americans in the latter twentieth century. Sport has been one of the few industries where African Americans seemed highly mobile, visible, and their accomplishments consistent with the general racial theories of the twentieth century (all brawn, but no brain). Role models such as Joe Louis and Jackie Robinson through to Michael Jordan in the modern era are taken as a sign of physical superiority and increased social acceptance of all African Americans.

However, it is difficult to make a case that athletic excellence has had an overall positive effect on race relations in the United States or that it has played a significant role in the social mobility of African Americans. First off, achievement at the highest ranks in professional sports is statistically very rare. For example, in 1972 a high school athlete of any color had the following chances of making it into each of the following professional sports: 1 in 4,000 for baseball, 1 in 3,750 for the National Football League, and 1 in 10,000 for the National Basketball Association. The situation in boxing was not any better. Between the 1930s and 1950s, of 127 active professional boxers, only 7.1% received national recognition, 8.7% achieved local headlines, and the vast majority (84.2%) never achieved anything beyond warm-up bouts (Reiss 1990). Today it is still true that only boxers who are major contenders have a chance to make the “big money.” Also, even those who make a high salary may not keep their money for long. Most of these athletes, black or white, don't have the background in money management or the support system required to handle their fortunes. In boxing, as in other sports, this combined with the lavish lifestyle that is expected of professional athletes, as well as the unscrupulous character of many of the fight promoters and managers associated with sport has led many top champions to squander their fortunes or retire bankrupt (Joe Louis, Ike Williams, Mike Tyson).

If professional sports has historically had any positive impact on the social mobility of oppressed groups, it must have occurred indirectly. There is some evidence that the Irish and Jewish communities may have been positively impacted by their period of dominance in professional boxing—in part, because several individuals used the sport to launch business ventures associated with their prominence in prize fighting. Athletes might also contribute to the social mobility of others by donating their wealth to help charitable ventures, such as the Muhammad Ali Institute at the University of Louisville or The Tiger Woods Foundation. The NBA Cares Foundation was launched in 2005, and since that time has raised over 50 million dollars for various charity initiatives. But all these laudable efforts must also be viewed in the light of the false ideology of guaranteed riches for poor youth who excel at sport. Statistics show that the



**Joe Louis Defeats Max Schmeling, 1938.** Due to its social significance, many judge the rematch of Louis and Schmeling as the greatest professional fight of the twentieth century. AP IMAGES.

vast majority of such youth would stand a better chance of achieving social mobility (what little is actually possible in the United States) by focusing their time on their education, as opposed to athletic activity.

**SEE ALSO** *Baseball; Basketball; Football (U.S.); Rassenhygiene.*

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*Joseph L. Graves Jr.*

## BRACEROS, REPATRIATION, AND SEASONAL WORKERS

Braceros (in Spanish, "laborer," derived from *brazo*, "arm"), or field workers from Mexico, have long been an important feature of U.S. agriculture, especially in the southwestern United States. Since the early twentieth century, many millions of such workers have left Mexico on a seasonal or permanent basis in search of jobs on U.S. family farms and in corporate "factories in the fields." Some workers have come legally and others illegally, sometimes under contract with employers and sometimes as undocumented "freelancers."

Although economically beneficial to both countries, for generations this cross-border migratory flow has generated significant international conflict, as well as controversy within the United States. The positive aspects of Mexican immigration to the United States have gone largely unrecognized and unappreciated among most Americans, who have stigmatized this group of immigrants and repeatedly turned against them during hard times. Many critics have charged these newcomers with harming the country, both economically and socially. Additional reasons for rejection include racial intolerance, cultural bias, linguistic prejudice, a predominantly negative view of Mexico, and the fact that many immigrants have entered the United States illegally.

## THE GREAT DEPRESSION

From the 1920s to the present, intense anti-Mexican sentiments have flared up repeatedly during downturns in the U.S. economy, with attendant demands by the public for wholesale deportation of Mexicans, imposition of legal restrictions on immigration, and stronger enforcement measures at the border. The prime example of this response is the decade of the Great Depression, which began in 1929. The U.S. economic collapse during that time deepened the opposition to immigration and spawned a movement to rid the nation of foreigners. Mexicans became the principal target of the attacks, leading to massive deportations and repatriations. Thus, in the 1930s, from half a million to one million Mexicans departed the United States. Reflecting the overall composition of the Mexican-origin population, most of those who exited hailed from the working classes. But many families of higher social status also left, depleting an already small Mexican/Mexican-American middle class and elite sector.

The trauma unleashed by deportations and repatriations touched Chicano communities everywhere. Sweeps and raids by immigration agents and local policemen heightened U.S. nativism and encouraged private citizens to attack Mexicans directly. Extreme hostility flared up in the workplace in states and cities that passed laws prohibiting the hiring of non-U.S. citizens in publicly financed projects. Although such statutes applied to all aliens, in the Southwest they were clearly directed against Mexican immigrants. Violations of civil and human rights became commonplace, including harassment, intimidation, illegal arrest and imprisonment, separation of families, and expulsion.

U.S. officials escorted deportees and repatriates across the border and turned them over to Mexican officials, who had the responsibility of meeting their immediate needs, arranging for transportation to their places of destination, and beginning the process of reintegration into Mexican society. The Mexican government waived customs regulations and allowed migrants to import personal belongings and occupational tools. Mexico also provided employment assistance and offered land to those who wished to go into farming. From the Mexican government's perspective, many of the returning immigrants could be helpful to the Mexican economy because of skills and experience acquired in the United States. Despite the good intentions, however, the Mexican government could not deliver on many of its promises, and the migrants suffered many hardships in Mexico.

By the mid-1930s the harsh reality of life in an impoverished Mexico began driving desperate repatriates back to the United States. But many, even those born north of the border, encountered difficulties recrossing

the border at a time when the U.S. Immigration Service exercised strict control over immigration. The U.S. Catholic Welfare Conference stepped in to help the migrants, with mixed results. Large numbers who could not reenter legally because they lacked birth certificates and other papers simply waded across the Rio Grande or walked through the desert into the United States.

#### WORLD WAR II AND LATER

Immigration restrictions eased substantially when World War II created serious labor shortages in the United States. Americans now welcomed the returning repatriates as well as first-time entrants. The demand for Mexican workers continued beyond 1945 as the cold war, the Korean conflict, and intervention in Vietnam spawned a steady expansion of the U.S. economy. Consequently, from 1940 to the mid-1960s Mexican immigration in the United States rose substantially; close to 400,000 Mexicans immigrated legally as permanent U.S. residents while an undetermined number crossed the border without documentation.

Mexican men entered the United States in large numbers as part of a landmark guest-worker program that began in 1942, shortly after Americans became involved in World War II. At the time, serious shortages of workers, especially in agriculture, had created a crisis for the national economy. Accordingly, the two countries signed a bilateral agreement known officially as the Mexican Farm Labor Supply Program and informally as the Bracero Program. The U.S. Congress approved the program under Public Law 45.

The U.S. government assumed primary responsibility for recruiting and transporting male workers from Mexico to the United States and back home again when contracts ended. Employers took on the obligation to pay fair wages and provide adequate working and living conditions. The pact excluded women because Mexico feared they would be subjected to unacceptable treatment and abuse at the hands of greedy employers and sundry predators. In some ways the provisions of the Bracero Program resembled those of the first guest-worker program implemented by the United States, the Temporary Admissions Program of 1917, which had also addressed emergency labor shortages during a time of war.

The 1942 agreement continued in force until the end of 1947, when the U.S. Congress allowed the legislation to expire because wartime labor shortages no longer existed. About 220,000 braceros participated in the program during that five-year period. Over the next four years, even though employers who desired braceros had to recruit them with only limited assistance from the two governments, over 200,000 contracted workers entered the United States. More than twice that number, how-

ever, crossed the border without documentation. Significantly, the U.S. Immigration Service intermittently facilitated labor recruitment by allowing employers to contract undocumented workers directly from detention centers in the Southwest. The procedure of turning apprehended "wetbacks" into legal braceros became known as the "drying out" process.

When the Korean conflict broke out in 1950 and the United States showed renewed interest in large-scale labor importation, Mexico, wishing its workers to have greater protection abroad, suggested a return to a formal arrangement. In 1951 the two countries enacted the Migratory Labor Agreement. This new Bracero Program functioned until 1964, facilitating the signing of almost 3.5 million bracero contracts.

The Bracero Program in its various incarnations stirred controversy in both countries for more than two decades. Labor unions in the United States charged bitterly that braceros displaced U.S. workers and depressed wages and working conditions. South of the border, many activists complained about the discrimination and exploitation suffered by braceros in the United States, while agricultural interests blasted the government in Mexico City for helping foreign employers take away their laborers. The strongest promoters of the Bracero Program were U.S. growers, its primary beneficiaries. They contended that the United States needed braceros because Americans would not perform hard agricultural work for modest wages. Support for the program in Mexico rested primarily with ordinary people in need of employment and the government, which saw the remittances sent back home by braceros as an important source of foreign-exchange earnings for the nation.

Although most braceros worked in the Southwest, significant numbers went to the Northwest, the Great Plains, and the Midwest. Between 1943 and 1947, most of the nearly 47,000 braceros in Idaho, Oregon, and Washington performed farm work, but some were recruited for other tasks, including assisting the National Forest Service to put out forest fires. During the same period, over 28,000 braceros worked in agriculture, railroad maintenance, and industry in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Nebraska, and Kansas. Chicago became a major recruitment and distribution point for braceros during two crucial war years, from 1943 to 1945.

In his classic book *Merchants of Labor* (1964), Ernesto Galarza details many abuses suffered by braceros during their work stints in the United States. Complaints registered by workers included unsatisfactory wages, poor working conditions, job hazards, crowded living quarters, inadequate food, inflated prices for necessities, and even





**Braceros Crossing the Border, 1956.** *The Bracero Program brought many workers into the United States, but the program became notorious for its abuses of the workers, who were often not paid what they were promised and forced to work in difficult and unsafe conditions* © LEONARD NADEL/NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AMERICAN HISTORY/HANDOUT/REUTERS/CORBIS.

physical abuse. Employers and compliance officers routinely ignored the complaints or failed to follow up with concrete solutions, prompting individuals and groups of braceros to engage in work stoppages and even to desert their contracts. In addition to mistreatment in the workplace, braceros had to contend with discrimination in the communities where they worked. Many establishments posted “No Mexicans, White Trade Only” signs in an effort to keep braceros away. Many Mexicans reported verbal abuses, false arrests, and physical attacks.

In the case of Texas, deeply rooted anti-Mexican racism and grower disdain for official wage and working guidelines prompted the Mexican government to exclude that state from participation in the Bracero Program from 1942 to 1947. The ban forced employers to find alter-

native sources of cheap labor, and they resorted to recruiting undocumented workers without much difficulty.

The Temporary Admissions Program of 1917 and the various Bracero Programs that functioned between 1942 and 1964 illustrate the long tradition in the United States of working with Mexico to implement guest-worker programs when the need for labor arises north of the border. Such arrangements, of course, have consequences beyond the economic benefits to both countries. Inevitably, such programs stimulate greater cross-border migration and permanent settlement of many braceros and their families in the United States. These migratory flows have played an important role in expanding the Mexican-origin population, which as of 2007 numbered about 27 million.

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Oscar J. Martínez

## BRAZILIAN RACIAL FORMATIONS

Brazil has the largest nonwhite population of any country outside the African continent. The 2000 Brazilian census found that 45 percent of Brazilians, out of a population of some 185 million, identified themselves as “people of color.” In Brazil, this term implies a range of skin tones from very dark to the many shades usually included under the English rubric “Mulatto.” The term is widely used in Brazil because it is among the most racially heterogeneous nations on earth. This is a result of the long tradition of race mixture and a consequence of violent sexual relations, as well as formal and informal unions between Portuguese men and African and indigenous women.

This tradition is evident from a 2000 DNA study of the Brazilian population. Even among the self-reported

“white” population in Brazil, the study found that of those Brazilians who consider themselves “white,” fully 97 percent do, indeed, have paternal parentage from Europe. However, only 39 percent have maternal parentage from Europe, while 33 percent have indigenous parentage on the maternal side and 28 percent have African parentage on the maternal side. In short, fully 61 percent of Brazilians who consider themselves “white” also have African or Indian ancestry, a result of the nation’s history of miscegenation.

#### A NATION OF MANY COLORS

The term “people of color” is key to the most important feature of race relations and racial classification in Brazil: the absence of sharply defined racial groupings. In Brazil there is no distinct “black” group or distinct “white” group, as there is in the United States. There are, of course, individuals with distinctly Negroid and Caucasoid physical features, as well as intermediate types, but whites, Mulattoes, and blacks in Brazil do not belong to separate, identifiable social segments. Because well-defined social groups based on racial characteristics are absent, segregation and discrimination based on discrete social units are impossible.

The best way to describe racial classification in Brazil is to contrast it with that of the United States. In Brazil there is no “one-drop rule”, the U.S. custom that defines anyone with any known or suspected African ancestry as “black.” Because of the one-drop rule (also known as the rule of hypodescent), all people with any known African ancestry in the United States are said to be “black,” whatever their personal appearance. Hence, millions of people are called “black” or “African American,” even though their racial ancestry is decidedly mixed. The one-drop rule simply avoids the ambiguity of an intermediate identity.

The Brazilian system of racial classification is far more complex. In Brazil, people are assigned to racial groups based on what they look like—their skin color, hair type, and facial features—regardless of their ancestry. As such, individuals may be assigned to different racial groups than their parents, siblings or other relatives. Moreover, how individuals are classified racially does not depend solely on their physical appearance. Social class, education, and manner of dress all come into play in assigning someone to a racial category. As Brazilians put it, “money whitens,” so the higher the social class, the lighter the racial category to which an individual belongs. A well-to-do, well-educated woman with dark skin and Negroid features might be referred to as a *moreno* (roughly, “brunette”), while an illiterate sharecropper with fair skin might be assigned to a darker racial category than his physical appearance alone would warrant.

Because of this system of racial classification, Brazilians necessarily recognize and have terms for a wide variety

of racial types. There are perhaps twelve principal categories based on varying combinations of physical features, with dozens of racial terms in daily use. Moreover, many of these terms are ambiguous, in that there is no wide agreement on their abstract meaning or on to whom they should be applied. As a result, the same individual may be called by different racial terms at different times and by different people. Because there is no rule of descent, people can actually change their racial identity by becoming better educated and moving up the social ladder.

#### RACIAL CLASSIFICATION IN BRAZIL

A system of racial classification developed in Brazil that blurred racial distinctions, a result of the absence of the one-drop rule. Why did this occur? One must look to Brazilian history for an answer. First, emigration from Portugal to Brazil during the first two centuries of colonization was small scale and largely male. As such, once the importation of black slaves got under way, the people of African origin going to Brazil vastly outnumbered those from Europe. The forced passage of more than 3 million Africans to Brazil in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was ten times the number of slaves who were brought to North America. Most slaves worked on sugar plantations in northeast Brazil, and later in mining gold in the southeast and on coffee plantations in the south. Even with the increase in migration from Portugal to Brazil spurred by the discovery of gold in the state of Minas Gerais in the eighteenth century, by the time of independence from Portugal, in 1822, well over two-thirds of Brazil’s population of 4 million was of African or mixed heritage.

Not all blacks and people of mixed race were slaves, however. A sizeable but unknown percentage were free people of color, descendants of unions between Portuguese, Africans, and Brazil’s indigenous population. What is key here is the large number of free people of color in relation to the number of whites. This contrasts with the situation in the United States, where 80 percent of the population was white. Even in the American South, no state had a majority population of African origin.

Why the difference? Compared to the flow of people from the British Isles to the North American colonies, emigration from Portugal to Brazil was relatively sparse. There were simply too few Portuguese to provide the labor for the myriad economic and military functions that slaves themselves could not perform. White slave owners needed plantation foremen and hands to guard their property and hunt for runaway slaves. Labor was also required to staff the ranches that provided the oxen and horses so necessary to the sugar industry. There was also a growing demand for artisans in the colony’s towns and cities, and for farmers who could help feed the burgeoning

slave population. With relatively few people of European origin, most of these positions were filled by the growing population of free blacks and Mulattoes. In the United States, however, the influx of African slaves occurred only after a large intermediate class of whites had been established, so there was nowhere for the freed slave, whether Mulatto or black, to go.

Hence, in the United States, the one-drop rule became a way of segregating all nonwhites—of whatever shade—into a singular, undifferentiated “black” category. Because of prejudice and discrimination, those in this category could not compete with the white majority. But no one would have gained from such a rule in Brazil, for the large black and Mulatto component of the population rarely competed directly with the nation’s relatively small white segment.

#### BRAZIL: A RACIAL PARADISE?

It has been claimed that Brazilians lack racial prejudice because of the absence of the one-drop rule and the myriad of racial terms in daily use. It is undeniable that many Brazilians do believe that their land is a “racial democracy,” one without prejudice towards its darker-skinned citizens. They compare race relations in their homeland favorably with those in the United States, highlighting their nation’s racial harmony. This harmonious multiracial heritage thesis is mirrored in the widely cited view of Gilberto Freyre, one of Brazil’s preeminent twentieth-century scholars, who wrote that “with respect to race relations the Brazilian situation is probably the nearest approach to paradise to be found anywhere in the world” (Freyre 1963, p. 9). In the 1930s, Freyre was instrumental in recasting discussions of Brazil’s multiracial legacy, making it a source of pride rather than shame, as it had been throughout most of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He asserted that because of its unique blending of African, European, and Amerindian elements, Brazil is a tolerant racial democracy, entirely lacking in harsh racism. This prideful representation has become part of national discourse.

It has been said that this ideology shapes the contours of interracial behavior in Brazil, smoothing its edges. And, it is, indeed, the case that there is quite widespread miscegenation and intermarriage among Brazil’s diverse racial groups, and that Brazil has never had an organized system of segregation based solely on race as existed in the American south. Moreover, the notion of a continuum of shades of color plays into the racial democracy ideal because such slight phenotypical variations make it difficult or impossible to discriminate against individuals solely based on their physical appearance.

Nonetheless, this rather rosy picture of race relations in Brazil has been strongly contested. Some scholars suggest, for example, that there has been an over-emphasis

on color gradations, and they have questioned the degree to which such blurred linguistic distinctions have concrete consequences for an individual’s well-being. Others claim that, despite the wide variety of color terms in use in Brazil, there is still a great divide between whites and nonwhites. It has long been known that prejudice and negative stereotypes against dark skin and Negroid features are widespread in the country. In short, scholars have begun to challenge this national myth, attempting to show that race relations are characterized by exclusion, not inclusion, and that fair-skinned Brazilians continue to be privileged and hold a disproportionate share of the nation’s power and wealth.

#### RACE AND SOCIAL CLASS

Social scientists have long argued that discrimination in Brazil is more a matter of social class than of race, that one’s life chances as a poor person in Brazil are bleak, regardless of one’s color. While whites and nonwhites do not have equal social standing in Brazil, and while dark-skinned people are more likely to be poor than light skinned people, scholars have posited that all members of the national lower class are equally lacking in opportunities—regardless of race—because social class largely determines where one lives, attends school, works, and socializes. In Brazil, it is suggested, racial discrimination is relatively mild, while discrimination in terms of social class is sharp and pervasive. Finally, it has long been said that in Brazil membership in the lower class, and the disabilities that go along with it, are akin to those of belonging to a racial minority in the United States.

Researchers are questioning this “class over racism” thesis, however, because it has been shown that even when they hold markers of social class such as income and education as constants, people of color fare worse than whites in certain aspects of life, including rates of infant mortality and average life expectancy. While it is true that the color gap in life expectancy and child mortality diminished during the last decades of the twentieth century, whites continue to have longer life expectancies than nonwhites. Research also suggests that even when socioeconomic factors are held constant, the race of the mother continues to have a strong effect on infant mortality, and that this is likely due to differences in health care and housing.

Additional studies have shown the presence of discrimination in other areas, including educational and occupational opportunities and wages. Children of color enter school later and leave school earlier than white children, and they have a lower probability of being in school at any given age. People of color are also disproportionately employed in the lowest-paying occupations in Brazil, a fact likely linked to the deficit in education. One study found that—when matched for education and



**Brazilian Quota Program.** A young woman is photographed in April 2004 to establish that she is black, in order to be eligible for a quota program at the University of Brasilia. © JAMIL BITTAR/REUTERS/CORBIS.

job experience—nonwhites, both male and female, have lower wages than whites of either sex. This new research suggests that racial discrimination, independent of social class, explains such findings.

Are these different views of race relations in Brazil irreconcilable? Perhaps it is just that their levels of analysis are different. Followers of the Freyre school emphasize horizontal relations between the races, stressing their easygoing interactions and relaxed sociability. But those who question the racial democracy ideal underscore vertical relations between the races, pointing to the widespread disparities in life opportunities, as evidenced in the studies cited.

These two views have been interpreted as a generational divide. In the years following World War II, Brazilian and North American scholars almost invariably viewed the Brazilian paradigm as a far kinder and gentler model than that of the United States, with its ugly history of blatant racism and segregation. But since the 1970s, a new generation of scholars has questioned what they see as an idealistic interpretation of the racial situation in Brazil. They have sought, through their research, to unmask the profound racial inequalities in that nation.

#### GROWING RACIAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN BRAZIL

The discourse on Brazil as a racial paradise long served to dampen Afro-Brazilian social and political movements. Moreover, because of the absence of the one-drop rule, racial consciousness has always been more muted in Brazil than in the United States, making it more difficult to organize on the basis of race. Then, too, until recent years, the traditional claim that Brazil had harmonious race relations compared with the United States led the Brazilian government to do almost nothing to address the issue of racial discrimination, other than passing a largely ignored law criminalizing it.

Still, some evidence does suggest that Brazil has been moving toward a system of racial classification similar to that of the United States. The multitude of racial terms commonly used by Brazilians may be giving way to a bifurcate system of *negro* and *branco* (black and white). On the other hand, the more inclusive term *Afro-brasileiro* (Afro-Brazilian) has gained popularity, particularly among political activists, and more groups celebrating Brazil's African heritage have emerged.

Nevertheless, it was not until the late 1990s that Fernando Henrique Cardoso, the president of Brazil, officially acknowledged the existence of racial discrimination in

Brazil. He followed this up by appointing a national commission to propose remedies. In 2003 an affirmative action program (called *discriminação positiva* or “positive discrimination”) was instituted for university admissions. This was a quota system intended to enhance the educational opportunities for nonwhites (who then made up only 2 percent of university students) and close the socioeconomic gap between the races. A number of Brazilian universities began reserving roughly 20 percent of their places for nonwhite and public school students. The next president of Brazil, Luiz Inácio “Lula” Da Silva, expanded these initiatives by creating the Special Ministry to Promote Racial Equality and initiating additional legislation.

Brazil’s embrace of affirmative action generated a backlash, however, particularly among some elements of the white elite, who argued that racial preferences were unconstitutional and that affirmative action was an “imported” ideology foreign to Brazil. The prestigious State University of Rio de Janeiro, which led the way by instituting reserved places for students of color in 2002, faces legal challenges from hundreds of private school graduates who claim they were unfairly denied admission under the new policy.

Ironically, in trying to take advantage of university affirmative action programs, some white middle-class Brazilians have initiated the one-drop rule by claiming to have a black ancestor. Said one university administrator of the practice: “It’s disappointing because that means the program is not always benefiting poor or underprivileged kids. But at the same time, what can you do? We have no idea really who is black and who is not. This is Brazil.”

**SEE ALSO** *Affirmative Action; Blackness in Latin America; HIV and AIDS; Latin American Racial Transformations; Multiracial Identities; Racial Formations; Social Welfare States.*

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Maxine L. Margolis

## BROWN, JOHN 1800–1859

John Brown was born on May 9, 1800, in Torrington, Connecticut, and he died on the scaffold in Charlestown, Virginia, on December 2, 1859. He was the only white abolitionist who repeatedly took up arms against slavery before the Civil War. Convinced that the standard tactics of persuasion and politics had done nothing to dislodge the South’s “peculiar institution,” the deeply religious Brown became the self-appointed leader of a personal holy war against slavery. His violent forays against slavery in Kansas and later at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, helped intensify the sectional animosities that led to the Civil War.

The second son of Owen Brown (1771–1856) and Ruth Mills (1772–1808), John Brown inherited his parents’ hatred of slavery and devotion to Calvinistic Christianity, and he was taught to respect people of all races. When he was three, the family moved from Connecticut to Hudson, Ohio, where his father ran a tannery. At the age of twelve, young John witnessed a slave boy being beaten and driven outdoors to sleep in the cold. He later claimed that this cruel incident “in the end made him a most *determined Abolitionist*,” leading him to swear “*Eternal war with Slavery*.”

When he was sixteen, Brown briefly attended schools in New England, with the aim of training for the Congregational ministry. However, financial difficulties and eye troubles forced him to return to Ohio, where he started his own tannery. In 1820 he was married to Dianthe Lusk; the couple eventually had seven children. In 1825 he moved to New Richmond, Pennsylvania, where, for ten years, he ran a highly successful tannery with fifteen employees. His property was also a haven for fugitive slaves.

## Brown v. Board of Education

Dianthe died in 1832, and within a year Brown married Mary Ann Day, with whom he had thirteen children over the next two decades. Of his twenty children, only eight would outlive him. Among the remainder, two died shortly after being born, six were victims of childhood illnesses, one was scalded to death in a kitchen accident, and three others—Frederick, Oliver, and Watson—died while accompanying their father in his war against slavery.

In 1836 Brown moved to Kent, Ohio, where he took up real estate speculation. He was battered by the depression of 1837–1842, however. He tried to stay afloat by trading livestock and surveying, but in 1842 he declared bankruptcy. He entered into partnership with the Ohio businessman Simon Perkins in a wool distribution company based in Springfield, Massachusetts. Serving as a middleman between western wool growers and eastern manufacturers, Brown proved to be an energetic but maldroit businessman. With the business faltering, Brown tried to salvage it in 1849 by going to England to find foreign buyers for American wool. That effort failed, and his partnership with Perkins soon dissolved.

At this point, Brown had long been active in the Underground Railroad. In the late 1830s, enraged by the murder of the Illinois antislavery editor Elijah Lovejoy, he began to plot a military response to slavery. At a service in memory of Lovejoy, he rose, lifted his right hand, and said, “Here, before God, in the presence of these witnesses, from this time, I consecrate my life to the destruction of slavery!”

In early 1851 in Springfield, Brown founded a cadre of blacks, called the League of Gileadites, aimed at encouraging armed resistance to the recently passed Fugitive Slave Act. He took his family to upstate New York to live in North Elba, where a colony of blacks occupied land purchased for them by the antislavery philanthropist Gerrit Smith. Brown started a farm and tried to help his black neighbors establish an agricultural community. He worked with them, surveyed their lands, and socialized with them. North Elba was his principal base for his remaining years, and it is the place where he chose to be buried.

In 1855 Brown joined five of his sons in the Kansas Territory, the scene of a fierce struggle between proslavery and antislavery forces. Brown raised a small band and engaged in several pitched battles against proslavery militants. On May 24, 1856, in Pottawatomie, Kansas, he led a party of eight armed men on a nighttime raid, during which they hauled five proslavery settlers out of their cabins and slaughtered them with broadswords. In late December 1858, he invaded the neighboring slave state of Missouri with twenty followers. The men liberated eleven slaves and traveled with them for eighty-two days and more than 1,100 miles to Detroit, where the blacks took a ferry to Windsor, Canada.

Brown’s most influential act was his October 16, 1859, raid on Harpers Ferry, Virginia. He had with him a band of twenty-one men, including five blacks and two of his sons. He intended to take over the arsenal at Harpers Ferry, forcibly liberate slaves in the region, and then escape with the freed blacks to the nearby Appalachian Mountains. He hoped to use mountain hideaways to evade capture as he moved southward, making periodic raids on plantations in order to free additional slaves who would become part of his growing army of liberation. His ultimate goal was to initiate a political process that would lead to slavery’s demise. He ignored warnings, however, by Frederick Douglass, among others, of the futility of his plans. In the end, Brown stalled too long at Harpers Ferry and, after a bloody battle, was taken captive by federal troops under Colonel Robert E. Lee. He was found guilty of murder, treason, and inciting a slave revolt. By the time of his execution on December 2, he had become a sharply divisive figure on the national scene, increasingly admired in the North and vilified in the South.

Brown has remained controversial since his death. His reputation peaked during Reconstruction, when he was honored as an antislavery martyr, but it plummeted during the period of Jim Crow, when he was widely regarded as a murderer, fanatic, and madman. The civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s brought increased sympathy for his racial agenda and his uncompromising stance on slavery. Having been close to blacks, including such abolitionist leaders as Frederick Douglass and Harriet Tubman, Brown has been long revered by African Americans. W. E. B. Du Bois hailed him as “the man who of all Americans has perhaps come nearest to touching the real souls of black folk.”

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*David S. Reynolds*

## BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION

The Supreme Court’s historic school desegregation decision, *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, was one of the most significant events of the twentieth century. The 1954 ruling outlawed racial segregation in public schools

and led to the dismantling of a legal regime that had relegated African Americans to a subordinated position in American society. *Brown* was the culmination of a carefully orchestrated litigation campaign by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), which had challenged segregation in a series of lawsuits spanning two decades.

The events that led to *Brown* commenced more than a half-century earlier, when the Reconstruction era ended and southern states began to enact laws that established a system of racial segregation. In 1892, a test case was organized in New Orleans, Louisiana, that challenged an ordinance requiring segregation on public transportation. Acting on a prearranged plan, Homer Plessy was arrested after refusing to leave a railroad car reserved for white passengers. Plessy's lawyers were confident that the law violated the Fourteenth and Thirteenth Amendments of the U.S. Constitution because it treated African Americans differently and less favorably than white passengers. In 1896, however, the Supreme Court ruled in *Plessy v. Ferguson* that, "the enforced separation of the races . . . neither abridges the privileges or immunities of the colored man, deprives him of this property without due process of law, nor denies him equal protection of the law, within the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment."

*Plessy* endorsed segregation and established the "separate but equal" doctrine. The Court held that segregation laws did not violate the Fourteenth Amendment if the facilities provided for blacks were equal to those reserved for whites. Reflecting the racial sentiments of the time, the Court concluded that "[i]f one race be inferior to the other socially, the Constitution of the United States cannot put them on the same plane." After *Plessy*, the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments were essentially nullified in the South. African Americans were disenfranchised, confined to substandard housing in segregated neighborhoods, and excluded from all but the lowest-paying, least desirable occupations.

#### THE NAACP'S LEGAL CAMPAIGN AGAINST SEGREGATION

In 1909, the NAACP was established to promote the equality rights of African Americans. After years of unsuccessful lobbying and protest efforts, however the organization shifted its focus. In 1935 the organization hired Charles H. Houston, a brilliant, Harvard-trained visionary, to lead a campaign that would challenge segregation in the courts. Houston was the dean of the Howard University School of Law, where he inspired the generation of African-American lawyers who waged the legal battle against segregation. Houston was the architect of the NAACP's legal strategy, and Howard University was his laboratory.

By the early 1930s the separate but equal doctrine was firmly entrenched in the law. Given the conservative legal climate of the time, Houston did not want to risk a reaffirmation of *Plessy*. Instead, he devised an indirect approach: the "equalization strategy." When the plan was implemented, cases would be filed arguing that states operating segregated schools were in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment based on the substandard and demonstrably unequal facilities maintained for black students. Houston calculated that if the equality aspect of *Plessy*'s "separate but equal" doctrine were enforced, states would be compelled to make black schools physically and otherwise equal to white institutions. Local school districts, however, would not be able to bear the resulting economic burden. Under the pressure of litigation, segregation would eventually collapse under its own weight.

The litigation campaign focused on graduate and professional schools, where the southern states were most vulnerable. Several publicly funded black colleges had been established in the South, but virtually none of them provided graduate or professional training. The first "equalization" case, *Pearson v. Murray*, involved the efforts of Donald Murray, a black student, to be admitted to the University of Maryland Law School. Houston and a young lawyer named Thurgood Marshall represented the student. They argued that the university violated the Fourteenth Amendment because it had failed to establish a law school for black students. At the trial's conclusion, the judge ordered the university to admit Murray to the entering class the following semester. A similar case, *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada*, was filed in Missouri, with the same arguments being made. When that case reached the Supreme Court, it ordered the black student's admission to the University of Missouri's Law School.

*Murray* and *Gaines* were decided in the late 1930s. With the outbreak of World War II in 1941, the NAACP's attention was diverted to other matters. When the war ended in 1945, conditions were very different from the conservative legal climate of the 1930s. There were many factors that directly and indirectly influenced civil rights efforts. Significantly, the United States and its European Allies had prevailed against a Nazi regime that was premised on racial supremacy. Having fought Nazism abroad, African-American veterans were determined to fight racism at home.

Elite attitudes toward racial injustice also showed evidence of change. President Harry Truman commissioned a study that resulted in a 1947 report, *To Secure These Rights*, which took a strong, pro-civil rights position. In 1948 Truman issued an executive order requiring the desegregation of the armed forces. In addition, the "scientific" racism of previous decades was on the wane. One of the era's most influential publications was *An American Dilemma* (1944),

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a two-volume study prepared by a team of researchers led by the Swedish economist, Gunnar Myrdal. It explored, in considerable detail, the adverse effects of discrimination and segregation on black and white Americans, and it urged the repeal of segregation laws.

Moreover, the United States and the Soviet Union were competing for influence with the postcolonial democracies that were emerging in Africa and Asia. America's mistreatment of its black citizens undermined its claim as "the land of the free" and provided an easy target for anti-American propaganda. In "*Brown* as a Cold War Case" (2004), Professor Mary Dudziak argues persuasively that the Supreme Court justices who decided *Brown* were probably influenced by the political realities of the cold war. These changing circumstances were the context in which the final school desegregation cases were decided.

In 1946 the NAACP filed a suit against the University of Oklahoma. The Supreme Court held, in *Sipuel v. Board of Regents*, that the university was obligated to provide legal instruction to black students. A similar case, *Sweatt v. Painter*, was filed in Texas and another, *McLaurin v. Board of Regents*, was also brought in Oklahoma. The Supreme Court issued decisions in both of these cases on the same day in 1950. In opinions that acknowledged the stigmatic and other intangible injuries that segregation caused, the Court ruled in the NAACP's favor, but it stopped short of reversing *Plessy*.

After the rulings in *Sweatt* and *McLaurin*, the NAACP lawyers decided that an adequate foundation for a direct challenge to *Plessy* had been established. Eventually, six cases were filed in five jurisdictions by Thurgood Marshall and other NAACP lawyers: *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* arose in Kansas; *Briggs v. Elliott* involved schools in South Carolina; *Davis v. County School Board of Prince Edward County* was brought in Virginia; and there was a District of Columbia proceeding, *Bolling v. Sharpe*. The two other cases, *Belton v. Gebhart* and *Bulah v. Gebhart*, took place in Delaware.

The cases were consolidated and argued in the Supreme Court in December 1952, but they were held over and re-argued in December 1953. The decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* was announced on May 17, 1954. Chief Justice Earl Warren read the unanimous opinion to a packed courtroom. It concluded that, under the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." The decision represented the beginning of the end of segregation.

### THE ERA OF MASSIVE RESISTANCE

The Supreme Court's 1954 decision did not address a remedy for school segregation. It was not until 1955, in *Brown v. Board of Education II*, that the Supreme Court remanded the cases and ordered the school boards to



**Civil Rights Victory, 1954.** The winning attorneys in the *Brown v. Board of Education* case pose outside the U.S. Supreme Court building after the landmark case was decided. Standing left to right are George E.C. Hayes, Thurgood Marshall, and James Nabri. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

develop plans in which desegregation would proceed with "all deliberate speed" under the supervision of the local federal courts. While the *Brown* decision has been praised as the decisive blow to American Jim Crow, *Brown II* has been criticized as a weak decision that set no real timetable for desegregation and emboldened southern racists. Immediately after *Brown II*, white southern politicians and community leaders, determined to fight desegregation by any means necessary, embraced a strategy known as "massive resistance." State legislatures passed laws to impede implementation of the *Brown* decision, school boards sought to evade compliance by closing schools, opening state funded "segregation academies" and, where necessary, embracing token desegregation; politicians such as Governor George Wallace of Alabama and Governor Orval Faubus of Arkansas exploited and encouraged mass public opposition to integration; and acts of violence and intimidation were carried out against black communities and activists.

The decision in *Brown*, and white resistance to it, helped to spark the era of civil rights activism. Mass marches, "sit ins," and other forms of nonviolent protest activities were organized in localities across the South as grassroots activists sought to expand the desegregation principle from education to other areas of civic life. Martin Luther King Jr., A. Phillip Randolph, Dorothy Height, Bayard Rustin, Ella Baker, and others emerged as leaders of the movement. Yet despite the unprecedented levels of demonstrations and other protest activities during the 1950s and 1960s, very little progress was made toward school desegregation. In 1961 there were no black



students attending white schools in Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina, Florida, and Georgia.

In the late 1960s the Supreme Court finally took steps to end to the South's "massive resistance." *Griffin v. County School Board of Prince Edward County* dealt with a school district involved in the original *Brown* cases that had closed all of its schools to avoid desegregation. In 1964, Prince Edward County was ordered to reopen its schools. In the 1969 case *Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education*, the Supreme Court ruled that the "continued operation of segregated schools under a standard allowing 'all deliberate speed' for desegregation is no longer constitutionally permissible . . . the obligation of every school district is to terminate dual school systems at once and operate now and hereafter only unitary schools." In *Green v. County School Board of New Kent County* (1968), the Court held that states that operated segregated schools had an affirmative duty to eradicate all vestiges of the segregated system "root and branch." In *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*, decided in 1971, the Court endorsed busing as a means of achieving racial balance in individual schools.

School desegregation efforts took place against a backdrop of residential segregation. In the 1940s and 1950s, white families were rapidly moving to suburban communities. This demographic shift was facilitated by a prosperous postwar economy, and by subsidy programs such as mortgages guaranteed by the Veterans Administration and Federal Housing Administration. Yet black families with the resources to purchase homes in suburban neighborhoods were excluded by discriminatory policies, many of which were imposed by the federal government.

The effect of racially segregated housing patterns on school desegregation efforts was the focus of *Milliken v. Bradley*, a 1974 case involving schools in Detroit, Michigan. As a consequence of "white flight" to suburban communities, the schools in Detroit were rapidly shifting to predominately black enrollments. The lawyers in *Milliken* argued that racial balance could not be achieved without including the suburban districts in the desegregation plan.

The Supreme Court held that suburban districts could not be required to participate in court-ordered desegregation plans unless it could be proven that their actions contributed to segregation in the jurisdiction in which the case arose. This meant that there could be no court-ordered busing across district lines without a showing of an interdistrict violation. In most localities, therefore, suburban districts were effectively insulated from the desegregation process.

### THE RESEGREGATION DECISIONS

Court-supervised school desegregation proceeded slowly for several years after *Milliken*, relying heavily on intra-district busing to achieve racial balance in schools. In the

early 1990s, the Supreme Court revised its approach with a number of "resegregation" decisions: *Board of Education of Oklahoma City v. Dowell*; *Freeman v. Pitts*; and *Missouri v. Jenkins*. In *Dowell*, the Supreme Court modified the standard for determining "unitary status"—the point at which the desegregation obligation has been satisfied and court supervision is no longer necessary. The Court ruled in *Dowell* that the test for determining unitary status was whether the school board "had complied in good faith with the [original] desegregation decree," and whether all "vestiges of past discrimination had been eliminated to the extent practicable." In *Freeman v. Pitts*, a case involving a school district adjacent to Atlanta, Georgia, the Court found that when segregated schools persist because of changes in the racial composition of neighborhoods or other "external" factors, school districts could not be held responsible unless those conditions were caused by actions taken by school officials.

*Dowell* and *Freeman* eviscerated the *Green* standard, which established an obligation to eliminate all vestiges of segregation "root and branch." Under the Court's relaxed formula, school districts were obligated to eradicate vestiges of segregation only to "the extent practicable." This was affirmed in *Jenkins*, where the majority ruled that the test for determining unitary status was not a determination that all vestiges of the formerly segregated system had been eliminated "root and branch," but whether school districts complied in good faith with the desegregation decrees, and whether the remnants of past discrimination had been eliminated to the "extent practicable." The Court also found that segregated housing patterns, which affected the racial composition of schools, would not preclude a unitary status finding unless they could be directly attributed to the actions of school officials.

The assumption underlying the resegregation decisions is that schools only have to desegregate to the extent that it is possible to do so. Any segregation that continues is caused by housing patterns that reflect what the Supreme Court characterized as the "private choices" of individual families. This is a debatable premise, because black and Latino families do not have the range of housing choices that are available to whites with comparable incomes and credit histories. Studies regularly produced by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development and other organizations demonstrate that the choices of these groups are constrained by discriminatory practices that perpetuate segregated neighborhoods.

The Supreme Court's redefinition of unitary status requires lower courts to hold that the desegregation obligation has been satisfied, even when school enrollments reflect the segregated housing patterns of the neighborhoods in which they are located. This has led to unitary status findings in school districts across the nation. As high levels of residential segregation persist in most urban

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neighborhoods, public schools in those communities have been resegregating since the mid-1990s.

### CRITICISMS OF THE *BROWN* DECISION

Critics of the *Brown* decision fall into two categories: those that argue that *Brown* went too far, and those that argue that it did not go far enough. Some critics, such as Michael Klarman, have argued that *Brown* unnecessarily radicalized the social and political climate in the South. These critics claim that, without *Brown*, segregation would have ended in a more gradual manner with broader support among southern whites. Other critics, including Derrick Bell, assert *Brown* put too great a focus on desegregation at the expense of educational quality, and point out that one consequence of *Brown* has been the loss of black institutional control of some schools, to the detriment of black students. In Bell's view, competent and caring instruction in an all-black environment would have been preferable to the obstacles encountered by many black students in the years following the *Brown* decision. A third group of critics argue that, notwithstanding *Brown's* holding, a failure of enforcement has made the decision impotent. Gary Orfield and James Patterson have each identified a trend toward resegregation in *Brown's* aftermath, a persistent black-white achievement gap, and a mood of pessimism at *Brown's* uncertain legacy.

*Brown v. Board of Education* was among the most important and far-reaching Supreme Court decisions of the twentieth century, and its imprint extended well beyond public school desegregation. The decision sparked the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s and ultimately led to the nullification of a network of state and local laws that enforced discrimination and segregation. Those in a position to do so took advantage of the educational, employment, and other opportunities that were not available to African Americans during the first half of the twentieth century. For this segment of the African-American population, the civil rights movement created unprecedented avenues for advancement.

However, the benefits that flowed from the *Brown* decision have not been evenly distributed across the urban landscape. For the one-fourth of the African-American population that have low incomes and reside in the nation's inner cities, the *Brown* decision has had little tangible affect. Families that reside in those communities endure conditions that are, in many ways, as distressed as those their forbears endured during the depths of the segregation era. They suffer from high levels of unemployment, substandard educational opportunities, and unsafe communities.

SEE ALSO *Houston, Charles Hamilton; Marshall, Thurgood; NAACP; NAACP: Legal Actions, 1935-1955; Plessy v. Ferguson.*

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*Leland Ware*

## BUFFALO SOLDIERS

The black soldiers known as “Buffalo Soldiers” played a crucial role in the fight for black equality in the armed forces. They were created and served in the United States military during perhaps the most volatile period in the history of America, the post–Civil War era. Often the victims of racial discrimination, the Buffalo Soldiers conducted themselves with dignity and honor. Their efforts during peacetime, as well as during conflicts such as the Indian Wars and the Spanish American War, clearly established that blacks were capable soldiers, and thus aided in the desegregation of the armed forces.

While blacks fought in both the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812, it was their participation in the Civil War that led to the creation of organized black regiments. Because a policy established in 1820 barred blacks from serving in the regular army, many of them fought for the Union Army in volunteer regiments such as the Seventy-third Regiment of U.S. Colored Troops, Hunter’s Regiment, the First Kansas Colored, and the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Regiments of Massachusetts. In *The Forgotten Heroes: The Story of the Buffalo Soldiers*, Clinton Cox notes that by the end of the Civil War, in excess of 180,000 black men had fought for the Union Army, and that more than 38,000 of these soldiers died in the war.

The bravery that blacks exemplified during the Civil War led Congress to consider the formation of black divisions in 1866. Opinions varied on this idea. Some objected, claiming that blacks could not perform military duties as well as whites, that they were unwanted in the North, and that in the South they would be a nagging reminder of the Union’s victory over the Confederacy.

In spite of the opposition, Congress voted to enlist six black regiments for two reasons. First, given their strong record of participation in the Civil War, several members of Congress voted to create the black regiments out of a sense of fairness. Second, Congress realized that blacks were less likely than whites to desert, because they had fewer opportunities in civilian life. Therefore, on July 28, 1866, Congress passed an act establishing the Ninth and Tenth Cavalries and the Thirty-eighth, Thirty-ninth, Fortieth and Forty-first Infantry Divisions, which were later reorganized into the Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth Infantry Regiments.

Scores of blacks rushed to enlist for five-year terms at thirteen dollars per month. The men came from several states, including Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia. Their ages ranged from eighteen to thirty-four, and many of them were former slaves. According to Cox, a typical group of 100 recruits in the Ninth Cavalry had worked as soldiers, laborers, farmers, painters, and cooks prior to enlisting.

A group of 100 enlistees in the Tenth Cavalry had held similar positions, but they were from more diverse geographic locations, such as Missouri, New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Halifax, Nova Scotia. In contrast to the men of the Ninth Cavalry, the majority of these men had not been slaves. However, their societal position was made clear when they arrived for service and found that blacks had been deemed unfit to lead, and that all of the black regiments had white commanding officers.

## THE INDIAN WARS

Ironically, the black regiments were primarily used during the Indian Wars (1775–1890), which pitted them against fellow people of color who were also being oppressed by the U.S. government. Native Americans had inhabited the land long before white settlers arrived, but the U.S. government viewed them as inferior and waged a campaign to remove them from the plains and onto reservations. In *Buffalo Soldiers*, Catherine Reef notes that the U.S. government’s primary objective in the conflict had been clear since the early 1800s, when President Andrew Jackson declared that “the American people had a duty to bring a dense and civilized population to a land where only a few savage hunters lived” (1993, p. 21)

Despite the difficult nature of the conflict, the all-black regiments served with pride and distinction. They initially began patrolling the Great Plains in April 1867. Their main duties included removing tribes considered to be dangerous and mapping the unsettled western frontier for white settlers seeking land. Additionally, the soldiers helped to remove settlers from unassigned land and protect law-abiding citizens from Native Americans attempting to either reclaim or remain on the land that the federal government had taken away from them.

Although the all-black regiments’ main duties did not involve fighting, there were many instances when they engaged the enemy. A notable battle occurred on August 1, 1867, when the Tenth Cavalry became involved in a skirmish with the Cheyennes after a panic-stricken railroad worker rode into their post near Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. He explained that Cheyenne warriors had attacked the workers’ camp and killed seven men.

Under the command of Captain George Armes, thirty-four black soldiers mounted their horses and raced

## *Buffalo Soldiers*

toward the camp. While riding, the troops found themselves surrounded by Cheyenne braves and a gunfight broke out. The Cheyennes had superior position and the soldiers were trapped. After approximately six hours of fighting the soldiers were low on ammunition. Realizing that they needed to escape in order to survive, Captain Armes gave the command and the soldiers broke through the circle, fleeing with nearly three hundred Cheyenne warriors in pursuit. The men rode hard for fifteen miles before they were met by reinforcements who assisted them in driving the Cheyennes away.

While the Tenth Cavalry survived the battle, thirteen soldiers were wounded and two were killed. Sergeant William Christy of Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, and Private Thomas Smith of South Carolina became the first black casualties of the Indian Wars.

While the Tenth Cavalry lost two men, they gained something significant from the battle—the nickname “buffalo soldiers.” There are two popular theories explaining why the Cheyennes referred to the black troops as buffalo soldiers. One flattering theory contends that the Native Americans, who honored the buffalo because it fought ferociously when cornered, were impressed with the bravery and skills that the black soldiers exemplified while surrounded. Thus, the Cheyenne warriors likened them to the buffalo. A second theory posits that the Cheyennes referred to them as “buffalo soldiers” because they wore thick buffalo skins to stay warm during the harsh plains winters. When wrapped in the hides, their dark skin and curly hair reminded the Native Americans of the animal.

Regardless of which theory is true, Native Americans used it as a term of respect and the Tenth Cavalry embraced the name. Significantly, they included a buffalo as the primary symbol in the crest when they designed their regimental flag. While the name was initially given to the Tenth Cavalry, it was later used to refer to all of the black divisions.

The Buffalo Soldiers distinguished themselves as valiant troops during the Indian Wars. The service of Sergeant Emanuel Stance shows the manner in which they fought. On May 20 and 21, 1870, Stance and nine fellow members of Company F of the Ninth Cavalry engaged a band of Apaches while on patrol near their post at Fort McKavett, Texas. At the time, an Apache band was moving toward the Texas panhandle with a herd of horses and two white children that they had taken captive. Stance and the other soldiers charged the Native Americans, who abandoned their horses and fled toward the mountains. A warrior sharing a horse with one of the kidnapped children pushed him off into the brush to make his escape. The buffalo soldiers captured all nine of the horses that the Apaches left behind and the child eventually made his way to safety at the fort. The child's

older brother remained with the Apaches before later being reunited with his parents.

The following morning, overloaded by the extra horses, Stance and his detail decided to return the animals to the fort. As they traveled back, they witnessed a group of approximately twenty Native Americans en route to attack a group of soldiers guarding a small herd of government horses. Stance again ordered his detail to charge and the Native Americans retaliated, but to no avail. They soon fled leaving behind five horses, which Stance and his men captured. As they continued their journey to Fort McKavett, the Native Americans followed them and launched a final attack. Again, Stance and his men successfully drove them away, eventually returning to the fort with fifteen captured horses and all of his men uninjured.

Stance's bravery did not go unnoticed. The skirmishes that he fought on May 20 and 21 marked his fourth and fifth encounters with Native Americans and, as in the previous battles, he demonstrated courage under fire. He distinguished himself so well that his commanding officer, Captain Henry Carroll, praised his performance. On June 20, 1870, based on Carroll's recommendation, Stance became the first black soldier in the U.S. Regular Army to receive the Congressional Medal of Honor.

## FACING RACISM

Despite demonstrating loyalty to the U.S. government, the Buffalo Soldiers endured a great deal of racial discrimination while participating in the Indian Wars. Ironically, the white settlers that they were charged to protect were repeatedly hostile toward them. Their hatred of blacks often manifested itself in the form of violence. Events that occurred at San Angelo, a town adjacent to the Tenth Cavalry's post at Fort Concho, Texas, serve as a prime example of the kind of hostility that the Buffalo Soldiers had to endure.

Cox notes in *The Forgotten Heroes* that San Angelo was home to many seedy cowboys, ex-Confederate soldiers, and pimps and prostitutes. Unfortunately, the disreputable inhabitants demonstrated their intolerance of blacks on several occasions. In one instance, Private Hiram Pinder of the Ninth Cavalry was shot and killed by a white gambler in a saloon. The townspeople helped the killer escape and he was never captured. Twelve days after Pinder's death, Private William Watkins was singing and dancing for drinks in another saloon. He tired of performing and decided to quit for the evening, but a rancher named Tom McCarthy insisted that he continue. When Watkins refused, McCarthy shot and killed him. McCarthy then fled, but he was captured by soldiers who turned him over to the sheriff. Instead of jailing McCarthy, however, the sheriff allowed him to remain free because killing a



**Buffalo Soldiers, circa 1895.** Members of a famed “Buffalo Soldier” cavalry regiment stand next to their horses. After the Civil War, the U.S. Congress authorized the formation of black regiments in the U.S. Army. These soldiers fought during the Indian Wars, the Spanish-American War, and other conflicts through World War II. © UNDERWOOD AND UNDERWOOD/CORBIS.

black person was only considered a minor crime. When he was finally tried for the murder of Private Watkins, an all-white jury found him not guilty.

In addition to facing discrimination from civilians, the Buffalo Soldiers also encountered systemic prejudice within the military. For instance, black soldiers were always second to their white counterparts when equipment was distributed. White soldiers selected the most pristine weapons and best horses, leaving the Buffalo Soldiers with old rifles and worn-out mares. Furthermore, they were often forced to live in substandard housing infested with bugs and rodents.

Acts of discrimination against the Buffalo Soldiers extended beyond weapons and living quarters. They were constantly reminded of their place in society because high-ranking officers continually denigrated them or shunned them altogether. For example, Gerald Astor notes in *The Right to Fight: A History of African Americans in the Military* that when the Tenth Cavalry, commanded

by Colonel William Grierson, initially arrived in Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, the post commander assigned the troops a campsite in a swamp, but he later criticized them for having muddy tents and uniforms. Furthermore, the post commander also informed the Buffalo Soldiers that they were not allowed within fifteen feet of white soldiers. Additionally, General George Custer refused to accept assignments leading black soldiers, while Captain Ambrose Hooker, commander of the Ninth Cavalry’s Company E, referred to the Buffalo Soldiers as “baboons” and regularly used racial epithets toward them. Although the soldiers’ complained about Hooker’s behavior, no action was taken against him.

Lieutenant Henry O. Flipper serves as another notable example of how the Buffalo Soldiers were mistreated. In 1877 Flipper became the first black graduate of West Point, and he later became the first black commanding officer in the history of the U.S. Regular Army. After receiving his diploma, he passed on several military assignments before

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choosing to serve at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, with the Tenth Cavalry. Even though he was an officer, Flipper never saw any significant combat and was instead relegated to performing menial tasks such as supervising the erection of poles for telegraph lines and maintaining law and order on the frontier.

Flipper's military career ended prematurely after he was reassigned to Fort Davis, Texas, where he began a friendship with a white woman. The relationship generated resentment among several of the white officers, and the animosity toward Flipper heightened. His primary duty while stationed at Fort Davis was running the commissary and in July 1881, he was arrested after a discrepancy was discovered in his accounts. He was charged with embezzlement and conduct unbecoming an officer. During the ensuing court-martial, Flipper and his lawyers charged that disgruntled white officers had framed him by stealing the missing funds. Although the money was eventually returned and another prime suspect emerged, Flipper was still tried and found guilty of both charges. As a result, he received a dishonorable discharge from the army on June 30, 1882. (Flipper was finally pardoned, by President William Jefferson Clinton, on February 19, 1999.)

Although they were met with hostility, the Buffalo Soldiers exhibited valor, both on and off the battlefield, throughout the duration of the Indian Wars. By the end of the conflict they had helped settle the Western frontier, for they strung hundreds of miles of telegraph lines and built frontier outposts where towns were soon built. In combat, the Buffalo Soldiers rode more miles and took more prisoners than any other regiment while assisting in the defeat of powerful Native American leaders such as Black Kettle, Victorio, and Geronimo. Furthermore, some of the Buffalo Soldiers, such as Corporal Clinton Greaves, Sergeants William McBryar and Henry Johnson, Sergeant Major Brent Woods, and Private Augustus Walley, were awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor.

### THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

While the Buffalo Soldiers are most well known for their service during the Indian Wars, they also participated in the Spanish-American War, which was fought between the United States and Spain in 1898. The sinking of the USS *Maine*, which had been stationed in Havana harbor as a statement of support for the Cuban revolution against Spain, was a major catalyst for the conflict. Specifically, on February 15, 1898, the ship exploded, killing 260 sailors, and while there was no evidence that a Spanish mine led to the detonation, the incident increased tensions between the United States and Spain. When Spain ended diplomatic talks, the United States responded with a declaration of war on April 20, 1898.

Prior to joining the effort in Cuba, the Buffalo Soldiers once again found themselves the victims of racial discrimination on the home front. All military soldiers were sent to southern states for deployment to Cuba. Upon arriving in the South, the Buffalo Soldiers were greeted with hatred by white soldiers and civilians alike. Kai Wright, the author of *Soldiers of Freedom*, notes, "Local militias refused to accommodate the black units sent from predominately northern and midwestern states. And local police aggressively enforced Jim Crow laws in public places, violently harassing black troops" (2002, p. 111).

Despite enduring southern racism, all four Buffalo Soldier regiments fought with dignity and honor after arriving in Cuba. On June 24, 1898, the Ninth and Tenth Cavalries fought alongside the First Volunteer Cavalry, which is better known as Theodore Roosevelt's Rough Riders, in a key battle in the village of Las Guasimas. The Rough Riders stormed the village but were pinned down by Spanish gunfire. The Tenth Cavalry fought its way through the jungle, rescued the Rough Riders, and helped force the Spanish soldiers away.

After the battle at Las Guasimas, the Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth Infantry Regiments joined the Rough Riders and the Tenth Cavalry. Together they fought significant battles at San Juan Hill and Kettle Hill. Casualties were high, and the Tenth Cavalry lost 20 percent of its men. At one point, the Twenty-fourth regiment suffered massive losses when they charged past several white regiments that were reluctant to move forward. Frank Knox, a Rough Rider and future Secretary of the Navy, later remarked about the Buffalo Soldiers, "I must say that I never saw braver men anywhere" (Wright 2002, p. 114). At the conclusion of the battles at San Juan Hill and Kettle Hill, the U.S. troops were firmly in control of the war. Unfortunately, the Buffalo Soldiers' role in winning the conflict is rarely documented. Instead, the Rough Riders are often glorified as the lone heroes of the war.

### THE DEMISE OF THE BUFFALO SOLDIERS

After the Spanish American War, the Buffalo Soldiers took part in the Philippine-American War (1899–1902) and the Punitive Expedition in New Mexico (1916–1917), which marked their last considerable combat action. Incidents of racial violence involving the Buffalo Soldiers in Brownsville, Texas, in 1906, and Houston, Texas, in 1916 served as rallying points for whites calling for an end to black military service. Therefore, at the onset of World War I, the Buffalo Soldiers were not called upon to serve, while other blacks were relegated to menial positions. When Congress finally expanded the military draft to include black combat troops, the War

Department opted to create the all-black Ninety-second and Ninety-third Divisions in October and December 1917, respectively. These divisions were reactivated during World War II, but the Buffalo Soldiers were formally recreated when the War Department expanded the Ninety-third Division to include the Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth Infantry Regiments. In 1941 the War Department activated the Second Cavalry Division, into which it put the old Ninth and Tenth Cavalries. Unfortunately, the three units saw limited combat during the conflict.

After World War II, black soldiers returned home with a renewed sense of hope. They believed that because the American people recognized that Hitler's persecution of the Jews was wrong, they would also realize that treating blacks as second-class citizens was unfair. While it took many years for the United States to fulfill black America's desire for equality, President Truman took an important step toward making it a reality. On July 28, 1948, the president signed Executive Order 9981, which permanently ended racial segregation in the military. The process of full integration took several years to complete, but by the time of the Korean War (1950–1953), the Twenty-fourth Regiment was the last remaining unit of the Buffalo Soldiers. The Twenty-fourth Regiment was used sparingly in Korea and was officially deactivated on October 1, 1951.

The Buffalo Soldiers played an integral role in paving the way for blacks seeking to enlist in the military. They endured racism and served in harsh conditions, making it possible for blacks to be accepted as equals. While they were scarcely used late in their tenure, their skill, bravery, and valor led to the establishment of other successful black units, such as the Fifty-first Defense Battalion, the 761<sup>st</sup> Tank Battalion and the Tuskegee Airmen. They also paved the way for the desegregation of the military. Although largely missing from history books, the Buffalo Soldiers have been commemorated with statues and museums in places such as Fort Riley, Kansas; Fort Leavenworth, Kansas; Fort Bliss, Texas; Junction City, Kansas; Tucson, Arizona; and Washington, D.C.

**SEE ALSO** *Black Civil War Soldiers*.

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Novotny Lawrence

## BURAKUMIN

In James Clavell's celebrated 1975 novel, *Shogun*, the following description appears:

Jan Roper interrupted, "Wait a minute, Vinck!"  
 "What's wrong, Pilot."  
 "What about eters?"  
 "It is just that the Japanese think of them as different. They are the executioners, and work the hides and handle corpses." (p. 870)

Elsewhere in the book the term *eta* (*eters*) appears, yet a fuller explanation of these people is never provided. *Eta*, meaning "much filth" in Japanese, is a derisive term, still used in the early twenty-first century, for the *burakumin*.

*Burakumin* (literally meaning "village people"; although there are alternative terms, *burakumin* and *buraku* will be used herein) refers to a group of ethnic Japanese, numbering approximately three million, that is discriminated against by the majority Japanese population. (The number three million may be high but is the number routinely provided by the various *buraku* liberation organizations. While debate continues on the actual number, if this number is at least approximately correct, then, as Herman Ooms [1996] notes, it makes the *buraku* people the largest Japanese minority.)

Although some in the majority Japanese population continue to believe that the *buraku* people are racially distinct from the majority of the Japanese people, the prevailing scholarly opinion is that the *buraku* people are racially indistinct from the majority Japanese and are

## Burakumin

oppressed because of specific historic occupational lineages. Therefore, the discrimination against the *buraku* people is more similar to that of the Dalits in India rather than to the discrimination shown in Japan toward the Japanese Ainu.

Several scholars argue that the term *racism* is appropriate to use in regard to *buraku* discrimination as they “comprise a ‘race’ in the sociological sense of Western racism, but an ‘invisible’ (i.e., not genetic or phenotypic) one” (Ooms 1996, pp. 245–246). Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney (1987) states that the *buraku* people are “invisible” because there are no physical characteristics that distinguish them from other Japanese. A continuing issue for the *buraku* liberation movement is the question of what constitutes *buraku* identity, with some residents of designated *buraku* areas claiming ancestral lineages and others socially defined as *buraku* people simply by the fact of residing in such areas. Perhaps the most inclusive definition for those termed *burakumin* in modern Japan is that offered by Tomohiko Harada (1981): “those people who were born, brought up and living in [*b*]uraku, those who were not from [*b*]urakumin family but came to live in [*b*]uraku in the recent past and those who are living outside the [*b*]uraku but have blood relationship with [*b*]urakumin—all these are considered the [*b*]urakumin minority by the majority Japanese” (quoted in Reber 1999, p. 5).

To accentuate the complexity of identifying the *burakumin*, some estimates hold that more than 50 percent of the population in *buraku* areas are non-*buraku*. Additionally, even those that come from *burakumin* families likely have little blood connection to the original medieval families from which the lineage of discrimination is sourced. Invisibility is hard to quantify.

### HISTORICAL ROOTS OF DISCRIMINATION

There is a scholarly debate as to the historical origin of *buraku* discrimination. During the Heian period (794–1185), the lowest in society (*senmin*, as opposed to the *ryomin*, the good) often crafted leather saddles, harnesses, “armor,” and ceremonial drums in support of warlords (*daimyo*), and for their contribution they were generally provided with some tax relief and poor land. They were also given “unclean” tasks such as those of jailer and executioner as well as expected to be the first line of defense in case of attack.

Some scholars conjecture that this social segmentation was the beginning of what came to be the *buraku* designation; it was distinctly in the Tokugawa period (1603–1867), however, when the discriminatory policies and structure were established in a stratified social order (samurai, farmer, artisan, and merchant) that excluded

the *kawata* (“leather worker,” which was a self-referential term). The majority Japanese during this period referred to *kawata* as *eta-hinin* (*hinin* translating as “nonhuman”), and this compound term was used as a social designation at the time. These terms, but particularly *eta*, are still used in Japan to pejoratively refer to the *buraku* people. The use of the Japanese number *yottsu* (four), often accompanied by holding up four fingers, is used to refer to a *buraku* person as an animal (having four legs).

During the Tokugawa period, prohibitions against the group included forbidding intermarriage; designating allowable places to live, often on undesirable plots of land; specifying clothing; and restricting the *kawata* from engaging the other classes in an equal way, including forbidding them from entering non-*buraku* houses, temples, and shrines (Meerman 2003). Anti-*buraku* discrimination thus originated in traditional occupations that were deemed “unclean” or “polluted” by the majority Japanese, such as butchery, tanning, and leatherwork. Other forms of *kawata* work included roadwork, stone cutting, bamboo manufactures, sweeping, subsistence farming, fish mongering, night soil and garbage disposal, cremation, and burial (Meerman 2003). In modern Japan, however, while descent from earlier groups is an operative factor, the primary determinant of *buraku* identity is location, as many *buraku* people live in designated, government-supported housing and support areas.

In 1871 the Emancipation Edict (*Eta Kaihō Rei*) abolished discrimination against this subgroup, but the edict had little effect on conditions for the *buraku* people. The edict identified *burakumin* with a label meaning “new common people,” which the general public understood as referring to the same stigmatized group. The more positive appellation still segregated the group from the majority Japanese, and the *burakumin* were as easy to discover in lists as previously.

In March 1922, the National Levelers Association (*Zenkoku Suiheisha*) was founded as an organized effort to address the persistent discrimination against the *buraku* people. After being outlawed in 1937 in militarist Japan, the movement reinstated itself in 1946 as the National Committee for Buraku Liberation (becoming the Buraku Liberation League [BLL] in 1955). The BLL has been the predominant voice for the betterment of the *buraku mondai* (problem) since its formation.

In 1969, through sustained political activism by the *buraku* organizations and their supporters, the Japanese government enacted special legislation that dramatically bettered conditions for the *buraku* people by greatly multiplying the amount of government funds for improving *buraku* housing and roads, providing scholarships, reducing taxes for *buraku* businesses, subsidizing rents, and other improvements. Local bodies, influenced



by the BLL, often decided how this government funding was spent. The funding ended in 2003.

#### THE “POLLUTED” ASPECT OF *BURAKU* DISCRIMINATION

Japan has a long tradition of emphasizing cleanliness and purity. The philosophical basis of this tradition can be traced to the indigenous tradition of Shinto as well as Buddhism, which was imported into Japan in the mid-sixth century CE. Buddhism is often associated with purity/impurity in its opprobrium against killing and eating meat. This negative attitude was extrapolated to the handling of dead animals and their by-products.

Both Shinto and Japanese Buddhism supported the “polluted” determination of the historic *buraku* occupations. Shinto, with its strong emphasis on ritual pollution and taboo, helped shape the majority Japanese view that anyone who handled dead bodies, animals, or animal by-products was unclean. The distinction with the *buraku* people is that they could not be made clean again from this “pollution” through purification rituals.

The Japanese Buddhists also contributed to the system of discrimination through their association with the death rituals of the Japanese. In Japan, for many centuries, Buddhism has functioned as the religion of death rituals. Traditionally, a Buddhist priest gives the deceased a death name (*kaimyo*) that the person is to carry into the next world. As William Bodiford (1996) contends, there is strong evidence of the use of prejudicial *kaimyo* in temple necrologies (death registries) and “off-registers” as well as on corresponding grave markers (*haka*).

The use of registries is critically important to understanding the history of oppression against the *burakumin*. If one were a handler of meat or dead bodies, or engaged in other polluting activities, then one would be ritually impure for a period of time. After this period, the impurity could be expunged or would no longer be operative. Yet, with the use of registries, such as the temple necrologies, the incidence of pollution associated with certain families and occupations became stigmatizing and permanent. Not only was an individual deemed as inalterably impure because of his or her actions, but so too was the family name extending across generations, even if the polluting occupation was no longer followed by the person’s heirs. Discriminatory passages in Buddhist texts may have been used to provide “doctrinal cover” for abusing the *burakumin*. To the credit of Japanese Buddhism, it has acknowledged this troubled past and has sought through its own offices and in cooperation with the BLL to change its views of and practices concerning the *burakumin*. In addition, other religious movements, such as Christianity and Tenrikyo, have reached out to the *buraku* community with some success.

#### MODERN FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION

In 1963 Kazuo Ishikawa was convicted of killing a young girl and sentenced to death. The body was discovered near a *buraku* area, and Ishikawa is a member of the *buraku* community. This case has become a cause célèbre for the *buraku* liberation movement in Japan, and it has become known across Asia among similar liberation groups as the Sayama case (Sayama is the town where Ishikawa lived). The belief is that Ishikawa was falsely accused because of his being a *buraku* person. After thirty-one years in prison, Ishikawa was released on probation in 1994, and three appeals (as of 2006) have been filed to clear his name. This case has become a rallying point for change in the criminal justice system in Japan and crystallized the *buraku* liberation movement in its fight against discrimination.

Since World War II, discrimination against the *buraku* people has often manifested itself, compared to the mainstream Japanese, in higher illness rates; illiteracy challenges; higher unemployment; hiring for menial, dangerous jobs; lower wages for the same jobs; illegal lists that corporations buy and use to avoid hiring *buraku* people; marriage discrimination; and the historic biases of some Japanese religious bodies. Moreover, from the 1990s into the early twenty-first century, the Internet has been used to post defamatory statements against this group as well as, purportedly, to distribute lists of the location and residents of *buraku* areas—information that could be used to discriminate in such areas as employment and marriage. There is no national law against the use of these lists for background checks, although access to them has been officially restricted.

Physical conditions have improved for those living in *buraku* areas, as the Japanese government through its Special Measures Law of 1969 has improved housing and hygiene conditions, and constructed community support centers, even though the older population of *buraku* people continue to struggle with health problems, some of which were cause by earlier deprivations. As the older generation of *buraku* people often did not advance past middle school, literacy among this group has been a challenge, and community centers often offer reading and writing classes for this group. Struggling with illiteracy in a country such as Japan, which claims essentially universal literacy, is particularly burdensome. The problems of the modern *buraku* communities are compounded by higher percentages of unemployment than the majority, lower-paying occupations in small to medium-sized businesses, and discrimination by the larger corporations.

There has also been an improvement in higher *buraku* graduation rates from secondary schools, more

## Burakumin

*buraku* persons matriculating to college, and a notable increase in marriage to non-*burakumin* mates. All the critical indicators, based on the data collected and published by the Buraku Liberation and Human Rights Research Institute, point to a closing of the gap between the majority Japanese population and the *buraku* population at the end of the twentieth century and continuing into the twenty-first century, though a gap nevertheless endures. The use of lists of *buraku* persons and areas persists, and Shinto and Buddhist authorities continue to work to expose and address discriminatory practices in their arenas.

It is with the growth of intermarriage that the *buraku* situation may change most radically in the future, particularly as the younger generation of Japanese does not seem to adhere as rigidly to the stigma against marrying someone of *buraku* descent. Even in the recent past, there were many stories printed of marriages called off when one of the partners was discovered to be of *buraku* origin. (The parents often conducted a private investigation to see if such a background existed prior to their son or daughter marrying.) Furthermore, even when the marriages were allowed, discrimination persisted, as in one published case, in which the wife of *buraku* origin was not allowed to enter her in-laws' house, register her children in her in-laws' family register, or attend her husband's family observances during their marriage.

### CONTEMPORARY DEVELOPMENTS

As *buraku* discrimination persists into the twenty-first century, the efforts to address the changing face of prejudice will require new approaches. The primary continuing issue for the *buraku* people is how the end of government funding in 2003 will continue to affect their community and the notable advances they have made.

One of the controversial tactics the BLL has employed in its attempt to publicize discriminatory acts perpetuated against the *buraku* community is the use of denunciation (*kyūdan*). Denunciation entails isolating the one guilty of a discriminatory act and then bringing this party to a meeting where he or she is publicly denounced and forced to repent the act and pledge to change his or her ways. This activity has been justified as necessary in the face of government inaction or the lack of a legal remedy, but it has also spawned questions of its legality and ethical fairness.

Attempting to broaden the movement's efforts in the wake of the government funding cutoff, the Buraku Liberation and Human Rights Research Institute has focused its attention on human rights legislation inside Japan that calls for the systematic identification and enforcement of antidiscrimination laws not only as they would affect *buraku* people but also foreign residents, the physically

and mentally handicapped, and others. The movement has also closely aligned itself with human rights initiatives from the United Nations and other international bodies. Similarly, there continues to be an effort to align kindred liberation groups across Asia, including such countries as India, Korea, Nepal, and Bangladesh.

This movement may result in less direct attention to education efforts specifically on the *buraku* situation and instead evolve into a national movement to better educate all Japanese, particularly through the school system, on human rights. The content of Japanese textbooks, which have typically either omitted *burakumin* or included discriminatory language against them, has provoked controversy in Japan (and East Asia) for many decades. As the *buraku* movement has declared, it is time for Japan to defy the axiom to not wake the sleeping baby and to stir the baby awake toward positive, sustainable change.

Certainly, the major ongoing issue for the *buraku* liberation effort, as with many similar human rights efforts across the globe, is how to sustain the energy and communal effort to improve the attitude of mainstream Japan toward the *buraku* people into the next generation, while external living conditions improve and intermarriage continues to increase.

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Leslie D. Alldritt

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## CAGOTS

The Cagots, or Agotes, were an ethnic minority that inhabited parts of the Pyrenees Mountains, which form a natural border between France and Spain. Spurned by the local populations until the early twentieth century, they lived a nomadic life as outcasts, principally in the Spanish and French Basque provinces, including Béarn and Gascony, parts of the Languedoc, and as far north as Brittany. Also known as Ghézitains, Gahets, Gafos, Canards (“ducks”) and Chrestians (or Chrestias), the name Cagot is believed to derive from the Vulgate *Canis Gothi*, or “Dog of a Goth.”

Although their origins remain shrouded in mystery, many believe that the Cagots were a group of Visigoths who refused to abandon Arianism when Reccared, the king of the Visigoths, renounced Arian Christianity and converted to Catholicism in 587. Although fantastic descriptions of Cagots go back to the Carolingian period (c. 751–987), at the height of the thirteenth century repression of the Albigensian heresy in southern France they were referred to as *Chrestians*, one of the names the Albigensian Cathars used for themselves. Perhaps for this reason, a group of Cagots identified themselves as the last descendants of the Albigenses in a petition to Pope Leo X in 1517, in which they requested absolution for the heresy of their forefathers. The Pontiff responded in a bull that they should be treated fairly.

Partly because of this history, the Cagots were subjected to hate-filled discrimination for nearly seven hundred years. Shunned as lepers, pagans, and even cannibals, they were forced to live in ghettos called *cagoteries* where they were only permitted the occupations

of carpenter, butcher, or executioner. Similar to the fate of their fellow pariahs, the Hindu Dalit, or “Untouchables,” the Cagots were not allowed to go barefoot because of the alleged overwhelming stench of their feet. When they were permitted entrance to a Church (in many cases they were refused admittance), they were segregated from the rest of the congregation, and the Eucharist was handed to them at the end of a long stick. They were compelled to wear the sign of a duck or goose foot in red (hence the name “canards”), and because it was believed that they were carriers of leprosy, they were obliged to carry a bell to warn all others of their approach.

The Cagots were treated as an inferior race, and legend attributed various bizarre physical features to them. They are often described in medieval archives as being completely bald, with webbed hands and feet and missing ears or ear lobes. Various nineteenth century authors, however, attributed typical Germanic traits (such as blond hair and blue eyes) to them. The Basque author Pio Baroja (1872–1956) described the Cagots in his memoir *Las horas solitarias* as “a central European type or a Northerner. There are elderly in Bozate (a Navarran locality) that look like they stepped out of a portrait by Dürer, with a Germanic look. There are also others, with long faces and darker complexions, who remind me of gypsies.”

Despite various attempts to improve their standing over the centuries, substantial progress came only after the French Revolution and the establishment of the First Empire. In 1818, the Navarran Cortes (legislature) in Pamplona voted to abrogate the discriminatory laws that had been in effect since the Middle Ages. Nonetheless, racial prejudice against the Cagots lasted well into the

twentieth century. By the end of that century, thanks to intermarriage, they had melded into the local populations, finally ending a seven-hundred-year-old history of repression and discrimination.

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*Christopher Jones*

## CALHOUN, JOHN C. 1782–1850

John Caldwell Calhoun was a South Carolina politician who served in several state and federal offices from 1808 until his death in 1850. He was a candidate for the presidency of the United States several times without ascending to the post, but he nevertheless became one of the most powerful figures in the pre–Civil War United States. Calhoun used his considerable influence and political acumen to defend the right of states to control their own destiny—specifically the ability of the southern states to retain the institution of slavery.

#### EARLY LIFE

Calhoun was born on March 18, 1782, to Patrick Calhoun and Martha Caldwell, both of Scotch-Irish descent, in the northwestern region of South Carolina called Abbeville. Calhoun’s early childhood was spent on his father’s plantation, which was cultivated by thirty-one enslaved Africans. There was little formal schooling available for the young Calhoun, and he did not attend school regularly in his adolescent years. At the age of eighteen he entered an academy founded by Moses Waddell, a young Presbyterian minister who had married Calhoun’s older sister. Calhoun read voraciously at Waddell’s academy and entered Yale College (present-day Yale University) in 1802. He then attended Litchfield Law School, and after completing apprenticeships in Litchfield, Connecticut, and Charleston, South Carolina, he began his own law practice in Abbeville.

In 1807, after a British frigate attacked an American vessel, Calhoun led the public outcry over the transgression. At a town hall meeting, he gave a speech advocating aggressive retaliation and his popularity soared. He was elected to the South Carolina legislature as a representa-

tive from the Abbeville district in 1808. He would serve in this post for two years.

#### PROMINENT POLITICIAN

Calhoun began his national political career when he was elected to the Twelfth Congress as the representative from the Sixth Congressional District of South Carolina. In these early years Calhoun quickly gained a reputation for favoring aggressive national action. Along with Henry Clay and other politicians dubbed the “War Hawks,” Calhoun helped convince President James Madison to declare war on Britain, sparking the War of 1812. Calhoun would serve in Congress from 1811 to 1817. Among his career highlights during this period were arguing in favor of increasing government power through consolidation of the banking system and increasing the federal government’s ability to levy taxes.

In 1817 Calhoun left the House of Representatives to serve as secretary of war in James Monroe’s cabinet. In this post, which he held until 1825, Calhoun continued to advocate nationalist legislation. He strengthened national defense by centralizing the military administration in Washington and increasing funding for military infrastructure and troop necessities. Calhoun made a brief run for the presidency in 1824, before accepting the post of vice president under John Quincy Adams. He served as vice president to John Quincy Adams in 1824 and again under Andrew Jackson in 1828, making him the only person in U.S. history to serve as vice president for two different administrations.

Calhoun’s two tenures as vice president marked a turning point in his career. The Tariff of 1828 (called the Tariff of Abominations) called for a tax on British goods imported into the United States. This tariff benefited northern manufacturing interests at the expense of southern raw material exporters. The South Carolina legislature passed a nullification bill in retaliation, revoking the federal tariff. The U.S. government passed the Force Bill in return, which authorized the use of the military to enforce federal tariffs. This standoff, called the Nullification Crisis, marked the turning point in Calhoun’s political thinking. Calhoun changed his political ideology from pro-federal government to pro-states rights, and sided with the state of South Carolina.

Calhoun resigned as vice president in 1832 to return to the Senate. He would take one other cabinet post in his lifetime, as secretary of state in John Tyler’s cabinet from 1844 to 1845—but it was as a senator (1832–1843, and 1845–1850) that he made his most indelible mark on the American political landscape.

## RACE AND SLAVERY

Calhoun spent most of his life on a 900-acre plantation in Fort Hill, South Carolina. He owned approximately eighty slaves. Calhoun defended the institution of slavery vigorously up until his death, notoriously calling it a “positive good” for slave and master alike. In 1836 he blocked the reading of petitions against slavery on the Senate floor, arguing that because the Fifth Amendment declared that no person be deprived of property without due process of law, and since slaves were property, the discussion of the petitions was a moot point. Congress finally rejected Calhoun’s position, with many of its members declaring that the “gag rule” violated the right to petition. That same year, when abolitionists wanted to send mail into the southern states, he supported the suppression of such mail, including the vigilante search of the interstate mails in Charleston. He cited the First Amendment, arguing that it was the right of the states to control mail if they chose to, and that the federal government had no say in the matter.

Calhoun’s views had racial as well as economic justifications. He repeatedly asserted that the African was innately inferior to the European, and he viewed slavery as a positive good that afforded the inferior blacks an opportunity to advance faster than any other civilization. Economically, Calhoun argued that in every civilization, one portion of society always depended on the labor of another. The South had a unique economy that allowed the laboring class—the black slaves—to be always well fed and have their children and elderly cared for. He contrasted the slave labor of the South with the degraded conditions of the working class in Britain, arguing that the southern blacks had a far more favorable existence.

Calhoun’s beliefs in European racial superiority were applied to other groups as well. In his arguments against a potential war and colonization of Mexico, he asserted that mixing Indian blood and culture with that of Americans would lead to degradation and destroy the cultural institutions of the United States.

## CALHOUN’S LEGACY

John C. Calhoun will always be remembered as one of America’s most able politicians. His proslavery arguments were at times unassailable, however. Yet despite his staunch defense of states rights and slavery, his writings do not reveal a support for a southern secession or war. A man of ascetic behavior who rarely lost his temper and had no documented instances of lascivious behavior, Calhoun appears to have garnered the respect of both friend and foe.

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Roderick Graham

## CANADIAN RACIAL FORMATIONS

The phrase “Canadian racial formation” refers to the historical and social process by which groups of people in Canada came to be known as racially differentiated. Categories such as “charter groups,” “Native Indians,” and “visible minorities” are socially constructed and have been produced over time through social relations and, at times, through state intervention.

## CHARTER GROUPS

In Canada, “charter groups” refers to the British and the French, the founding members of the Canadian Confederation formed in 1867. From the beginning of the seventeenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth century, the fur trade influenced the development of New France and British North America (colonies of France and Britain, respectively) and shaped the competitive relationships between the British and the French. After the British conquest of New France in 1760, the British influence continued to increase. The British North America Act of 1867, passed in the British parliament to create a confederation of Canada, was a political compromise between the British and the French to unify Upper Canada (now Ontario) and Lower Canada (now Quebec), along with Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

Throughout the history of Canada, the political and numerical dominance of the charter groups has been unequivocal. The 1871 Census of Canada shows that 61 percent of Canada’s three-and-a-half million people were of British origin, 31 percent of French origin, and 7 percent of European origin other than British and French. Less than 1 percent were Native Indians, the original people of the land. This demographic configuration persisted, with only minor deviations, throughout the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century.

Among the charter groups, the French assumed a minority status relative to the British because of the prevailing cultural and linguistic influence of the British and their political dominance. In 1971, Pierre Vallières used the title *White Niggers of America* to describe the oppression

and plight of French Canadians. Throughout the 1960s, rising political aspirations of Francophones (those speaking French as a first language) in Quebec were seen by the federal government as a potential threat. In 1969, at the recommendation of the Royal Commission of Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Canada adopted the Official Languages Act, which recognized both English and French as official languages of Canada. However, discontent continued in Quebec, where most Francophones resided, culminating in what became known as the October Crisis of 1970, when some Quebecois engaged in public bombing and political kidnapping as a protest against British dominance. The federal government invoked the War Measures Act to mobilize the army, which brought civil order back to Quebec but alienated the city's Francophones. In 1976, Quebec elected Parti Québécois, a separatist provincial party, to power, openly challenging federalism and promoting independence. But a 1980 province-wide referendum failed to obtain support for the sovereignty of Quebec. The tension between the British and the French was further increased when the federal government moved to repatriate the constitution of Canada from Britain in 1982, with the support of all the provinces except Quebec. Attempts to bring Quebec back to the constitutional fold through the Meech Lake Accord in 1987 and the Charlottetown Accord in 1990 failed. Thus, the charter groups in Canada continued to develop through historical antagonism, continuous struggle, occasional compromise, and frequent tensions.

#### NATIVE INDIANS

Native Indians can be understood as another racial formation in Canada. In *The Canadian Indian* (1971), E. Palmer Patterson divides the history of relations between Canadian Indians and Europeans since the sixteenth century into four phases. The first was the initial contact between Native peoples and Europeans, leading to a period of prosperity as the two groups exchanged technology and goods. In the second phase, from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century, Indians were increasingly drawn into the economy of white people as they became more involved in fur trading, and less reliant on their traditional livelihood, resulting in a weakening of political autonomy. The third phase began with the creation of reserves for Native peoples in order to clear the way for the agricultural settlements of whites. With the passage of the Indian Act in 1876, the colonial status of Native peoples was legally confirmed, because the act placed Indians under the legislative and administrative control of the federal government. The last phase began in the period after World War II, as more Native peoples became aware of their plight and demanded control of their future.

Since the 1960s, aboriginal peoples have intensified their political and economic demands based on aborigi-



*Native Peoples Land Claim.* A group from the Six Nations of the Grand River occupies a piece of land near Caledonia, Ontario, Canada, in April 2006. Since the 1960s, aboriginal peoples have intensified their political and economic demands based on aboriginal rights. AP IMAGES.

nal rights. The process of bringing the constitution from England to Canada in 1982 gave the Native peoples an opportunity to assert their special aboriginal status. Aboriginal rights encompass two main categories: the rights that derive from aboriginal title over land and resources, and the rights of self-determination. Two types of claims have been pursued by Native groups in Canada. The first type—comprehensive claims—is based on aboriginal title. These are land claims over areas still in use by Native peoples, but not covered in treaties. The second type—specific claims—refers to clauses in treaties and claims by Indian bands over the loss of reserve land or the misappropriation of the government trusteeship. These two types of claims represent the two strategies pursued by aboriginal peoples and Native organizations.

Comprehensive claims are premised on the interpretation of the *Royal Proclamation* of October 7, 1763. In this view, those parts of the Dominion or territories not ceded to or purchased by the Crown remain reserved for

Indians. The basis of specific claims is that Native peoples have lost lands and financial assets that are protected by treaties between the Indian Nations and the Government of Canada. From the 1870s until 1921, eleven numbered treaties were signed between Native Indians and various provincial and territorial jurisdictions. James Frideres, in *Aboriginal Peoples in Canada* (2004), notes that the success rate of Native claims has been low.

### VISIBLE MINORITIES

Nonwhites in Canada make up another racial formation. Throughout the latter part of the nineteenth century, Canada used Asian workers extensively in the development of western Canada, but it did not consider them worthy citizens. More than ten thousand Chinese workers were brought to Canada to work on the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1881 and 1882. When the railroad was completed in 1885, the federal government passed the Chinese Immigration Act, which imposed a head tax on Chinese arrivals. From 1923 until 1947, Chinese were barred from entering Canada, and those already in the country were denied many political, economic, and mobility rights that other Canadians took for granted. Japanese Canadians represent another racial formation that Canada treated harshly in the past, especially during World War II when they were removed from their homes, confined in camps, and had their properties confiscated because they were branded as enemy aliens.

Canada adopted a multiculturalism policy in 1971 and passed the Multiculturalism Act in 1988. In 1986 the Employment Equity Act addressed the employment conditions of disadvantaged groups; it included nonwhites—referred to officially as “visible minorities”—among the four target groups. However, the notion of collective rights for the visible minority remains vague in the statutes of Canada.

Since the 1970s, the single most important factor contributing to the growth of the visible minority in Canada has been immigration. Nonwhites made up 6 percent of Canada’s population in 1986, 9 percent in 1991, and 13 percent in 2001. Census data indicate that most visible-minority members are first-generation immigrants born outside of Canada, in contrast to most European Canadians, who, because of a historical immigration policy favoring their admission, tend to be Canada-born. Studies of racial inequality suggest that race remains an enduring feature in Canadian society, and that the life chances of visible minorities are often affected by superficial physical features and perceived cultural idiosyncrasies. The laws in Canada do not permit blatant racial discrimination, nor do they condone racism. However, Frances Henry and colleagues (2006) have shown that racism in Canada is articu-

lated in a subtle and benign fashion in arts, the media, and social institutions in a mode they call “democratic racism.”

### OTHER FACTORS

Contemporary racial formations in Canada shape the country in three specific areas. First, despite official bilingualism, some Francophones in Quebec continue to feel alienated from Canada’s federation, and they rally their support behind separatist political forces dedicated to Quebec sovereignty. The threat of Quebec separating is a continuing political challenge in Canada. Second, the aboriginal population in Canada continues to fall behind other groups in education, occupational status, health status, and quality of life. Demographic shifts resulting from fertility and rural to urban migration have exacerbated problems of Native youth unemployment, health care, and other related issues. Aboriginal peoples are also overrepresented in the criminal justice system, and many complain about mistreatments by law enforcement agencies. Some aboriginal organizations continue to press for legal and political settlements with the government on issues of land claims, aboriginal entitlements, and self-governance.

Third, as Canada accepts increasingly more immigrants from non-European countries, many urban centers—such as Toronto, Vancouver, Montreal, and Calgary—are experiencing a shift toward a more racial diverse population. Canada has not faced the same type of backlash toward immigration as some European countries and the United States have, in part because the stocks of immigrants are different. But issues related to diversity and national identity, religious freedom and fundamentalist values, and globalization and border security have entered the political and public discourse, and these issues are becoming more racialized.

**SEE ALSO** *Racial Formations; Social Welfare States; White Settler Society.*

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*Peter S. Li*

## CAPITALISM

Capitalism, as a way of organizing economic and social relations, has always depended on assertions about human inequality and valorization (including racism) that have been enforced through localities, states, and empires. It has not been the only economic system in human history to do so, but capitalism's very definition and possibility relies on the exploitation of one or more groups by others, as Karl Marx pointed out during the rise of global, free-market capitalism in concert with European colonialism and imperialism. Marx, as a journalist, was a thorough chronicler of capitalism in nineteenth-century Europe, and his analysis in *Das Kapital*, completed in collaboration with Friedrich Engels, remains key to understanding the logic of capitalism.

Marx and Engels argued that capitalist relations necessitate the alienation of workers from the products they make, so that both the workers' labor and what they produce become commodities circulating in an expanding market. Once laborers are seen as interchangeable workers (rather than artisans connected inextricably to what they make), it is in the interest of capitalists (those who invest in everything necessary to produce a product, including labor) to have low-wage or non-wage workers. In that way, capitalists can create surplus money from their initial investments as the commodities they have invested in circulate in the market. This surplus can be reinvested in the production of more commodities, with the capitalists (rarely the workers) making the decisions about what commodities—ranging from goods to services—to sell and how to convince consumers they need to exchange money for the commodities.

While capitalism seems to have begun in the fields, markets, and farm-related factories of England, it was a system that thrived through investment ventures such as the English East India Company and the Dutch East India Company, which linked commodities new to Europeans with low-wage labor and sources of raw material extracted with the backing of colonial guns and legislation. As Sydney Mintz documents in *Sweetness and Power* (1986), underpaid workers in England, urged by factory managers into the consumption of new commodities such as tea and sugar, were more tied than they knew to underpaid workers on the tea and sugar plantations in the Caribbean and South Asia, whose labor made empire-building possible. The commodity most vital to the success of early capitalism was human beings. For example, enslaved workers were shipped between colonial locations to facilitate monocropping on large plantations and to provide labor for constructing colonial cities like New York. As St. Clair Drake put it, "Commerce in black bodies rapidly became big business" (Drake 1990, p. 275).

Eric Williams, who was prime minister of Trinidad and Tobago from 1962 to 1981, pointed out the diver-

sity of sources of enslaved labor across the colonial landscape. He noted, "Slavery was not born of racism: rather, racism was the consequence of slavery. Unfree labor in the New World was brown, white, black, and yellow; Catholic, Protestant and pagan." (Williams 1994 [1944], p. 7) His terms are not those one would choose in the early twenty-first century, but his point is a significant one: Capitalists in the colonial era relied not on a single strategy for securing indentured and enslaved labor, but rather on a complex and global strategy. The overwhelming similarity, though, was the ability to view humans as commodities whose value floated with other commodities on the whimsical seas of the market. They were not seen as individuals with agency who had been ripped from their social networks. In his book *Capitalism and Slavery*, Williams argued that capitalists supported or renounced slavery according to its economic viability more often than in answer to a moral compass. Morality has certainly been important to the development of capitalism. As Max Weber documented in 1926, Protestant Christianity, and particularly Calvinism, was well suited to the managerial ideology of capitalists, because the predestination doctrine of Calvinists necessitated the worldly performance of good stewardship of resources.

From the outset, capitalists—or those investing in commodities and benefiting from surpluses by reinvesting them to become richer—have tended to be from the global North, white, and in control of the social apparatuses necessary to secure further profits—particularly states, militaries, and colonial authorities. While the low-wage or non-wage workers making capitalism possible have been more diverse, there has been an ideology, (described by theorists beginning with Marx and continuing actively in the early 2000s) or logic, facilitating capitalism that naturalizes the inequitable position between capitalists and the workers from whose labor they profit. This can be thought of as "strategic alterity," or the "practice of shifting between strategic assertions of inclusion and exclusion (or the marking and unmarking of 'selves' and 'others') to both devalue a set of people and to mask that very process of strategic devalorization" (Kingsolver 2001, p. 110).

The labor forces on which capitalist arrangements have rested have been diverse, as Williams pointed out, but they have always been marked as different from the capitalists, and naturalized as inferior to them, meriting lower earnings in a polarized economy. Capitalism—in all its many forms and relationships—always ensures that polarization. The naturalization of differently valued actors in a capitalist economy most often happens through the lens of racism, but it also occurs through related distinctions, including sexism, nativism, ageism, and ethnic prejudice. One of the things that makes capitalism so flexible and enduring is that the lens can shift, but the justification remains, in capitalist logic, for what Étienne



Balibar calls “class racism,” or “the institutionalized racialization of manual labor” (Balibar 1999, p. 327). In an article titled “Global Capitalism: What’s Race Got to Do with It?”, Karen Brodtkin examines the shifting lenses used in exploitation. She concludes that “race in the United States has historically been a key relationship to the means of capitalist production, and gender constructions are what has made race corporeal, material, and visible” (Brodtkin 2000, p. 239). Various kinds of institutionalized inequality—such as sexist, racist, and anti-immigrant legislation and social practice—have served capitalist formations by facilitating the rationalization and naturalization of non- and low-wage labor.

Colonized peoples were not passive in accepting the imposition of capitalism, whether it was in the shifting of massive numbers of people around the globe against their will to provide capitalist labor, or in the uncompensated extraction of raw materials that fueled the Industrial Revolution in Europe (and that, as Andre Gunder Frank has pointed out, resulted in ongoing North-South economic inequalities). The social and infrastructural damage done to colonized nations through colonial and capitalist extraction was foreseen and resisted by colonized peoples, in examples as wide-ranging as the Haitian Revolution in the 1790s and the Gandhian protests at the salt mines in India in 1930. These movements were fundamentally threatening to both colonialism and capitalism, which is why colonizing nations that were otherwise competitors in the global capitalist market closed ranks to blockade Haiti after its independence in 1804. Agency to resist the imposition of capitalist structures and their accompanying violent inequalities was diverse in its expressions across colonized nations. Kathryn Ward, for example, describes the Igbo Women’s War of 1929 in Nigeria as resistance to “incorporation into the capitalist world system.” Igbo women’s demands, as they occupied the British government buildings, were: “women should occupy one-half of the administrative units, and all white men should return from whence they came” (Ward 1988, p. 121–122).

Just as racism is intertwined with paternalism (constructing colonized people and low-wage workers as child-like), colonialism and neocolonialism have been intertwined with the creation and enforcement of economic and social dependence of nations of the South on nations of the North, with some exceptions. The colonial strategy of monocropping, as many have pointed out, made it impossible for a single colony to support itself, thus reinforcing dependence on the colonial trade system for basic commodities. Scientific-racist stories about inferior merit, evidenced by inferior performance in schools, workplaces, and markets, have been paralleled by just-so stories about Third World poverty. Critiques of both specious arguments have been based on close examinations of structural violence (see

Harrison 1997) and the ways that, over time, racism and the infrastructural inequalities persisting from colonialism (referred to as “neocolonial relations”) have assaulted the possibilities of individuals and groups to thrive in the same ways as those who have consistently benefited from capitalist social and economic organization. While class relations, North-South relations, and racialized relations are compounded and confounded in myriad individual ways, they are nonetheless powerfully persistent and may be seen as responsible for a continually widening gap between rich and poor.

The partnership between capitalism and colonialism did not end with the widespread independence movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Those in globalized Northern countries have often, though not always, maintained neocolonial control of resources, markets, and infrastructure (e.g., transportation and educational systems) through ongoing control of debt relations. The post-World War II transnational economic organizations, including the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization (WTO), have allowed the United States and some European countries (the dominant voices in those bodies) to continue controlling the infrastructure of nations of the South through dictating the terms of loans. In the film *Life and Debt* (2001), for example, Michael Manley, the former prime minister of Jamaica, describes the difficulties faced by his country (particularly the local farmers and garment workers) when structural adjustment policies were imposed externally as part of a loan repayment plan, along with the enforced importation of U.S. agricultural goods and workers from other countries in the foreign trade zones.

With new forms of capitalism come new forms of racism, as Carter A. Wilson pointed out in *Racism: From Slavery to Advanced Capitalism* (1996). Workers in various countries are concerned about job restructuring and employers moving jobs to other regions or employing transnational migrant workforces. Unemployment-related anxieties can lead to xenophobic expressions, as documented in 1997 by Patricia Zavella in California, and new forms of racism that serve to rationalize both symbolic and physical violence. As Manning Marable notes in *How Capitalism Underdeveloped Black America* (1983), violence in current forms of capitalism is not only anti-immigrant, it is recurrently aimed at racialized minorities within states. The forced migration associated with colonialism, which was both impelled by and led to racist economic inequalities, was the antecedent to the persistent global North-South economic inequalities of the early twenty-first century. South-North migration has often been met with waves of racist, anti-immigrant sentiment, rather than any acknowledgment of the dependence of the North on the material and labor contributions of the South for its



**Antiglobalization Protest.** A Korean activist takes part in a protest during the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil, on January 31, 2005. The large banner behind him reads “Our World is Not for Sale.” The annual World Social Forum began in 2001 as a protest against globalization and in opposition to the World Economic Forum, held annually in Davos, Switzerland. JEFFERSON BERNARDES/AFP/GETTY IMAGES.

“developed” status, long noted by Andre Gunder Frank and others.

These causal connections have been exposed clearly in the coalitions that are often labeled “antiglobalization,” but that are discussed in venues such as the World Social Forum, the complex relationship between racialized, gender, and other forms of social inequity and the organization and local expressions of global capitalism. One of the strategies within capitalist logic has been to divide class-based, antiracist, gender-based, and other forms of organizing by framing them as unrelated. Widespread coalitions critical of the current rapidly increasing polarization (and often white control) of wealth are forming analyses that view the bases of inequality—and the possibilities for economic equality—in a single, though still complex, frame (Alvarez, Dagnino, and Escobar 1997). One of the most promising avenues for addressing the intertwined inequalities resulting from capitalism, colonialism, and racism is global South-South networking, which can

create an economic infrastructure free of colonial and neo-colonial Northern control of financial investment, transportation, and markets. At the fifth Pan-African congress in 1945, alternatives to capitalism and imperialism—and associated racist oppression—were discussed. Proposals for a New International Economic Order—as raised in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and strengthened at the South-South dialogue convened in New Delhi in 1982—have led, decades later, to South-South trade agreements that use forms of capitalist strategies (combined with more democratic decision making than in the WTO) to try to address North-South with inequities resulting from capitalist practices reflecting paternalism and racism.

SEE ALSO *African Economic Development*.

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Ann Kingsolver

## CARIBBEAN IMMIGRATION

Immigration from the Caribbean can take a number of forms, including refugees fleeing political turmoil in Cuba, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic; economic migrants from Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, and Puerto Rico; and others who migrate for family reunification purposes. Caribbean

immigration to the United States significantly increased after World War II due to the repeal of Jim Crow laws and the slow dismantling of the institutional architecture of racial discrimination. This immigration peaked in the post–civil rights era, as more people sought to emigrate because of employment opportunities, political upheaval at home, and for family reunification. Due to their nonwhite ethnicity (e.g., African, Hispanic, East Indian, Chinese, Jewish, Lebanese), when Caribbean immigrants were incorporated into the U.S. social system, they were typically ascribed minority status, in line with the color code in American society. The concept of "race at the gate," referring to U.S. immigration officials who decided whether or not to let people in depending on the racial group they belonged to, influenced the trajectory of these immigrants' journeys through the American social and political landscape.

First-generation immigrants from the Caribbean often experience a shift in racial ideology, because the continuum of "black-mulatto-white" they were accustomed to is condensed in the United States into a "black-white" spectrum. Thus, some Caribbean immigrants find their racial identity and status changed from somewhere between black and white into the subaltern African-American group, which often views them with suspicion and ambivalence. The Caribbean immigrant population in the United States is estimated by observers and activists to be approximately ten to fifteen million people, with strong concentrations on the East Coast—including the New York and Miami metropolitan areas—and with vibrant enclaves in Jersey City, Boston, Atlanta, Philadelphia, Chicago, Washington D.C., and Los Angeles.

Some of these Caribbean immigrants have distinguished themselves with their lasting contributions to American society through the arts, politics, education, sports, and other professions and institutions. In the process, many have become household names, including Harry Belafonte, Stokely Carmichael, Shirley Chisholm, Kenneth Clark, Celia Cruz, Rep. Lincoln Diaz-Balart (R), Rep. Mario Diaz-Balart (R), St. Clair Drake, Marcus Garvey, Alexander Hamilton, Rep. Luis V. Gutierrez (D), Leroi Jones, June Jordan, Elizabeth Lange, Jose Martí, Sen. Mel Martínez (R), Rep. Robert Menendez (D), Homer Plessy, Sydney Poitier, Colin Powell, Arthur Schomburg, Rep. Jose Serrano (D), Sammy Sosa, Cicely Tyson, Jean Baptiste Point Du Sable, Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R), Rep. Nydia M. Velázquez (D), and Malcolm X.

## IDEOLOGICAL AND ECONOMIC MOTIVATIONS FOR CARIBBEAN IMMIGRATION

Historically, social conditions that led to Caribbean emigration to the United States have differed from island to

island. The early waves of Haitian migration between 1791 and 1809 were a result of the Haitian Revolution. After World War II, a mass migration of Puerto Ricans occurred. They came to the East Coast cities not as foreigners, but as U.S. citizens, and therefore were simply engaged in internal migration as they relocated to the mainland to improve their economic conditions. As U.S. citizens, they did not experience the hurdles that other groups of Caribbean immigrants had to confront, and deportation was not an option they needed to fear. Cubans immigrated under special conditions, because they were offered legal status upon arriving in the United States. They came to escape a Communist regime, and the first wave of immigrants mostly comprised of former members of the Cuban political and commercial elite (often characterized as “whites, Jews, and Chinese”). The dictatorship of François “Papa Doc” Duvalier from 1957 to 1971, which transformed Haiti into a terrorist state, was the primary initial cause for the second wave of Haitian emigration to the United States. Later, the continuously poor performance of the Haitian economy led many people to seek asylum or refugee status in the United States. Migration from the Anglophone Islands has been caused not so much by political instability but by a desire to improve one’s economic condition. This movement gained strength after Jamaica achieved its independence in 1962.

While immigration has provided a safety valve for the surplus population and a source of revenues for Caribbean economies (because of the remittances from abroad), it has concurrently contributed to the political and social dysfunction of some of these states. This occurs because of the departure of educated citizens, which negatively impacts the functioning of the school system, public administration, and the democratic political system.

The mass migration of the middle class to the United States was accompanied in many cases by a migration of the rural population to urban areas, and particularly to the capital cities. This severely impacted the Caribbean agricultural sector, and some of the states have been forced to import basic food staples, such as rice and beans, that they were once able to produce for domestic consumption. It also created overcrowding and the transformation of capital cities into large slums, which has generated a rise in street violence that undermines the ability of the police to maintain law and order.

### RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

Caribbean immigrants have had different experiences of racial discrimination in the United States, depending on their racial background. Historically, white immigrants received better treatment by immigration authorities than their black counterparts. By approximately 1800, laws were passed in some states, such as Maryland, to prevent

black refugees from Saint Domingue (Haiti) from coming to the United States. From 1960 to 1990, white Cubans and black Haitians arriving at the port of Miami were treated differently: The former, in general, were welcome to stay, while the latter were incarcerated and deported. This clearly illustrates the racialization and double standards of U.S. immigration policies and practices.

Although discrimination in the United States was more brutal in the South than in the North, in both places West Indian immigrants reacted vigorously to protect their civil rights. For example, a group of Haitians in New Orleans were the complainants in the historic 1896 Supreme Court case *Plessy v. Ferguson*, which led to the creation of the “separate, but equal” doctrine. In the North, after the Jamaican leader Marcus Garvey established his Universal Negro Improvement Association in 1916, he and members of his organization were the targets of countless forms of harassment by the local New York authorities, and he was eventually thrown in jail and deported to his homeland.

While these were public cases that appeared in the press, they are representative of the discrimination of West Indians from every walk of life faced on a daily basis. The most blatant form was housing discrimination, which forced them to live in Harlem or other segregated areas in Brooklyn. Puerto Ricans had no other choice but to develop their *barrio*, or enclave, within the physical borders of a black ghetto. One such *barrio* in New York City became known as Spanish Harlem.

Racial discrimination involves a system of practices that must be deconstructed to understand the aspects of its deployment and crude impact. It manifests itself not simply in housing, employment and physical interactions, but also in laws and institutions. For example, *country discrimination* refers to the technological mechanisms used to infuse race into the process of admission to a country, and by which individuals from some countries are made less welcome than others. *Statistical discrimination* refers to the decisions and policies of the federal government that pertain to the racial balance of the U.S. population. What are the percentages of non-Europeans allowed to immigrate (often hidden in the per-country quota system for the Western and Eastern Hemispheres) in order to maintain the viability of the racial state?

*Certificatory discrimination* refers to the ability to get one’s professional qualification approved by the receiving state, so that a person can seek equivalent employment. Certification is not simply based on expertise and experience; it is a value judgment based on whether or not the receiving country recognizes the validity of the institution that grants a diploma or provides training. *Classificatory discrimination* refers to the situation whereby one is identified with a subaltern racial group irrespective of one’s previous racial status. In interacting with American



**Haitians Protest U.S. Immigration Policy.** On May 19, 2000, a group of Haitians gathered in Miami's "Little Haiti" district to protest the policy that allows Cubans who reach U.S. soil to stay but generally sends Haitians back to their homeland. © COLIN BRALEY/REUTERS/CORBIS.

institutions such as schools, hospitals, or government offices, Caribbean immigrants are identified simply as African Americans, rather than as Trinidadian, Dominican, or Guyanese American (in reference to the country of origin), as some may prefer.

#### RELATIONS WITH AFRICAN AMERICANS

Historically, relations between African Americans and Caribbean immigrants have often been strained. Prior to the civil rights movement, there were two main reasons for the ethnic tension between African Americans and Caribbean residents in New York. First, most Caribbean immigrants learned about African Americans through the white press (newspapers and books) and Hollywood (films depicting black characters). By and large, these images and descriptions were negative (e.g., black riots, black maids, segregated housing). As a result of this exposure, civil rights-era Caribbean immigrants developed an ambiguous, if not critical, conception of

African Americans. The second aspect of these encounters reflected differences between the two groups of newly arrived migrants—one of which was from the Deep South, the other from the Caribbean islands. The first was a lower-class group striving for better economic conditions and an improved quality of life; the second was an educated middle class intent on maintaining its standing. This encounter did not occur in the upper echelons of a firm or on a university campus. Rather, it happened in the lower echelons of the employment ladder or in a segregated housing complex, with its attendant problems of juvenile delinquency, crime, and vagrancy. Such early encounters were tension-filled because they involved people of different class backgrounds, aspirations, educational attainment, and professional skills. Up until the civil rights era, because of socialization and cultural differences, Caribbean immigrants tended to look down on African Americans.

The civil rights movement was a catalyst that changed the social context of the interaction between African

Americans and Caribbean islanders. Collaboration, cooperation, and, at times, competition became strong features of the relationships between the two groups. Relatively speaking, Caribbean immigrants have succeeded in their economic pursuits, with Jamaicans and Cubans generally being more successful than others, such as Puerto Ricans and Dominicans. Many Caribbean businessmen, because of discrimination barriers, have opened their own shops, and Caribbean economic enclaves have become thriving business centers that provide an infrastructure capable of sustaining Caribbean-American communities.

Between the two groups, “coalition” has become the name of the game within the political arena. Caribbean political candidates may depend on African American votes, and vice versa, to be elected to public office. For example, in Brooklyn it is unlikely that a Caribbean or African American could be elected to public office, particularly at the state or national level, without the support of the other group. The strategy developed by Caribbean immigrants is to seek the cooperation of African Americans for certain activities. For other activities, such as the Caribbean Carnival in Brooklyn, they seek the cooperation of all the Caribbean groups, whereas for still other activities they seek only people from their country of origin, especially if they are concerned about events occurring in their homeland.

**SEE ALSO** *Caribbean Racial Formations; Civil Rights Movement; Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA); Immigration to the United States.*

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*Michel S. Laguerre*

## **CARIBBEAN RACIAL FORMATIONS**

Although the concept of “racial formation” originated and developed principally from the experience of continental

America, it still has relevance to Caribbean conditions and contexts. Briefly defined, the concept refers to a particular political system in which racial considerations are given privileged positions in policy matters and human relationships. In this racially structured political system, a privileged racial section (regarded as superior) governs over subordinate but numerically significant racial sections (regarded as inferior). Within this system the state becomes a racial state that distributes resources unequally along racial lines, and always to the benefit of the dominant racial section. Some theorists, such as Michael Omi and Howard Winant (1994), regard this race-biased inequality in resource distribution as the principal project of the state within the particular racial formation.

The Caribbean resembles the United States in some crucial respects, but it also differs from it in other fundamental ways. The resemblances entail: (1) A similar history of slavery and European colonization, (2) the prevalence of racial or color criteria in influencing who gets economic and political power, (3) the slow evolution of political freedoms, including full democratic participation involving all groups within the system, and (4) periodic political struggles for racial and social equality on the part of significant minority groups. The differences tend to be equally significant. For example, while the Caribbean comprises several separate and diverse mini-states involving many language groups (English, French, Spanish, Dutch), the United States is a federation of large, culturally similar states. Also, while the Caribbean middle classes in the early twenty-first century can boast of attaining hegemonic status (the highest positions of political and cultural leadership) there is a comparative lack of such power on the part of the American middle classes.

#### **EVOLUTION OF PLANTATION SOCIETY**

From the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, slavery set the stage for the evolution of a political and social system in the Caribbean that was structured principally along race and class lines. However, the racial and class considerations coincided so closely with each other that something closely approximating a caste system developed in early Caribbean history. In this system an exclusive white owner-planter class dominated over darker-skinned races or classes—with the mixed (Mulatto) population just below the whites, and the majority black population (both freed and slaves) occupying the lowest rungs of the racial formation. This was the plantation system, which the Caribbean scholar George Beckford (1972) claimed was a peculiar institution that totally controlled all of economic, political, and social life within it and throughout the region.



**The Haitian Revolution, 1791-1804.** In August 1791, Haitian slaves rose up against their French masters. Plantations were burned and French slave owners and soldiers were executed. MANUSCRIPTS, ARCHIVES, AND RARE BOOKS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

Except for Haiti, whose black slave population won its independence from France through a revolutionary uprising (1791–1804), emancipation came earliest to the British Caribbean slaves (in 1834). The post-emancipation period introduced added complexities to the Caribbean racial and class social structures, which significantly altered cultural perspectives and social relationships. During this era, immigrant indentured labor was imported from as far away as Portuguese-controlled Madeira, China, and India, to replace black ex-slaves as manual labor on the plantations. The result was a historical shift from the typical white-black racial confrontation patterns to a persistent conflict situation between ethnicities: from black-Portuguese and black-Chinese confrontations in the late nineteenth and early

twentieth centuries to an almost pervasive black-East Indian ethnic conflict situation throughout a wide variety of Caribbean territories, including Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago, Surinam, and Jamaica, in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

It was also during this post-emancipation, indentured immigration period that the Caribbean middle classes rose to greater prominence. The original light-colored basis of their privileged classification shifted to include less rigid criteria, such as educational, occupational, and economic status. The bankruptcy of many white-owned plantations following the post-emancipation labor crises in the region led to a significant return migration of members of the dominant white classes back to Europe, paving the way for the upward mobility of a mixed group of largely colored and minimally black middle-class elements into the newly vacated seats of political power. By the latter part of the twentieth century, these middle classes (mostly the black and brown educated and professional elite) controlled the leadership positions of political parties and states throughout the region.

But the evolution of the middle-class elite into national leadership positions did not come about without constant, serious, and often deadly struggles, largely characterized by confrontations with the traditional white power structures. Struggles from below for greater democratic participation within a system that was closed to a majority black population, and towards political independence from European colonial control (objectives that were eventually realized only during the latter part of the twentieth century), were only some of the projects necessary to confront or modify the racial and class structures of domination in the Caribbean. But the realization of political power and independence by the national black and brown elite did not necessarily shatter the foundations of white domination throughout the region. Economic power was still in the hands of the expatriate white ownership classes even after political independence was won in the 1960s, and the Caribbean racial formations spawned by slavery and colonialism are still intact.

What makes the racial factor so pervasive and dominating despite persistent popular struggles (including violent revolution) directed against it throughout Caribbean history? The answer would seem to lie in the peculiar configurations of Caribbean social structure and political culture, and in the contradictions involved in the hegemonic power of middle-class political control.

#### CARIBBEAN SOCIAL STRUCTURE

During the slavery period, Caribbean social structure was basically a hierarchical one in which Amerindians, blacks, and browns were subordinated to white control. While the lighter-skinned (Mulatto) classes were generally spared the

more onerous plantation work, the system routinely dehumanized Amerindian and black labor through a regime of constant brutality to ensure absolute obedience. Levels of brutality meted out to disobedient or rebellious slaves were extreme, and often public, in order to set an example for the rest. Such ruling-class violence defined the very nature of plantation life, for it was thought to be necessary for the very survival of the system as a whole. Few Amerindians survived plantation enslavement, and those that did (principally in the mainland territories such as Guyana) were eventually restricted behind institutionalized and remote reservations.

The distribution of resources within Caribbean plantation society was definitely along racial and, later, ethnic lines. Black slaves were regarded as cheap labor necessary to replace an earlier white indentured labor, which had proved to be unreliable. Such cheap labor policies influenced the maintenance of low wages, which continued with the immigration of indentured servants after emancipation. Unlike the lighter-skinned indentured servants, the black ex-slaves were denied credits and loans to go into more lucrative self-employment and business ventures. Compared to blacks, lighter-skinned ethnicities were given more favors and facilities by the colonial office to succeed in wealth creation, while every opportunity was taken by the planter classes to force blacks back into plantation labor. To this end, planters destroyed fruit trees and provision grounds, diverted water supplies from black living areas, and prosecuted former slaves from venturing into plantation areas if they were not plantation workers. In addition, the colonial authorities instituted a tax on land. These measures were meant to keep blacks from living independently of the plantations (Williams 1971; Knight 1994).

This unequal type of resource distribution in early plantation society in the Caribbean has left a legacy of stark poverty, which is reflected in the living conditions of those at the bottom of the social pyramid. In the more multiethnic Caribbean territories, such as Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago, and Suriname, most of the East Indian and Amerindian populations share with most of the black population the same depressed and impoverished space on the social pyramid.

A second legacy of Caribbean plantation society is the way in which both race and ethnicity become more sharply defined by the conflicts between groups. These sometimes deadly conflicts are themselves spawned by the inequalities of plantation social structures, and by the long term impact of colonial “divide and rule” policies. This divisive colonial legacy could be observed, for example, in the almost life and death conflicts for political power since the 1960s between the two highly politicized ethnicities in Guyana (blacks represented by the People’s National Congress [PNC] Party, and East Indians by the People’s Progressive

Party [PPP]), a conflict situation that still persists in the early twenty-first century. Similar deadly ethnic or color-based political conflict and violence are routinely observed in Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaica and Suriname.

Yet the inequalities in Caribbean social structure breed continual resistance from below. The major examples of this resistance are the Haitian Revolution of 1791–1804; the establishment of what are called Maroon societies of defiant runaway slaves in the larger territories such as Jamaica and Suriname throughout the slavery period; post-emancipation rebellions for greater democracy, such as the Morant Bay Rebellion in Jamaica in 1865; the rise of the leftist movements in the 1940s and 1950s towards independence and in the 1960s and 1970s towards socialism; and the emergence of Rastafarian and Black Power struggles towards greater black consciousness and empowerment (Campbell 1987).

#### CARIBBEAN POLITICAL CULTURE

The racial subordination of blacks in the plantation hierarchy was usually justified by theories professing the universal superiority of whites. In 1854, for example, The Comte de Gobineau developed his “scientific” classification of races, with the whites at the top and blacks at the far bottom of the totem pole. One of Gobineau’s disciples, Thomas Carlyle, a renowned British historian and scholar suggested a similar hierarchy with what he termed “the wisest man” at the top and “the Demerara nigger at the bottom” (Williams 1971, p. 398).

Established religion also played a role in cultivating racial attitudes and belief in the inferiority of blacks. The influence and complicity of the Catholic Church in the outlawing of Africanist religions such as Vodou in Haiti, and Obeah in the British Caribbean, which were regarded as devil worship, is one example of the church’s role in associating blackness with evil. However, it is also fair to say that some of the Christian churches—particularly the non-established Presbyterians and Congregationalists—played an admirable role in helping to free the slaves, sometimes at the costs of the lives of some of their priests. At the same time, some Africanist religions, particularly Haitian Vodou and Jamaican Rastafarianism, have played a significant role historically in the liberation and creativity of the black masses throughout the region. The lyrics and songs of the famous Rastafarian reggae artist Bob Marley bear ample testimony to this liberating and creative spirit of Africanist ways of life in the region.

Like the established churches, public schools have often become ideological institutions by consistently reinforcing European centrality and domination in the Caribbean. This was experienced more sharply during the colonial period, when the curriculum of public schools



emphasized the study of the histories and languages of the various European states, to the exclusion of Caribbean history and native languages. The reading books for elementary schools were not only biased in this ideological direction, but they tended to de-emphasize the development of critical thinking and insights by concentrating on what the “Mighty Sparrow,” a Trinidad calypso singer, called “too much a’ stupid ness” in his famous calypso song “Dan is the Man in the Van.” Sparrow concluded the song with the ironic note that if during his time at school “his head was bright” (meaning if he had studied or internalized the books too well) he would have ended up becoming “a damn fool.”

Caribbean activist intellectuals have also offered major challenges to the racial structures inherited from colonialism. The most notable of these have been Marcus Garvey from Jamaica in the 1920s and 1930s, C.L.R. James from Trinidad in the 1940s and 1950s, Aimé Césaire and Frantz Fanon from Martinique during the 1960s, and Walter Rodney from Guyana during the 1970s. Their challenges to the system involved an anticolonialism coupled with a message of black consciousness and empowerment. Some, like James and Rodney, have gone as far as challenging the capitalist system itself, while others, like Fanon, have advocated extreme responses, such as collective violence against the system.

#### MIDDLE-CLASS HEGEMONY

The Caribbean middle classes, because of their diverse characteristics, play a rather complex and controversial role in the maintenance and survival of the existing structures and culture of Caribbean racial formations. For example, while the tendency of some sections of the middle classes (particularly the business section) is to champion the privileges derived from the race and class inequalities in the system, a smaller but significant section of that class (particularly the intellectuals) often challenges the discrepancies and seeks appropriate and often radical changes in that system. These conflicting conjunctures often assume ideological forms, dividing Left from Right in the contest for political power. Bitter contests over the issues of colonialism and nationalism during the 1950s, followed by cold war struggles for and against socialism of the 1970s, eventually led to the violent destabilization and defeat of the Left by powerful international forces (mainly the United States) during the 1980s. It was the dual and seemingly contradictory character of Caribbean middle-class politics that led C.L.R. James to discern what he regarded as their “inherent instability” (James 1962).

The hegemony, or political and cultural dominance, of these classes depends upon their maintaining the support of powerful economic and political forces in the international system. The Caribbean middle classes, through their com-

mercial linkages with international and global capitalism, benefit from the persistence of international economic inequalities along racial lines in the international system. From their inception during the slavery period, the Caribbean middle classes (originating from the Mulatto sections of the population) reinforced the white racial order by championing their own derived or assumed superiority over the black populations (free and slave), based on their own snobbish order of degrees of lightness of skin color. Eric Williams, who was prime minister of Trinidad and Tobago from 1962 to 1981, suggested that there were at least ten different hierarchical degrees of skin color gradations, ranging from “mixed bloods” and “octoroons” closest to white at the top, to the “griffe,” “sacatra,” and other darker-skinned Mulattoes closest to black at the bottom of the color pyramid (Williams 1971, pp. 187–188).

In the early 2000s, the middle classes benefit from the rather incomplete system of democracy that Caribbean states inherited from the European colonial powers. The qualifications for voting moved very gradually from ownership of slaves and high-priced property in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to income, literacy, and finally “age” (universal suffrage) during the twentieth century. This late development of democracy favors the upper classes in the Caribbean racial order. In addition, the better access of the middle classes to economic power and wealth, coupled with the high cost of qualifications to run for office, obviously give these classes an edge over the darker-skinned masses in the control of political power.

Meanwhile, there is a great deal of authoritarianism (or dictatorship) within Caribbean democracy, as reflected in the usually skewed system of representation between rulers and ruled. Such dictatorial control by the lighter skinned over the darker races is most starkly exemplified in the cases of the French- and Spanish-speaking territories with significantly large black populations, such as Haiti and the Dominican Republic, respectively. The case of Haiti is most noteworthy for the frequent derailment of democratic participation of the overwhelming black masses by a few rich middle-class families and businessmen (working mostly behind the scenes). A stark example of this is the overthrow of the democratically elected president, Jean Bertrand Aristide, and his overwhelmingly black Lavallas party, both in 1991 and in 2004.

That race significantly contributes to the structuring of Caribbean society, economy, and political culture does not necessarily mean that the racial factor is always obvious. In fact, the racial formations in the Caribbean would seem to represent what Michael Omi and Howard Winant (1994) regard as essentially unconscious rules of classification within a sociohistorical process. Thus, race is often realized in both theory and practice in the Caribbean sociohistorical experience. What essentially defines the Caribbean racial

## Central Americans

formation is the continual experience by the Caribbean people of a social process in which race—directly or indirectly, and consciously or unconsciously—plays a significant, although not exclusive, role in people's activities and relationships.

The racial/class hierarchical structure inherited from colonialism in the Caribbean, with white and light-colored representations at the top and the masses of the darker-skinned races and ethnicities at the bottom, keeps reinforcing itself by the following means: (1) Continuing white control of pivotal economic resources at the international level, coupled with skewed or unequal distribution of those resources along hierarchical racial lines at the domestic levels; (2) the cultivation of middle-class historical dominance of the political system, coupled with their comprador (or service) status with regard to international capitalism, and a traditional color-based snobbery with regard to the darker-skinned races and ethnic groups; and (3) a flawed or incomplete democratic system in the region, which marginalizes or excludes the lower classes by putting a relatively high economic price on electoral competition and access to political power.

**SEE ALSO** *Children, Racial Disparities and Status of; Cuban Racial Formations; Haitian Racial Formations; HIV and AIDS; Racial Formations; Social Welfare States.*

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Perry Mars

## CENTRAL AMERICANS

Central America is a diverse and complex region, and Central Americans living in the United States reflect this heterogeneity. Unlike Mexican immigrants, who have dominated U.S.-bound Latin American migration, Central Americans are socioculturally and economically diverse, and they have been received by the U.S. government in different ways. As Nestor Rodriguez and Jacqueline Hagan (1999) observe, the Latin American population in the United States includes both well-educated and unskilled immigrants, political refugees, wealthy landowners, and peasants. Central Americans also have diverse linguistic traditions. For example, Guatemalans who are of Mayan descent may speak one or more Mayan languages (and not Spanish). Hondurans who come from the Caribbean coast of their country (and some Belizeans) may speak Garifuna. Garifuna and Nicaraguans who come from the Atlantic coast of Nicaragua may speak English or Mesquito at home instead of Spanish.

### CENTRAL AMERICAN MIGRATION PATTERNS

There has been a noticeable presence of Central Americans in the United States since the early twentieth century. In the early 1900s, Salvadoran and Nicaraguan coffee growers traveled to and from the United States for business and pleasure. The commercial ships that transported bananas from Honduras to the United States brought news of new opportunities, and Hondurans traveled north in the search of them. But the growth of the largest Central American groups in the United States (Guatemalans, Hondurans, Salvadorans, Nicaraguans) began in the late 1970s, when a political and economic crisis destabilized several countries in the region and forced many of their citizens to abandon their homes. Many (mostly Guatemalans, Nicaraguans and Salvadorans) relocated to adjacent Central American countries, while others (mostly Guatemalan Maya) settled in refugee camps in southern Mexico. Many of these refugees have since returned to their homeland, but others have made their way further north to the United States and Canada, where they have established vibrant communities. Central Americans, as a whole, now constitute one of the fastest-growing Latino groups in the United States. For instance, the number of Salvadorans (the largest group of Central Americans) in the United States stood at 34,000 in 1970. This number

increased to 94,447 in 1980; to 565,081 in 1990; and to 823,832 in 2000, according to the U.S. Census Bureau. Thus, whereas in 1980 El Salvador was not among the top 25 immigrant sending countries to the United States, by 1990 it was in eleventh place and by 2000 it had moved to eighth place.

#### MEDIA IMAGES OF CENTRAL AMERICANS

Despite a long immigration history and the strong influence of the United States in the Central American countries, Central Americans were relatively unknown to the U.S. public before the 1980s. Up until then, they had remained relatively invisible, often “passing” for white or being mistaken for Mexicans. This changed around 1980, when the media began portraying Central Americans in a negative fashion—sometimes as renegade army men murdering Catholic nuns, and sometimes as guerrillas confiscating homes and businesses. The notion of Central Americans as thugs (perhaps even as terrorists) began to be implanted in the minds of the U.S. public. These negative stereotypical portrayals have been sustained both on the big screen and in the media. For instance, in *A Beautiful Mind*, the film biography of the mathematician John Nash, the Salvadoran nationality of Nash’s highly intelligent wife is not mentioned. Housekeepers and nannies, however, are often portrayed as Salvadorans or Guatemalans in films. Furthermore, when media portrayals of Salvadoran and other Central American gang members appear in the media, their nationalities are almost always noted in these media accounts. Thus, racialized negative images of Central Americans did not stop with the images of war in the 1980s. On the contrary, they have continued to define this group.

#### MILITARY CONFLICT AND IMMIGRATION

Two major, interrelated events occurred in 1979 that helped focus attention on Central American immigrants. The first was the beginning of a long and tumultuous civil conflict in El Salvador and Nicaragua, in which the United States was deeply involved. The second was the resultant flow of U.S.-bound refugees from both countries. A similar conflict had been raging in Guatemala since 1970, and this struggle also began to attract attention. Images of suffering Mayan women, men, and children began to appear in the U.S. media.

Although the migratory flows that the political upheaval in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua generated might fit the classic profile of refugees, the U.S. administrations of Ronald Reagan, George Bush, and Bill Clinton refused to grant blanket refugee status to Salvadorans and Guatemalans. The reception given to Nicaraguans

varied depending on the political climate in Central America (particularly the dynamics of the Contra war) and the level of support they received from the Cuban community in Miami, where many settled. The major problem with Central Americans was that the U.S. government could not legally recognize refugees generated by a conflict the U.S. government itself was financially and militarily supporting.

As a result, many of these refugees were considered undocumented or illegal immigrants, even though their situation mirrored the profile of people from other countries who were formally designated as refugees. This meant that Salvadorans, Guatemalans, and Nicaraguans (to a certain extent) were ineligible for government assistance for their resettlement. They were denied the “structure of refuge,” as Rubén Rumbaut calls the government resettlement aid available to officially recognized refugees. They were left on their own to cope with the economic, social, and cultural consequences of their flight. Many Central Americans crossed several international borders to reach their families and friends already in the United States. These ties had been forged throughout the course of U.S. political, military, economic, and cultural involvement in Central America. Thus, when the conditions in that region deteriorated to the point where many sought refuge elsewhere, the United States emerged as the preferred choice of destination (Menjívar 2000).

#### THE CONTEXT OF EXIT AND RECEPTION

The circumstances of their departure and the context of arrival are of particular importance for Central Americans because these experiences have shaped their lives in the United States. Many have brought with them traumatic memories of political upheaval in their countries during the past three decades. The thirty-six-year Guatemalan civil conflict that ended in December 1996, the twelve-year Salvadoran civil war that ended in December 1991, and the decade-long “Contra” war in Nicaragua that ended in 1990 all left profound levels of devastation, especially in the countryside. The Guatemalan army’s scorched-earth campaigns and brutal repression left 440 Mayan villages destroyed (by the army’s own account), decimating an entire generation of community leaders and youth (Alvarez and Loucky 1992). Moreover, between half a million and one million Guatemalans were displaced (Manz 1988). Massacres in El Salvador and similar state terror tactics against popular social movements calling for social, political, and economic justice left approximately 75,000 dead or disappeared. In 1979, after a mass insurrection, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) toppled the Nicaraguan government of Anastasio Somoza Debayle. The FSLN proclaimed the creation of a “mixed economy” to correct the social and economic injustices of the past, as



**The Guatemalan Civil War, 1960–1996.** A man and his relatives carry the coffin of Maria Chel, killed by the Guatemalan Army in 1983, during her burial in Tzalbal, Guatemala, on October 6, 2004. The decades of civil war had a devastating effect on the people of Guatemala. AP IMAGES.

well as an independent and “nonaligned” foreign policy to terminate the country’s historical dependence on the United States. In response, the Reagan administration launched a multifaceted assault against the Sandinista government that included a trade embargo and funds for the training, equipping, and directing of a counterrevolutionary army (the “Contras”). The Sandinista government countered this attack, using up to 50 percent of the national budget, which brought to a halt the social programs instigated by the revolution. This combination of factors unleashed a profound economic crisis from which the Sandinistas never recovered; their government only lasted a decade. Although there were no overt political upheavals in Honduras, this nation was involved in the regional conflicts by proxy, as it served as a base for the Nicaraguan Contras and other military operations in the region. A U.S. base was opened there during the 1980s.

Many Central American refugees fled to neighboring areas (mainly southern Mexico), but a significant number made their way to the United States. Some had lost family members to the violence, others had received death threats, and others were economic refugees dislocated by the crisis. By and large, the United States did not consider Central Americans as deserving of protection, even though the U.S. State Department had noted on several occasions the disastrous human rights record of the Guatemalan and Salvadoran governments and the severity of the political conflict in the region. As with other refugee populations in the United States, the Cen-

tral Americans’ legal status has been shaped by the intersection of immigration and refugee policy with foreign policy. Thus, these were *de facto* refugees who lacked *de jure* recognition. Once on U.S. soil, Central Americans could apply for political asylum, but throughout the 1980s less than 3 percent of Salvadoran and Guatemalan applicants were granted such status.

In the case of the Nicaraguans, who were fleeing a country whose government the United States was intent on overthrowing, the U.S. government could have granted them refugee status as a symbolic gesture, as it had done with various groups fleeing Communist regimes. However, the U.S. government needed Nicaraguans disenchanted with the revolution to be as close to Nicaragua as possible, not in the United States (Portes and Stepick 1993). Granting these Nicaraguans refugee status, and thus giving them a place to settle and the aid to do so, would have dissuaded them from pressuring for a regime change in their native land. Thus, throughout the conflict years, Nicaraguans’ success rate in asylum applications oscillated, but it was never high. Hondurans were only given Temporary Protected Status (TPS), a designation created in 1990 to deal with victims of political conflicts and natural disasters (this status was also given to Salvadorans, but not to Guatemalans) after Hurricane Mitch in 1998.

Thus, U.S. immigration law has been applied unevenly to Central Americans, which reflects upon the discrepancies in U.S. foreign policy toward their countries of origin. The case of Central Americans makes evident that defining a particular group of immigrants as refugees is not based solely upon unsafe conditions in the country of origin or human rights considerations, but rather on the extent to which the United States recognizes them as deserving asylum and assistance (Zolberg, Suhrke, and Aguayo 1989). The case of Central Americans highlights the enduring power of the state in creating immigration laws that shape the everyday lives of immigrants.

#### RACIAL, ETHNIC, AND PAN-ETHNIC IDENTITIES

Despite the increased presence of Central Americans in the United States, they have remained relatively invisible. As the Guatemalan writer and scholar Arturo Arias observes, Central Americans are hidden “within the imaginary confines of what constitutes the multicultural landscape of the United States” (Arias 2003, p. 170). Only in prominent destination areas of Central American immigration—notably Los Angeles, San Francisco, Washington, D.C., and Miami—are they recognized as distinct from the major Latino groups. Within the racial landscape of the United States, they are often a minority within a minority, a situation that Arias (2003) links to a colonial history in which Central America was considered inferior to Mexico.

This invisibility also has homogenized Central Americans, and they have been simply labeled as “other Latinos,” “other Hispanics” or, at best, “Central Americans.” This has occurred in spite of the wide variety of languages, ethnicities, histories, and cultures present in this group, and despite the fact that not all Central Americans identify themselves in the same racial terms. For instance, 36 percent of Salvadorans living in the United States identified themselves as white in the 2000 U.S. Census, compared to 38 percent of Guatemalans, 43 percent of Hondurans, and 54 percent of Nicaraguans. Whereas 5 percent of Hondurans and 2 percent of Nicaraguans identified themselves as black, less than 1 percent of Salvadorans and 1 percent of Guatemalans chose this category. Even though an estimated half of Guatemalans are of Mayan descent, only 1.5 percent identified themselves as American Indian. However, this self-identification might be due to a bureaucratic misunderstanding rather than an absence of American Indians among Central Americans. In addition, more than half of Salvadorans and Guatemalans, 42 percent of Hondurans, and 36 percent of Nicaraguans identified themselves as “other race,” and between 7 and 8 percent of the people in each group marked some combination of two or more races. Central Americans are, therefore, increasing in their visibility and contributing to the complexity of Latinos within the U.S. ethnic and racial landscape.

The racial self-identification of a person from any one group is not simply an individual decision; it also reflects the social construction of race and ethnicity within the specific country. In addition, racial-ethnic identity differs by generation and subgroup (e.g., a minority within a minority). In the case of Central Americans this identification or classification is very much linked to how the U.S. government has received them, for this reception has shaped many aspects of life among the various groups. Such identifications affect intragroup relations as well, particularly between groups that have little linguistic and cultural common ground, and they shape whether and how Central Americans carve out spaces within the larger Latino mosaic.

Even those Central Americans who share a racial identification with U.S. minority groups, or even with other immigrant groups, do not automatically follow the racial politics or paths of those groups. For instance, Jason DeFay (2005) found that Central American Garifuna immigrants (who likely identified themselves as black in the U.S. Census) have an acculturation pattern that is distinctly different from that of blacks identified as Jamaican, Haitian, or Belizean. He argues that the formation of intergenerational voluntary organizations and the politics of racial and national identity in the United States have permitted Garifuna immigrants to carve out a niche distinct from the larger minority groups. Thus, one

should not expect that simply identifying with other Latino (or non-Latino) groups will place Central Americans on similar paths. Furthermore, as Arias observes, Central Americans constitute a population that “has not yet earned the hyphen to mark its recognition, its level of assimilation and integration, within the multi-cultural landscape of the United States” (Arias 2003, p. 171).

It is important, however, to note that intragroup relations among the different Central American groups, as well as between them and the larger Latino groups, have included many instances of collaboration, particularly in campaigns to work on issues of social justice. Interestingly, the categorization of the newer Central American groups within larger pan-ethnic categories (e.g., Mexicans, Latino, Hispanic) has had important consequences for political mobilization and empowerment. A recognition by Central Americans and larger Latino groups of a common ground and ancestry (e.g., indigenous descent or black heritage) and the use of a broader racial-ethnic label have contributed to the development of political agendas focused on common interests and conditions. This recognition has been spurred, in part, by the history of political mobilization among Latino domestic minorities, particularly Chicanos in the western United States and Puerto Ricans on the East Coast, as well as a recognition of their own history among Central Americans themselves. Time will tell if these intragroup dynamics translate into more political power for Latinos.

**SEE ALSO** *Immigration to the United States; Latin American Racial Transformations; Latinos; Mayan Genocide in Guatemala; Puerto Ricans.*

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Cecilia Menjivar

## CHAIN GANGS

Nearly half a century after the Civil War, the southern states' prison systems, with a largely black population, comprised two models of outdoor convict labor: The prison farm and the road chain gang. The chain gang started in Georgia in 1908 and was envisioned as a progressive penal reform movement, the direct consequence of the ending of the convict lease system, as well as public demand for improved transportation. Chain gangs flourished throughout the South and by the 1920s and 1930s chained prisoners, mostly black, became a common sight along southern roadways. Georgia grasped the economic and social benefits of the chain gang, which soon developed into the “good roads movement.” “Bad boys,” a Georgia folk saying went, “make good roads.” Hired labor and even conscription had proved unreliable in the past, as free men were not disposed to work the roads if they could help it. Advocates for the good roads movement considered it advantageous to the state if convicts were made to serve their time building roads without creating unfair competition with labor. On a “humanitarian” level, proponents claimed that it would take the convict out of his cramped cell and provide him with work in the fresh air and sunshine. The federal government under, the auspices of the United States Department of Agriculture's Office of Public Roads, joined in and spearheaded the movement as a way to modernize the South's economy.

Magazine editorials applauded Georgia for having abolished the convict lease program, and for building more good roads than any other Southern state, encouraging other states to follow its lead. The race factor, for the most part, enhanced the enthusiasm for the chain gang as there was overwhelming white support for the good roads movement. The tragic plight of the black lawbreaker, however, was not diminished by the shift from the lease system to county chain gangs. To a southern black prisoner there was little difference between his situation as a slave on the plantation, as a leased convict forced to toil in the coal mine, or as a chained prison worker on the roads. The chained southern black man on the southern county road had been transformed from the plantation owner's chattel into a “slave of the state.”

Georgia's reform efforts merely shifted the atrocities from the private to the public sector. For southern whites the chain gang had much of the attraction of the legacy of slavery. The state now became the actual master responsible for the welfare of a growing pool of forced black labor. Black prisoners labored and even slept together, with chains fastened through their feet and around their ankles. Their rations were infested with maggots. With an armed white overseer, the black convict slaved from sunup to sundown. Brutalities, corporal punishments (beatings with a leather strap, thumpings with rifle butts and clubs) and outright torture, were commonplace. Major atrocities, such as the staking treatment (chaining an inmate between stakes and pouring molasses over his body while flies, bees and other insects crawled all over him); the sweat box treatment (locking a prisoner for days into a wooden box that was neither high enough to stand nor deep enough to sit, while temperatures exceeded one hundred degrees); and the Georgia rack (stretching the inmate between two hooks with a cable and a turn crank) were all meted out for the most trivial disobedience.

Chain gangs had a brief existence, as economic forces played a central role in their demise. During the Great Depression, as jobs became scarce, criticism was heard that convict chain gangs took work that rightfully belonged to free labor. The government stopped providing federal funds to finance roads built using convict labor. Enthusiasm for chain gangs also decreased as the number of white convicts on the roads increased. By the 1940s, chain gangs had almost vanished. The last few chained prisoners were pulled off the roads when Georgia finally eliminated the practice in the early 1960s.

The media contributed significantly to the practice's demise. Films ranging from Meryn LeRoy's graphic expose, *I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang* (1932) to Stuart Rosenberg's *Cool Hand Luke* (1967) showed the atrocities of the system. As shameful as the abuses chronicled in the movies were, they could not capture the raw vivid details of



***The Return of the Rock Pile.*** On August 21, 1995, the Limestone Correctional Facility in Gadsden, Alabama, reinstated the practice of putting convicts to work on a chain gang. This form of punishment had been abandoned half a century earlier, but it was brought back as a way to “get tough on criminals.” AP IMAGES.

everyday life suffered by black convicts on the chain gang. Prisoners were restrained at all times with heavy chains that were riveted around their ankles and were only removed (by a chisel) when the convict was released. At night another long chain was run between his legs, so that every man was connected to every other man, and no one was able to go to the toilet (a hole in the floor) without waking everybody on the chain gang. In the movies, the protagonists were mostly white, while in reality, the racial composition of the chain gangs were disproportionately African American. It took white actors, however, to generate a national scandal and shame a mostly Caucasian audience.

Half a century after their disappearance, convicts working in shackles once again became a sight on southern roads. The practice was reinitiated in 1995, when four hundred convicts, predominately black, were marshaled into a chain gang, at the Limestone Correctional Facility in Alabama. The reemergence of the chain gang began when Ron Jones, a prison warden, recommended it to gubernatorial candidate Forrest “Fob” James as a “get tough on crime” measure. Once elected, Governor James, with overwhelming white support, established chain gangs, alleging that it was

an effective crime deterrent that made Alabama a safer place for the law-abiding citizen. The governor added that he reintroduced chain gangs because some convicts found prison life much too easy, and that they ought to be out working hard rather than cuddled by lifting weights and watching cable TV. Arizona, Florida, Massachusetts, Iowa and Wisconsin shortly joined Alabama. In Arizona, women inmates also began to work on a chain gang, burying dead indigent bodies. Juvenile chain gangs shortly became yet another manifestation of the practice.

Commentators have urged that the chain gang’s historical connection to slavery is indisputable, and that the practice offends human dignity and should be condemned as a form of cruel and unusual punishment under the mandate of the Eighth Amendment. Other critics have pointed to the Thirteenth Amendment, although its constitutional prohibition on involuntary servitude specifically provides an exception for those convicted of crime. Although the Supreme Court has prohibited many forms of prison abuse, it has not specifically addressed the constitutionality of chain gangs. The Court has, however, condemned Alabama’s “hitching post practice” (chaining convicts to a hitching post for over a seven-hour period where they were exposed to the heat of the sun, deprived of bathroom breaks, and subjected to prolonged thirst and taunting) as gratuitous infliction of wanton and unnecessary pain in violation of the Eighth Amendment. Additionally, in response to a civil action by the Southern Poverty Law Center, the state of Alabama reluctantly, without admitting that chain gangs violated the Eighth Amendment’s “cruel and unusual punishment” clause, agreed to end the practice of shackling convict work crews together.

The spectacle of black prisoners in chains is powerfully linked to the images of slavery serving as a forceful reminder of their heritage of racial oppression in America. It brings to mind southern slave auctions where black families, linked by leg irons and iron collars, were sold and transported to the plantations. After the Civil War when slavery was abolished, southern states passed Jim Crow laws to hinder migration and control freed blacks. Blacks found guilty of these laws were forced to work as convict contract workers, and on the prison farms and southern roads in chains. The iron chains were the emblem of degradation and humiliation. The states that have revived and continue to use chain gangs (a practice embedded into the cultural history of oppression of an entire race) undermine the moral legitimacy of their criminal justice system.

**SEE ALSO** *Black Codes; Criminal Justice System; Criminality, Race and Social Factors; United States Constitution.*

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*Mel Gutterman*

## CHAMBERLAIN, HOUSTON STEWART 1855–1927

Houston Stewart Chamberlain, who was born into a family of English military officers on September 9, 1855, became a widely recognized advocate of race inequality and Aryan superiority in his adopted country of Germany. In his writings he built his enthusiasm for German cultural and intellectual achievements into an eclectic theory of the superiority of the "Teutonic" race, a category that he used synonymously with "Aryan" and "Germanic." After initial university studies in the biological sciences, he developed a career as an independent author of widely disseminated essays and biographical treatises on German cultural, philosophical, historical, political, and religious themes. In the

latter half of his life, Chamberlain developed a close association with family members and admirers of the anti-Semitic opera composer Richard Wagner (1813–1883). Chamberlain's writings were widely admired in conservative German political circles, and he became an early supporter of Adolf Hitler and the Nazis. Indeed, he is often considered an important intellectual and ideological precursor of the Nazi movement.

Chamberlain's education had two elements that developed into the primary themes of his writings. Because he suffered from poor health and abhorred the regimentation of English schools, his early education took place largely under private tutors. Long tours of continental Europe provided the first of his major themes: a deep admiration for the artistic and musical achievements associated with Italy and Germany. The other major theme of his writing developed out of his university training at the University of Geneva (1879–1884), where he studied the biological sciences (botany, zoology, and physiology). His professors included Carl Vogt, an outspoken proponent both of Darwinism and of the intellectual inferiority of women and non-European races. Chamberlain never completed the requirements for his doctorate in botany. Nonetheless, he pursued his biological research further, and in 1897 he published a treatise on sap flow in plants that he had written under the supervision of the botanist Julius Wiesner in Vienna, where he resided from 1889 to 1908.

These two themes of cultural glory and scientific investigation combined to form the structure of his arguments about race. He knew the work of other theorists of Aryan superiority, such as Arthur de Gobineau (1816–1882) and Ernest Renan (1823–1892), but he developed his own views independently. He never began his arguments with a simple assertion of the superiority of the Germanic race. Instead, he claimed to reach that conclusion based on what appeared to be the evidence provided by broad-ranging references to earlier texts, documents, and cultural objects. He supported his racial theories with a loose definition of the privileged Germanic, Teutonic, or Aryan groups. Italians, for example, could sometimes count as Teutonic because of the influence of Germanic tribes and aristocrats in Italy over many centuries.

The most significant personal and intellectual encounter of Chamberlain's life and career was with the operas and writings of Wagner, who was himself an anti-Semite. His single personal meeting with the composer, at the Bayreuth Festival in 1882, led to a correspondence with Wagner's widow, Cosima. In 1892 he published a short study of Wagner's operas. On the basis of that work, and on Cosima's recommendation, the Munich publisher Friedrich Bruckmann commissioned him to write a full-scale biographical study of Wagner, which was published in 1896. He took Wagner's daughter Eva as his second wife in 1908, the same year that he took up residence in the Wagner household.



Bruckmann was pleased with the success of the biography of Wagner, and he contracted Chamberlain to write a comprehensive study of the culture of the nineteenth century intended for a broad audience. The resulting book, *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, was published to wide notice in 1899. More than 100,000 copies were sold by 1915. A massive brief for “racial purity,” this book undergirded the messages of such works as Charles Carroll’s *The Negro a Beast* (1900), and Thomas Dixon’s *The Leopard’s Spots* (1902) and *The Clansman* (1905). Chamberlain argued that the creative forces of the Aryan-Teutonic race allowed German culture to triumph over the European “racial chaos” that followed the fall of the Roman Empire. He thus saw Germans as the true defenders of Christianity and a counterweight to the invidious, “alien” influence of the Jews. He believed that Germans always displayed an intuitive, ‘regenerative’ creativity that justified their cultural and racial superiority. He defended this claim in further biographical studies of major German figures, including the philosopher Immanuel Kant (1905) and the writer Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1912).

Throughout his wide-ranging writings, Chamberlain pursued a concept for which he drew support both from the arts and from the biological sciences: the *Gestalt*. In Chamberlain’s mind, both living organisms in their environments and broadly conceived systems of creative ideas (e.g., Wagner’s operas, Goethe’s literature, Kant’s philosophy, or German Protestant Christianity) all carried the wholeness of *Gestalt*, or an integrated formal order within a dynamic system. For Chamberlain, no boundary existed between the methods and insights of the natural sciences and those of the arts and humanities. These opinions also made him ambivalent about Darwinism, which he considered destructive of the necessary religious order.

During his later career, Chamberlain polemically supported Germany in its political and military conflicts. During World War I, for example, he wrote vigorous pro-German propaganda. In the final years of his life, which he spent in poor health at the Wagner household in Bayreuth, his work inspired the admiration of several important Nazi figures, including the party propagandist Alfred Rosenberg and Adolf Hitler himself. He died on January 9, 1927, and Hitler attended his funeral.

SEE ALSO *Wagnerian Music*.

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Kevin S. Amidon

## CHÁVEZ, CÉSAR ESTRADA 1927–1993

César Estrada Chávez was born on March 31, 1927 in Yuma, Arizona. He was a civil rights activist, community organizer, and founder of the United Farm Workers of America (UFWA), the first union to successfully organize agricultural workers in the United States. A self-educated follower of Gandhi’s nonviolent protest strategy and Catholic theories of penance, he began his organizing career in 1952 with the Community Service Organization (CSO), a leading civil rights organization advocating on behalf of urban Mexican Americans in California. He became the executive director of the CSO in 1958.

In 1962 Chávez founded the National Farm Workers Association, the predecessor of the UFWA. In August 1966, he became director of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC), a merger of the NFWA and the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC/AFL-CIO), which he led until his death. His major contribution was applying a nonviolent protest strategy to the challenge of organizing farm workers, a group that suffered intense discrimination, little community cohesion, and high levels of poverty, even as they labored in the most profitable sector of American agribusiness. In 1994, Chávez was posthumously recognized with the Medal of Freedom, the U.S.’s highest civilian honor, for his work on behalf of Mexican-American civil rights and the rights of farm workers to organize, and in 2003 a U.S. commemorative postal stamp was issued in his honor.

Chávez was born on a small family farm outside of Yuma, Arizona, to Juana and Librado Chávez. In 1937 his family lost their farm and migrated to central California to work in the fields. Over the next decade, Chávez attended more than thirty schools, eventually dropping out in the eighth grade when his father was no longer able to work. In 1952 he joined the CSO as an organizer in San Jose, California, working with Fred Ross, who had been trained by the famed radical and activist Saul Alinsky (1909–1972). Chávez worked on Mexican-American civil rights issues, including racial discrimination in the

## *Cheap Labor*

schools and public facilities (including “whites only” restrictions in theaters and restaurants). He also conducted language and citizenship classes and voter registration drives. A key tactic was the “house meeting,” in which volunteers used their personal networks to recruit others. Frustrated that the CSO was unwilling to organize farm workers, Chávez resigned in March 1962 and moved to Delano, California, to found the NFWA.

The NFWA focused on cooperative shopping, burial insurance, and a credit union. By 1965 there were several thousand members in the Delano area. In the summer of 1965, Chávez recruited student volunteers who had been involved in the southern civil rights movement and several clergy to organize rent strikes and school discrimination protests. Like Chávez, they were paid five dollars per week plus room and board. In September 1965, Filipino members of the AWOC called a strike in the Delano table-grape harvest. The NFWA joined the strike, with strong support among the workers, but the growers refused to negotiate, hiring immigrant workers as replacements. Chávez called for a boycott against Schenley Industries, a liquor conglomerate with a small grape ranch, and he organized a 340-mile march on the state capital to publicize the boycott. Media coverage of the boycott led Schenley to sign the first agricultural union contract. The next target was DiGiorgio Corporation, an agribusiness giant with vulnerable grocery trade labels, which agreed to a union recognition election that the union won. The NFWA and AWOC then merged to form the UFWOC (AFL-CIO).

The UFWOC next organized a table-grape strike, which received broad support, but was broken by immigrant workers, many of whom were undocumented. In fact, in the grape harvest, well over half of the labor force was undocumented. Mounting a three-year grape boycott energized by Chávez’ twenty-five-day fast, farm workers picketed grocery stores across the country. This cut national grape sales by more than a third and closed off foreign exports, leading to an industry-wide contract in August 1970. Strikes and a boycott against iceberg lettuce, however, failed to produce contracts. Lettuce was harder to target. Growers confused the issue by signing “sweet-heart” contracts with the Teamsters, and they intimidated workers with violence. Chávez decided to support state collective-bargaining legislation to allow workers to be able to vote for their union of choice, leading to the Agricultural Labor Relations Act (ALRA) of 1975, which created secret ballot elections and negotiations in the state of California. The UFWA won most of the elections, and by 1980 it had more than 45,000 members. In 1983 Governor George Deukemejian closed down the ALRA Board, and subsequent legislation weakened its authority,

undermining many of the UFWA contracts. In 1986 Chávez kicked off a third grape boycott, focusing this time on the issue of pesticide use, which was a major health hazard to workers as well as to consumers of grapes. After Chávez’s death in 1993, the UFWA signed new contracts under more favorable political conditions.

Chávez’ tactical brilliance and commitment to *La Causa* (the cause) were extraordinary. Recognizing the organizational and political difficulties in agricultural strikes, he focused on boycotts and protests, including hunger strikes that enlisted broader community support. Countering frustrations that might lead to strike violence and recurrent violent attacks against strikers, he conducted three major fasts all framed in terms of religious penance and claims for worker dignity. In addition to appealing to the moral identity between workers and growers, his fasts called for personal sacrifice and discipline, which energized workers and garnered broader community support. Chávez died on April 23, 1993, in San Luis, Arizona.

**SEE ALSO** *Day Laborers, Latino; Farmworkers; Immigrant Domestic Workers; Undocumented Workers; United Farm Workers Union.*

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*J. Craig Jenkins*

## **CHEAP LABOR**

**SEE** *Labor, Cheap.*

## **CHICANA FEMINISM**

Chicana feminism emerged in the 1960s out of the gender inequalities Chicanas experienced during their active participation in the Chicano civil rights

movement. Although women supported the struggle for racial and class equality, Chicana feminists challenged the existing patterns of male-domination within the Chicano movement, as well as its ideology of cultural nationalism. An ideology of cultural nationalism among racial and ethnic groups, such as Chicano activists during this historical period, extolled an exaggerated sense of cultural pride as a source of political mobilization and exclusionary collective identity. They demanded, therefore, that Chicanos integrate a gender analysis into their political ideology. Such demands resulted in serious internal political turmoil within the movement and spurred the rise of a generation of Chicana activists, whose writings, organizations, and protest activities remain a testament to feminist struggles.

### CHICANA FEMINIST WRITINGS

Beginning in the early 1960s and through the 1980s, the writings by Adelaida Del Castillo, Marta Cotera, Francisca Flores, Dorinda Moreno, Anna Nieto Gomez, Bernice Rincon, Enriqueta Longeaux y Vasquez, and others reveal the tensions and contradictions that they were experiencing as women of color participating in both a nationalist movement and the larger American society. Chicana feminists struggled to gain social equality and put an end to sexist and racist oppression. Like black and Asian-American feminists, Chicana feminists struggled to gain equal status in a male-dominated movement. Their writings addressed a variety of specific concerns, including educational inequalities, occupational segregation, poverty, lack of adequate child care, welfare rights, prison reform, health care, and reforms in the legal system. They also supported the right of women to control their own bodies and mobilized around the struggle for reproductive rights. Chicanas believed that feminism involved more than an analysis of gender because, as women of color, they were affected by both race and class in their everyday lives. Chicana feminism, as a social movement to improve the position of Chicanas in American society, represented a struggle that was both nationalist and feminist.

Chicana feminists engaged in a wide range of activities that stand as landmarks in the development of their movement. Throughout the Southwest, Chicanas developed their own feminist publication outlets. Founded in the early 1970s by Francisca Flores, the journal *Regeneracion* (Regeneration) became one of the most influential Chicana publications during the late 1960s and through the 1970s. It contained essays, editorials, poetry, short stories, and feature stories written about and by Chicanas. In 1971, students at California State University at Long Beach started a newspaper. With Anna Nieto

Gomez and Adelaida Del Castillo serving as the founding editors, *Hijas de Cuauhtemoc* (Daughters of Cuauhtemoc), provided additional forums for Chicanas to discuss their experiences with male domination, racism, and classism. Although the newspaper only ran a few issues, its coverage of the social and economic marginalization of Chicanas in American society, and of the perpetuation of historical and contemporary stereotypes of Chicanas, provide critical documents of this period. In 1973 the newspaper developed into the feminist journal *Encuentro Femenil* (Women's Encounter) but stopped publication within two years.

Enriqueta Longeaux y Vasquez and Elizabeth Martinez, both from New Mexico, edited the newspaper *El Grito del Norte* (The Cry of the North) from 1968 to 1973. It published many articles, some written by the editors, that shaped the course of Chicana feminism. In 1973 Dorinda Moreno edited *La Mujer en Pie de Lucha* (Women Ready for Struggle), an anthology of Chicana feminist writings. She also founded the San Francisco newspaper *La Razón Mestiza* (The Mestiza Cause) in 1974. In 1977 Marta Cotera, a Chicana feminist from Texas, published her very influential *Chicana Feminist*, a collection of her political essays and speeches.

Chicana artists depicted their feminist ideology in literature, poetry, art, and theater. The creative writings of Gloria Anzaldúa, Ana Castillo, Lorna Dee Cervantes, Sandra Cisneros, Pat Mora, Cherrie Moraga, Bernice Zamora, and others portray various aspects of Chicana feminism. Yolanda López's art symbolizes the struggles of Chicanas and the development of a feminist consciousness.

By the late 1970s a small group of Chicanas entered the academy in a variety of disciplines and continued a Chicana feminist discourse within academic publishing outlets. Melville's *Twice a Minority* (1980) and Magdalena Mora's and Adelaida R. Del Castillo's *Mexican Women in the United States* (1980) remain classic anthologies that document the struggles of Chicanas. Chicana feminist writings contain common threads. They called for a critique of Chicano cultural nationalism, an examination of patriarchal relations, an end to sexist stereotypes of Chicanas, and the need for Chicanas to engage in consciousness-raising activities and collective political mobilization.

### ORGANIZING THE MOVEMENT

Chicana feminists established autonomous woman-centered organizations that would facilitate their protest activities. In 1969, a group of Chicana university students started *Las Hijas de Cuauhtemoc* (Daughters of Cuauhtemoc), which served as a consciousness-raising organization, a clearinghouse of resources for Chicana students, and a basis

for other feminist activities. The group started their own newspaper two years later and named the newspaper after their group. The *Comision Femenil Mexicana Nacional* (CFMN, or National Mexican Women's Commission) was founded in 1970 as a result of a resolution written by a group of Chicanas at the National Chicano Issues Conference. They founded an organization, run by and for Chicanas, that addressed their concerns. The CFMN set up the Chicana Service Action Center, a Los Angeles-based community social services center that focused on job training. Dorinda Moreno formed *Concilio Mujeres* (Women's Council), a women's support group based at San Francisco State University.

Chicana feminists mobilized their efforts by organizing local, regional, and national conferences to address their concerns. Having experienced marginalization and direct antifeminist attacks at many Chicano conferences, Chicana feminists adopted the strategy of organizing their own autonomous conferences. Organized in the early 1970s were the Chicana Regional Conference in Los Angeles, the First National Chicana Conference in Houston, the UCLA Chicana Curriculum Workshop and the Chicana Identity Conference at the University of Houston. These gatherings mobilized Chicanas and deepened their feminism.

At the academic level, an increasing number of Chicana feminists focused their collective effort on continuing the feminist legacy inherited from the early 1970s. In June 1982 a group of Chicana academics in Northern California organized a national feminist organization called *Mujeres Activas en Letras y Cambio Social* (MALCS, or Women Activists in Letters and Social Change) in order to build a support network for Chicana professors, undergraduates, graduate students, and community activists. The organization's major goal was to fight against the race, class, and gender oppression facing Chicanas in institutions of higher education. In addition, MALCS aimed to bridge the gap between academic work and the Chicano community.

During the 1982 conference of the National Association for Chicano Studies (NACS), a panel organized by *Mujeres en Marcha* (Women on the Move), a feminist group from the University of California at Berkeley, discussed the legitimacy of a Chicana feminist movement and the need to struggle against patriarchy. In 1983 Chicanas in NACS formed a Chicana Caucus, whose first political demand was that the organizers for the 1984 conference adopt the theme, "*Voces de la Mujer*," (Voices of Women). The conference plenary session featured Chicana feminists who addressed sexism in the organization and the community. Their presentations were collected in one of the key anthologies of Chicana feminism: *Chicana Voices: Intersections of Class, Race, and Gender* (1984).

## DISSENT IN THE CHICANO MOVEMENT

Not all women who participated in the Chicano movement supported Chicana feminism. Some saw themselves as "loyalists" who believed that the Chicano movement did not have to deal with sexual inequities because both Chicano men and Chicano women experienced racial oppression. A common view among loyalists was that if men oppressed women, it was not the men's fault but rather that of the larger society. Even if gender oppression existed, the loyalists maintained that this type of inequality would best be resolved internally within the movement. They denounced the formation of a separate Chicana feminist movement on the grounds that it was politically divisive and would undermine the unity of the Chicano movement. Loyalists viewed racism as the most important issue within the Chicano movement. In a political climate that already viewed feminist ideology with suspicion, Chicana feminist lesbians came under even more attacks than other feminists. A cultural nationalist ideology that perpetuated stereotypical images of Chicanas as "good wives and good mothers" found it difficult to accept a Chicana feminist lesbian movement advocated by writers and activists such as Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa.

## JOINING WITH OTHERS

Chicana feminists considered the possibility of forming coalitions with white feminists after their attempts to work within the Chicano movement were suppressed. Because white feminists were themselves struggling against sexism, building coalitions with them was seen as an alternative strategy for Chicana feminists. Several issues made such coalition building difficult, however. Chicana feminists criticized white feminists for only addressing gender oppression in explaining the life circumstances of women. Chicana feminists believed that the white feminist movement overlooked the effects of racial and class oppression experienced by Chicanas and other women of color. They criticized white feminists who believed that a general women's movement would be able to overcome racial and class differences among women, interpreting this as a failure to deal with the issues of racism and classism. Without the incorporation of an analysis of racial and class oppression to explain their experiences, Chicana feminists believed that such a coalition would be problematic. Chicana feminists also viewed the white feminist movement as a middle-class movement, while they viewed their struggle as a working-class movement.

Chicana feminism went beyond the limits of an exclusively racial theory of oppression embedded in Chicano cultural nationalism. Through their political mobilization, writings, conferences, and organizations, Chicanas built an autonomous feminist movement. Since its early beginnings

in the 1960s, Chicana feminism has followed a trajectory that has combined political activism and academic research, usually rejecting the separation of the two. While the militant politics of protest have ended, Chicana feminism continues in the early twenty-first century, using different venues and strategies to struggle against race, gender, class, and sexual-orientation inequalities.

**SEE ALSO** *African Feminisms; Black Feminism in Brazil; Black Feminism in the United Kingdom; Black Feminism in the United States; Feminism and Race.*

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## CHICANO MOVEMENT

The Chicano movement of the 1960s and 1970s provides a window into the construction of race in the United States. Never a unified entity, the Chicano insurgency was instead a series of events and actions waged by organizations that used cultural nationalism and Marxist-Leninist ideas to press their demands. Among these organizations were the Brown Berets, the National Chicano Moratorium Committee, the Crusade for Justice, the Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (MEChA), La Raza Unida Party (LRUP), and the Centro de Acción Social Autónomo (Autonomous Center for Social Action, commonly known as CASA). The all used the common anti-American political language of Chicanismo, which gave them the semblance of a mutual identity and experience. Another notion

that the groups shared was the idea that Chicanos were an internal colony of the United States.

Perhaps the most celebrated of the Chicano movement organizations was the Brown Berets, a paramilitary group similar in outlook and style to the Black Panthers. The group was founded in 1966 under the leadership of David Sánchez, a high school student in Los Angeles. The Berets espoused a militant outlook, if not substantively at least symbolically, and they soon captured the imagination of Chicano youth throughout Los Angeles and the Southwest. For the next six years the Berets would be present at, and take an active role in, demonstrations and protests in the Los Angeles area, including the 1968 high school "blow-outs," in which Chicano students walked out of school to protest unequal conditions. Their struggle also incorporated the protests against the Vietnam War and police brutality staged by the Chicano Moratorium Committee from 1969 through 1971. These actions proved short-lived, but they ensured that the Brown Berets would become a sensation in the ethnic Mexican community. Before their demise in 1973, they established the East Los Angeles Free Clinic, which still exists. Ultimately, the Brown Berets were more concerned with symbolic gestures to bring to light Chicanos' unequal living and working conditions. Nevertheless they inspired the ethnic Mexican community to fight for empowerment and strive to change the status quo.

The fight for empowerment and the quest to change the status quo were also undertaken by the Crusade for Justice, a Denver-based organization founded by a former boxer turned community activist, Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, in 1965. Unlike the Berets, the Crusade for Justice believed in substantive change, and they imagined a community that would be guided by a strong adherence to Mexican culture, which would manifest itself through the building of institutions. To that end, the Crusade operated a school named Tlatelolco: La Plaza de las Tres Culturas. At its height, Tlatelolco had 200 preschool to college-age students. The Crusade also ran a curio shop, a bookstore, and a social center.

Like the Brown Berets, the Crusade protested police brutality and was concerned with young ethnic Mexicans, as was evident when it sponsored the 1969 National Chicano Youth Liberation Conference, which is notable for issuing El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán (The Spiritual Plan of Aztlán), which called for Chicano separatism in the face of white oppression. This became the blueprint for Chicano student activism in the years to come. The plan also called for the establishment of a nationwide Mexican-American student movement based in high schools and college campuses, which would be spearheaded by local chapters of the Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (MEChA). In addition, the conference issued calls for a Mexican-American anti-Vietnam War effort and



**Los Angeles Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa.** On May 17, 2005, Villaraigosa, a leader for Chicano rights during his college days at UCLA, unseated Mayor James Hahn to become the city's first Hispanic mayor in over a century. He is seen here celebrating his victory with his wife, Corina, and his son, Antonio Jr. AP IMAGES.

pressed for a Chicano political party to lead electoral efforts.

The plan's anti-Vietnam War call was taken up by the National Chicano Moratorium Committee. Founded in September 1969 by Los Angeles-based activists Ramses Noriega and Rosalio Muñoz, the organization's impetus came from the disclosure of the disproportionate numbers of Mexican American youths dying in Southeast Asia (a three to one ratio, compared to whites). In order to bring greater awareness to this issue, and to the squalid living conditions and unequal educational opportunities that both pushed Chicano young men to enlist and guaranteed that they would be drafted into the military, the Moratorium Committee staged five demonstrations against the war in the Los Angeles area. The largest took place on August 29, 1970, and attracted 20,000 protesters. This march and rally ended in violence initiated by the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department and resulted in three deaths, most notably that of that journalist Ruben Salazar. The tragic events of that day changed the direction of the organization, and from then on the Chicano

Moratorium Committee focused primarily on combating police brutality, with the war protest being put on the back burner. This resulted in the loss of wider support and eventually led to the organization's demise in August 1971.

As opposed to the marches and demonstrations staged by the Chicano Moratorium Committee, La Raza Unida Party (LRUP) founded in 1969 by Crystal City, Texas, residents José Angel Gutiérrez and Luz Gutiérrez, among others, sought to empower Chicanos by using the ballot box. Of all the Chicano movement organizations, history of the LRUP sheds light on the fractured nature of the ethnic Mexican community in the United States. Never a national organization, but rather a series of local chapters that had the common goal of voting Chicanos into office, the LRUP sprang up throughout the Southwest, most prominently in Texas, Colorado, and California. However, because each state had different statutes governing ballot qualifications, and thus for attaining official party status, the LRUP was never able to succeed in establishing a strong voter base. The party's 1972 national convention in El Paso, Texas, symbolized the organization's potential to unify its various

cells, but ultimately led to its undoing as one contingent supported Colorado's Corky Gonzales for chairman, while another delegation backed José Angel Gutiérrez, who was from Texas. In the end, Gutiérrez emerged as the leader, causing the LRUP to splinter into factions, and thus it was never able to forge a nationwide entity.

In contrast to La Raza Unida Party, which ultimately believed in the American system, the Centro de Acción Social Autónomo (CASA) merged nationalism with a Marxist-Leninist philosophy. It was founded in 1969 by Bert Corona and Soledad Alatorre as a mutual aid organization that offered services to Mexican immigrant workers. In 1975, CASA merged with the Committee to Free Los Tres, which fought for the release of three young men accused of selling drugs in a Los Angeles barrio. The Committee to Free Los Tres was composed primarily of college students and young professionals, and they transformed CASA into a Communist "pre-party" organization that would be guided not only by Marxism-Leninism, but also by Mexican proto-nationalist ideas. Given this lodestar, CASA rejected the label "Chicano" and instead insisted that there was no difference between ethnic Mexicans in the United States and those in Mexico.

According to CASA, capitalism had made ethnic Mexicans into workers, regardless of nationality, and organizers should therefore disregard the international boundary between the two countries. This notion of "sin fronteras" (without borders) would become CASA's guiding principle. To that end, over the course of its three-year existence as a pre-party organization, CASA worked with other groups to defeat the anti-immigrant Rodino Bill. It also joined in the struggle to influence the U.S. Supreme Court to maintain affirmative action, which it ultimately did in the 1978 Bakke case. Yet CASA was never able to bring greater numbers into its fold. Eventually, internal fighting broke out over how best to make an impact in the ethnic Mexican community, and over the inherent contradictions of merging nationalist and internationalist ideas, and the group disbanded.

The Chicano movement was never a unified entity, but during its short-lived existence it sought to empower Mexican Americans in a more militant and sensational manner than had been done before. Ultimately, it was a moment of political experimentation that imagined community in a myriad of ways, and in the process brought to the forefront the dynamic and multifaceted nature of the ethnic Mexican community in the United States. Thus, understanding the Chicano movement allows for greater insight into the construction of race and racism in America.

**SEE ALSO** *Affirmative Action; Aztlán; Corona, Bert; El Plan de Santa Barbara; Immigration Reform and*

*Control Act of 1986 (IRCA); Immigration to the United States; Indigenismo in Mexico; Mexicans.*

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## **CHILDREN, RACIAL DISPARITIES AND STATUS OF**

The U.S. Census Bureau has released data that reveals racial disparities in areas that impact upon the fortunes of children in diverse racial/ethnic groups in America (Table 1). These data reveal that Hispanics are least likely to hold a high school diploma or a bachelor's degree compared with all groups. Even though African Americans have a high rate of securing a high school diploma, they have a low economic return on that level of educational attainment. That is, they have the lowest median household income and home ownership rate, and highest poverty rate, of all groups.

Racial disparities in poverty rate affect children and their future. Children are poor because they live in poor families. Arloc Sherman (1997) has pointed out that poverty matters in a number of significant child outcomes related to health and education. In the area of health, poor children are at a higher risk of suffering death in infancy, premature birth (under 37 weeks), and low birth weight. They are also more likely than non-poor children to have no regular source of health care, and to receive inadequate prenatal care. In education, children who are poor have a risk, at ages seven to eight, of math scores that are five test points lower and reading scores that are four test points lower. Poor children are twice as likely to repeat a grade; are 3.4 times more likely to be expelled from school; are 3.5 times as likely to be a dropout at ages sixteen to twenty-four; and are half as likely to finish a four-year college (Sherman 1997, p. 1).

The Children's Defense Fund (CDF) compared poverty between African American children under eighteen

	African American	White	Hispanic	Asian
High School Diploma	80%	89%	60%	86%
Bachelor's Degree	17%	30%	12%	49%
Median Household Income	\$30,939	\$50,622	\$36,278	\$60,637
Home Ownership Rate	46%	75%	48%	59%
Poverty Rate	24.9%	8.3%	21.8%	11.1%

SOURCE: Compiled from data from the U.S. Census Bureau.

**Table 1.**

years of age and children of all other races (CDF 2003). They found that 4.0 percent of children among all races live in extreme poverty, whereas 8.4 percent of African American children live in extreme poverty. CDF describes a deepening of the severity of poverty for already-poor children in the wake of the 1996 welfare law. More than eight in ten black children on Aid for Dependent Children (AFDC) were already poor in 1995, the year before the law was signed. Even though there was no change in the official poverty rates, nearly one million black children were found to live in “extreme poverty” with after-tax income of less than half of the poverty line. The percentage of black children in extreme poverty in 2001 was at a near record high, the highest level in twenty-three years. Also, fewer and fewer extremely poor children of all races receive cash public assistance.

**HEALTH DISPARITIES IN THE UNITED STATES**

The Children’s Defense Fund (2003) has identified disparities in health for poor and minority children, especially black and Latino children. They continue to lag behind white and affluent children in almost every health indicator. Most of the current research is focused upon eliminating health disparities in health care for adults. Research on children indicates “that disparities persist in the areas of infant mortality, immunizations, asthma, dental care, lead poisoning, and obesity, to name a few of the conditions that affect children” (p. 2). These conditions can affect children’s development and functioning before birth, in adolescence, and over the course of a lifetime.

Socioeconomic status is a strong determinant of health outcomes because it affects access to insurance and health services. The population groups with the worst health status are those with the highest poverty rates and the least education. As pointed out earlier, racial minorities do not

compare well with whites on a variety of socioeconomic indicators that are the strongest predictors of health. In addition to the aforementioned indicators, minorities have fewer employment opportunities. Black and Hispanic unemployment rates are much higher (sometimes over two times higher than whites) (CDF 2003, p. 3). As a result, minorities are less likely to have employer-sponsored health insurance and are more likely to be uninsured. The health coverage a person has governs how quickly the person will get health care and whether it is the best care available. Blacks are almost twice as likely and Latinos almost three times as likely to be uninsured as whites. A 2005 study (Lillie-Blanton and Hoffman) shows that these disparities would be significantly reduced if black and Latinos were insured at levels comparable to those of whites.

According to CDF (2003), there is a growing body of published research that indicates that racial and ethnic minority patients receive a lesser amount of care and a lower quality of care for the same illness, even when they are at the same income level and insurance coverage level as white patients.

**Infant Mortality and Prenatal Care.** One of the most important indicators of children’s health is infant mortality and birth weight rates in different populations. Although overall infant mortality rates dropped as of 2002, the gap between the white and black infant mortality rate has not narrowed. According to Matthews, et al. (2004), in 2002 there were more than 28,000 infant deaths in the United States, more than all the deaths among children between the ages of one and nineteen. Black infants were more than twice as likely to die as white infants.

Low birth weight is the leading cause of infant mortality among all races. It is the greatest cause of death for black infants. According to Martin, et al. (2003), non-Latino black infants were almost twice as likely to be born at low birth weight as were non-Latino white infants (13.4% versus 6.9%).

The most critical component of reducing the incidence of infant mortality and low birth weight is prenatal care for pregnant women. The level and timing of such care is used as a proxy for access to care and birth outcomes. There are racial and ethnic differences in the timeliness of prenatal care. In 2002, 75.2 percent of non-Latino black and 76.7 percent of Latino women received prenatal care in the first trimester, compared to 85.4 percent of non-Latino white women (Martin, et al. 2003). Non-Latino black and Latino women were more than twice as likely as non-Latino white women to have late or no prenatal care (6.2% and 5.5% respectively, versus 3.1%).



**Hunger.** The U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) defines “food security” as having access to enough food for active healthy living (Nord, Andrews, and Carlson 2003). Families without enough food are often referred to as “food insecure” households. Most food insecure households avoid hunger by limiting the types of food they buy and relying on public assistance food programs. However, in about one-third of food insecure households, one or more household members are hungry at some time.

Children who are hungry and food insecure are at greater risk for deficits in cognitive development and academic achievement. According to the USDA, in 2003, 28.5 percent of African American and 28.1 percent of Hispanic households with children experienced food insecurity, compared with 11.3 percent of white households.

## VIOLENCE

According to the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2,827 children and teens in the United States died from gunfire in 2003. There were 1,822 who were homicide victims; 810 committed suicide; and 195 died in accidental or undetermined circumstances. Of this number, 2,502 were boys and 325 were girls (CDF 2006).

Of the children and teens who were victims of violence, 1,554 were white; 1,172 were black; 51 were Asian or Pacific Islander, and 50 were American Indian or Alaska Native. Additionally, 553 of the children and teens across all of the races were identified as Latino. The age breakdown for the victims was: 378 under age fifteen; 119 under age ten, and 56 under age five; the remainder were fifteen to nineteen. In addition to the death toll, four to five times as many children and teens suffered non-fatal bullet wounds.

The Children’s Defense Fund (2006) has pointed out that black children and teens are more likely to be victims of firearm homicide, whereas white children and teens are more likely to commit suicide. They also note that children are more likely to be killed by adults than by other children. They state further that “The rate of firearm deaths among children under age fifteen is far higher in the United States than in twenty-five other industrialized countries combined” (p. 2).

## TRENDS IN REFUGEE STATUS

Refugees escaping war often move in large groups and flee the same conditions within the same time frame. Those persons are often accorded refugee status on a group *prima facie* basis. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), ten asylum countries reported the arrival of more than 1,000 *prima facie* refu-

gees during 2005, including Chad (32,400), Benin (25,500), Uganda (24,000), Ghana (13,600), and Yemen (13,200) (UNHCR, 2006). The article reported data on 28 industrialized countries with available data. The major receiving countries were the United Kingdom, Austria, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Germany, and Norway. Together these five asylum countries accounted for 73 percent of all claims lodged by unaccompanied and separated children. There were six countries of origin that produced more than 10,000 *prima facie* refugees in 2005: Togo (39,100), Sudan (34,500), the Democratic Republic of the Congo (15,600), Somalia (13,600), the Central African Republic (11,500), and Iraq (10,500).

Data has been collected by UNHCR (2004) on the status of “unaccompanied” and separated children seeking asylum in industrialized countries. They define unaccompanied children as “persons under eighteen years of age who have been separated from both parents and are not being cared for by an adult who by law or custom is responsible to do so” (p. 2). UNHCR advocates the usage of the term “separated” children as a more precise international definition for this phenomenon. There are children who are being cared for on some level by extended family members, so they are not “unaccompanied” in the true sense of the word. They do, however, face risks in that they are separated from their parents.

UNHCR (2004) reports that, “Asylum flows to most countries in Central and Western Europe have been dominated by children from Asia (Afghanistan, Iraq). Some countries in Western Europe have reported important inflows of children from Africa” (pp. 5–6). According to UNHCR (2004), Africa is overrepresented in the numbers of unaccompanied and separated children seeking asylum, but the reverse is true for children from Asia, Europe, Latin America, and the Caribbean. Of the 39,900 unaccompanied and separated children seeking asylum between 2001 and 2003, only 13 percent originated from Europe (while 24 percent of all asylum seekers were from Europe).

Gene B. Sperling (2005) has pointed out that orphaned children are less likely to be enrolled in school than their peers who live with at least one parent. He states further that “Only 6 percent of children in refugee camps are enrolled in secondary education, and opportunities for internally displaced children are even more limited” (p. 1).

## SCHOOLING

**Preschool Education.** An important descriptor of the educational fortunes of children is participation in preschool education. Center-based early childhood education



**Learning Amid Poverty in America.** *Principal Ora Cummings helps first-grade students read at Uniontown Elementary School in Alabama. The school is in Perry County, which has a mostly black population and the largest percentage of children living below the poverty level in the state. AP IMAGES.*

programs include day care centers, Head Start programs, preschool, nursery school, and pre-kindergarten. According to the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), a greater percentage of non-poor children ages three to five participated in center-based programs than poor children in the United States. In addition, a greater percentage of black and white children than Hispanic children participated in center based programs (NCES 2006). “In 2005, 66 percent of Black children and 59 percent of White children participated in such programs, compared with 43 percent of Hispanic children” (Indicator 2, NCES 2006a). White and Hispanic children who were not poor were more likely than their poor counterparts to participate in center-based programs in 2005. There was no difference found between poor and non-poor black children.

Latin America and the Caribbean lead the developing world in the provision of preschool education, according to UNESCO (2006). They report that half of the world’s countries have no early childhood care and education policy for children under age three. “Participation in preschool ranges from 62 percent in Latin America and the Caribbean compared to only 35 percent

in the developing countries of East Asia and the Pacific, 32 percent in South and West Asia to 15 percent in the Arab States and 12 percent in Sub-Saharan Africa” (p. 1).

UNESCO (2006) reports further that there is universal preschool in most Western European countries. There was an enrollment decline in transition countries after the break up of the Soviet Union, but they are now recovering.

**Primary and Secondary School.** Just about every child of primary school age starts school in countries of the Organization of American States (OAS), however, far fewer actually complete their primary education. According to a UNESCO report (2005), Barbados and Chile are the only two countries out of twenty-seven with available data where more than 95 percent of enrolled children reach the final grade of primary school. The rate of completion of Mexico and Uruguay is about 90 percent. Less than 75 percent of primary school-aged children are expected to complete primary school by 2010 in Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua. There are a large number of children who are starting school late and repeating grades.

According to the “Education for All Global Monitoring Report” (UNESCO 2005b), an average of 1.7 percent of primary students repeat a grade in the world’s richest countries; in the poorest, the average is 7.7 percent. In sub-Saharan Africa, the rate is nearly 20 percent. The report has not found any significant gender disparities at the primary level of education. At the secondary level they have found that boys and young men are disadvantaged with the exceptions of Bolivia, Guatemala, and Peru. Female enrollment rates are one-fifth higher than that of males in Dominican Republic, Saint Lucia, and Suriname.

There are eleven countries that have 75 percent of the appropriate age group enrolled in secondary education. Six additional countries—Belize, Bolivia, Peru, Trinidad, Tobago, and Uruguay—are close to achieving this level. However, secondary education enrollment dips below 65 percent in thirteen of the OAS countries, according to UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) data (UNESCO 2006b).

In one out of four African countries, half of the children enrolled at the end of primary school do not continue their education in secondary school in the following year. According to the UIS (UNESCO 2006b), 85 percent of primary pupils make the transition in most countries of Europe, Asia, North and South America. According to the latest figures, Africa has the lowest primary school completion ratios in the world. Almost all of the countries in Europe have ratios exceeding 90 percent. Only eight (out of forty-five) African countries

reach this level: Algeria, Botswana, Cape Verde, Egypt, Mauritius, Seychelles, South Africa, and Tunisia. In nineteen African countries, the ratios are 50 percent or lower. This means that at least every second child does not finish primary school.

According to the UIS, in one out of four African countries, half of the children who complete primary school do not transition to secondary school the following year (UNESCO, 2006b). Basically, few families can afford to continue sending their children to school. Girls are affected more severely than boys. In some countries, there are simply not enough spaces to accommodate eligible children, so the children are screened by public examinations and other methods.

A more accurate picture of the racial disparities in education internationally is given by an examination of the extent to which children are enrolled in upper as compared to lower secondary education. In some countries, lower secondary education (ages ten to fifteen) takes place in primary school and is treated as a part of basic education. Upper secondary education is more of a bridge to higher education and provides a curriculum that facilitates entry into the labor market.

The UIS (2005) documents that the lowest participation rates in upper secondary education are found in Africa, where the gross enrollment ratio is 45 percent. In half of the countries in Africa, the enrollment ratios are below 40 percent. This is compared with enrollment ratios reaching 100 percent in Europe; between 70 percent and 80 percent in the Americas; 40 percent in West Asia; and 48 percent in East Asia. In Africa, less than one-third of children (29%) are enrolled in upper secondary education.

**Gender Disparities.** According to Sperling (2005), an estimated 110 million children—60 percent of them girls—between the ages of six and eleven will not attend school this year. Another 150 million are likely to drop out before completing elementary school. He points out further that more than half of all girls in sub-Saharan Africa do not complete primary school. Only 17 percent are enrolled in secondary school. For girls in rural areas, taking Niger as an example, 12 percent were enrolled in primary school compared with 83 percent of girls living in the capital city.

Sperling notes that extremely impoverished parents often feel they need their girls' labor for extra income or just to help with grueling chores, such as the long hours spent collecting water and firewood or caring for younger children. He calls for policies that reduce the costs and increase the benefits of sending girls to school so that parents will choose a better future for their children. He points out the need to "develop and widely implement policies that work to align the temporary interests of

parents with the long term well-being of their girls and their societies" (p. 2).

**High School Dropout Rate and Exit Exams.** The high school dropout rate represents the percentage of sixteen-through twenty-four-year-olds who were out of school without a high school credential. According to NCES (2006b), 10 percent of young people fell into this category in 2004 in the United States. There was also a difference by race/ethnicity. The status dropout rate was lowest for whites and highest for Hispanics. They point out that "the gaps between the rates of Blacks and Whites and between Hispanics and Whites both decreased from 1972 to 2004, but there was no measurable change in the Hispanic-Black gap over this period" (Indicator 26, NCES 2006b).

The CDF (2004) points out that by the year 2009, half of all U.S. states will use a single standardized test as the sole means of determining whether a student will graduate. It has been well documented (Center for Education Policy 2004) that standardized testing has led to negative outcomes, particularly for low-income and minority students. By 2009, eight out of ten minority public school students (compared to seven out of ten public students in general) will be denied a high school diploma because they did not pass a high school exit exam. CDF advocates for using multiple indicators of achievement for making important decisions about child educational progress.

**Misidentification of Minority Youth in Special Education.** In the United States, the disproportionate assignment of minority children to special education services is a significant impediment in their journey through school. There is a significant correlation between assignment to special education and dropout, drug addiction, incarceration, and unemployment of children from particular racial/ethnic groups.

According to David Osher, Darren Woodruff, and Anthony E. Sims (2002), in twenty-nine states black students are twice as likely as white students to be labeled with an emotional or behavior disorder. Black students are more than twice as likely to be labeled as mentally retarded in thirty-nine states. Native American children are more than twice as likely to be labeled as mentally retarded in ten states.

James Conroy and Edward Fierros (2002) point out that once labeled as disabled, minority students are disproportionately excluded from regular education classrooms. Among students classified with disabilities, black students are twice as likely as whites to be educated in a separate setting where 60 percent of the day is spent out

of school. Black and Latino children are significantly less likely than white children to receive special education services as mainstreamed students in an “inclusive” classroom.

There is considerable evidence that minority students classified with disabilities receive harsher discipline than their white peers. Black students with disabilities were more than three times as likely as whites to be given short-term suspensions (Osher, et al. 2002). They were also nearly three times more likely than white students to be suspended for more than ten days. Black, Latino, and Native American youths with disabilities were 67 percent more likely than white children to be removed from the school on grounds of dangerousness. Once removed from the classroom, black and Latino youths with disabilities were between two and four times more likely to be educated in correctional facilities than white youths who were similarly removed. Additionally, studies show that the designation of racialized special education categories results in minority children in special education receiving unequal services.

Jean Crockett and James Kaufman (1999) document the harmfulness of this treatment on minority youths. Twice as many black students categorized as having emotional and behavioral disorders drop out of school (58.2%) compared to those who graduate from high school (27.5%). Further, they find that 75 percent of black youths with disabilities, compared to 47 percent of white youths with disabilities, are not employed two years out of school. They point out finally that 40 percent of black students with disabilities are arrested after leaving high school, compared to 27 percent of white youths with disabilities.

This entry highlighted racial disparities and the status of children from an international perspective. A profile of disparities related to race are described in the areas of socioeconomic status, health, infant mortality, prenatal care, hunger, violence, trends in refugee status, schooling and gender comparisons. The data reveals that in every category, children of color within the United States experience the worst child outcomes. Only Hispanic children exceed African Americans in school dropout rate. Likewise, the data suggests that the fortunes of children from Africa suffer in comparison to children on all other continents.

**SEE ALSO** *Brazilian Racial Formations; Canadian Racial Formations; Caribbean Racial Formations; Cuban Racial Formations; Haitian Racial Formations; Social Problems; South African Racial Formations; Transnationalism; United Kingdom Racial Formations.*

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## CHINA-U.S. RELATIONS AND CHINESE AMERICANS

When Chinese immigrants encountered racial oppression and exclusion in the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, they immediately equated their mistreatment with China’s weakness and the Chinese government’s inability to protect their rights and welfare through diplomacy, as the U.S. government did for U.S. citizens in China. They concluded that the only way to protect their rights was to help modernize and strengthen China. So in their own ways—through remittance; investments in modern utilities, transportation, and manufacturing industries; and participation in various educational, economic, and political reform movements in China (such as the Yangwu Yundong, the political reform led by Kang Youwei, and the revolutionary movement led by Sun Yat-sen), they expressed their nationalistic sentiment and tried to make China strong. Thus, modern Chinese nationalism was born among the oppressed Chinese abroad and then exported to China.

Unfortunately, the Chinese government regarded any attempt to modernize China to be an act of disloyalty and a threat to the homeland government. China therefore established policies and institutions designed to keep the Chinese diaspora under surveillance and control. Through its diplomatic missions, the government began to monitor the Chinese-American community. Various coercive measures were used to ensure the loyalty of Chinese Americans toward Chinese culture, hometowns, and, above all, the homeland government. Those who criticized the government and advocated change within America’s Chinatowns

or in their hometowns in China were punished. In so doing, the Chinese government violated the sovereignty of the United States and the rights of Chinese Americans to speak freely and freely associate.

The U.S. government, motivated by racism toward the Chinese-American community, viewed such flagrant extraterritorial interference with indifference or silent consent. Indeed, the U.S. government thought it was best for the Chinese immigrant population to be under control, even if this control was carried out by an alien government. As long as this interference did not harm the interests and welfare of mainstream America, the government chose to look the other way. Among the examples of this interference was the effort by Ambassador Wu Ting-fang to stop the reformer Liang Qi-chao from arriving in Honolulu in 1900. When that failed, he met with the Chinese Six Companies (officially, the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association) and instigated a death-threat letter sent to Liang. Similarly, Sun Yat-sen was kidnapped by Chinese diplomats in London during his visit there on October 11, 1896, with the intent to bring him back to China, where he faced certain death. Fortunately, his unlawful detention was discovered by a friend and he was rescued.

Thus, Chinese in the United States were subjected to a highly institutionalized structure of dual domination. On the one hand, they were targets of racial exclusion and oppression from white society in the United States, and on the other hand, they were vulnerable to the extraterritorial, and at times repressive, domination of their homeland government. These two dynamic forces converged in exerting an extraordinary influence on Chinese-American lives and communities across the United States, and they were themselves shaped, respectively, by ever-changing U.S. racial politics and by bilateral diplomacy between China and the United States. Chinese-American interactions and negotiations with, and resistance to, these two forces were what constituted the substance of their experience in the United States. In this sense, the Chinese-American encounter with racism in American democracy has historically been unlike that of other immigrant groups and racial minorities in the United States.

### RACIALIZATION OF NATIONAL SECURITY AND ASSIMILATION

World War II realigned global geopolitics and gave rise to new forms of racism and accommodation for Chinese America. China and the United States became allies in the war against German Nazism and Japanese militarism and fascism. At the end of the war, the United States emerged as the unchallenged global power and the leader of the Western world against the Communist world, led

by the Soviet Union. In China, the corrupt, U.S.-backed Guomindang (or Kuomintang) regime, led by Chiang Kai-shek, was quickly driven out of Mainland China in 1949 by the Communist leader Mao Zedong. Chiang and his forces fled to China's offshore province, Taiwan, under U.S. military protection. By then, the world had entered a new period of cold war. The United States became the global defender against communism at home and abroad. Building U.S. global military superiority and achieving a domestic ideological consensus was the vision of successive U.S. presidents in the 1950s and 1960s. Communist China was declared "Enemy No. 1," and the U.S. policy of containment of China by military, political, and economic means became a bipartisan consensus until President Richard Nixon inaugurated a new policy of détente and engagement with China in 1972.

World War II brought mixed blessings to Chinese Americans. With China as a wartime ally of the United States, the public perception of Chinese in the United States turned positive, and Chinese Americans were actively recruited to enlist in the U.S. Armed Forces and work in war-related industries. Chinese Americans saw a decline in racial hostility and an opportunity to become assimilated. At the same time, Japan saw an opportunity to exploit America's Chinese exclusion laws (initiated in 1882 with the Chinese Exclusion Act) and racial discrimination against Chinese Americans. Through leafleting and radio broadcasts, Japan urged China and its people not to fight for racist America and instead join Japan in liberating China and the rest of Asia from American and European imperialism and colonialism.

To counter Japanese propaganda, President Franklin D. Roosevelt pushed the U.S. Congress in 1943 to repeal the Chinese exclusion laws as a necessary military strategy to bolster the morale of Chinese resistance and win the war. Congress, however, resisted the proposal, fearing that the repeal would bring a huge influx of unwanted and unassimilable Chinese immigrants. In a compromise, the exclusion laws were repealed and, in their place, a new exclusion formula was substituted that severely limited the admissible number of Chinese immigrants to an annual quota of 105.

#### THE COLD WAR ERA

The repeal, therefore, did little to advance Chinese-American rights, and exclusion and discrimination against Chinese Americans persisted after World War II. In fact, the cold war quickly inaugurated a new type of racism and exclusion that Chinese Americans had never before encountered: the racialization of national security and a subtle form of racism that, in early twenty-first century language, is known as "racial profiling." Because China was declared Enemy No. 1, being

Chinese American became synonymous with treason and espionage. From the point of view of J. Edgar Hoover, the director of the FBI, Chinese in the United States were part of China's fifth column, intent on subverting America. Overnight, all federal law enforcement agencies (the CIA, FBI, IRS, INS, etc.) were mobilized to keep Chinese Americans under surveillance.

The good will garnered during World War II, when China was an ally, disappeared overnight when China turned Communist. Political recriminations began over who was responsible for "the loss of China," and McCarthyism turned the nation paranoid and repressive. In place of good will were suspicion, racial hostility, and discrimination against Chinese Americans. Instead of confronting this new form of racism, the leadership of Chinese America in the 1950s and 1960s chose not only to condone political repression based on race, but also to assist the Nationalist government in Taiwan and U.S. law enforcement agencies in red-baiting and suppressing any Chinese Americans critical of the dictatorship and corruption of the Guomindang regime. Many Chinese Americans were harassed and intimidated, while others were denaturalized or threatened with deportation. Some committed suicide, others emigrated. Still others became targets of suspicion and were excluded from jobs and research projects connected to national security. Under the pretext of fighting communism, Chinese Americans were presumed to be untrustworthy, if not treasonous, and they were frequently discriminated against in housing, employment, and education. The constitutional rights of thousands of Chinese Americans were effectively suspended under the repressive atmosphere.

No organization, except the Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance (CHLA) and the *Chinese Daily News* (both in New York) openly protested such blatant violations of Chinese-American civil rights. In the face of such overpowering political repression, many Chinese Americans tried to prove their loyalty to the United States by forming anticommunist groups and denouncing China. Most chose to remain silent and tried to become accepted by becoming thoroughly Americanized or assimilated. Political repression and assimilation became two sides of the same coin. It was without doubt the darkest years of Chinese America and a shameful chapter in U.S. history.

#### GLOBALIZATION AND THE RISE OF CHINA

If the cold war injected a new dimension into race relations for Chinese Americans, the racialization of national security, the acceleration of globalization after the cold war, and the rise of China added both complexity and complications to the racism facing Chinese Americans. Globalization, of course, antedated the end of

the cold war. In fact, the arrival of transnational Chinese capital from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Southeast Asian countries began in the early 1970s when President Richard Nixon abandoned the containment of China policy in favor of a new policy of détente and engagement. The new policy promptly sent shock waves across East and Southeast Asia and precipitated an unprecedented geopolitical realignment in the region. Up until then, the dictatorial governments of the region had relied exclusively on U.S. political, economic, and military support and protection. Now, the peoples of the region began to demand human rights, democratic reform, and national liberation.

The ensuing political instability led to the flight of wealthy business owners and investors, a new type of immigrant, and, after 1975, refugees from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, many of whom were, in fact, members of ethnic Chinese minority groups. The impact of globalization was not limited to historic Chinatowns, suburbs, and regional economies around major U.S. cities: It also changed the patterns of Chinese-American participation in electoral politics. By the 1990s both the Republican National Committee (RNC) and Democratic National Committee (DNC) discovered not so much the votes, but the money, in Chinese America. They began a concerted effort to identify and solicit political donations from wealthy Chinese immigrants.

At the same time, the new immigrants realized that business success in America depended to a large extent on political connection and access. The Chinese had the wherewithal, but they lacked the knowledge and know-how to play the game of American plutocracy. This was where they stumbled, and they were caught in the cross-fire between the Republicans and the Democrats. Race and political corruption were linked in the political fight. In the process, Asian fundraisers and big donors became the national focus of one of the fiercest partisan power struggles in the history of the United States.

The great 1996 campaign finance scandal, dubbed variously in the media and by the RNC as “Donorgate,” “The Asian Finance Scandal,” or “Chinagate,” began when the immigrant John Huang, a well-connected Chinese-American banker associated with the Lippo Group, one of the largest conglomerates in Indonesia, was hired by the DNC to undertake a new fundraising strategy among rich Asian-American donors. President Bill Clinton was up for re-election, and so were many congressional seats, and the political future of Vice President Al Gore was at stake.

By well-established party standards, the amount of money Huang and a few of his associates ultimately raised for Clinton and the DNC was insignificant, amounting to only 5 million dollars out of some 1.4

billion dollars raised and spent by both parties in the 1996 federal elections. How Huang raised the money, and who gave it, were the sources of partisan contestation, and this became the focus of the Republican attack and a media feeding frenzy from September 1996, two months before the presidential election, to the indictment of the Chinese-American nuclear scientist Wen Ho Lee in December 1999.

Several congressional committees under the Republican-controlled Congress held high-profile hearings to highlight the seriousness of the scandal, criticize Clinton for selling out U.S. interests in return for China-connected political donations to the DNC, and accuse China of trying to subvert American democracy through its illegal political contributions. There was no evidence for most of these allegations, however. Instead of focusing on fixing the broken and corrupt system of campaign financing, the Republican leaders chose to racialize the scandal, brand small-time Chinese-American wrongdoers as launderers of “Chinese Communist” money, and accuse President Clinton, Vice President Gore, and the DNC of being greedy and unscrupulous. In response, the DNC quickly launched its own investigation into only the Chinese and Asians who contributed to the party. In other words, the DNC joined the RNC in racializing the scandal. By scapegoating Chinese donors and racializing the scandal, both the RNC and DNC succeeded in diverting public attention from the corrupt campaign finance system practiced by both parties.

Most of the Chinese Americans involved in these events either pleaded to lesser charges or had their cases dismissed due to insufficient evidence. All the major foreign donors escaped prosecution, except for James Riady, the head of the Lippo Group of Indonesia, who pleaded guilty to laundering his donations to the DNC, for which he was fined several million dollars and not permitted to enter the United States for two years.

The scandal severely damaged the reputation of the Democrats. It also created sleazy public images of Chinese Americans. Yet in spite of several sensational investigations launched by Republican-controlled congressional committees, no conclusion was reached and no legislative remedy proposed. (The heavily compromised McCain-Feingold reform bill did not pass the U.S. Congress until 2001.) The racialized scandal did open a door for Republicans, however, who linked it to the alleged “threat of China.” In May 1998, House Speaker Newt Gingrich appointed a special committee, popularly known as the Cox Committee, to investigate this link, thus planting a seed for a renewed partisan political brawl in 1999 and 2000. The committee determined that China had stolen design information about advanced U.S. thermonuclear weapons. It was the Cox Report, leaked to the media in

December 1998, that prompted the sensational persecution and prosecution of an alleged China spy, Dr. Wen Ho Lee of the Los Alamos National Laboratory (LANL). The report also influenced George W. Bush's new policy of strategic ambiguity and competition with China during his 2000 presidential campaign, as well as his belligerent policy toward China before September 11, 2001, which marked a significant departure from the bipartisan China policy consensus that had existed since Nixon's historic trip to China in 1972.

Behind the Chinese campaign finance scandal and the persecution of Wen Ho Lee were partisan power struggles for the control of both the White House and the Congress. These incidents also reflected the question of how the United States should deal with the inevitable rise of China since the late 1980s and the presumed threat it poses to U.S. global hegemony and national security. Both cases show how Chinese-American rights and interests are intricately linked to how the United States perceives China and how the two countries deal with each other diplomatically in a changing world. In this context, reports on the rise of China and the political discourse accompanying them are of great concern to Chinese Americans. Exactly how this discourse will evolve, and how Chinese Americans will be seen and treated, remains to be seen.

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## CHINESE AMERICANS AFTER WORLD WAR II

In the 1950s and 1960s, social progress and the African-American civil rights movement opened some doors for Chinese Americans in employment, education, and housing. As a result, there was a steady exodus of Chinese out of America's Chinatowns. The postwar economic boom, an expansion of higher education, and rapid suburban-

ization created unprecedented job opportunities in selective sectors of the labor market for women and minorities in the suburbs. College-educated Chinese Americans began to enter traditionally white workplaces and schools, neighborhoods and suburbs, and professional and civic organizations. In particular, the rapid growth of the defense industry, especially in the electronic, telecommunication, and aerospace sectors, provided a rare opportunity for Chinese Americans trained in science and technology. In addition, changes in immigration law in 1965 brought a new wave of Chinese immigrants from both ends of the economic spectrum.

#### ASSIMILATION AND DISCRIMINATION

The exodus to the suburbs proved to be bumpy and at times painful. The Chinese-American arrival in these areas was seen as a transgression into historically white space, and those who chose to move there were frequently greeted with resistance and more subtle forms of discrimination. Chinese-American men were deemed competent technical workers, excelling in mathematics, accounting, science, and technology, and Chinese American women were regarded as compliant and reliable clerical workers. Nevertheless, Chinese Americans found that these racial stereotypes severely limited their occupational choices and upward mobility. This kind of benevolent but selective assimilation gave rise to a Chinese-American concentration in certain types of occupations and residential settlements in neighborhoods and suburbs outside of Chinatowns in major cities, such as the Richmond District of San Francisco and Flushing in New York City. Clusters of Chinese-American populations grew in select suburbs, such as Daly City, Fremont, Cupertino, Mountain View, Monterey Park, and Alhambra in California. Even in the midst of some integrated workplace and residential spaces, Chinese Americans remained, by and large, socially segregated.

In 1965 the U.S. Congress enacted amendments to the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 that abolished the insulting limitations on immigration from the "Asia-Pacific Triangle" and phased out the discriminatory national origins quotas over a three-year period. The number of Chinese immigrants in the next few years jumped to 25,000 to 30,000 per year, contributing to a sharp increase in the Chinese-American population in the United States. (This population numbered 217,000 in 1960, 433,000 in 1970, 805,000 in 1980, 1.6 million in 1990, and 2.4 million in 2000). In signing the Voting Rights Act on Aug. 6, 1965, President Lyndon B. Johnson declared, "I pledge we will not delay or we will not hesitate, or will not turn aside until Americans of every



race and color and origin in this country have the same rights as all others in the progress of democracy.” That pledge turned out to be too late and a promise unfulfilled. By the late 1960s, Chinatown populations and socioeconomic problems were bursting at the seams and racial discrimination against Chinese Americans was no longer confined to Chinatown. Traditional social organizations, such as the *huiguan* (district associations) and *gongsuo* (family associations), were too Chinatown-bound, paralyzed, and ill-prepared, having only dealt with issues and problems within the geographic confines of traditional Chinatowns. Among middle-class Chinese Americans in the suburbs, the drive toward assimilation and the obsession with gaining acceptance by Euro-Americans stifled the founding of new Chinese-American civil rights, professional, and political organizations that could speak out effectively for the new Chinese America.

#### MODEL MINORITY AND NEGLECTED MINORITY

In spite of steady middle- and lower-middle class exodus of Chinese Americans from Chinatowns into white working-class neighborhoods and suburbs after World War II, Chinatowns did not disappear from America’s urban landscape, as predicted by the Chinese-American sociologist Rose Hum Lee. What emerged in the early decades after the war was the fragmentation, or more accurately, the bifurcation, of Chinese America. On the one hand, upwardly mobile, well-educated Chinese Americans were settling into middle-class occupations and residential areas in the suburbs. On the other hand, non-English-speaking, poor, new immigrants, especially those who came after 1965, were saturating the already over-crowded, dilapidated Chinatowns by the late 1960s, precipitating an explosive crisis in housing, employment, health, youth, and education, as well as a dire situation for the elderly population. This class divide was further aggravated by the diverse geographic and linguistic origins of the post-1965 Chinese immigrants.

Whereas middle-class Chinese Americans struggled to blend and assimilate themselves into their new neighborhoods, the historic Chinatown came under mounting pressures from both within and outside. From the outside came new spatial contestations: urban renewal versus preservation, and downtown corporate interests versus community and human interests. For example, the encroachment of downtown San Francisco into the historic Chinatown-Manilatown district succeeded in wiping out virtually the entire Manilatown, located next to Chinatown. The protracted high-profile struggle over the I-Hotel, the last building standing between renewal and Chinatown, is a textbook example of the stress and strain

a typical Chinatown came under as America’s urban downtowns sought both renewal and expansion into minority neighborhoods. It was also a fight that pitted old, poor, vulnerable Chinatown against the interests of both city hall and big business.

Similar patterns can be seen in other Chinatowns across the United States. By the 1990s the gentrification of Chinatowns was occurring in lower Manhattan, Seattle, Portland, Sacramento, Oakland, Los Angeles, San Diego, and Houston. The new Tufts Medical Center in Boston, the freeway approach to the Benjamin Franklin Bridge in Philadelphia, and the MCI Stadium in Washington, D.C., all demolished and replaced as much as half of these cities’ Chinatowns.

Chinatown leadership was clearly not prepared to deal with a crisis of this magnitude and intensity. Chinatowns may not have exploded into full-scale urban riots—such as America witnessed on TV in cities such as Los Angeles, Detroit, Newark, Chicago, Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., and Baltimore in late 1960s—but high rates of juvenile delinquency, school dropouts, gang violence, suicide, mental illness, and sweatshop working conditions made local and national headlines. Yet the Chinatown establishments, for face-saving reasons, generally chose to pretend that these problems did not exist. When they did acknowledge them, they insisted the problems were nothing the Chinese themselves could not resolve.

On the other front, those from the Chinese-American middle-class who had left America’s Chinatowns and moved into new city neighborhoods and suburbs were joined by newly arrived, highly educated, middle- and upper-class Chinese immigrants, creating both a new class structure never before seen in the history of Chinese America and a class division that frequently undermined the racial solidarity among Chinese Americans in the struggle for civil rights. Moreover, many of the new immigrants became highly accomplished, widely publicized scientists and engineers in research universities, government-run laboratories, and corporate research facilities.

Beginning in the mid-1960s, during the height of the black civil rights protests, the middle- and upper-class Chinese were celebrated as the “model minority” by politicians, social scientists, and the national media. Suddenly, the despised Chinese Americans became successful and revered scientists in the national media, in stark contrast to other racial minorities. Based largely on the theory of assimilation, social scientists generated a substantial body of literature on the so-called success of the Chinese American middle-class in the United States. Using criteria such as achievements in education, occupation, income, language, religion, lifestyle, personality,

residential location, and intermarriage, they showed how Chinese Americans had succeeded in unloading or eliminating their Chineseness and in absorbing the dominant white outlook and acquiring Euro-American social and cultural values. In fact, by the same criteria, Chinese Americans had become more successful than some Euro-Americans. This assessment, however, failed to mention the other half of Chinese America, which was desperately in need of public assistance.

Unfortunately, Chinese American “success” was an exercise of self-denial and self-deprecation. Furthermore, the government and the media were using their “success” ideologically, both to celebrate the United States as a land of generosity and unlimited opportunity for all willing to pull themselves up by their own bootstraps, regardless of race, and to denigrate other minorities, most notably militant African Americans, for demanding civil and welfare rights. In the process, the success story was also used in 1970s and 1980s by the government to justify cutbacks in social spending and erode civil rights gains in minority communities across the nation, including Chinatowns. A historically unassimilable racial minority was now more assimilated than even Euro-Americans. It was an incredible transformation in the ideological and political use of the notion of assimilation. The subtext of this new narrative nonetheless remained racist, because it mentioned nothing of the ordeals of assimilation and pitted Chinese Americans against African Americans.

It was within this intensely unsettling environment that the Chinese American postwar baby-boom generation arrived on the campuses of American colleges and universities and injected a new counter-narrative to the assimilationist one. Under the influence of the Black Power movement, they discovered the bifurcated Chinese America, the myth of assimilation, pervasive institutional racism, and the meaning of being poor, disenfranchised, and powerless. They quickly joined other minorities, creating the Asian American movement and the Third World Liberation Front in the fight for a new Asian-American identity, Asian-American Studies programs, and a civil rights agenda on campus and in the communities. They also chose to return to the problem-plagued Chinatowns abandoned by their assimilation-obsessed parents, identifying themselves with the historic Chinatowns and their ongoing struggles against urban renewal and neglect. Along with many young Chinese-American professionals, these students and activists effectively assumed the leadership role in defining what constituted Chinese-American civil rights and what strategies to pursue to achieve their goals for Chinese America. They effectively ushered in a new era of Chinese and Asian-American identity and self-determination.

## ANOTHER WAVE OF CHINESE IMMIGRATION

President Richard Nixon’s policy of détente with China, political instability in Southeast Asia, and the transfer of Hong Kong from British to Chinese sovereignty were landmarks in a political and economic realignment that brought a new wave of immigrants of Chinese descent to the United States. Middle- and upper-class arrivals with substantial resources joined the push for urban renewal in and around historic Chinatowns.

From New York to San Francisco and from Miami to Chicago, real estate, banking, the high-tech industry, upscale Chinese restaurants, supermarkets, and shopping malls in Chinatowns and in Chinese-concentrated suburbs were among the favorites of transnational capital from Southeast Asia, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. Their investments have profoundly changed the landscape and class structure not only of Chinatowns, but also of those middle-class suburbs with a strong Chinese presence. Nowhere is the change more dramatic and visible than in the string of suburbs along Interstate 10 heading east from downtown Los Angeles. Chinese businesses and shopping malls dominate Monterey Park, Alhambra, Rosemead, San Gabriel, El Monte, Hacienda Heights, Covina, Walnut, Diamond Bar, Roland Heights, and Pomona. Cities such as New York, San Francisco, and Toronto have several Chinatowns, while cities such as Houston, Dallas, Las Vegas, Atlanta, and Miami have Chinese shopping malls here and there. The middle-class suburbs along the two highways—101 and 880—leading to the famed Silicon Valley south of San Francisco and Oakland have the highest concentration of Chinese-American scientists and engineers in the country. The presence of a high percentage of Chinese-American faculty, staff, and students at Stanford University, the University of California, Berkeley, and the University of California, San Francisco also add to the disproportional presence of Chinese-American scientists and engineers in the entire San Francisco Bay area.

## A BRAIN TRUST, YET NOT TRUSTED

The original intent of the 1965 immigration law was to promote family reunion and attract brainpower and skillful personnel needed by the U.S. health care, science, and technology industries. Because the exclusion laws had kept Chinese-American families separated by the Pacific Ocean, the new law immediately allowed tens of thousands of family members of prewar immigrants to reunite with their loved ones. Most of them were non-English-speaking and of working-class background. They moved into historic Chinatowns, worked in service and garment industries, and joined their predecessors in pursuing the elusive American dream. The same law also enabled the

government, universities, and corporations to massively recruit well-educated and highly skilled Chinese to meet the demand for skilled personnel in science and technology, the most important growth sector of the U.S. labor market in the second half of the twentieth century.

Before 1965, most highly trained Chinese immigrants had to circumvent the exclusion laws by entering the United States as refugees and foreign students pursuing advanced degrees. Most of these students eventually received Ph.D. degrees in science and technology and were absorbed, some legally and others illegally, by industry and academia. Thousands of well-prepared and highly motivated Chinese from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Southeast Asian countries entered the United States in this way before 1965. The new law not only allowed the pre-1965 students who had completed their advanced degrees to become permanent residents, it also extended preferential treatment to foreign-trained specialists of this type to seek permanent status, as long as their skills were needed and they had company sponsors. From 1950 to 1985, at least 200,000 of “the best and the brightest” Chinese immigrants were admitted, providing needed skills in science and engineering in the high-tech sector of the economy. A disproportionate number of Chinese-American college graduates also selected science and engineering as their career, because they correctly perceived it to be a high-growth sector and less racially discriminatory.

Overall, this represented one of the largest concentrated and timely infusions of scientific talent in U.S. history. Like their counterparts in the second half of the nineteenth century, who provided the indispensable labor needed during the economic development of the West, Chinese-American scientific professionals formed the backbone and brainpower of postwar U.S. scientific and technological development. Most did basic research and performed technical services, but many also became distinguished scientists in virtually every scientific discipline. Quite a number of them would become Nobel laureates, members of the National Academy of Sciences, and leaders in various professional organizations. This was the group of high-profile achievers that contributed to the stereotype of the “model minority” in the 1960s and 1970s. There is no doubt about their contributions to postwar U.S. superiority in science and technology. But the failure of the media and the government to pay attention and do something for the poor and disadvantaged Chinese Americans, and to those racially discriminated against on both sides of the class divide, was a disservice to all Chinese Americans.

Indeed, even accomplished Chinese Americans faced persistent inequality and racial discrimination. Whether they were research scientists in corporate research centers, in government research facilities, or in research univer-

sities, they encountered three basic problems: employment discrimination, social isolation, and racial profiling. Selective studies showed subtle but pervasive workplace discrimination against Chinese Americans in several areas, including recruitment, professional training and development, promotional and research opportunity, and salary disparity. Chinese Americans also found themselves socially isolated both in the workplace and outside it, sometimes due to cultural differences, communication barriers, or racial stereotypes, such as a belief that Chinese Americans preferred to be alone or disliked organized games and parties.

Finally, because the war-related industries were the areas where the Pentagon invested the most in research and development, and because much of the biological, chemical, and nuclear research in both public and private sectors had military applications, Chinese Americans found working on jobs in these areas particularly difficult. First, many of the jobs in these areas required security clearances over which they had no control, and they had no way of knowing that a denial of security clearance was based on race or racial profiling. Second, once on the job, they found themselves vulnerable to suspicion of espionage, if not outright accusation of espionage by their colleagues or supervisors, again on account of racial profiling. Lastly, they found their well-being to be dependent on the ups and downs of U.S.-China relations. If the relations were good, they enjoyed the normal treatment that all employees received. But if the relations turned sour or tense, they found themselves in an isolated, if not hostile, work environment.

Even though no Chinese-American scientists have been convicted of treason or a serious breach of national security, many Chinese Americans have been wrongly accused and falsely imprisoned. Among those who have faced such treatment are the rocket scientist and aeronautic engineer Qian Xuesen, the founding director of the Jet Propulsion Laboratory, and the nuclear engineer Wen Ho Lee, who worked at the Los Alamos National Laboratory. Qian was falsely accused of being a member of the Chinese Communist Party in 1955. He summarily lost his rocket research contracts with all three branches of the armed forces, was placed under house arrest for five years, and eventually exchanged for some American POWs from the Korean War. To date, there is no evidence to support the allegations against him.

Likewise, Wen Ho Lee was named as the man responsible for stealing American nuclear secrets for China by the *New York Times* in March 1999, following a deliberate, anonymous government leak. He was summarily fired the next day from the lab for which he had worked for twenty years, in violation of the lab's personnel policies and procedures. For nine months, he and his

family, his colleagues, and his friends were subjected to intensive investigation by two hundred FBI agents and eighty computer specialists. The investigation turned up not a shred of evidence, yet he was indicted for the improper handling of classified information in the lab. He was promptly arrested, chained from the waist down, and put in solitary confinement for nine months without a trial or a conviction. He was finally allowed to plead guilty to one count of mishandling classified data and freed by the presiding federal judge, James Parker, with a profound apology from the bench and a strongly worded attack on the government for misleading him and embarrassing the United States in the eyes of the world. In other words, the only reason Lee was prosecuted and persecuted was on account of his race, as the chief of counterintelligence at the Los Alamos National Laboratory testified in congressional hearings in 2000, when Lee was in solitary confinement.

Clearly, the cold war legacy of racially profiling Chinese Americans remains alive and well. In the meantime, the U.S.-China relationship has become even more important, and also more volatile, in the wake of the September 11, 2001, attack on New York's World Trade Center. As long as Chinese Americans continue to be seen as foreigners, the fate of Chinese Americans, especially those in science, will be determined not by specific crimes they commit but by the fluctuation of U.S.-China relations and the racial prejudice deeply imbedded and institutionalized in the law enforcement agencies of the United States. Chinese-American brainpower and talent will remain critical, but Chinese Americans will be distrusted solely on account of their race.

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## CHINESE DIASPORA

The terms *Chinese diaspora* and *overseas Chinese* refer to people of Chinese descent living outside of China. According to a 2003 estimate (MA 2003), the "Chinese living overseas" include migrants from mainland China and Taiwan and consist of about 33 million people living in 107 countries worldwide. Of this total, the largest populations live in Southeast Asia (76%), North America (11%), and Europe (6%), followed by decreasing numbers in South America, Central America, and the Caribbean; East Asia outside China; Oceania; and Africa. The majority of Chinese who have left China to go overseas have gone as laborers or traders.

#### DISCOURSES AND PRACTICES REIFYING ESSENTIAL HUMAN DIFFERENCE

It would be surprising if a society such as China—with more than 2,000 years of imperial dynastic history and characterized by several centuries of geographic expansion—did not have a political-ideological order that established a fundamental distinction between those who were loyal and orthodox subjects and those who were not. Indeed, differential moral valuations of groups were based on this distinction between "people of culture" and "barbarians" (called *fan* in Chinese). This distinction was erected around perceived differences that indexed the presence or absence of political loyalty, as measured by obeisance to the emperor, acceptance of imperial administration and law, payment of taxes, residence in lowland sedentary settlements, and worship of the gods of the Buddhist-Daoist-Confucian pantheon, including one's ancestors. To show these attributes was to be, by definition, a member of the Han, China's largest ethnic group. Whether such perceived traits were strictly cultural or were associated with physical traits within imperial discourse is unclear. Still, the explicit criteria could be fulfilled by anyone, and in this sense "barbarian" status need not be inherited. To the Han Chinese, peoples living within the empire but not belonging to the Han were associated with color—sometimes skin color, and sometimes colors associated with occupations or dyes used in clothing. Moreover, some groups enslaved by the Han in the twelfth century were called "devil slaves" and identified by skin, lip, and teeth color, and by their inability to eat cooked foods or to speak Chinese (Dikotter 1992). These distinctions were those made by Chinese elites (officials, scholars, and merchants), and it is unclear whether such distinctions were employed by non-elites in everyday life.

During the premodern and early modern periods, the distinction between people of culture and barbarians was employed to distinguish subjects of the emperor from those

living within the territories of the empire whose traits indicated they were disloyal or suspect, as well as those living beyond the empire with whom Chinese came into contact. The extension of the Asia-wide Chinese tribute system until the seventeenth century, however, meant that peoples whose rulers swore loyalty to the emperor might themselves be, if not Chinese, not barbarians either. Within this group were Koreans, Ryuku Islanders, Vietnamese, and Siamese. The Chinese viewed those within Asia but not encompassed by the tribute system (with its administered trade) as barbarians, as were all peoples beyond the reach of the tribute system.

Beginning in the early sixteenth century, Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, and English merchants, sailors, soldiers, and explorers ventured into the seas within the Chinese maritime tribute system, which extended throughout the insular East and Southeast Asia. Chinese merchants and imperial officials who came into contact with these foreigners classified them as barbarians, as inferior people without learning or culture.

#### CHINESE CONFRONT EUROPEAN COLONIALISM IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

The Han Chinese whose descendants make up the vast majority of the Chinese diaspora in the early twenty-first century came from the coastal regions of southern and southeastern China, and particularly from southern and eastern Guangdong Province, southern Fujian Province, and Hainan Island. One stream of emigration began in the late eighteenth century and crested in the 1880s through 1930s and was associated with the European colonization of Southeast Asia. Most emigrants came from Han subethnic groups, or “speech groups,” living in regions of coastal southern Fujian; inland Fujian, Jiangxi, and Guangdong; eastern coastal Guangdong; and southern Guangdong and Hainan. Chinese from these regions had widely varying customs and spoke mutually incomprehensible Chinese languages. Among Chinese immigrants to Southeast Asia, these speech-group affiliations were overriding, and most viewed people belonging to other speech groups as essentially different from and inferior to their own—as indeed they had within China itself.

The British, Dutch, and French who came to actively colonize Southeast Asia in the nineteenth century faced an enormous deficit in labor, which they needed to “open” the lands they had conquered to administration and exploitation. Laborers were in demand to build roads, railways, harbors, and government buildings, and to clear land for urban settlement, plantations, and mines. This work would supply raw materials for the Industrial Revolution and its new consumers in Europe and North America. Prior experiences of Amoy, Guangzhou, and Shantou merchants in the maritime trade accompanying the tribute system pro-

vided the vessels and shipping connections linking the port cities of southern and southeast China to Southeast Asia. Beginning in the 1840s, overpopulation, social disorder, and violence in southern China led large numbers of young Chinese men to flee the hinterlands for these cities, from which they would seek their livelihood and fortune on to the “Southern Seas.” The result was the “pig trade,” in which Chinese shippers and labor brokers based in these coastal ports transported hundreds of thousands of impoverished laborers to Singapore, Penang, Batavia (now Jakarta), Bangkok, and elsewhere in Southeast Asia. Early in the years of the pig trade, hostilities and even outright violence were frequent between hierarchically organized speech groups of migrants struggling over control of territory and markets in the colonies.

European colonial rule of immigrant Chinese relied on a combination of indirect rule via Chinese leaders (“Kaptans”), on coercion through the police and army, and on a unique form of subjugation via the colonial state’s provision of opium, to which many Chinese laborers became addicted. However, from the 1890s onward—as increasing numbers of Chinese migrants became successful “middlemen” merchants, planters, miners, and labor bosses within the colonial economies—the Chinese came to pose a major competitive threat to European commerce and industry. The early 1900s were marked by two features: (1) the implementation by colonial states of laws that limited the economic opportunities of Chinese (e.g., prohibiting their owning land or conducting business, on the ethnocentric grounds that Chinese methods were “primitive” or “backward”), and (2) the creation of the institutions of the colonial color bar (e.g., racially exclusive clubs, schools, railroad cars, and services limited to Europeans) specifically targeting the Chinese immigrants. Although the effects of the former were more encompassing over time, the latter were more personally felt by many Chinese. These laws and institutions continued through the end of the colonial era in the 1950s. Rivalries between speech groups abated, but animosities between Chinese and indigenes (whom they viewed as barbarians but with whom they traded) increased due to the harshness of colonial arrangements for extracting surplus from those ruled.

#### CHINESE, RACE, AND RACISM IN THE “NEW EUROPE”

A second stream of emigration from China was associated with the rise of new European settlements in North America, Australia, New Zealand, and the islands of Polynesia. This period began in the 1840s and ended by the 1890s. Most of these Chinese migrants were from the Pearl River delta region near Guangzhou and Hong Kong. Chinese migration to the Anglophone “New Europe” dates from the late 1840s and 1850s, when gold was discovered in California, Australia, British Columbia in Canada, and New Zealand. This

situation led large numbers of Chinese emigrants to leave Hong Kong to seek their fortunes in the gold fields. Others migrated to Hawaii and Tahiti as plantation laborers. By the 1860s, declining yields in the gold fields led migrants to seek work elsewhere as manual laborers, and they played major roles in the inland development of western North America and the building of transcontinental railroads in the United States and Canada. Chinese immigrants also became small retailers and commercial farmers in Australia, the United States, Hawaii, Canada, and New Zealand.

From the 1860s to 1900, racially motivated animosities against the Chinese by insecure members of the European diasporic working classes, who saw themselves as “white” for the first time, emerged in most of the European-ruled settlement colonies. From the 1860s through the 1880s, racially motivated strikes against Chinese, some organized by labor unions, occurred in the United States and Australia; head taxes and loss of the vote were imposed on Chinese in British Columbia; and the first of many national exclusion acts prohibiting entry to Chinese immigrants were passed in the United States (1882), Canada (1923), Australia (1901), and New Zealand (1881) in the name of racially pure “white” nations. The period from the early 1900s until the 1960s was one of continued legal restrictions on Chinese immigration and voting rights, as well as low-level extralegal violence and anti-Chinese discrimination in these countries.

#### CHINESE AND POSTCOLONIAL RACIAL FORMATIONS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

With the exception of Thailand, which was never colonized, postcolonial independence from the European powers took place in Southeast Asia from the 1940s through the 1960s by way of active nationalist struggles in Malaya, Indochina, Indonesia and Burma. These struggles were protracted, at times violent, and pitted indigenous majorities against the European colonizers.

In most Southeast Asian nations, the leaders of the independence movements succeeded Europeans as rulers of the new postcolonial states. In Thailand, leaders from the largest ethnic group, the Thai, continued to govern. The new rulers saw themselves and their followers, who were the majority of the population, as indigenous and having the legitimate right to define who did and did not belong to the nation-state. An ideal citizen of the nation showed loyalty to indigenous rule, a certain religious identity (e.g., Muslim), spoke a certain language (e.g., Malay), and adhered to indigenous custom. Indigenist ideologies placed Chinese citizens outside the nation, for they were considered politically disloyal, immoral, and exploitative toward indigenes in their business practices—despite the fact that many Chinese were not in business or had only petty roles in it.

For instance, Indonesian indigenist ideology applied the term *pribumi* (of the earth) to the members of all ethnic groups descending from ancestors who lived in the distant past on islands of the Indonesian archipelago—with the exception of Chinese.

Thus, from the 1950s onward, as indigenist regimes came to power in Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand, Cambodia, the Philippines, Vietnam, and Burma, they implemented policies that discriminated against Chinese in business, employment, land ownership, university entrance, cultural expression (e.g., Chinese-language schooling and the Chinese-language press), place of residence, and access to religious facilities. During periods of economic and political crisis, Chinese were particularly subject to state expropriation and extralegal indigenist violence, as in the May 13, 1969, riots against the Chinese in Kuala Lumpur, the exiling of Chinese (Hoa) from socialist Vietnam in 1978, and the horrific violence against Chinese lives and property (including rapes of several hundred Chinese women) in Jakarta on May 13–14, 1998.

Harkening back to earlier categories of race in China, but also in response to discrimination and state-sponsored racist violence, Chinese in Southeast Asia have at times expressed racist discourse and practiced discrimination against indigenes in these countries. In Malaysia, for instance, one derogatory word used by Hokkien speakers to refer to Malays was *huana* (barbarian), or *huan* (*fan* in Mandarin) with diminutive “-a” added. Some spoke of Malay “consciousness” as “backward,” and Chinese merchants at times discriminated intentionally against Malay customers and business people.

#### CHINESE AS ECONOMIC MIGRANTS AND MODEL MINORITIES

Since the 1960s, globalization, multiculturalist policies, and public awareness of the rise of the economies of Asia to world prominence have, compared to the past, led to more positive images and treatment by majorities of both local-born Chinese and new migrants from China, Taiwan, and Southeast Asia to the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Many citizens of Chinese descent born in these countries have become economically wealthy and socially prominent, and some occupy prestigious positions in academia and corporate life. New migrants have been attracted to the social stability, economic opportunities, and high levels of education, research, and technological development in these countries. Both groups have benefited from reforms stemming from the civil rights movement in the United States, and from avowedly multicultural policies vis-à-vis immigrants in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.

Part of globalization has been the advent of neoliberalism, or market fundamentalism, as a prevailing logic of governance in the governments of these countries. As interpreted in immigration policy, neoliberalism has promoted the idea that “economic migrants” bring globally scarce capital, business skills, and technological knowledge into a country and help advance its “comparative advantage” in the “global competition” for resources for economic growth. Within the circles of political elites in these countries, ethnic Chinese migrants with capital, business skills, and scientific education have come to be seen as particularly attractive “economic migrants.” Following on prior legislation in the 1960s and 1970s (which repealed the exclusionary laws passed between 1880 and 1910 and allowed for family reunification for Chinese migrants), immigration laws since the 1980s have not focused specifically on Chinese as a group, but rather on this category of economic migrants. Taking advantage of these provisions, wealthy Chinese from Taiwan and Southeast Asia have readily attained permanent residency status in the United States, Canada, and Australia. From the perspectives of the non-Chinese majorities, given that many of the recent migrants are also highly educated, they have melded with populations of citizens of Chinese descent (some of whom have lived in these countries for several generations) to form new “model minorities.”

Since the 1980s, in contrast to wealthy and highly educated economic migrants, other Chinese have migrated illegally from China to the United States, Canada, and Australia. These migrants have either been smuggled in or illegally overstayed their visitors’ visas. Indentured to transnational labor brokers working in both China and these countries, they have been forced to find work in the new sweatshops of Los Angeles and New York (where they are highly exploited), or they have sought “off-the-books” jobs as cabbies, factory operatives, and dishwashers in Sydney and Toronto, in order to pay off loans made to them for their passage from China.

Does the advent of the discourse of economic migrant and model minority mean the disappearance of racial discourse and racist discrimination against Chinese in these countries? This is unlikely. Now that past racist discourses of political elites have been transformed into the new language of market performance, which sorts out the winners from the losers in the new global economy, what is more likely is that the growing xenophobic resentment felt by the majority of “losers” against the new Asian “winners” will lead to new social tensions and racist violence in the years to come.

SEE ALSO *Racism, China.*

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## CHINESE IMMIGRATION AND EXCLUSION (U.S.), NINETEENTH CENTURY

Significant Chinese immigration to the United States began during the frenzied California Gold Rush, and it continued afterward because Chinese labor was deemed indispensable for West Coast economic development and integration into the national economy. However, Chinese immigrants arrived in significant numbers only in 1852, the year that labor-intensive surface mining of gold by self-employed Euro-American prospectors effectively ended and gold production shifted mostly to capital-intensive company mining. Tens of thousands of gold prospectors went bankrupt, became displaced, or found themselves unemployed, and the California economy experienced its first recession. That same year, the non-Indian population of California was 224,435, a sharp increase from only 15,000 in 1848. Of these, about 9 percent were Chinese, an overwhelming majority of whom had just arrived that year. In other words, Chinese entered California at a politically explosive and volatile

time, a time when displaced Euro-American prospectors were unprepared and unwilling to accept relatively low-paying jobs in gold-mining companies. Eager to work, Chinese immigrants entered the gold-mining region by working for these companies, prospecting in nonyielding claims abandoned by Euro-American prospectors, or taking on jobs deemed noncompetitive or below the dignity of Euro-American males, such as cleaning, cooking, and sewing.

With their hopes and dreams dashed, the frustrated Euro-American miners promptly directed their anger and hostility at the arriving Chinese. Incited by demagogic politicians, the Euro-American majority blamed the Chinese “foreigners” for their plight and demanded their ouster from their land. Governor John Bigler of California declared the Chinese to be “non-assimilable” people who must not only be excluded but expelled from California. Being non-Christian and nonwhite, poor Chinese immigrants were also considered heathens, incapable of enjoying Euro-American freedom and democracy. To Euro-Americans, assimilability was the primary criterion and exclusion was the sole remedy, and it was to be accomplished through democratic processes and institutions. In other words, Chinese exclusion was to be carried out through the enactment of explicitly anti-Chinese laws at the local, state, and national levels.

In the mid-nineteenth century, exclusion by racial violence and legislative means were the only viable options. The United States already had well-established policies toward Native Americans, African Americans, and Mexican Americans, the three major nonwhite groups. For the indigenous Indians, the policy was extermination or removal and relocation by force. Africans were brought into the country and kept in chain as slaves in the South. Mexican Americans in the Southwest were defeated, colonized, and suppressed. Because the newly arrived Chinese were not indigenous people, nor slaves, nor colonized people, exclusion and expulsion by democratic process became the chosen strategy and policy.

Faced with mounting anti-Chinese sentiment and organized protests among ex-miners and unemployed workers, including frequent mob violence and the burning of Chinatowns, local jurisdictions, most notably San Francisco and towns from Eureka to San Diego, passed ordinances to restrict Chinese residence, business, and employment. The California state legislature enacted a series of “anti-” laws, such as an alien passenger tax in 1852, the monthly Foreign Miner’s License Tax in 1853, a head tax of fifty dollars on the importation of Chinese in 1855, a Chinese exclusion law in 1858, a fishing tax in 1860, and a police tax for Chinese not engaged in mining in 1862. It also repeatedly petitioned the U.S. Congress to stop Chinese immigration. In 1879 California voters

succeeded in amending the state constitution to prohibit the hiring of Chinese by corporations, contractors, and government agencies. Many of these laws were subsequently declared unconstitutional or in violation of U.S.-China treaty obligations, but many also stood as laws.

As early as 1854, the judicial branch of the state government also joined the anti-Chinese assault. In a landmark decision, the California Supreme Court ruled that testimonies against whites by Chinese were inadmissible in courts of law. “If we would admit them to testify,” Chief Justice Hugh C. Murray warned, we “would admit them to all the equal rights of citizenship, and we might soon see them at the polls, in the jury box, upon the bench, and in our legislative halls.” As a result, crimes against Chinese persons and property were carried out by Euro-Americans with impunity throughout the West, giving rise to a popular saying, “Not a Chinaman’s Chance.”

Finally, in 1882, after thirty years of relentless violence and agitation, the U.S. Congress enacted the Chinese Exclusion Act, the first national immigration law specifically targeting Chinese for exclusion. The intent of the law was to stop the threat of Chinese immigration to the U.S. and end the “Yellow Peril.” When it became law, there were about 105,000 Chinese out of a total U.S. population of 50.2 million, or a mere one-fifth of one percent.

It took thirty years to accomplish the task of exclusion because of the unique role Chinese immigrant labor played in the economic development of the West, and because of U.S. interests in and obligations to China. In the mid-nineteenth century, the political agenda for the visionaries in the political class of Washington, D.C., and West Coast developers was already in place. The economic development and integration of the western states was deemed a national priority. This included rapid annexation and settlement, access to the rich natural resources, and the shortest route for U.S. trade and Christian mission in China. Unfortunately, this agenda was severely stifled by both the absence of infrastructure and cheap labor and the steadfast white working-class opposition to the presence of Chinese. European immigrants entering the United States were absorbed quickly by ascending mining and manufacturing industries in the East, and the cheap labor in the southern states was still enslaved on the plantations. The only hope for carrying out the agenda was the use of Chinese labor through immigration. But there was still another obstacle: A Chinese law prohibited Chinese emigration, even though the government was incapable of enforcing it. The law, nevertheless, inhibited large-scale labor recruitment.



## CHINESE LABOR ON WESTERN RAILROADS

Nothing symbolizes this challenge more clearly than the need to build the western portion of the transcontinental railroad in 1860s. For six frustrating years the Central Pacific Railway Company could not find the labor necessary to lay the track over the cold and rugged Sierra Nevada in California and the scorching deserts in Nevada and Utah. When western builders such as Charles Crocker, Leland Stanford, Mark Hopkins, and Collis P. Huntington discovered the ability, willingness, and reliability of Chinese workers, they began a massive recruitment in China. To guarantee a steady supply of cheap Chinese labor, Secretary of State William H. Seward and Ambassador Anson Burlingame engineered the Burlingame Treaty of 1868 that committed China to legalize the recruitment of Chinese immigrants and the United States to extend federal protection to Chinese workers under violent, political, legislative, and judicial assaults in the western states. The treaty explicitly recognized “the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance, and also the mutual advantage of the free immigration and emigration of their citizens and subjects respectively from one country to the

other, for purposes of curiosity, of trade, or as permanent residents.”

In all, 15,000 Chinese participated in the project, which was completed in 1869. More were recruited to build both the northern and southern routes across the nation, as well as the Canadian transcontinental railroad. Beyond railroad construction, Chinese were also recruited to extract minerals throughout the western states, build a vast network of canals and dikes in California, and work in California’s nascent agricultural, manufacturing, and fishing industries. After the Civil War, the plantation owners of the southern states also recruited Chinese in anticipation of the massive desertion of emancipated black slaves. Eastern factory owners used them to break strikes. In short, Chinese were indispensable, even if unwelcome and discriminated against because of their race.

Throughout this period and in subsequent periods, Chinese waged uphill struggles against racial violence, institutional racism, and efforts to deny their rights, dignity, and humanity. For example, Norman Asing, a Chinese-American restaurant owner, forcefully refuted California governor John Bigler’s anti-Chinese rhetoric in an 1852 letter published in the *Daily Alta California*; thousands of Chinese transcontinental railroad workers walked off their jobs to protest low and unequal pay in 1867; Wong Chin Foo organized militant protests against both the 1882 and 1892 Chinese exclusion laws through his Chinese Equal Rights League in New York; two Chinese children, Mamie Tape of San Francisco (in 1884) and Gong Lum of Rosedale, Mississippi (in 1924), challenged school exclusion and segregation; Yick Wo, a laundryman in Modesto, California, stood in defiance of one of several unjust anti-Chinese laundry ordinances in 1885; and nationwide civil disobedience was carried out by virtually all Chinese in the United States in a protest against the Chinese exclusion law of 1892. In the end, not even the combined forces of China interests in the East, Chinese diplomatic intervention, developers in the West, and Chinese resistance could prevent the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882.



**The Martyrdom of St. Crispin by Thomas Nast (1870).** *St. Crispin was a third-century shoemaker who was martyred for his Christian faith. This political cartoon portrays the Chinese as the saint’s slayers, representing the threat of cheap Chinese labor to American business.* PICTURE COLLECTION, THE BRANCH LIBRARIES, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

## EXCLUSION OR EXTERMINATION

Diplomacy was used to guarantee a steady supply of Chinese labor in the crucial decades of western development. When their labor was no longer needed, Americans turned again to diplomacy and democracy to terminate and exclude Chinese immigration. Up until 1882, the United States had an open door immigration policy. Only convicts, prostitutes, morons, and lepers were on the list of persons to be excluded. In 1880, under mounting political pressure, President Rutherford

B. Hayes appointed a commission to negotiate with China for a new treaty that would allow the United States to unilaterally modify or abrogate the Burlingame Treaty and enact Chinese exclusion laws. The commission succeeded in extracting a new treaty, under which the United States could maintain its interests in China through an open door trade policy but also enact laws to close its door to Chinese immigrants.

By adding Chinese to the list of those to be excluded, the 1882 law effectively terminated the legal immigration of Chinese and denied the right of naturalization for Chinese immigrants already in the country. Race was the sole basis for this exclusion and denial of citizenship. The law did allow teachers, students, merchants, diplomats, preachers, and tourists to visit the country, but not as immigrants. In short, the exclusion law institutionalized Chinese exclusion and anti-Chinese prejudice and rendered all Chinese in the United States perpetual and undesirable aliens, stigmatizing them, if not criminalizing them, by race.

Not surprisingly, anti-Chinese riots broke out and Chinatowns burned down in many towns and cities across the western United States in the decade immediately following the passage of the exclusion law. Among the most violent outbursts were the massacre of twenty-eight Chinese miners and the forceful eviction of several hundred Chinese in Rock Springs, Wyoming, in 1885, and the cold-blooded murder of several Chinese gold miners near the Snake River in Oregon, in 1887. As racial violence spread across the western states, Chinese were forced to flee from rural areas and find refuge either in segregated Chinatowns in cities such as San Francisco, Los Angeles, Marysville, Sacramento, Seattle, Portland, and San Diego, or in new Chinatowns in cities in eastern and midwestern states, such as Chicago, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Washington, D.C. The 1882 law thus amounted to state-sanctioned racial violence.

In the ensuing three decades, several more restrictive exclusion laws were enacted by the U.S. Congress in an effort to plug up various loopholes and strengthen the discretionary power of immigration enforcement agents. The Border Patrol, for example, was established to enforce the exclusion laws. Many of these laws were upheld by judicial decisions, including the sweeping U.S. Supreme Court decision in the *Fong Yue Ting v. United States* (1893), which upheld the constitutionality of the Geary Act of 1892 and denied the right of due process in summarily deporting aliens “deemed inconsistent with the public welfare.” In effect, the decision denied the guarantees of the Bill of Rights to the Chinese in the United States and granted discretionary power to the executive branch of the government. By the time of

the Theodore Roosevelt administration, even those exempt from exclusion became the frequent targets of arbitrary denial of admission and physical abuse and molestation, in violation of U.S. laws and international treaties. Terence V. Powderly, appointed by Roosevelt to head the Bureau of Immigration, was determined to keep all Chinese out of the country and expel as many as possible of those residing and working in the United States. Writing in 1909, the Stanford social scientist Mary R. Coolidge characterized the Roosevelt administration as “a sort of reign of terror.” It was in response to this strategy of expulsion and exclusion that the people of China, at the behest of the Chinese in the United States, launched a popular boycott of imported American goods in 1905, sending a powerful message to Washington, D.C., that the disenfranchised and oppressed Chinese minority could not send themselves.

In short, the exclusion of Chinese was so thoroughly institutionalized by democratic means that all three branches of the government joined hands in denying the rights, privileges, and sanctuary of Chinese immigrants in Euro-American society. As a result, the Chinese population in the United States, contrary to the experiences of immigrants from throughout the world, declined rapidly—from 127,000 in 1890 to 86,000 in 1920. Indeed, the situation facing the repressed and declining Chinese population was nothing short of ethnic cleansing.

SEE ALSO *Chinese Diaspora; Racism, China.*

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*L. Ling-chi Wang*

## CHISHOLM, SHIRLEY 1924–2005

Shirley Anita St. Hill Chisholm bequeathed a political legacy to the United States that has yet to be fully utilized. She was born in Brooklyn, New York, on November 30, 1924, and credited her father—who was born in Guyana and was a union man, a Garveyite, and a Roosevelt supporter—with fostering her political consciousness. Her mother, a native of Barbados, provided her with a strong work ethic and a desire for education. These attributes served her well as she defined her place in an environment that sought to ignore and silence her because of her race, class, and gender.

Although Chisholm did not want to be remembered as the first black woman in the United States Congress, or the first black person to run for the United States presidency, these distinctions clung to her. They did not define her, however. Chisholm's political spirit was born out of the American dream, but its promises were withheld from her. Her family joined immigrants from the South and Europe in Bedford-Stuyvesant, a racially mixed, multicultural Brooklyn neighborhood, in the 1930s. It was there that Chisholm experienced racism, urban poverty, and survival strategies. It was there, too, that she glimpsed the pathways to political power.

Politics surrounded Chisholm all her life, from her father's free-flowing discussions with friends in their home to her involvement in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Urban League. She honed her political skills with her involvement in racially segregated political clubs, the Democratic League, the Bedford-Stuyvesant Political League (BSPL, an organization to increase black political representation), and local grassroots organizations.

After earning a B.A. from Brooklyn College in 1946 (she would also earn a master's degree in early childhood education at Columbia University in 1952), Chisholm continued her work in politics in the traditional role for women of fund-raising. At that time, blacks had only token representation at the local political level, and women had none. After assessing the experiences of women in her community, she fought against the limited political roles available to women. In 1958 she challenged her political mentor, Wesley McD. Holder, for the presidency of the BSPL, and although she lost, she learned valuable lessons. In 1964 she decided to run for a State Assembly seat. Despite sexist challenges to her running, she won. She served in the New York Assembly until 1968, during which time she sponsored fifty bills, eight of which passed. These bills reflected her concerns for education, disadvantaged youth, women, and the poor, all of which were generally absent from the white male political agenda.

In 1968 Chisholm made history when she defeated the Republican candidate James Farmer's well-funded, anti-female campaign and became the first black woman in the U.S. Congress, representing New York's 12th Congressional District. By her own account, some of her colleagues resented a black woman earning the same salary that they earned. As a politician, however, she did not "play by the rules." For example, she refused her first congressional assignment, to the House Forestry Committee, because she felt it was ill-suited to her skills and her constituents' needs.

Chisholm was one of the founding members of the Congressional Black Caucus (originally called the Democratic Select Committee) in 1969, and of the National Women's Political Caucus in 1971. Yet she did not always fit well in either caucus. As a black, she was marginalized by women who did not want to address the issues that blacks felt were important; as a woman, she discovered that blacks were not interested in women's issues. In essence, she was a "womanist" long before the term was coined, working for the benefit of both men and women.

In 1972 Chisholm again made history when she entered the race for the Democratic nomination for the presidency of the United States. Although her campaign suffered from inexperience and insufficient campaign funds, her grassroots political organizing attracted diverse constituencies, especially women and other minorities. She gave a voice to political issues that rarely made the agenda of the major political candidates, such as unemployment, poverty, the Head Start program, and the Vietnam War. During the campaign, she routinely received hate mail, and she was threatened with attempts on her life.

Race was an ever-present campaign issue. When endorsed by the Black Panther Party in California, she refused to reject them despite the political fallout such an association might bring, but instead welcomed them back into electoral politics. However, the Congressional Black Caucus steered clear of her. She was virtually isolated by its members, as they made political deals driven by expediency. Only Congressman Ron Dellums of California solidly supported her candidacy, but in the eleventh hour, even he made the political decision to support George McGovern. Chisholm nevertheless garnered 151.95 delegate votes at the Democratic Convention.

Chisholm conceded that, of the limitations placed on her, gender was a more formidable obstacle than race. In 1984 she became a cofounder, and the first president, of the National Political Congress of Black Women (NPCBW). The NPCBW was founded on the premise that black women needed a political voice that spoke to their particular concerns. Chisholm stated: "I sincerely believe that the reason so many persons become visibly concerned about the potential emergence of the black

woman as a political force is because historically they know that we are resilient, we are strong, we have the stamina, the audacity, the courage, the perseverance to change this country” (Staff of *Southern Changes* 1985, p. 9).

After retiring from Congress in 1983, Chisholm remained active. She held the Purington Chair at Mount Holyoke College, teaching politics and sociology until 1987, and she advised Jesse Jackson during both of his campaigns for the presidency. Her impact on women, blacks, and other minorities was substantial, and one of her campaign workers, Barbara Lee, went on to become a member of Congress. But her political legacy must also be gauged by the inspiration that she instilled in others. Following her example, many individuals realized that this was indeed their country and that they had a right to participate in United States politics at every level, regardless of race, class, or gender.

In Shola Lynch’s 2004 film about the 1972 campaign, *Chisholm ’72: Unbought & Unbossed*, Chisholm describes her presidential bid as paving the way for other candidates who were ignored by the white male-dominated political machine. She wanted to be remembered as a woman who fought for change in the twentieth century. Shirley Chisholm died on January 1, 2005.

SEE ALSO *Black Feminism in Brazil*.

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*Barbara A. Moss*

## CHRISTIAN IDENTITY

The religious belief system known as Christian Identity (or just “Identity”) serves as a faith foundation for innumerable white supremacists worldwide, with as many as 50,000 adherents in the United States alone (as of mid-2005). It is a complex amalgamation of pseudo-Christian ideas, virulent anti-Semitism, historical revisionism, occultism, apocalyptic fantasies, conspiratorial paranoia, and classic notions of racial superiority. This blend of religion and racism has not only led to some of the most heinous hate crimes in America, but has also given rise to an extensive network of independent churches and organizations that cater to the social, political, and theological needs of racists, ranging from neo-Nazis to

Klansmen. Identity’s doctrinal paradigm, however, has no centralized authority structure, individual founder, core group of recognized leaders, or standard creed. Consequently, it cannot be classed as either a sect or a “cult.” And it certainly is not a mainstream Christian denomination. Identity, therefore, might best be described as an amorphous movement of self-styled leaders and affiliates that reflect racist religious beliefs and sociopolitical ideals.

Although the views expressed by Identity adherents may differ on peripheral issues—such as whether Hitler should be idolized; the best “solution” for ridding America of nonwhites (exportation vs. extermination); Jewish history; the significance of occult concepts (e.g., pyramidology); and the efficacy of violence over political activism—most followers of the faith agree on six tenets:

1. Adam and Eve were not the first humans; they were the first white people (Aryans).
2. Old Testament Israelites were Aryans and their descendants are today’s Caucasians.
3. Non-Aryans represent a different species than “whites.”
4. Jews are descended from either Satan or the Khazars (an Asiatic tribe).
5. Jesus was a white man, and not a Jew.
6. Armageddon, which will be a race war between whites and nonwhites, is imminent.

These doctrines encompass a total worldview, complete with an alternate historical framework stretching back to the dawn of time, as described in Genesis. But unlike mainstream Christians, Identity believers put a racist twist on the classic Adam and Eve story.

#### OLD TESTAMENT MYTHOLOGY

Identity teaches that Caucasians were created after God had already brought forth a host of other “races” (commonly called “mud people” or “beasts of the field”). This doctrine was noted in Bertrand Comparet’s *The Cain-Satanic Seed Line*. Richard Butler, the founder of the Aryan Nations, likewise taught that Adam was “the father of the White Race only” (*Who, What, Why, When, Where: Aryan Nations*, p. 3). The divine plan was for Adam and his wife, Eve, to populate the world with a new race of superior humans created in God’s image. But Satan (i.e., the “serpent”) greatly hindered the plan by launching a series of attacks against the Lord’s chosen people. These attacks started when the Devil literally seduced Eve.

The unholy union (i.e., original sin) produced Cain, who murdered his half-brother Abel—the son of Adam and Eve. Cain subsequently left the Garden of Eden and during his wanderings he supposedly fathered the Jewish

race (the “Seed Line” of Lucifer) through the pre-Adamite “mud people.” All Jews, therefore, are Satan’s spawn. As page 6 of the *Doctrinal Statement of Beliefs* for Kingdom Identity Ministries says, “We believe in an existing being known as the Devil . . . who has literal ‘seed’ or posterity in earth (Gen. 3:15) commonly called Jews.” As for Adam and Eve, they subsequently sired other children, who in turn propagated the white race. This race, contrary to the standard view of historians and theologians, became the “Israelites” of the Old Testament, represented by the twelve tribes of Israel’s northern and southern kingdoms.

Here the mystery surrounding the legendary Ten Tribes (or “Lost Tribes”) of Israel’s northern kingdom becomes relevant. Historians assume that these tribes (Asher, Dan, Gad, Issachar, Joseph, Levi, Naphtali, Reuben, Simeon, Zebulun), after being led into captivity by the Assyrians (c. 722–721 BCE), were assimilated into the populace of surrounding nations. But Identity asserts that the tribes remained a distinct people who wandered the earth, and in so doing scattered their white “seed” throughout the world. This theory, initially called “British-Israelism,” first gained acceptance in Victorian England (1837–1901) as Protestants began embracing the notion that they were descendants of Old Testament Israelites.

#### FROM ENGLAND TO AMERICA

Early proponents of British-Israelism included Richard Brothers (1757–1824), John Wilson (d. 1871), and Edward Hine (1825–1891). Their writings helped spread British-Israelism not only in England, but also America. By the late 1870s, in fact, their concepts were firmly established on U.S. soil. Throughout America, however, a far broader belief took root—that *all* Anglo-Saxons were Israelites. This position was labeled “Anglo-Israelism.”

Interestingly, during its formative years, British/Anglo-Israelism was neither racist nor anti-Semitic. Followers considered “Jews” to be fellow kinsmen descended from the two tribes of Israel’s southern kingdom (Judah and Benjamin). But such benign views started changing as America moved into the twentieth century, especially during the 1920s, as a nationwide revival of the Klan injected radical anti-Semitism into British/Anglo-Israelism.

The most notable figure of this era to advance anti-Semitism was William J. Cameron, the editor of Henry Ford’s *Dearborn Independent* (1919–1927). Cameron authored *The International Jew*, a four-volume series that included anti-Semitic material from more than ninety issues (1920–1922) of Ford’s newspaper. Cameron’s series were also based in part on information taken from *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, the now infamous forgery of minutes reportedly transcribed during a meeting of Jewish leaders plotting world domination.

In 1923 Cameron added two more *Dearborn Independent* stories to his anti-Semitic writings: “Are the Jews ‘God’s Chosen People?’” and “‘Was Jesus Christ a Jew?’—An Inquiry.” These latter works planted serious doubts in the minds of British/Anglo-Israelites about whether or not “Jews” were indeed separated brethren. According to the articles, “Jews” were actually evil descendants of the Khazars, an Asiatic race from the Black Sea region. This theory initiated the transition of British/Anglo-Israelism from a decidedly European belief system into a distinctly American hybrid of mythology, historical revisionism, and hate.

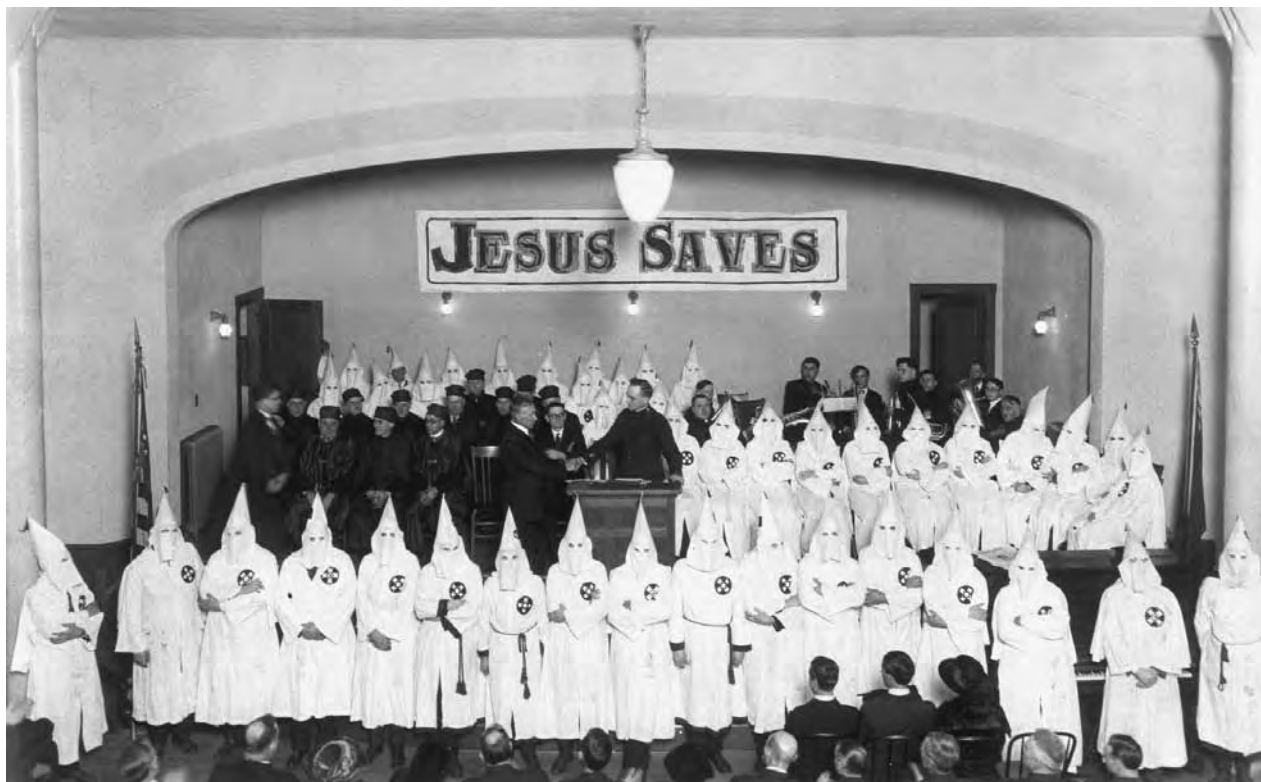
#### IDENTITY MATURES

From the 1920s through the 1940s, America’s newest religion was coalescing as British/Anglo-Israel leaders found common political and theological ground. Many notable figures emerged to shape not only Identity doctrines, but also the network of racist churches and organizations that would become Identity’s framework. These leaders included the Klansman Reuben H. Sawyer (1866–1962), Howard B. Rand (1889–1991), and Wesley Swift (1913–1970), who was perhaps the first true “Identity” preacher. Swift’s potent brand of anti-Semitism literally blazed the trail of hatred eventually taken by those who would form the backbone of Identity. Important successors of these men include Bertrand Compere (1901–1983), William Potter Gale (1917–1988), and Gerald L. K. Smith (1898–1976).

Despite the voluminous amount of literature produced by these Identity proponents and their protégés, it was not until the late 1970s to early 1980s that Identity reached full stature. By that time, Identity believers had incorporated into their faith the idea that Jesus was a white man who came to save only whites. Moreover, so-called “race-mixing” had become a paramount abomination to Identity followers, primarily in response to social and cultural changes in post-1960s America.

Identity’s hatred of interracial childbearing is rooted in white supremacist fears that their race will be obliterated via dilution of the “white” gene pool. This is seen as being part of an alleged Jewish conspiracy to destroy God’s people. It is the same conspiracy that supposedly inspired America’s civil rights movement and subsequent attempts to foster multiculturalism. As the Identity preacher Charles Wiesman noted in 1991:

“Jews are the ones promoting multi-racial immigration and multi-culturalism. . . . [Jews want to] destroy God’s order of things by getting the white race to ignore the natural barriers of distinction between races. The Jew thus runs to the aid and cause of the Negro and colored races to elevate them while lowering the status of the white man. . . . Jews, who are mongrels, desire the entire world to be mongrelized, especially the white race” (*Who Is Esau-Edom?*, pp. 108–109).



**Religion and Racism.** Ku Klux Klan members share a stage, possibly in Portland, Oregon, with members of the Royal Riders of the Red Robe, a Klan auxiliary for foreign-born white Protestants, circa 1922. Protestantism played a strong role in the KKK philosophy of “100 percent American.” OREGON HISTORICAL SOCIETY, #ORHI 51017.

Contempt for “race-mixing” also plays a significant role in the apocalyptic visions of Identity adherents, who believe that the United States is teetering on the brink of a catastrophic race war (i.e., Armageddon) that will mark a new beginning for America (the New Jerusalem), which God created for whites only. This war will cleanse the Promised Land of all nonwhites in a manner perhaps not too different from the storyline of *The Turner Diaries*, a horrifically violent screed by William Pierce. In this way, the United States will be delivered from its Zionist Occupational Government (ZOG) and transformed into God’s “Heavenly Reich” on earth.

Such a scenario has led some Identity believers to not only adopt the battle cry RAHOWA (i.e., Racial HOLY WAR), but also to manifest violence toward Jews and people of color. The most notorious example of such conduct involved The Order (or *Bruder Schweigen*—the “Silent Brotherhood”), which went on a nationwide rampage in 1984 that included multiple robberies and the murder of Jewish radio talk show host Alan Berg. Other Identity-linked crimes include Timothy McVeigh’s 1995 bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Building, the 1996 Centennial Olympic Park bombing by Eric Rudolph; and the 1998 shootings by Buford Furrow at a Los Angeles Jewish community center.

Mainstream Christians have responded to Identity by arguing that neither racism nor anti-Semitism represents historic Christianity. The Bible declares that there is “neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free man, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ” (Galatians 3:28). The unity of humankind is also exalted in the New Testament, where it is explained that God made from Adam “every” nation of men (Acts 17:26).

Interestingly, many Identity believers have come to reject the “Identity” label because it has become too closely associated with racism and violence. As the Identity pastor Pete Peters put it, “Identity” has been “transformed into an evil icon in the minds of the populace.”

SEE ALSO *Swift, Wesley.*

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*Richard J. Abanes*

## CITIZENSHIP AND RACE

Generally speaking, *citizenship* defines the relationship between the nation-state and those individuals who are considered to be a part of the national polity. Citizenship involves complex notions of rights, obligations, and identity and is a contested social category. Citizenship is a malleable term, which is easily conflated with geopolitical identity. Citizenship can refer to birthplace and national allegiance, but birthplace alone does not define a citizen. Most scholars define citizenship in reference to at least three categories: rights, political activity, and identity. Yet, the most complete definition of citizenship is membership. Citizenship can best be defined by membership in a political community (nation or state) that provides the benefit of political rights of participation, including a right to vote, own property, and participate in governance. Citizenship also involves burdens and duties, including supporting the general will of the nation-state, and participating in activities that benefit the broader community, including paying taxes, subordinating personal interests for the general welfare, and deferring to the broad police powers of the state. In the United States, racial lines and categories

demarcated citizenship: whites were citizens, and blacks were, at best, "others."

A review of legislative history before the U.S. Civil War (1861–1865) reveals significant ambiguity as to what the citizenship concerns were or what the term fully meant to legislators or crafters of the U.S. Constitution. However, one issue was clear: wealth and race were determinate factors in one's ability to claim full inclusion and the rights associated with citizenship in the United States. The racial dimension of citizenship can be seen in the way that race determined rights and membership in colonial America, the centrality of race in determining who could become a citizen through the naturalization process, and the use of race to demarcate first- and second-class citizenship from the time of independence until the 1960s.

Immigration and subsequent naturalization petitions served a vital function in the early forming of the United States. Free, white Europeans were needed to pioneer and participate in westward expansion. Their arrival served a vital function in the eighteenth century to help claim territory from indigenous populations and create a new definition of citizenship in the West. The geopolitical taking of land and casting out indigenous populations energized a new identity category, *whiteness*, which defined citizenship at the time and continued to tug at the nation's conception of citizenship through the Civil War, Reconstruction, the civil rights movement, and even post-9/11.

After the Civil War, amendments to the constitution addressed citizenship more clearly and directly by explicitly implementing language using the term *citizenship*, in the Fourteenth Amendment for example. Despite this inclusion, the scope of this term remains disputed largely because (as many people believe and legal cases confirm) citizens have at times been treated differently based on race, gender, sexual orientation, health, and religious status.

## RACE AND CITIZENSHIP IN THE COLONIAL ERA

Although Africans were present at the very beginning of viable European settlement of North America, it was clear that they were in no means considered "citizens" of those colonies. A review of the history of black settlement in Jamestown, Virginia, and St. Augustine, Florida, reveals a two-tiered society where Africans were commonly denied the ordinary privileges of local white citizens, including the ability to litigate disputes, own property, and vote. Africans were not considered members of the newly established colonies. In fact, the early colonies permitted slavery and enforced brutal practices to keep slaves in check and enforce the authority of slave owners.

The colonial era came to define future notions of citizenship as well as delineate the proper roles between

persons of different social origins. Crucial to the creation of citizenship for whites and denying the same to black people, particularly black women, were the development of anti-miscegenation legislation and the denial of inheritance through the paternal bloodlines, as had been an essential part of English common law tradition. Jack M. Balkin argues, “obviously, a system of subordination cannot be stable if it is too easy to exit from the criteria of subordination status. That is why biological traits can be such useful markers of cultural differentiation. The advantage of immutability lies in its guarantee of stability—it helps ensure that social hierarchy can be reproduced effectively” (1997, p. 2313). (See, for example, Act XII: Negro Women’s Children to Serve According to the Condition of The Mother, Virginia 1662; see also Franke 1999.)

Paul Finkelman provides a reminder that in early Virginia comparatively fewer white women settled, therefore white men engaging in sexual relationships often did so with enslaved blacks (1997). These contacts were by no means legally uncomplicated as they were often nonconsensual, produced children, and yet the African women who bore these children were legally on par with animals. Despite tens of thousands of blacks being born to white fathers—who were often connected to plantations (owners, overseers, or their relatives)—they were cast as illegitimate and inherited (non)-citizenship according to their mothers’ enslaved status (Finkelman 1997).

In 1662 Virginia led the slave states in differentiating the citizenship of future sons and daughters of the United States. The Act provided (all sic):

Wheras some doubts have arrisen whether children got by any Englishman upon a negro women should be slave or ffree, Be it therfore enacted and declared by this present grand assembly, that all children borne in this country shalbe held bond or free only according to the condition of the mother, And that if any christian shall committ ffornication with a negro man or women, hee or shee soe offending shall pay double the ffines imposed by the former act. (Act XII, Negro Women’s Children to Serve According to the Condition of the Mother, Virginia, 1662).

Law scholar Cheryl Harris explains that this act and similar others were designed to “guarantee that the property in whiteness remained pure and inviolate,” but more importantly that the slaveholders would not suffer economic losses through their sexual misadventures with black slave women (quoted in Painter 1996, p. 333–335). Citizenship was naturally coveted as it conferred rights, privileges, and social legitimacy, which became critically important in the “new world.” Without citizenship even

the black children of white fathers were relegated to what Derrick Bell refers to as the “bottom of the well” (1992).

The founding of American citizenship implicitly relied upon the denial of citizenship to those of African descent. This was most expediently achieved through the collective negative imaging of blacks. Historians comment that blacks were perceived as too immature, unsophisticated, and intellectually inferior to properly exercise the rights granted to citizens, including the right to vote, receive fair wages, contract, and express individual autonomy (Du Bois 1903, Bennett 1999, Painter 1996, Wade 1964).

William H. Harris, in his 1982 work *The Harder We Run: Black Workers since the Civil War*, comments on the economic rights associated with fair wages and labor. Harris observes that the need for black labor was apparent, but that blacks were pacified with diminutive wages, treating them not as respected, adult laborers. Harris also comments that when blacks were inclined to strike in protest of their punitive treatment, whites were known to respond with violence. They were considered an “inferior class of beings” who had to be “subjugated by the dominant race,” holding no rights except those the government might choose to give them (from majority decision of *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, 60 U.S. 393,1856).

*Dred Scott v. Sanford* (1856) is, by all measures, the defining antebellum case on citizenship status. In the *Dred Scott* case, the U.S. Supreme Court determined that persons of African descent were not and could not become citizens of the United States. The Court held that “it is too clear for dispute, that the enslaved African race were not intended to be included, and formed no part of the people who framed and adopted” the Constitution.

Frederick Law Olmsted, an esteemed abolitionist, commented on the superficial, “childlike” relationship between blacks and whites, accepting this notion as a sad reality (1860). Essential to the sanctioning and political health of slavery and the protection of white propertied landowners’ interests were the denial of black citizenship and other exclusions (Fox 1999). Thus, although laboring and living in America, slaves were without placement and political identity in the United States. Blacks’ lack of political identity and recognition had both psychological as well as economic implications for both blacks and whites. For example, Nell Painter in *Sojourner Truth: A Life, A Symbol* (1996) describes with incredibly rich detail the psychological characteristics of slavery and the affects of subordination and “its characteristics—a lack of self-confidence, personal autonomy, and independent thought . . .” (p. 17). Winthrop D. Jordan, in his 1974 work *The White Man’s Burden: Historical Origins of Racism in The United States*, provides an excellent exposition on the perceived economic necessities of slavery and the psychological



ramifications of reliance on unpaid black labor (see also Johnson 1999, Randall 2001). The psychological dimensions of antebellum period imagery continue to haunt and complicate race relations in America.

The economic empowerment and growth of the United States depended upon unpaid labor of African slaves, and as slavery was “an essential part of the original constitution,” blacks were relegated to the status of chattel or property (see also Blassingame 1972). Slavery became the source for economic power and growth for the United States; as Charles Johnson and Patricia Smith observed, “in 1795, the first year of the cotton gin’s operation, American planters produced 8 million pounds of cotton. By 1800, production increased more than 400 percent, fueling the demand for additional [slave] labor” (1998, p. 267). David Brion Davis noted that slavery was a “far stronger institution in 1880 than in 1770—largely because of the invention of the cotton gin” (2001, p. 1); Yuval Taylor asserted that “the cotton the slaves produced had become not only the United States’ leading export but exceeded in value all other exports combined” (quoted in Robinson 2000). Not only through sales in cotton, tobacco, sugar, hemp (for rope making), and other agricultural crops in the south, slavery also had presence in the American North: “black bondage had long been legal in all 13 colonies when the American Revolution began” (Davis 2001, p. 1). Slaves were bought, sold, used for collateral, and listed as assets in bankruptcy petitions (Weisenburger 1998).

Slavery itself was more easily justifiable if blacks, in the popular cultural imagination and legal texts, possessed infantile and unsavory attributes. Thomas Jefferson referred to slaves in terms of chattel and animals, suggesting that they possessed dull imaginations, were tasteless, and foul in odor (1954). As slaves, lacking voting power, credit power, and access to education, blacks did not possess the legal or social means to move themselves beyond servitude (Harris 1996). By contrast, poor whites, experiencing certainly a compromised status in America, were nonetheless able to benefit economically—even if marginally—from the absolute subjugation of blacks (Bell 1990). Moreover, they were not considered chattel within the law or society. As suggested by W.E.B. Du Bois, this quagmire was not wholly unintentional, as the concept of racial superiority would psychologically compensate poor whites by providing “public and psychological wage,” thereby diametrically positioning black inferiority in counterbalance to collective white dominance and citizenship (1935, p. 700). Whiteness is a stock, which needs no investment from whites, but provides economic, political, and social returns for their particular group. Buttressed against that was the unshakably distorted image of blackness; if whiteness is property and citizenship, blackness was an “alien” status.

**NATURALIZATION RACE AND CITIZENSHIP**

Naturalization, or the process of becoming a citizen when born elsewhere, was significantly determined by race. In the United States, whiteness was the *sine qua non* of becoming a citizen.

The first law setting forth citizenship requirements was the Naturalization Act of 1790. It established the first rules governing the granting of national citizenship in the United States. Citizenship at that time was limited to “free white persons,” excluding slaves and indentured servants. Under the Act, Native Americans, Asians, and other non-Europeans did not meet the legal definition of “white” for purposes of naturalization and citizenship. The law also limited citizenship to men, who in turn were free to vote. The naturalization process usually required two years of residency in the United States and one year of residency in a



**The Dred Scott Decision.** The June 27, 1857, edition of Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper featured a front page story on the Supreme Court’s anti-abolitionist Dred Scott decision, including illustrations of the Scott family. The Court had decided that no black person could ever be a citizen of the United States. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

state. Upon meeting such requirements, individuals were usually allowed to file a petition for naturalization with common law courts.

In 1790 Congress affirmatively acted to reserve naturalization exclusively for “white persons” (Act of March 26, 1790, Ch. 3, 1 Stat. 103). Because Congress defined naturalization as “[t]he conferring, by any means, of citizenship upon a person after birth,” it was clear that even petitions for citizenship would be denied to those who were not white by birth (United States Citizenship and Immigration Services). The racialization of naturalization endured until 1952, long after the abolition of slavery (Immigration and Nationality Act Section 101[a][23], 8 U.S.C. Section 1101[a][23][1952]). It was only then, in 1952, that naturalization was not preconditioned on race (Akram and Johnson 2002). The Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) of 1952 (also known as the McCarran-Walter Act) restricted immigration to the United States, but is also known for organizing a disparate body of statutes and regulations regarding immigration and naturalizing and solidifying U.S. policy under one legislative act.

For more than a century after the passage of the 1790 law, “Congress legislated separately regarding immigration and nationality” (Smith 2002). Marion Smith, a senior historian for the United States Immigration and Naturalization Services, explains that “one congressional committee drafted nationality law, defining U.S. citizenship and how it might be lost or gained. Another committee addressed immigration issues and only began serious attempts to govern or regulate immigration as the nineteenth century came to a close” (2002). Only later, and only for the purpose of excluding Chinese persons from naturalizing in 1882, did the two laws converge.

It was the Fourteenth Amendment, ratified on July 9, 1868, that granted citizenship to all children born of former slaves in the United States. A bold step forward for the country, it sought to protect the status of former slaves by guaranteeing equal treatment under the law as well as the protection of property and liberties typically granted white citizens. The Amendment was significant because it closed the federal and state social policy gap. It made clear that states could not abridge federally conferred rights of citizenship, effectively overturning *Dred Scott v. Sandford*. The Amendment provides:

All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the

equal protection of the laws (United States Constitution, Amendment XIV, Section 1, 1868).

The Fifteenth Amendment, ratified in 1870, recognized as granting citizens the right to vote, essentially extended this right only to black men; white women and black women were yet to be fully incorporated as voting members of the U.S. citizenry. In relevant part, the Amendment protects the right to vote against state or federal acts of discrimination. It gives power to the Congress to enforce the legislation, although the meaningful muscle of this Amendment would come nearly a century later with the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

#### NATURALIZATION ACT OF 1870

Now that the children of former slaves were automatically granted citizenship status in the United States, an important question remained unanswered: What about their parents and other immigrants? Following the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment (1865), which abolished slavery, the Fourteenth Amendment conferred citizenship on the formerly enslaved. Congress passed the Naturalization Act of 1870; while the 1870 Act ushered in a right for blacks to naturalize, overall the Act held only limited promise of equality in the United States; it provided only for the naturalization of whites and persons of “African descent” and continued to exclude Asians and Native Americans from citizenship. Moreover, the law became symbolic for blacks as their claims to legal citizenship were seemingly trumped by social and political subordination and physical backlash.

In 1882, Congress addressed Asian citizenship directly in the Chinese Exclusion Act. The anti-Asian legislation is considered one of the most significant laws restricting immigration into the United States on the basis of race. Chinese workers were the targets of significant racial animus from working class whites in Western states. Despite the fact that the Chinese comprised less than 1 percent of the U.S. population, Congress intervened to assuage racial fears that Asians were “stealing” jobs from white Americans.

The Exclusion Act, which was renewed in 1892 and in 1902, sought to restrict Chinese immigration and naturalization. The Act formed the basis for other race-based exclusion measures, including successful efforts to deny naturalization to Hindus, Japanese, Middle Easterners, and East Indians. Chinese persons, including Chinese Americans, were ineligible to apply for citizenship until 1943, when the Exclusion Act was effectively nullified.

Citizenship rights for Native Americans were dealt with in the case of *Elk v. Wilkins* (1884), which denied John Elk the right to vote in Nebraska. The Court held that

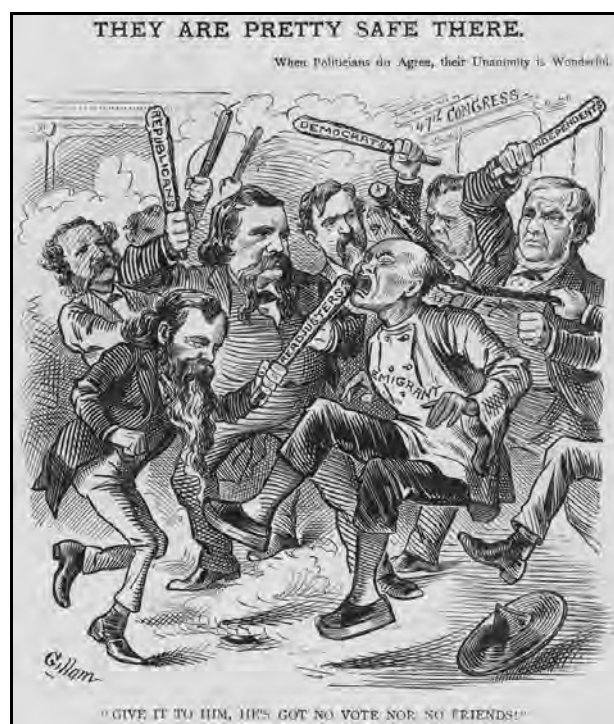
citizenship was established by the federal government and that Native Americans were not included in the guarantees of citizenship, nor extended the right to vote by the Fifteenth Amendment. The Court emphasized that Congress did not intend for such rights to be established for Native persons. That precedent would stand until 1887, when Congress enacted the Dawes General Allotment Act, which granted citizenship to Native Americans who disavowed tribal affiliations and allegiance. Finally, in 1890, twenty years after blacks were granted the right to naturalize, Native Americans were extended the same right with the Indian Naturalization Act of 1890.

### WHITENESS AND RACIAL PREREQUISITE CASES

Whiteness was a valuable commodity in the United States; it was unquestionably the most significant feature of citizenship requirements according to Justice Roger B. Taney's infamous holding in the *Dred Scott* decision. Whereas the 1870 Naturalization Act provided citizenship to whites and blacks, for other ethnic, nonwhite populations, efforts to naturalize were met with unyielding legislative and judicial opposition. Color became the measuring stick by which to evaluate citizenship and naturalization in the United States. In a rather ironic twist, throughout the early twentieth century members of Asian and other ethnic groups petitioned courts claiming whiteness in order to gain citizenship.

Petitions for naturalization based on whiteness almost always failed for Asians and other ethnic minorities. Historians have yet to capture the full meaning of such efforts. For example, might some ethnic groups have been more successful applying for citizenship if they had cast themselves as black instead of white? Why was whiteness the natural or preferred avenue to citizenship given that blackness afforded—in naturalization cases—an equal opportunity for citizenship? Whiteness, just as blackness, however, was a social construction enforced by law, built on very unsteady ground. In other words whiteness was an arbitrary physiological distinction, but which courts claimed was clear by “common knowledge.”

Whiteness, however, also exposed the fault lines inherent in creating racial hierarchies. Clear distinctions were erected to define the quality of citizenship between whites and nonwhites. Nevertheless, all whites were not treated equally; the English, Irish, French, Scandinavians, Germans, and others found unity in whiteness buttressed against blackness in the competition for jobs, services, public accommodations, and quality schools, but divisiveness based on religion, national origin, or geographical affiliation and minor phenotype distinctions plagued that tenuous coalition throughout the second half of the



**Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882.** An illustration by Bernhard Gillam shows a group of politicians beating a Chinese man. The Chinese Exclusion Act outlawed Chinese immigration to the United States for 10 years, and the law was renewed until its repeal in 1943. PICTURE COLLECTION, THE BRANCH LIBRARIES, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

nineteenth century. Public forms of discrimination against the Irish, including signs posted in windows that read “No Irish Need Apply,” evidenced the tension. While the Irish hoped to ascend into politics and assimilate in the United States, southern Europeans, such as the Italians, preferred to build in small communities and often hoped to return to their homelands.

### SECOND-CLASS CITIZENSHIP AND RACE

Is citizenship any less meaningful if members of a group enjoy legal entitlements, but experience social, political, and sometimes violent obstacles in obtaining or exercising those rights? The Jim Crow era in the United States (from Reconstruction through the 1960s) signified a return to the tyranny of second-class citizenship for Americans of African descent. The constitutional rights obtained during Reconstruction and later amendments to naturalization policies stood as hollow promises while blacks were subjected to mob violence for attempting to vote, denied equitable public education, and were the victims of heinous lynchings, sexual violence, and systemic brutality.

The tyranny of the Jim Crow era in American life is given stark definition by the murders (too often with the complicity of local law enforcement) of teenagers and young adults attempting to assist blacks in voting during the 1950s and 1960s, and the horrific lynching and castration of Emmett Till, a fourteen-year-old boy murdered in 1955 for allegedly whistling at a white storekeeper's wife. When considering what citizenship meant during Jim Crow, it is clear that there were two tiers of social and political empowerment in society. Those tiers were vertical and not horizontal as the Supreme Court led the nation to believe by its ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896).

*Plessy v. Ferguson* was central in recasting hierarchical differences in citizenship in the United States. In that case, the United States Supreme Court ruled that blacks enjoyed the same rights as whites, but those rights were to be accommodated in separate, but equal, spaces. The ramifications of this case traveled far beyond its original context (a biracial passenger on a train being removed from an all-white car), to justify housing discrimination; segregated schooling, and obstacles in blacks being admitted to universities, medical schools, and law schools; and discrimination in accommodations on trains, buses, and trolleys, and in pharmacies, restaurants, stores, and the voting booth. The reality of *Plessy* was a return to the state of affairs referred to by Taney in the *Dred Scott* decision when he iterated for the nation that those of African descent had no rights that whites were obligated to respect. Despite the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), overturning *Plessy* as a matter of law, the legacy of the *Dred Scott* and *Plessy* decisions lives on.

Citizenship is about membership and sociopolitical belonging. The test of one's citizenship in a society may take place at the ballot box, but it also occurs during one's daily routine of going to school, work, shopping, accessing accommodations, worshipping, and returning home. It is in these spheres where the quality of citizenship is often revealed, and it continues to be in these domains where immigrants, those of African descent, and others continue to encounter challenges to their status as U.S. citizens. Racial profiling, the denial of services, and hate crimes evidence that full incorporation of citizenship is not exclusively a legal function, but also a process with social, cultural, and political meaning.

SEE ALSO *Civil Rights Acts; Dred Scott v. Sandford; United States Constitution.*

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Michele Goodwin

## CITIZENSHIP AND “THE BORDER”

In the wake of the events of September 11, 2001 (9/11), and the spurious linkages made between this tragedy and the immigration issue, the United States has witnessed an overwhelming amount of attention to “securing our borders.” Of course, this was not the first time national security and immigration were linked to one another. In the early 1990s policy advisers and academics suggested that international migration was a critical concern for peace and stability in the post–cold war era (Doty 1998). However, the attacks of 9/11 did intensify this connection in the minds of many. This attention has taken the form of rhetoric on the part of citizen border patrol groups, immigration “reform” organizations, the news media, and public officials. This attention has also resulted in practices aimed at fortifying entry points, monitoring day labor sites, and increased arrests and deportations of the undocumented. Both the discourse and the practices are based on a simplified view of the extremely complex, multifaceted, and contested nature of “the border.” They presume that the border is simply a national, territorial boundary that—

given sufficient money and troops, high enough walls, sophisticated enough technology, and the political will—can be fortified, secured, and thus forever ensure the safety and sanctity of “the citizen.” However, the border is multifaceted and the territorial border is only one aspect of a much larger phenomenon of border that divides human beings from one another, creates a “self” and “other,” a subject who belongs and one who does not, a subject who is deserving and one who is not, a subject who can be called “citizen” and one whose existence can be deemed “illegal.” In every sense of the word and in all of its manifestations, “the border” is a site of resistance, which itself takes many forms. The very fact that the border elicits so much attention is an indication of its contested nature. The numerous practices of resistance revolving around the border also attest to this.

The most obvious form of resistance is the physical act of crossing national territorial borders without the proper documents. It is a form of resistance that the label *illegal* erases. *Illegal* conveys a black and white world in which those who cross without documents are deemed criminals regardless of the circumstances. Among Hispanic immigrants, the terms “with papers” or “without papers” are used (*con papeles* or *sin papeles*), which softens the boundary between “legals” and “illegals.” The use of the term *illegal immigrant* is not limited to anti-immigrant, nativist groups, but is a rather common designation for migrants without legal documents. This concept is itself implicated in the production of a border that divides the many people who live, work, and contribute to a society. In contrast, if one conceptualizes the very act of crossing the border without documents as a statement about the limitations of *citizen* as a legal concept attached to a national territory, one comes away with a much more complex understanding of the tension between life on the ground, so to speak, and the conceptual apparatus by which one seeks to understand it.

*Citizen* as a concept struggles to survive in the face of globalization and its own inherent limitations. One can pose the question as to whether the current manifestation of the concept of citizen in political and legal practices that function to exclude and deny rights to those who are not citizens can ultimately survive, or whether one needs to rethink the meaning of this concept in light of the reality of the contemporary world. The human beings who contribute to society but live in fear because of their undocumented status make a silent statement about the limitations of current understandings of the *citizen*. This contestation took a more visible and openly articulated form in the immigrant rights’ demonstrations that took place throughout the United States in the spring of 2005.

Perhaps the ultimate and most tragic form of border contestation is exercised by those who pay with their lives in the dangerous crossing locations of the southwestern United States. Their bodies lay scattered across a harsh landscape, sometimes identified by name, often simply labeled *no identificado* (unidentified). The existence of these bodies and the memories of the lives that once surged through them is a form of resistance that disrupts the border between citizen and human being (Doty 2005). They call attention to what we all *are* ultimately, when the trappings of a nationalist identity are stripped away by the heat, the sun, a rattlesnake, lack of water. The desert knows none of these markers of identity, nor do the waters in the Strait of Gibraltar.

Contestation and resistance often result in counter-practices. Several contemporary happenings serve to illustrate practices that seek to reinforce borders and thus the presumed identity of the citizen. One of these is the militarization of the border, which dates back to the 1990s with the beginnings of the "prevention through deterrence" policies of the U.S. Border Patrol. These policies began with Operation Hold the Line in El Paso, Texas, and continued with Operation Gatekeeper in San Diego and a series of other border operations that functioned to seal off major crossing points on the Arizona/Mexico and New Mexico/Mexico borders. The stated purpose of these policies was to deter migrants from crossing in the more populated urban areas. In one sense they were symbolic, a "border game" (Andreas 2000). In actuality they resulted in skyrocketing numbers of deaths of border crossers who were pushed into harsher terrains. In addition, they created another border: a border between those whose lives were deemed dispensable, whose deaths would be the price to show that the United States was serious in trying to secure its borders. In the twenty-first century, the militarization continues: both unofficial, as in civilian border groups such as the Minutemen, and official, as with the National Guard Troops deployed on the U.S.-Mexico border.

Another, perhaps less publicized practice that seeks to reinforce a different kind of border is the effort in the United States to deny "birthright citizenship" to babies born to undocumented parents. Almost every anti-immigrant organization and a number of civilian border groups, as well as some policy makers, favor revoking this long-standing right guaranteed in the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. House Bill 698, which was sponsored by forty-nine members of the U.S. House of Representatives in 2006, would have eliminated this right. It ran aground in December 2006, but it will likely resurface (Crary 2006). The bill would create a border that divides human beings at the very moment of their birth.

The issues of race and culture inevitably arise within the struggle to reinforce borders that arguably always have been extremely porous. It is extremely difficult to pinpoint precisely how these two complex concepts become intertwined. After biological notions of race have been thoroughly debunked, how does one begin to think of the impact of borders on race and ethnicity? One way is to consider the notion of "cultural racism," or what some have referred to as "neo-racism" (Barker 1981; Balibar 1991; Doty 2003; Taguieff 1990). Neo-racism suggests that it is natural for antagonisms to develop between members of a bounded community—that is, a nation and its "outsiders." "But feelings of antagonism will be aroused if outsiders are admitted" (Barker 1991, p. 21). In the decade around the turn of the twenty-first century, there was a virtual proliferation of books that argue that immigrants threaten the cultural integrity of the United States. Such books include Peter Brimlow's *Alien Nation*, published in 1995, and Samuel Huntington's *Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (1996) and his 2004 work *Who Are We?: The Challenges to America's National Identity*, and Pat Buchanan's *State of Emergency: The Third World Invasion and Conquest of America* (2006); all assert that Mexican immigrants pose dangers to the United States. These are all examples of what the term *neo-racism* is meant to capture. They create the notion of unassimilable "others" who threaten "our" very existence. In contrast to earlier forms of racism, neo-racism professes an ideology of equality while it shuns the mixing of cultures and peoples. Etienne Balibar has suggested that neo-racism is a racism of the reversal of population movement, that is, movements from Third World countries to the rich industrialized countries (Balibar 1991). This way of thinking about peoples and cultures and borders provides a simplified and dangerous way of interpreting the consequences of the movement of human beings all over the world. It creates a border that hinders addressing real issues associated with population movements in a humane way. Theorist Edward Said best posed the question that arises with borders, citizenship, and difference: "Can one divide human reality, as indeed human reality seems to be genuinely divided, into clearly different cultures, histories, traditions, societies, even races, and survive the consequences humanly?" (Said 1979, p. 45).

**SEE ALSO** *Border Crossings and Human Rights; Border Patrol.*

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## CIVIL RIGHTS ACTS

A civil right is a guarantee by the government, generally in the form of a statute or constitutional provision, that a certain freedom (or freedoms) will be protected through the machinery of the judicial system. If a civil right is interfered with by another person or persons, legal action can be taken against the perpetrators. Some of the most well-known civil rights guarantees include the right to be free from involuntary servitude, the right to vote, and the right to be free from employment discrimination.

### THE ORIGINS OF CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION

In the United States, civil rights have their origins in the efforts of the U.S. Congress to free enslaved Africans and, later, to protect them from discrimination because of their previous condition of servitude. Generally, only blacks experienced chattel slavery. Thus, civil rights are associated with efforts by the federal government to protect blacks. Historically, such federal intervention was primarily directed against the overt actions of state officials acting "under color of law." With less effectiveness, federal actions were also tested against nominally private individuals, such as members of the Ku Klux Klan, who took advantage of the postbellum inertia of state officials and threatened the rights of former slaves.

The modern trend has been to universalize notions of equality, and civil rights laws have been expanded in their scope of coverage. As a result, women, Hispanics, and the "differently abled" now have significant protec-

tion against discrimination. Civil rights protections also include protection from unreasonable search and seizure, freedom of speech, and other rights that protect all individuals. However, the focus here will be on the particular struggle to establish protections for minorities and people of color, for it is this history that forms the background for all civil rights enforcement.

The history of civil rights has included steps forward and backward over time, leading one author to describe it as "an unsteady march" to equality (Klinkner and Smith 1999). There are at least three important periods in the development of civil rights: the Reconstruction Period; the Period of Segregation, or "Jim Crow"; and the Modern Era, which has been referred to as "the Second Reconstruction."

### THE RECONSTRUCTION ERA

The original Constitution protected slavery through several circumlocutory clauses, including the fugitive slave clause, which prohibited northern states from interfering with the recapture of fugitives, and the infamous three-fifths clause, which implicitly recognized slavery and counted all slaves as three-fifths of a person for purposes of congressional apportionment. Under this original constitutional framework, the federal government was conceived as a great danger to liberty. Indeed, in this antebellum context, "liberty" included the right to own slaves as "property" or "chattel." Thus, the first ten amendments to the Constitution limited the power of the federal government. This framework was associated with a notion of "state's rights"—which could have been read as southern state's rights. This meant that individual rights were protected only by the states, if they were protected at all. But the law was merely a rationalization of racial attitudes, and slavery rested ultimately on a "philosophy" of black inferiority. Immediately after the Civil War, the North, dominated by the Republican Party, sought to reintegrate the South back into the Union and address the needs of formerly enslaved African Americans. During this period, known as Reconstruction, Congress passed three constitutional amendments and five civil rights statutes to establish civil rights for the freedmen.

The Thirteenth Amendment, which abolished slavery, was ratified on December 18, 1865. It provides that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction." Congress reserved the right to enforce the amendment through appropriate legislation. This assertion of the supremacy of the federal government over the states was a revolutionary concept at the time.

The new amendment did nothing to overcome traditional beliefs, however, and many southern states enacted laws known as “Black Codes.” As Jacobs Tenbroek has written, by virtue of these codes blacks were “socially outcast, industrially a serf, legally a separate and oppressed class” (Tenbroek 1952). Blacks were thus reduced to slavery in all but name. The Black Codes compelled Congress to pass further legislation, namely the Civil Rights Act of 1866. A precursor to the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, the act granted citizenship to “all persons born or naturalized in the United States.” It thus reversed the Supreme Court decision in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* that held that blacks could not be citizens. It also provided that, among other things, blacks would have the same rights under the law as whites, including the right to sue and be sued, the right to make contracts, and the right to own property. It also made it a crime to deprive any person of his or her civil rights.

Associated with the Civil Rights Act of 1866 was the Anti-Peonage Act of 1867. This law “resulted from the practices found to prevail in the Territory of New Mexico and inherited from the days of Spanish rule” (Gressman 1952). But the law went beyond the specific evil that gave it birth and prohibited involuntary servitude anywhere in the United States. Taken together, the Civil Rights Act of 1866 and the Anti-Peonage Act prohibited forced labor through the institution of slavery as well as through more indirect methods.

When the Black Codes were outlawed by the Civil Rights Act of 1866, hostilities broke out, including a race riot that erupted in Memphis in May 1866. In the backlash that followed, both blacks and the whites that supported civil rights became “victims of terrorism in the South” (Flack 1908).

Yet during this period, opponents of equal rights for blacks avoided public rhetoric on racism. Instead, they based their criticism of the Civil Rights Act on claims of “state’s rights.” More specifically, the opponents of the bill argued that the Thirteenth Amendment merely abolished slavery and gave Congress no power to require what would later be called “equal protection of the laws.” Abolitionists, on the other hand, had long sought to make the federal government the primary protector of individual rights. In the southern view, this legislation was a radical device that wrote the abolitionist perspective into law.

Seeking to place both the issue of black equality and the central role of the federal government beyond the reach of succeeding Congresses, the reigning northern Republicans sought to make civil rights protections a permanent feature of the U.S. Constitution. Thus, the

Fourteenth Amendment was born. Tracking the language of the earlier Civil Rights Act, the amendment declared:

All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the United States and the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law, which shall abridge the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the law.

To solidify the supremacy of the federal government over the states in enforcing these civil rights, Section 5 of the Fourteenth Amendment explicitly gave Congress the power to enforce this legislation by appropriate additional legislation. The Fourteenth Amendment was ratified on July 28, 1868. Shortly thereafter, on February 2, 1870, Congress ratified the Fifteenth Amendment, guaranteeing that “the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.” Then, on May 31, 1870, Congress reenacted the Civil Rights Act of 1866, which provided for criminal penalties for those violating the Fifteenth Amendment, using the newly minted Fourteenth Amendment as a source of congressional power. This was an attempt to silence those who criticized Congress for legislating equality under an amendment that merely prohibited slavery.

As late as 1871, the terrorism that blacks experienced had not subsided. It was clear that state officials in the South had the power to intervene, but they refused to act to protect the freed slaves. In response, Congress passed what came to be known as the Ku Klux Klan Act on April 20, 1871. Best known in the early twenty-first century is the portion of the statute (now codified as 42 U.S.C. 1983) that prohibited state officials from denying rights to blacks:

Every person who, under color of any statute, ordinance, regulation, custom, or usage, of any State or Territory, subjects, or causes to be subjected, any citizen of the United States or other person within the jurisdiction thereof to the deprivation of any rights, privileges, or immunities secured by the Constitution and laws, shall be liable to the party injured in an action at law, suit in equity, or other proper proceeding for redress.

At the time, however, the heart of the statute consisted of the sections that prohibited private parties from acting together to deny rights to blacks. Section 2 made it a crime for two or more persons to “conspire together, or go in disguise upon the public highway or upon premises



of another for the purpose . . . of depriving any person or any class of persons of the equal protection of the laws.”

The high watermark of reconstruction legislation was the Civil Rights Act of 1875, enacted on March 1, 1875. Section 1 of the law required all inns, public conveyances, theaters, and other places of public amusement to open their accommodations and privileges to “all persons within the jurisdiction of the United States . . . regardless of any previous condition of servitude.” Section 2 made the violation of the law a criminal offense and gave the injured party a right to recover \$500.00 in damages. The law was designed to make blacks full-fledged citizens, and to integrate them into the public life of the states in which they lived. Taken together, the civil rights legislation enacted during Reconstruction represented a constitutional revolution. But it was a revolution that was too swiftly abandoned.

### THE EMERGENCE OF JIM CROW

Following the disputed presidential election of 1876, the Democratic supporters of Samuel J. Tilden and the Republican supporters of Rutherford B. Hayes reached an agreement that historians call the Hayes-Tilden Compromise. The “compromise” stipulated that Hayes would get the presidency, but that he would then have to name at least one southerner to his cabinet and remove the troops that had enforced the civil rights laws in the old Confederacy. Hayes thus strode upon the stage of American history as the nineteenth president of the United States, but, as agreed, he withdrew the federal troops from the South, thus bringing down the curtain on Reconstruction.

The force of civil rights legislation was further eroded by the U.S. Supreme Court. In what has been called a judicial *coup d'état*, the Court held that many of the Reconstruction-era civil rights laws were unconstitutional. They affirmed the autonomy of the states and held again and again that the federal government overstepped its bounds by attempting to assert its authority to protect individual rights.

In the *Slaughterhouse Cases* of 1873, the Supreme Court held that national citizenship conferred few “privileges and immunities.” In 1875, the Supreme Court held in *U.S. v. Cruikshank* that the federal government had no jurisdiction over private individuals who deprived blacks of civil rights. Instead, the Court stated, “blacks should look to state officials for protection.” Of course, state officials in the South were the very people Congress had sought to protect blacks from. In the ironically named *Civil Rights Cases* of 1883, the Court went on to hold that Congress lacked the power to punish private individuals for denying blacks access to places of public accommodation. The Court held that without state

action, no constitutional violation could occur under the Fourteenth Amendment.

Finally, in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) the Supreme Court placed the imprimatur of constitutional approval on state-sponsored segregation. Here, the state of Louisiana had passed a law that required blacks and whites to sit in separate railroad cars. The Court upheld the law on the grounds that blacks had no right to social equality, but only political equality, under the Fourteenth Amendment. With *Plessy*, the Court ushered in the era of segregation. Once the Supreme Court had legitimized it, many states, including but not limited to most southern states, passed laws requiring or permitting segregation. A web of interlocking segregationist laws and customs sprang up, creating the regime of “Jim Crow.”

### THE SECOND RECONSTRUCTION: THE MODERN ERA OF CIVIL RIGHTS

After seven decades of Jim Crow, the modern civil rights era began with sit-ins and boycotts in the 1950s. In the 1960s Congress passed a series of civil rights acts, including the Civil Rights Acts of 1960, 1964, and 1968.

The impetus for this legislation began as early as 1941 with House Resolution (H.R.) 3994, entitled, “A Bill to Prohibit Discrimination by Any Agency Supported in Whole or in Part with Funds Appropriated by the Congress of the United States.” The bill, introduced by Vito Marcantonio from New York, died unceremoniously in committee, as would hundreds like it. President Roosevelt, however, by executive order, prohibited discrimination by defense contractors and created the Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC).

Momentum began to build after the racially motivated beating, maiming or lynching of several black men following World War II. In response to the outcry that followed, President Truman set up the President’s Committee on Civil Rights, which issued a report, *To Secure These Rights*, in 1947 recommending additional civil rights legislation and a permanent Civil Rights Commission. Subsequently, in 1948, Truman issued an Executive Order calling for desegregation of the armed forces.

Antidiscrimination laws gained further momentum with the enactment, during the Eisenhower years, of the Civil Rights Act of 1957, which created the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. The reports of this commission spotlighted the glaring inequalities faced by blacks. On May 6, 1960, Eisenhower signed into law the Civil Rights Act of 1960, which established federal inspections of local voter registration polls and introduced penalties for anyone who obstructed a person’s attempt to register to vote.



**Civil Rights March on Washington, 1963.** A crowd of marchers at Union Station prepares for the March on Washington on August 28, 1963. Martin Luther King's famous "I Have a Dream" speech would make this march one of the most important demonstrations in the nation's history. © FLIP SCHULKE/CORBIS.

President John F. Kennedy continued the march forward. On March 6, 1961, President Kennedy signed into law an Executive Order establishing the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity and requiring all government contractors to pursue affirmative action policies in the hiring of minorities.

#### PRELUDE TO 1964

The stage was then set for the Civil Rights Act of 1964. First, H.R. 405 entitled "A Bill to Prohibit Discrimination in Employment in Certain Cases Because of Race, Religion, Color, National Origin, Ancestry or Age" was introduced on January 9, 1963. Setting the tone for the legislation to come, Kennedy, in his message to the 88th Congress in February 1963, advocated "the democratic principle that no man should be denied employment commensurate with his abilities because of his race or creed or ancestry." Originally the bill focused on race, but it was amended by its opponents to include women. These individuals theorized that the

possibility of women being given equal rights would doom the bill to failure.

After the longest debate in congressional history, an equal opportunity bill passed the house in February 1963. This launched a tremendous struggle in the Senate. In particular, Title VII of the act threatened to change longstanding baselines of employment law that held that the employer could hire or fire his employee for a good reason, a bad reason, or no reason at all. But more importantly, the bill threatened segregation as a way of life. Southern opponents appealed not to race, however, but to notions of private property. They argued that it was wrong to tell employers whom they had to hire, and that owners of businesses, such as barber shops, had a right to decide with which customers they would associate. Thus, both the ideals of liberty and anticommunism were deployed by the opponents of equal opportunity.

Despite this opposition, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was signed into law on July 2, 1964. It prohibited discrimination on account of race, sex, color, religion, and national origin. The enforcement machinery was weak in the original formulation, however. Many entities were exempt, and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), which was created by Title VII of the act, had a limited role in enforcing employment discrimination. Yet, in many respects, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was the most important legislation of the twentieth century.

**Major Amendments.** Many members of Congress believed that the "failure to grant the EEOC meaningful enforcement powers has proven to be a major flaw in the operation of Title VII" of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Therefore, the act was amended in 1972 to include local governments and educational institutions within its coverage and to give the EEOC litigation authority.

However, continuing the political tango of the first Reconstruction, the Supreme Court wrote decisions in the late 1980s that created particularly difficult burdens of proof for Title VII litigants. Perceiving this as a step backward, Congress enacted the Civil Rights Act of 1991, which "overruled" some the most onerous aspects of these decisions. In addition, it provided a right to a jury trial and the right of plaintiffs to not only recover back pay, but also to receive additional financial damages up to a certain ceiling.

**Interpreting Title VII.** Formally, the courts have interpreted Title VII of the Voting Rights Act to "proscribe not only overt discrimination but also practices that are fair in form, but discriminatory in operation" (*Griggs v. Duke Power* 1971). Thus, as a broad rule, not only is

intentional discrimination prohibited, but so is any action that disproportionately excludes minorities in employment. However, the court has limited this theory by creating strict “intent” requirements. For example, an employer can build a factory in Harlem, a predominantly black area, but can then locate his employment office in Beverly Hills. The result may be a factory in Harlem with no black employees. Minorities would have little recourse in such a situation, unless they could prove this was done with an intent to discriminate.

**VOTING RIGHTS**

The most basic right in a democracy is the right to vote. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 led directly to the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which prohibits any “voting qualification . . . which results in a denial . . . of the right . . . to vote on account of race or color.” Enacted pursuant to the Fifteenth Amendment, it has been described as “the most successful piece of federal civil rights legislation ever enacted” (Days 1992).

The Voting Rights Act has two principal provisions. Section 2 forbids the imposition or application of any “voting qualification or prerequisite to voting, or standard, practice, or procedure . . . which results in a denial or abridgement of the right of an citizen of the United States to vote on account of race or color.” Section 5 requires federal approval of changes in voting procedures in areas with a history of discrimination. Yet despite this legislation, many blacks feel that they still face discriminatory barriers in the voting process.

**FAIR HOUSING LEGISLATION**

Modern housing segregation dates back to the Great Migration in the early twentieth century. Between 1910 and 1920, approximately 300,000 African Americans migrated from the South to the North. This number increased to 1.3 million between 1920 and 1930; to 1.5 million between 1930 and 1940; and to 2.5 million between 1930 and 1950 (see Bennett 1982). As blacks moved to northern cities from the largely rural South, they confronted both legal and illegal means to restrict their residential choices. These included racial zoning ordinances, racially restrictive covenants, organized realtor practices, and racial violence. The effect of these practices was to create stark patterns of segregation, which still continue in the twenty-first century.

Fair housing laws began as an executive order passed by President Kennedy in 1962. Ignited by Kennedy’s leadership and a burgeoning civil rights movement, a substantial movement toward fair housing began. While there was strong resistance, the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. and the riots that followed served as a

<b>Civil Rights Acts</b>	
<b>Act (date passed)</b>	<b>Key provisions</b>
Thirteenth Amendment (December 18, 1865)	Abolished slavery
Civil Rights Act of 1866 (April 9, 1866; reenacted May 31, 1870)	Granted citizenship to all persons born or naturalized in the United States; granted rights to sue, make contracts, and own property; made deprivation of civil rights a crime
Fourteenth Amendment (July 28, 1868)	Curbed states’ rights claims; made federal government the protector of equal protection under the law
Fifteenth Amendment (February 2, 1870)	Guaranteed the right to vote regardless of race, color, or previous condition of servitude
Civil Rights Act of 1875 (March 1, 1875)	Required inns, transportation services, and places of amusement to be open to all regardless of previous condition of servitude
Civil Rights Act of 1957 (September 9, 1957)	Created U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Civil Rights Act of 1960 (May 6, 1960)	Established federal inspection of voter registration rolls
Executive Order (May 6, 1961)	Established President’s Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity
Civil Rights Act of 1964 (July 2, 1964)	Prohibited discrimination based on race, sex, color, national origin, or religion; also addressed voting rights, segregated schools and facilities, employment
Voting Rights Act of 1965 (August 6, 1965)	Prohibited any voting qualification that results in denial on account of race or color
Civil Rights Act of 1968 (April 11, 1968)	Prohibited discrimination based on race, sex, national origin, or religion in property rental, sales, or financing; protects rights of American Indians
Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1987 (March 22, 1988)	Outlawed discriminatory practices based upon race, religion, color, national origin, gender, age, or disability in any part of any institution that receives federal financial assistance
Civil Rights Act of 1991 (November 21, 1991)	Lightened burden of proof for Title VII equal employment opportunity litigants; provides for jury trial and monetary damages beyond back pay

***Civil Rights Acts.***

catalyst for new legislation. The Fair Housing Act became law on April 11, 1968.

The new law did three things: It prohibited most owners and renters from engaging in discriminatory practices involving their property, it prohibited institutional actors such as banks and real-estate brokers from discriminating, and it called upon the federal government to promote fair housing and establish enforcement mechanisms. In its original form the act prohibited discrimination on the basis of race, sex, national origin, and religion.

## Civil Rights Movement

The Fair Housing Act was amended in 1988, when its coverage was extended to two statuses that had not been included in the original Act: handicapped status and familial status. The revised act also gave the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) greater power to investigate and enforce complaints of housing discrimination, while giving administrative judges the power to impose fines on violators.

### THE IMPACT OF CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION

Since the passage of Title VII and other legislation, all Americans are heirs to a legacy of equal opportunity and equal justice under law. However, whereas the legal structure in place provides some semblance of formal equality in the early twenty-first century, significant obstacles remain in society that continue to limit the availability of civil rights to all. First, discrimination and prejudice continue to operate against disfavored and disadvantaged groups. Secondly, although one may be a victim of discrimination, access to the resources and evidence to prove it in court, or an administrative hearing, may be another matter.

Finally, the objective value of civil rights has been questioned in the absence of economic and social equality. While the law is explicitly on the side of equal justice, a gulf remains. In the early twenty-first century, minorities are still the victims of racial profiling. Minorities are legally protected from discrimination, but there is still debate about the contours of that concept.

**SEE ALSO** *Black Codes; Dred Scott v. Sandford; Voting Rights Act of 1965.*

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## CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

Although America engaged in World War II (1939–1945) supposedly to make the world safe for democracy, in 1945 most of the limitations imposed upon African Americans by racial segregation remained intact in the United States. Major changes affecting the potential for black insurgency had built up within the black community decades before the war, but the war accelerated them. A review of some of these changes is necessary for understanding the later civil rights movement of the 1950–1960 period. Known for generations as Jim Crow, the practice of segregation and discrimination against blacks stamped a badge of inferiority, stigmatizing them as a group. Unapologetic racists disfranchised black voters across the South, having removed African Americans in overwhelming numbers from the political process since the 1890s. Jim Crow also perpetuated the subjugation of blacks economically in domestic service, agricultural, and entry-level industrial occupations.

### THE WORLD WAR II ERA

World War II and immediate postwar sociopolitical developments primed the black community for renewed struggles against deeply rooted racism. In response to the suffocating effects of Jim Crow, African Americans by the hundreds of thousands fled the South for greater freedom and dignity and for economic and educational opportunities in urban regions of the North and West. But the Second Great Migration of the 1950s uncovered the realities of racial hostilities in locales outside the South. Northern de facto Jim Crow met the migrants with urban ghettos and widespread employment discrimination, which diluted the promise of economic opportunities. However, the migrants were no longer obsequiously dependent on agriculture or domestic service for

livelihood, nor were their lives and limbs endangered because of political agitation. They were free to support racial uplift organizations and programs.

The hallmark of black protest during the World War II era and its immediate aftermath was best signified in the “Double V” campaign: victory at home and victory abroad. Promoted via black media outlets, the “Double V” campaigners insisted that as America fought to secure a victory over fascism abroad, the nation must also secure a victory over racism within its borders. The “Double V” campaign, supported by organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Urban League and supported by the black media, achieved some successes helping to drive the civil rights agenda well into the late 1940s. During the war itself, this campaign yielded some positive changes, at least in official governmental employment policies.

A. Philip Randolph, the outspoken labor radical and leader of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, an all-black union, led the charge for racial equality during the early 1940s. His March on Washington Movement (MOWM) pressed the federal government to end race discrimination in employment, particularly in defense industries and the military. In 1941 Randolph, Walter F. White of the NAACP, and other leaders threatened to convene 100,000 black marchers in Washington, D.C., if President Franklin D. Roosevelt and the federal government failed to respond to their demands.

Randolph sought a federal measure that would have forbade companies holding federal government contracts to practice racial discrimination. His desired bill called for the eradication of Jim Crow in defense-industry training and urged the total abolition of segregation in the armed forces. In addition, Randolph pushed for a law that would punish unions that refused membership and full union benefits to black workers.

Statistics suggest that by the time the United States entered the war, blacks made up only 5 percent of defense workers and less than 3 percent of the skilled work force in the construction industry. At the start of World War II the percentage of African Americans in industrial occupations was at a thirty-year low. In many respects, when the defense industry began its rapid expansion, African American workers remained marginalized from the upward mobility opportunities stemming from that growth.

In response to Randolph’s threat to protest on the lawns of the nation’s capital, President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802, which created the Federal Employment Practices Commission (FEPC), requiring the federal government to address the problems of employment discrimination affecting black workers. The FEPC was a five-person understaffed and under-

funded commission that, lacking strong enforcement powers, could only receive and investigate complaints, draft policy, hold public hearings, and rely on moral suasion and negotiations to stem job discrimination. Nevertheless, the FEPC, Executive Order 8802, and subsequent federal measures did offer some hope that the federal government would react broadly and continuously to persistent demands for African American employment equality. While the basic challenges to employment fairness remained, the exigencies of war and the expansion of the economy increased African American job opportunities. Blacks could be found in entry-level positions in most wartime industries, and they had slowly gained access to some limited benefits associated with membership within organized labor.

In November 1942, Randolph indicated that the MOWM had an agenda called the Program of the March on Washington Movement, which included a series of broader demands, the most comprehensive being “the end of Jim Crow in education, in housing, in transportation and in every other social, economic and political privilege.” Among the other demands were the elimination of the segregated military establishment, the enforcement of the due process provisions of the U.S. Constitution, and inclusion of blacks in all governmental policy agencies, including those “which will be sent to the peace conference so that the interests of all peoples everywhere may be fully recognized and justly provided for in the post-war settlement” (quoted in Aptheker 1973).

Randolph’s threat to assemble black workers in Washington in his relentless efforts to uproot economic discrimination before, during, and after World II marked the beginning of black mass protest that was to characterize the civil rights movement in later years. Along with attempts aimed at garnering voting rights, desegregated education, and an end to residential segregation, the civil rights community added employment equality to the list of issues as part of its collective platform. These developments emerging from the World War II era set the stage for more dramatic challenges to the racial status quo in future decades during the civil rights movement.

#### THE POST-WORLD WAR II ERA

Developments during the war invigorated the idea of equality in the consciousness of black veterans who returned having to contest racial inequality in housing and employment. World War II had increased income levels and thus standards of living, particularly for returning black soldiers in the South. When Congress passed the GI Bill of Rights, black veterans looked to benefit as a result of their having laid their lives on the line for the United States.

## *Civil Rights Movement*

The Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, known as the GI Bill, emerged out of Congress as a broad reform measure designed to provide veterans with generous education benefits, guaranteed home mortgage loans, and income adjustment allowances during their transition back to civilian life. Black veterans made the most of the measure, taking particular advantage of its education and mortgage benefits. Large numbers of black veterans were able to find employment opportunities either within federal employment circles or in nonagricultural pursuits. Although many benefited from the bill, the legislation represented yet another federal measure marred by the shortcomings of racial bias in its administration, a situation that helped prime ex-soldiers for civic action on the homefront. Scores of black servicemen attended college as a result of the bill, but these veterans were barred on account of race from attending the more prestigious white universities in the Deep South. The Veterans Administration (VA) joined with white universities in funneling black veterans into historically black colleges and universities and even encouraged black veterans to receive training in agricultural and technical trades, further emphasizing beliefs in black mental inferiority and in the relegation of blacks to menial, substandard jobs.

In the area of housing, whereas small numbers of black veterans were able to purchase homes under the GI Bill, most experienced discriminatory practices from banks, lending institutions, and mortgage agencies. The suburbanization of American housing for white veterans virtually excluded blacks, with real estate developers such as William Levitt and Sons seeking "white only" tenants in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. Residential restrictive covenants confined most African Americans to the growing numbers of racially identifiable overcrowded and often deteriorating urban ghettos. Although the GI bill guaranteed unemployment benefits to veterans, the VA regularly denied benefits to black workers who refused employment at the exploitatively low wages typical of the Jim Crow era. Low wages caused many veterans to seek ever cheaper used housing that had been left behind by whites fleeing their presence.

In response to the effects of discrimination in the immediate post-World War II era, however, African American assaults on the racial practices of the United States actually were continuations of significant prewar influences such as the First Great Migration of World War I, the Garvey movement, the efforts of the NAACP, and the sociocultural activism of the Harlem Renaissance/New Negro Movement. Blacks were becoming less rural and more urban and aggressive. The social energies that fueled postwar activism had been built virtually out of sight of mainstream America. Understanding this earlier evolution of the black community helps one realize that it

was not simply World War II exigencies that emboldened blacks to demand major changes in race relations.

In acts of individual resistance and as a means of obtaining better lives for their families, many southern blacks continued the trend of migrating to urban centers of the Northeast, Midwest, and West coast during the World War II era and beyond. This movement of blacks out of the South mirrored the earlier migration of the 1910s and 1920s. The Second Great Migration of black southerners, lasting from 1930 to 1950, was no small exodus. Black populations in the Northeast and Midwest nearly doubled during the twenty-year period, spurred largely by World War II industrial employment opportunities. Southern California and the San Francisco Bay area witnessed dramatic increases in their black urban populations because of job opportunities in the aircraft industry. As was the case during earlier migration years, once blacks arrived in these cities, racial tensions flared sporadically. By the 1950s sections of cities such as Chicago, Detroit, New York, and Los Angeles increasingly became defined as ghettos populated by working-class blacks.

In response to this dramatic influx of black newcomers, white urbanites steadily fled cities to neighboring suburbs. Because of racially engineered residential segregation, blacks were typically locked into urban spaces while millions of whites sought refuge from blacks in burgeoning suburban areas on the margins of these cities. As early as the 1940s, the initial stages of white flight and white economic withdrawal had begun to affect the economies of urban spaces. White flight and residential segregation were fortified through agreements between insurance agencies and real estate agencies, and through policies stemming from the federal government. For example, the Federal Housing Administration (FHA), in conjunction with real estate brokers and lenders, published documents that graded neighborhoods to determine how qualified their respective residents were for loans and mortgages; the higher the score, the greater likelihood of residents winning financial approval. Neighborhoods with even insignificant numbers of black residents were typically given lower scores.

Nonetheless, efforts to limit black opportunity continued to generate upsurges in the budding civil rights community. By 1945, the NAACP could brag of having an impressive 450,000 members, up from only 50,000 in 1941. Even the association's southern chapters could boast of having an official membership of 150,000 across the region, with potentially greater numbers if unofficial membership had been tallied. For decades the NAACP worked to dismantle the legal underpinnings to Jim Crow through the efforts of its Legal Defense and Education Fund (LDF), and in the immediate aftermath of World War II, such legal activism gained momentum.

## THE ROLE OF THE COURTS

The successes of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, incorporated in 1940, are owed to the leadership of Charles Hamilton Houston, then later to his young protégé Thurgood Marshall. For decades the LDF engineered essential U.S. Supreme Court victories that weakened the precedence set by the infamous *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) decision and its “separate-but-equal” doctrine. While LDF was a new component within the NAACP in 1940, Houston and Marshall had been the association’s legal brain trust for more than a decade. In addition, the organization had already accrued a great deal of experience in the realm of civil rights legal activism. As early as 1915 the NAACP had won its first significant victory in the landmark decision *Guinn v. U.S.* in which the Supreme Court found electoral grandfather clauses unconstitutional. Thus, by 1954 LDF staffers were veterans of legal battles who had earned significant Supreme Court victories over legally mandated racism. With Marshall at the helm, the LDF won the most historic decision of the twentieth century in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), in which racial discrimination in public education was ruled unconstitutional.

The LDF began its tactical assault on segregated education in the years prior to World War II, earning precedence-shaping victories on the road to *Brown*. In the following cases, LDF convinced federal courts to compel states to equalize their graduate and professional programs or be forced to admit qualified black applicants. The cases included: *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada* (1938), *Sipuel v. Oklahoma State Regents* (1948), *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents* (1950), and *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950). Thus, by the 1954 *Brown* decision, much of the legal support for segregated education had already been found unconstitutional by the nation’s highest tribunal as a result of the LDF’s school desegregation campaign.

LDF also earned noteworthy victories in areas still defined by the legality of Jim Crow but outside the realm of education. In the wartime decision *Smith v. Allwright* (1944), the LDF convinced the Supreme Court to declare unconstitutional the politically exclusive all-white primary election practices of the South. This victory aided in the slow march back to electoral and political participation on the part of African Americans. In *Shelley v. Kraemer* (1948), the LDF showed that racial restrictive covenants indeed violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

While the NAACP and the LDF won important victories in the decades of legal struggles leading up to the civil rights movement, these cases did little to change the routine denial of full equality to African Americans. But these victories did suggest that the law might eventually evolve to protect black people’s civil rights. The

decade prior to the civil rights movement, which included these successes in the courtroom and enduring legacies from the World War II era, paved the way to the turbulent 1960s and the many social changes that followed.

To complement the efforts of leaders such as Randolph and organizations such as the NAACP in battling racism, James Farmer, Bernice Fisher, and Bayard Rustin formed the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) in 1942, injecting a healthy dose of radical action into the civil rights community. CORE patterned its principles of nonviolent, direct action after Gandhian theories of civil disobedience. These theories and practices ultimately shaped much of the larger civil rights movement’s ideology and many of the movement’s protest tactics. CORE’s Freedom Rides of 1947 were precursors to the types of demonstrations the organization would help engineer during the 1960s. With the emergence of CORE and the growth of the NAACP, the civil rights movement had its two central organizations in place to effectively fight segregation, setting the stage for the nation’s second racial reconstruction.

## CIVIL RIGHTS AND POPULAR CULTURE

Social, economic and legal demands for racial equality were not the sole expressions of resistance emerging out of black America in the immediate postwar era. Black writers, as extensions of the Harlem Renaissance, produced unabashed literary critiques of race and racism in the United States. This era of literary realism witnessed works by black writers such as Richard Wright (*Native Son*, 1940), Chester Himes (*If He Hollers Let Him Go*, 1945), Ann Petry (*The Street*, 1946), Ralph Ellison (*Invisible Man*, 1952), James Baldwin (*Go Tell It on the Mountain*, 1953), and Lorraine Hansberry (*A Raisin in the Sun*, 1959), and in 1945 *Ebony* magazine began circulation, appealing to a wide array of blacks across the nation.

In other entertainment venues African Americans made similar demands for equality. As late as the 1940s media depictions of African Americans remained openly negative. Black filmmakers and actors responded to these and other racial stereotypes by creating more positive images of African Americans beyond the standard Sambos, coons, and mummies. With Gregory Peck’s *Gentleman’s Agreement* (1947) on anti-Semitism, Hollywood paved the way for what has been called “social problem” movies. With black audiences larger and more urban than ever, the problem/theme movies appealed to more assertive black communities who rejected the images of black clowns, happy servants, or token entertainers. Among the movies showing blacks as individuals beyond stereotypes were *Home of the Brave* (1949) with James Edwards, *No*

## Civil Rights Movement

*Way Out* (1950) with Sidney Poitier, *Member of the Wedding* (1952) with Ethel Waters, *Carmen Jones* (1954) starring Dorothy Dandridge, and *Blackboard Jungle* (1955) with Sidney Poitier, the new and dignified black actor of the era. For African audiences on the verge of the renewed civil rights movement, complacent mammies and lackadaisical handyman servants were literally *Gone with the Wind* (1939).

Racially polarized popular entertainment was not exempt from the mushrooming rebellion against racism. In professional sports African Americans met racial hurdles with momentous achievements. Of these achievements, none was more important than Jackie Robinson integrating the fiercely segregated Major League Baseball. Robinson, a former All-American running back at the university of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) and member of the historic Kansas City Monarchs of the Negro League, was the first African American to break the racial barrier to the hallowed, all-white, male-dominated institution of professional baseball when he was signed by the Brooklyn Dodgers in 1946. One year later, legendary Negro League home-run hitter Larry Doby joined the Cleveland Indians, opening the floodgates for black ballplayers to join major league teams. Ultimately, however, these developments signaled the end of the historic Negro Baseball Leagues. In boxing, Joe Louis reigned as heavyweight champion from 1937 to 1949, winning decisive victories over a multitude of white challengers for blacks to applaud. The accomplishments of these athletes and the many that followed offered African Americans brief respites from the frustrations associated with the norms and practices of Jim Crow America.

### THE 1950s AND 1960s

As the cold war entered the political consciousness of the nation, outspoken critics of the United States and especially those with Communist ties were victimized by a congressionally supported witch hunt to expel such subversive elements from the country. Scholar-activist W. E. B. Du Bois and artist-activist Paul Robeson were two of the more prominent African Americans targeted by the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) during the era of McCarthyism. Whereas Du Bois avoided penalties because claims against him were dismissed, Robeson refused to yield in his scathing criticisms of racial practices in America, nor did he denounce his Communist Party affiliations. With little support from civil rights leaders because of fears of being targeted themselves, Robeson, at the mercy of Senator Eugene McCarthy's vicious assaults, was eventually deported. Paul Robeson is widely recognized as one of the most tragic fatalities of McCarthyism and anticommunist aggression in the United States.



**Autherine Lucy at Press Conference, March 2, 1956.** *Lucy was accepted as a student at the University of Alabama in 1952, but when university officials realized she was black they rescinded her acceptance. After years of court battles, the Supreme Court decided she had the right to attend.* THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

By the middle of the 1950s, racial realities in the United States still thrived to block black equality and progress. However, developments from the post-World War II era propelled civil rights activism and coordination. With the 1954 victory in *Brown* and the encouraging success of the Montgomery bus boycott of 1955, led by members of the NAACP and CORE, the modern civil rights era was ignited. Jim Crow—America's version of racial apartheid—would soon meet its death knell as well-coordinated protest movements pushed the civil rights agenda, ultimately engendering the consciousness of America.

In February 1960, the student protest movement began when four students at North Carolina A&T walked into a Woolworth store in Greensboro, North Carolina, and sat down, refusing to move until served. Only days later, students across the South were leading numerous sit-in movements against establishments clinging to the practices of Jim Crow. Within a month of the initiation of the sit-ins, hundreds of young radicals convened at Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina, and created the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). SNCC radicals, black and white, infused a high degree of militancy into the civil rights movement, adding direct, confrontational action to the already successful legal movements and economic boycotts.

Alongside CORE, SNCC continued its direct-action, civil disobedience campaigns, exposing the



lengths to which white southerners would go to preserve segregation, even in the face of laws proscribing such practices. CORE reinvigorated its 1947 Freedom Rides by teaming with members of SNCC in 1961 and leading an interracial group of riders through the South, challenging Jim Crow in interstate travel. The Freedom Riders were met with violence in Rock Hill, South Carolina, and in Anniston and Birmingham, Alabama. However, no stop along their ride through the South proved more dangerous than Montgomery, Alabama. In Montgomery, the protesters were met by more than 1,000 whites, with the police nowhere to be found. All the riders and a presidential aide assigned to monitor the crisis were injured by the mob and had to be hospitalized.

Under the coordination of the Southern Christian Leadership Council (SCLC), led by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., protest movements in Albany, Georgia (1961), and Birmingham, Alabama (1963), propelled the civil rights agenda as young and old joined forces to battle racism in the Deep South. In August 1963, the civil rights movement momentum peaked as nearly 250,000 marchers of many colors and faiths assembled in the nation's capital for the famed March on Washington, where they heard King deliver his famous "I Have a Dream Speech." However, soon after the march concluded, white racists bombed the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, killing four young black girls. Such violent responses were emblematic of the resentment and contempt whites held against blacks challenging racial norms.

Church bombings were only part of the violence directed at African American freedom fighters during the civil rights era. During Mississippi Freedom Summer of 1964, white terror surfaced against volunteers leading voter registration drives in the South's most resistant communities. A collection of young, racially mixed activists from CORE, SNCC, SCLC, and the NAACP joined forces under the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) in an effort to restore and enhance political participation among blacks in Mississippi. Soon after Freedom Summer began, three volunteers disappeared. Two white volunteers in their early twenties—Michael Schwerner and Andrew Goodman—and James Chaney, a twenty-one-year-old black Mississippi native, were killed near Philadelphia, Mississippi. The efforts of COFO and Freedom Summer ultimately led to the highest political mobilization of blacks across the state since Reconstruction.

One year later, in 1965, SCLC organized a march from Selma to Montgomery to highlight the continued disfranchisement of African American voters in Alabama. As King and the marchers reached the Edmund Pettus Bridge, police officers met them with tear gas and pro-

ceeded to beat them before a national television audience. What became known as "Bloody Sunday" spurred Congress and President Lyndon Johnson to pass the Voting Rights Act of 1965, also named the Civil Rights Act of 1965, which outlawed mechanisms whites had used to disqualify black voters for nearly a century. Congress had also passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which brought an end to Jim Crow in public accommodations and employment and reaffirmed the congressional commitment to school desegregation.

In a roughly twenty-five year period after World War II, barely one generation, the civil rights community had effectively done away with Jim Crow. With much sacrifice, skillful protest, and charismatic leadership, legally sanctioned second-class citizenship, disfranchisement, and employment injustice reached a formal end.

SEE ALSO *Baker, Ella*; *Baseball*; *Du Bois, W. E. B.*; *NAACP*.

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Robert Samuel Smith

## CIVIL WAR POLITICS AND RACISM

Many historians consider the American Civil War (1861–1865) to be the completion of the American Revolution (1776–1781). The Civil War ended American subservience to England, signaled its emergence as a world-class industrial power, put the Northern industrialists and bankers in charge of the political life of the nation, and ended chattel slavery. The issue of slavery had dominated America's political life throughout the nation's history. For example, the slave-holding states produced thirteen of the first sixteen American presidents, even though they had smaller voting populations than the Northern states.

The political domination of the "slavocracy" can be partially explained by slavery's impact on wealth production in the nation. In the early eighteenth century, tobacco was the dominant cash crop in the South. However, after the invention of the cotton gin in 1810, cotton took over, and by 1859 cotton made up 61 percent of all American exports. The cotton industry depended on slave labor, and the institution of slavery helped create a small class of wealthy landed gentry in the South. This group of Southern elites wielded political influence over American life far in excess of its numbers.

The cotton production system relied on a rigid system of class, which was based upon the concept of

race. The vast majority of Southern labor was accomplished using slaves, including the limited amount of manufacturing in the South. This meant that all other occupations in the South revolved around the slave system. For free whites, the choices included being slave overseers, slave catchers, or farming marginal land in the hopes of earning enough to someday be a slave owner. This state of affairs explains, in part, the irrational support of slavery among the majority of Southern whites, most of whom did not own slaves.

African Americans resisted slavery by every means possible, including work slowdowns, sabotage, arson, mass flight, and rebellion. Slave masters feared for their lives, and not without reason, for domestic slaves often poisoned their masters. The South was always on guard against slave rebellion, such as those of Denmark Vessey in 1822, Nat Turner in 1831, and John Brown in 1859. Slaves burned down Dallas, Texas, in 1860. This resistance explained, in part, why slavery was such an inefficient economic system.

However, by the 1830s, national sentiment was beginning to turn against slavery. In the Northern states, the abolition movement, the National Negro Convention, and Free-Soil movements had grown rapidly. Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, played an important role in publicizing the abuses of slavery by selling 300,000 copies between 1852 and 1853. Stowe had been an organizer for the underground railway in Cincinnati. The book was translated into several languages and sold throughout Europe. Upon meeting Stowe in



**Catching Fugitive Slaves.** The vast majority of labor in the South was done by slaves. For free whites, occupation choices included being slave overseers, slave catchers, or farming marginal land. PICTURE COLLECTION, THE BRANCH LIBRARIES, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

1862, Abraham Lincoln quipped: "So you're the little lady who wrote the book that started this great war!"

#### COMPROMISES, WAR IN KANSAS, AND JOHN BROWN

The "Missouri Compromise," passed by the U.S. Congress in 1820, was an attempt to appease both the proslavery and antislavery factions. Under this law slavery was forbidden north of the 36° 30' parallel, Missouri would be a slave state, and Maine would be a free state. The intent, however, was to allow voters to determine, under the principle of "popular sovereignty," whether any new state or territory would allow slavery. Abolitionists saw the "Compromise" as a capitulation to slaveholding interests.

The idea of popular sovereignty was further strengthened by the Compromise of 1850, which allowed California to become a new free state but also allowed New Mexico to decide its own status. This compromise included the infamous Fugitive Slave Law, which required U.S. citizens to assist in capturing runaway slaves. These actions, along with the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 and the Dred Scott Decision of 1857, signaled that abolitionist forces were in retreat and that slaveholders were becoming more assertive in maintaining their "property rights" by violent means.

The Kansas-Nebraska Act opened up Kansas for settlement and repealed the Missouri Compromise. The issue of slavery was to be decided in this territory by popular sovereignty. Proslavery societies tried to subvert this process by organizing an immigration movement into Kansas and seizing the premier land. They also moved in with organized armed bands that included artillery. Northern Free-Soilers, meanwhile, organized emigrant aid societies. Despite Jim Crow laws that forbade them to take up government land, Frederick Douglass agitated for the emigration of free African Americans into Kansas. By March 1855, 10,000 settlers had migrated to Kansas.

Both proslavery and Free-Soil forces attempted to form state governments for federal recognition during 1856. On May 21, 1856, proslavery forces attacked Lawrence, Kansas, reputedly to serve a warrant against a wanted fugitive. They used an artillery piece to blow up the Lawrence jail. Four days later, on May 25, 1856, John Brown and his five sons retaliated by wiping out several proslavery settlers at Dutch Henry's Crossing. The war in Kansas continued, with bands from both sides burning, robbing, and pillaging. The American Civil War had begun, though no one realized it yet. By 1859, Free-Soilers had become the majority in Kansas and elected a legislature and executive branch.

In 1857 John Brown decided to strike a blow directly at slave power by starting an insurrection in

Virginia. He chose to attack the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry hoping to seize the 100,000 to 200,000 rifles stored there. Brown was so convinced of the justice of his actions that he made the plan semi-public in the North (it was even given to the secretary of war).

On Sunday, October 16, 1859, Brown's contingent of twenty-two men, including five African Americans, moved on Harpers Ferry. Unfortunately, the slaves did not flock to John Brown's banner, for he had done little preparation and Harpers Ferry had few field slaves. Brown's forces were quickly overwhelmed by federal forces and he was severely wounded in the battle. Within a week of the battle his trial began. Judge Richard Parker, in Charleston, Virginia, sentenced him and the survivors to death on November 2, 1859. John Brown's final statement to the court was prophetic: "I, John Brown am now quite certain that the crimes of this guilty land will never be purged away but with blood. I had, as I now think, vainly flattered myself that without very much bloodshed it might be done."

#### THE ELECTION OF 1860 AND SECESSION

Throughout his political career, Abraham Lincoln was opposed to slavery, arguing that it was incompatible with American democracy. "When the white man governs himself," he said, "that is self-government; but when he governs himself, and also governs another man—that is despotism. If the Negro is a man, why then my ancient faith teaches me that 'all men are created equal,' and that there can be no moral right in connection with one man's making a slave of another" (Lincoln 1854). Yet Lincoln was clear to state that while he was opposed to slavery, he did not believe that the Northern states had the right to interfere with slavery where it currently existed. He also carefully distanced himself from what he considered to be violent abolitionism, such as that carried out by John Brown and his supporters. In May 1860 the Republican National Convention met in Chicago, and only Lincoln was an acceptable candidate to all factions of the party. The Democrats held their convention in Charleston, South Carolina. The party was deeply split into Northern and Southern factions over the slavery question. The convention nominated Stephen Douglas for president, but Southern delegates later held a separate convention and nominated John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky (Breckinridge was vice president to the incumbent president, James Buchanan).

The 1860 campaign was one of the most bitterly fought in the history of the United States. When the votes were tallied, Lincoln received 180 electoral votes, a majority. John Breckinridge, who carried the entire Deep South, was second with 72; John Bell, a Tennessean (of the Constitutional Union Party) received 39, and Douglas won only 12.

Lincoln failed to win a single electoral vote in ten Southern states. Thus, despite the results of the Electoral College, Lincoln won only 40 percent of the popular vote.

Even before election day, Southern militants had threatened to secede from the Union if Lincoln was elected. In December, after Lincoln's victory was final, South Carolina seceded. By February, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas had followed. These states joined together to form the Confederate States of America, or the Confederacy.

President Buchanan did nothing to stop the secessionist movement, and President-elect Lincoln was powerless to intercede. Lincoln remained silent on the issue, hoping that Union sentiment might reassert itself in the South. On March 4, 1861, Lincoln was sworn in as the sixteenth president of the United States. Lincoln attempted to allay Southern fears in his inaugural address. Opening the address he stated: "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so." However, he flatly rejected the right of any state to secede from the Union. He announced that he would "hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the government." The rebellious states had already seized federal forts, arsenals, and customhouses within their boundaries. Lincoln feared that taking direct action against the Confederacy would lead to the secession of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas.

#### FORT SUMTER

The Confederate seizure of Fort Sumter forced Lincoln to act. The fort was located at the entrance to Charleston Harbor. The Confederates demanded the evacuation of the fort because it was in their territory. Early in April, Lincoln decided to resupply the fort by sea. He informed Francis Pickens, the governor of South Carolina, of his intention, and Pickens notified the Confederate president, Jefferson Davis. Davis and his cabinet instructed Confederate General Pierre G.T. Beauregard to demand the fort's surrender. The fort's commander, Major Robert Anderson, refused this ultimatum, and at 4:30 AM on April 12, 1861, Beauregard's guns opened fire on Fort Sumter. Lincoln's relief party was unable to land supplies, and two days later Anderson surrendered the fort. Lincoln reacted promptly. He asked the loyal states to provide 75,000 militia for three months' service and he ordered a special session of Congress to convene on July 4. The Civil War had now officially begun.

#### THE FAILURE OF UNION STRATEGY

On the surface, the Civil War should have never lasted as long as it did or caused as many casualties as it did. The

North had vastly superior war potential on every level. There were twenty-three states in the Union but only eleven in the Confederacy. The Union contained 23 million people, while the Confederacy had only 9 million. In addition, 4 million of the South's residents were African-American slaves, most of whom were actively hostile to the Confederate "cause." The Northern army was able to muster 2,898,000 men against 1,300,000 for the Confederacy. The North also had the Union Navy, which could have effectively blockaded the Southern ports and cut off support from Great Britain. Finally, the North had three-quarters of the nation's banking and industrial capital, along with 85 percent of the manufacturing capacity.

The only factor working in favor of the South was it had a better military officer corps at the start of the war. For example, Robert E. Lee was initially offered the command of the Union Army. Even the enlisted men were better trained, due to the fact that the South was essentially an armed state, under constant threat of slave rebellion. Another factor working against the Union was the fact that it was forced to adopt an offensive war strategy. The military tactics employed by both armies at the beginning of the war dated to the Napoleonic era. These tactics required that a massed group of men stand across from each other in open fields firing muskets at each other. The muskets and artillery in use in the Napoleonic period (1800–1812) were very inaccurate. However, by the 1860s, single-shot muzzle-loading muskets were accurate up to 500 yards. Artillery pieces were also more powerful, and explosive shells had been developed. Thus, the tactic of marching men across open fields guaranteed the slaughter of those troops. The Confederates had the advantage of taking defensive positions behind fences and stone walls, as well as fighting on their own terrain. The combination of inept military leadership, inappropriate tactics, and imprecise political strategy meant that the years 1861 and 1862 were a succession of Union military disasters.

The Union failure to win quickly resulted from its failure to comprehend exactly what the overall purposes of the war were for each side. Lincoln's goal was to preserve the Union at any cost. He did not realize that the nation had already split over the issue of slavery. Thus, victory would have been achieved more quickly if slavery had been abolished from the outset. In addition, Lincoln needed to raise African-American regiments, because no other constituency had more to gain by preserving the Union and ending slavery. Indeed, the senior officer corps of the Union was torn by their own friendships and familial relations to the senior officer corps of the Confederacy. Most of those in the Union command were not abolitionists, and many were white supremacists (including Lincoln himself). Some of the

Union Military Disasters of 1861 – 1862				
Battle	Result	Casualties*	Commanders	Military Failure
First Bull Run, Manassas Creek, VA	Army of Potomac routed	North 2,896 (460; 1,124; 1,312) South 1,982 (387; 1,582, 13)	McDowell v. Johnston/Beauregard	Union takes too long to flank Confederate position; Jackson rallied Confederate Center.
Shiloh, Pittsburg Landing, TN	Draw	North > 10,000 South > 10,000	Grant v. Johnston	Johnston surprises Grant, Union pushed back. Grant counter attacks on 2 <sup>nd</sup> day reclaims lost ground.
Seven Pines, VA Seven Days, VA	Union defeat		McClellan v. Johnston/Lee McClellan v. Lee	Union attempt to capture Richmond via peninsula approach. McClellan retreats safely to James River.
Second Bull Run	Union defeat	North 14,500 v. South 9,200	McClellan/ Pope v. Lee/Jackson/ Longstreet	Pope flanked and almost cut off at Manassas Junction.
Antietam	Union victory	North 12,000 v. South 12,700	McClellan v. Lee	McClellan turns back Lee's invasion of Maryland.
Fredericksburg	Union defeat	North 1284, 9600, 1769 v. South 595, 4061, 653.	Burnside v. Lee	Forced frontal attack across pontoon bridge, South held fortified heights above the city.

Note: (killed, wounded, captured/missing)

SOURCE: Adapted from MacDonald, J. (1988). *Great Battles of the Civil War*, New York: Macmillan.

Table 1.

Union commanders also had pro-Southern sympathies (these individuals were called “Copperheads”).

From the onset of the conflict, African-American leaders agitated for ending slavery and raising African-American units. Frederick Douglass wrote, “What upon earth is the matter with the American Government and people? Do they really covet the world’s ridicule as well as their own social and political ruin? What are they thinking about, or don’t they condescend to think at all?” (Douglass 1861). Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, working as European correspondents, wrote in the *New York Herald Tribune* that ending slavery and the raising of African-American units

were necessary to win the war. Marx commented, “A single Negro regiment would have a remarkable effect on Southern nerves.” Marx also said that General George McClellan, the union commander, had “incontrovertibly proved that he is a military incompetent,” and that he waged war “not to defeat the foe, but rather not to be defeated by the foe.”

#### AFRICAN-AMERICAN MILITARY PARTICIPATION

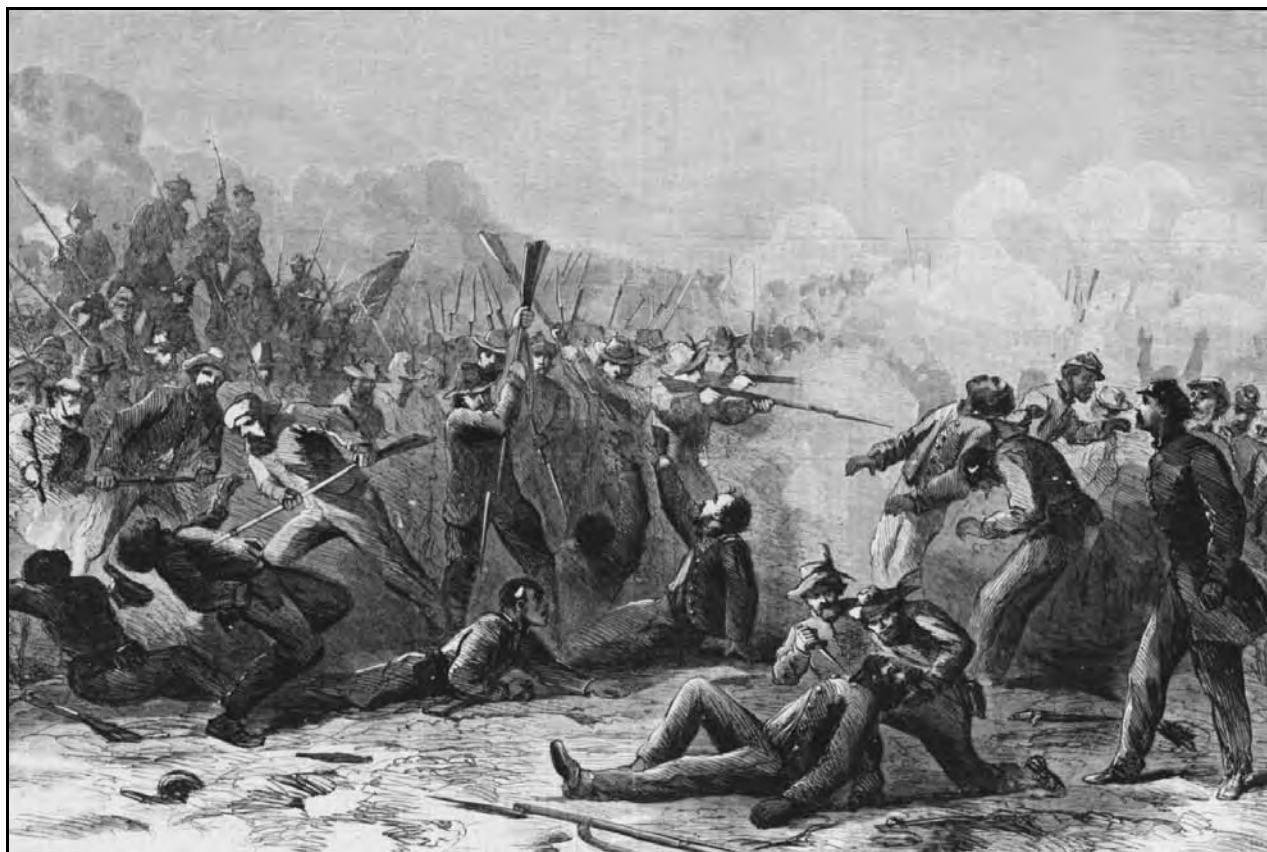
Lincoln announced the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863, because the North was on the verge of a military defeat just after the Battle of Antietam. In the following years, African Americans made several significant contributions to the war. For example, Harriet Tubman was a scout, nurse, and military leader for the Union, and she organized a sophisticated spy network among field and house slaves throughout the Confederacy. She was the first woman to ever lead and come under fire on a military raid in U.S. history when she joined Colonel James Montgomery’s forces and led a raid up the Combahee River in South Carolina (an event misrepresented in the 1989 film *Glory*).

Frederick Douglass’s influence with Governor John Andrew of Massachusetts allowed the 54th Massachusetts Infantry to be organized, one of the first African-American units in the war. Initially, all of the senior officers of the 54th were European-Americans. Colonel Robert Gould Shaw, the son of abolitionists, was commissioned to lead the regiment. Although Shaw was not immune to the white supremacist notions of this time, he counted the African American poet and scholar Charlotte Forten as a personal friend.

The heroism of the 54th Massachusetts at James Island and Fort Wagner is also misrepresented in the popular film *Glory*. For example, the majority of the soldiers who made up this unit were freedmen who could read and write, and many of them gave up farms and businesses to join the unit. The number of freedmen in this unit becomes more significant when one understands that the Confederate Congress drafted legislation calling for the execution of any African American in a federal uniform bearing arms against the Confederacy. The legislation also allowed for the execution of any European-American officer captured in command of African-American troops. Thus, the officers and men of the “colored troops” bore an additional risk in combat not experienced by the rest of the Union Army.

In addition, to add insult to injury, the U.S. Congress paid African-American troops less than European-American troops. In response, the 54th Massachusetts Infantry refused payment for their service.

Eventually, about 185,000 African Americans served in the Union Army and Navy. Twenty-one of these men earned the Congressional Medal of Honor for their



*The Massacre at Fort Pillow.* During the Battle of Fort Pillow, which took place on April 12, 1864, in Tennessee, Confederate troops killed a number of black Union troops that had surrendered and thrown down their arms. This account was disputed by the Confederate commander and others, however, though it is generally agreed to be true. © CORBIS.

heroism during the conflict. By the end of the war, 37,635 African-American troops had been killed (mostly from disease), a mortality rate of 25 percent. This was 35 percent higher than the mortality rate of Euro-American troops of the Union. This is indicative of the way African-American troops were mistreated, especially considering that they did not enter the war until eighteen months after the fighting began. Two egregious examples of the misuse of African-American troops occurred in 1864 at Fort Pillow, Confederate troops were accused of killing African-American troops after they had surrendered, and the Battle of the Crater, in which thousands of black troops were killed after being ordered to charge into a crater where thousands of Union soldiers had already been killed.

#### DRAFT RIOTS IN NEW YORK

During the same month as the historic charge on Fort Wagner and Battle of Gettysburg (which changed the tide of the war), draft riots broke out in New York City. The riots were carried out mainly by Irish Catholics who had been convinced by Northern Copperheads that the war was

a crusade to benefit African Americans. Irish Americans were themselves suffering from oppression at the hands of Northern Protestants (who were mainly of English ancestry). In addition, the proslavery Democratic Party in New York had been agitating among the Irish and German immigrants, saying that ending slavery would cause a flood of former slaves into New York, and that this would threaten the jobs of the immigrants. Democratic Party newspapers had been agitating against the draft for the entire month preceding the July draft lottery. Compounding this racist agitation was the fact that, as a community, the Irish had already suffered a great number of casualties due to the ineptitude of the Union command. Probably the single greatest factor fueling Irish rage over the draft was the provision that allowed wealthy persons to buy themselves out of the draft for a fee of 300 dollars, or else to hire a “substitute” to fight for them.

On July 13th, the riots began as mobs of mostly Irish men attacked the draft office and other federal offices. However, they soon turned their vengeance against any African Americans they came across. African Americans

were indiscriminately lynched and beaten. The Colored Orphan Asylum was burned to the ground, although the children had already fled. Protestant churches were also attacked, as well as the offices of Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune* (a pro-Lincoln newspaper). The rioting lasted four days, and local police could not control it. It was eventually put down by federal troops that had been fighting for their lives at Gettysburg only two weeks earlier.

#### THE CULMINATION AND AFTERMATH OF THE WAR

The Emancipation Proclamation, the raising of African-American regiments, and Lincoln's decision to put the conduct of the war in the hands of competent generals (namely, Ulysses Grant and William Tecumseh Sherman) brought about the end of the war. Grant realized that his numerical and technical superiority could only be realized if he maintained the offensive. His plan was to destroy the Army of Northern Virginia by using a series of rightward flanking movements directed toward Richmond. In the West, Sherman set about to divide the Confederacy in half. Sherman's plan was to destroy the ability of the Confederate Army to supply itself by moving eastward from the Mississippi River toward Atlanta, thus cutting Confederate supply lines.

Lee surrendered the Army of Northern Virginia on April 9, 1865, at Appomattox Courthouse. In the succeeding months the remainder of the Confederate forces surrendered. The Civil War was by far the most costly the United States has ever fought with regard to human life. A total of 360,222 Union troops and 258,000 Confederate troops were killed, out of a total population that numbered 32,300,000. This can be compared to World War II, in which the total American losses were 407,316 out of a population of 133,400,000. From a financial point of view, the war cost the Confederacy \$4 billion and the Union laid out \$16 billion. The final years of war left the Confederate cities in shambles. When Lincoln entered Richmond in triumph on April 3, 1865, few buildings remained standing.

#### THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE WAR

The American Civil War brought about an end to chattel slavery. This broke the control that England had over Southern agricultural production, while simultaneously opening the American South for industrial growth. The settling of the slavery question also prepared America for a westward expansion. The American Indian nations would be brutally defeated by American expansionism by the end of the 1870s. The war freed four million slaves, who now would require resources and education so that they could be prepared for their new life.

The Union victory also created new political and social dynamics. The Northern bankers and industrialists were now the dominant economic and political bloc in the United States. Their political power over the nation was wielded through the Republican Party, which had control of the Union army of occupation in the South and the anti-Indian forces in the West.

The war did not settle the race question in America, however. If anything, it simply recast it in new forms. Many African Americans had fought for the Union, and some for the Confederacy, and their heroism caused some European Americans to change their views about blacks. Abraham Lincoln's own personal views merit attention in this regard. At the beginning of the war, he saw no place for African Americans in the fight to preserve the Union, but as the war dragged on he grudgingly accepted the need for African-American troops, and later he hailed their selfless contributions. Even Robert E. Lee felt that the Confederates should have armed Negroes, and he said he would have welcomed them into the ranks of the Army of Northern Virginia—if they had been willing to serve. Lincoln supported the idea of African-American soldiers receiving the vote after the war. Unfortunately, Lincoln never lived to see any of his plans for Reconstruction realized. Most consider him the "last casualty of the war." He was assassinated by the Southern racist John Wilkes Booth on April 14, 1865, while attending a play at the Ford's Theater in Washington, D.C.

**SEE ALSO** *Antebellum Black Ethnology; Black Civil War Soldiers; Douglass, Frederick; Emancipation Proclamation.*

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Joseph L. Graves Jr.

## CLINES

In 1938 the English biologist Julian Huxley proposed using the Greek-derived word *cline* to represent the gradual change of a single biological trait (e.g., skin color) in a given species over a geographical area. The gradient in the expression of any such trait represents a response to the graded change in the intensity of the selective force affecting the manifestation of the trait in question. Many human traits are clinally distributed, but they often require laboratory testing to discover their various manifestations. The most easily perceived trait that has a clinal distribution is skin color. Long-term residents of the tropics have a maximum amount of pigmentation in the skin, while long-term residents of arctic locations have the least amount of pigment in the skin. The transition of pigmentation from the tropics to northern parts of the globe follows an unbroken gradation, making the distribution of skin color a true cline.

The substance that accounts for pigment in the skin is called melanin. The more particles of melanin, the darker the skin. In areas of intense sunlight, such as the tropics, the penetration of ultraviolet B rays in the human skin can lead to cancer. Skin with a lot of melanin particles will block the penetration of ultraviolet rays and protect the person in question against the possibility of contracting skin cancer. In addition, melanin prevents ultraviolet radiation

from breaking down folic acid in the body, thus helping to prevent neural tube defects in newborns (Jablonski 2004).

“Neutral theory” notes that where there is no selection maintaining a given trait, random genetic changes will not be selected against. Most such random changes interfere with the development of the structure coded by the genes that control its development. If there is no selection maintaining that structure, random mutations will decrease its manifestation through time—hence the reduction of pigmentation in northern populations.

Visual acuity and color perception are also clinally distributed, but the cline does not have the same distribution as the cline for skin color. As Richard H. Post documented in 1962, those populations that depended on hunting longer than others retained a degree of visual acuity that decreased in proportion to the length of time the other people in question had been practicing farming for their subsistence. Sub-Saharan African populations, for example, have fewer individuals in each population who show extremes of near-sightedness and far-sightedness, color blindness, and astigmatism than European populations. Among the latter, however, the inhabitants of the northwestern edge of Europe have fewer visual defects than people in the Middle East, where farming has been a way of life for longer than anywhere else in the world. In line with this picture, Hugh R. Taylor (1981) has shown that the greatest amount of visual acuity is found among Australian Aborigines, who were hunters up until a century or two ago.

Human tooth size is also clinally distributed, with those who depended on cooking for the longest having the smallest teeth in the world (Brace 2005). The people who inhabited Europe during the last glaciation were dependent on hunting for their subsistence, but they could hardly eat a whole Pleistocene cow at a single sitting. A day or so later it would have frozen solid. The pieces could be cooked, however, and that not only thawed the meat but reduced the amount of chewing necessary to get it to a swallowable consistency. The descendants of these people have the smallest teeth in the world. Sub-Saharan Africans did not have to thaw their food, but eventually they discovered that cooking counteracted the effects of decay. African teeth have been reducing in size, but not for as long as the teeth of the people further north. Cooking was introduced in Australia late in the eighteenth century after first contact with Europeans (later than in other places), and it spread slowly southward from the northern edge of the continent. There is a cline for tooth size in Australia that ranges from African-sized teeth in the north to larger teeth in the south, where the indigenous inhabitants have the biggest teeth in the world, being fully Neanderthal-sized. This is completely the reverse of the skin-color cline in Australia, which ranges from equatorial degrees of



darkness in the north to a kind of medium brown in the south (where there is also a visible amount of juvenile blondism).

The ABO blood group genes also have clinal distributions, but it is not certain what the relevant selective forces were that produced those distributions. What is clear, however, is that the distributions have no relationship at all to the distributions of skin color, tooth size, or any other traits that have clinal distributions. The distribution of hemoglobin S, however, is well understood (Brace 2005, pp. 10-11). Hemoglobin is a protein molecule with 574 amino acid residues arranged in two alpha and two beta chains. Hemoglobin S differs from hemoglobin A by having valine instead of a glutamate at position 6 of the beta chain.

An individual with two genes for hemoglobin S will have sickle-cell anemia and a shorter life expectancy, while an individual with normal hemoglobin (AA) is susceptible to a particular kind of malaria. The person with hemoglobin AS will not suffer from anemia under most circumstances and has the advantage that many of the infecting malaria parasites are removed from the bloodstream before they can reproduce. Where falciparum malaria is prevalent, the possession of a single S gene gives a person a survival edge over the person who only has A at that locus.

The completely independent and unrelated distribution of human traits that are adaptively advantageous is what led the anthropologist Frank Livingstone to declare, "There are no races, there are only clines" (Livingstone 1962, p. 279). This is true, however, only for traits that are under selective-force control, though not all traits under selective-force control are clinally distributed. Members of all human populations have to be able to learn their languages and have the wits to survive, and they all need hearts, kidneys, livers, and other organs that will last a normal lifetime. As a result, there is no demonstrable gradient in any population in either intellectual ability or in the functional capabilities of the internal organs. Many traits—such as eye shape, ear shape, and cheekbone shape—show recognizable regional similarities. Anything that clusters in regional fashion does so because of genealogical relationship and not as the result of natural selection. The regional clustering of such non-adaptive features has been referred to as "family resemblance writ large" (Brace 2005, p. 16).

**SEE ALSO** *Clines and Continuous Variation; Clusters; Gene Pool; Genes and Genealogies; Heritability; Skin Color.*

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C. Loring Brace

## CLINES AND CONTINUOUS VARIATION

Frank Livingstone, a specialist in genetic anthropology, has written that "there are no races, only clines" (Livingstone 1962, p. 279). For centuries, both everyday folk beliefs and the sciences presumed that "races" were separated by genetic boundaries, with a high degree of biological similarity among the members of each group. This was based on thinking in terms of a discrete distribution of traits. It was believed, for example, that all sub-Saharan Africans had black skin, all Europeans were white, and all Asians were yellow. Thinking in terms of homogeneous populations with discrete traits and boundary lines was supported by the selective perception that certain external physical traits fit stereotypical traditions. In the twentieth century, however, thinking in terms of *continuous variation*, also called *clines*, came to provide a more useful and precise way to analyze human variation, making the concept of "race" obsolete. Traits that were assumed to be unique to each race are in fact distributed continuously. For example, skin color, based mostly on the frequency of pigment (melanin), is darker near the equator and becomes lighter as one moves in a northern direction, reaching its lowest frequency in northern latitudes among populations that have resided in those areas for thousands of years.

### THE CLINE CONCEPT

The concept of cline was first proposed by the British biologist Julian Huxley in 1938. He derived the name from Greek word *klinein*, meaning "to lean." He defined cline as a "gradation in measurable characters" (Huxley 1938, p. 219). A cline can be based on either directly observable external biological traits, also called *phenotypes* (e.g., hair color, skin pigmentation, stature), or it can be derived from genes (e.g., ABO blood type, sickle-cell hemoglobin) and referred to as a *genotype*. Clines may be continuous and vary gradually over a region, or they may vary abruptly. There may be steep clines or gradual clines as well as sudden mid-cline reversals. Clinal maps of England show areas where 15

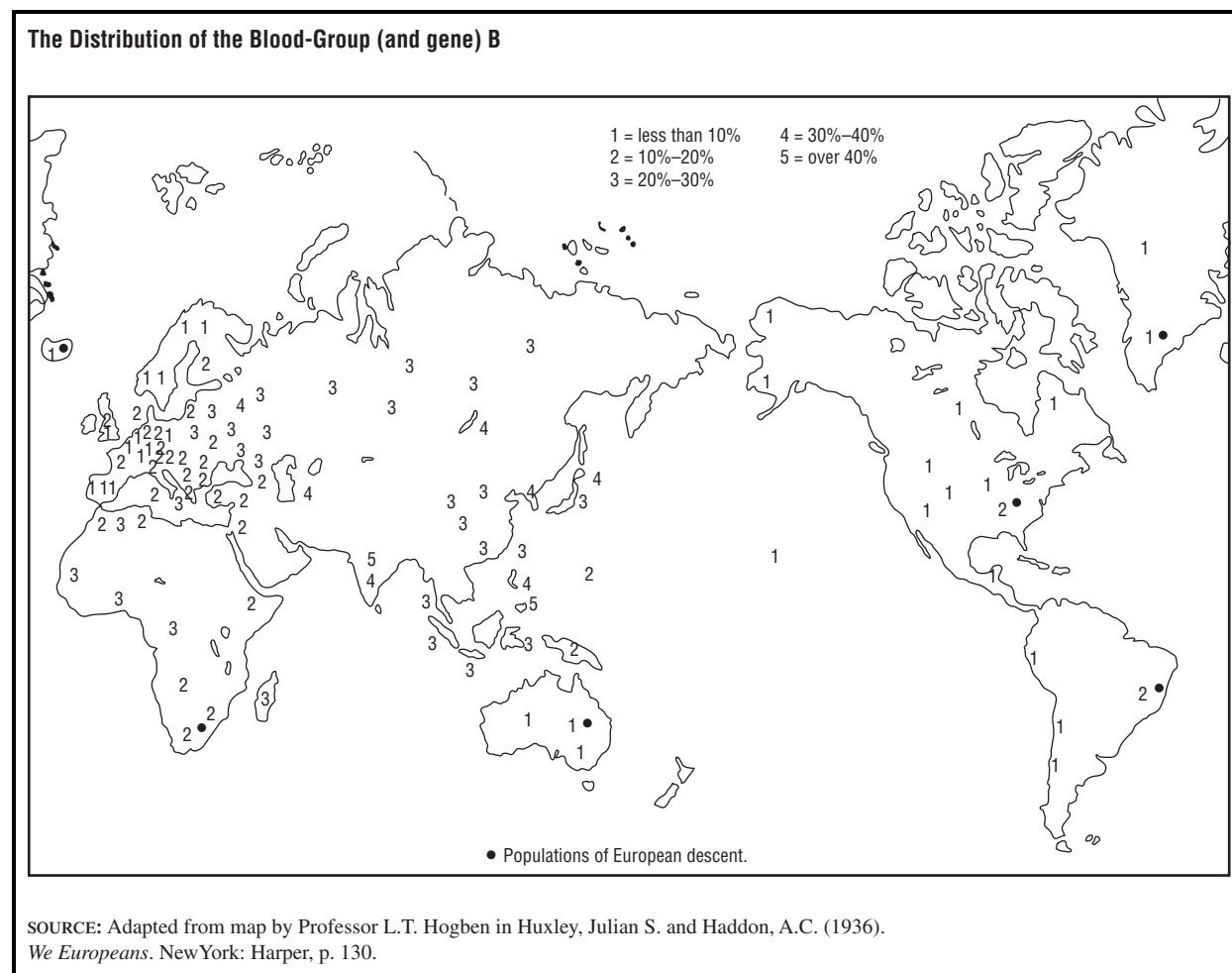


Figure 1.

percent of the population have red hair adjacent to areas where less than 5 percent have red hair. Variation may not be due to absolute barriers, but may instead be influenced by partly passable mountain ranges, deserts, and bodies of water. Even before the time of Columbus, clines were created or disrupted by the movement of peoples, a trend that intensified after 1492 with the enslavement and forced emigration of millions of Africans and the migration of Europeans into North and South America. The result resembles a weather map on which lines separate temperature variations. On a biological cline map, the lines separating phenotypical traits are called *isophenes*. Lines referring to genotype frequencies are *isogenes*. Similar illustrations of gradients are seen in maps of elevations of land contours above sea level, in this sense the word cline is related to incline and decline in altitude.

Together with his coauthor A. C. Haddon, Huxley presented the evidence for clines in 1936 in a pioneering map (see Figure 1) that showed the decrease of B-type

hemoglobin in Europe and its increase into western Asia. Haddon and Huxley concluded that the evidence of clines invalidated the race concept's assertions of racial homogeneity and boundary lines making for discrete races. Later, computers would make possible the analysis of more complete data into interval maps showing other clinal patterns. The exact numerical value varies, but any cline can be represented by a set of intervals. In this sense, a cline refers to both the concept of continual variation and a method of measuring and depicting variation in the frequency of any physical feature or gene frequency over a geographic area.

#### SICKLE-CELL ANEMIA AND MALARIA

The pioneering efforts of Huxley and Haddon did not receive immediate acceptance. The idea of "race" was too strongly established in Western folk beliefs and scientific tradition. But newer research studies would provide a

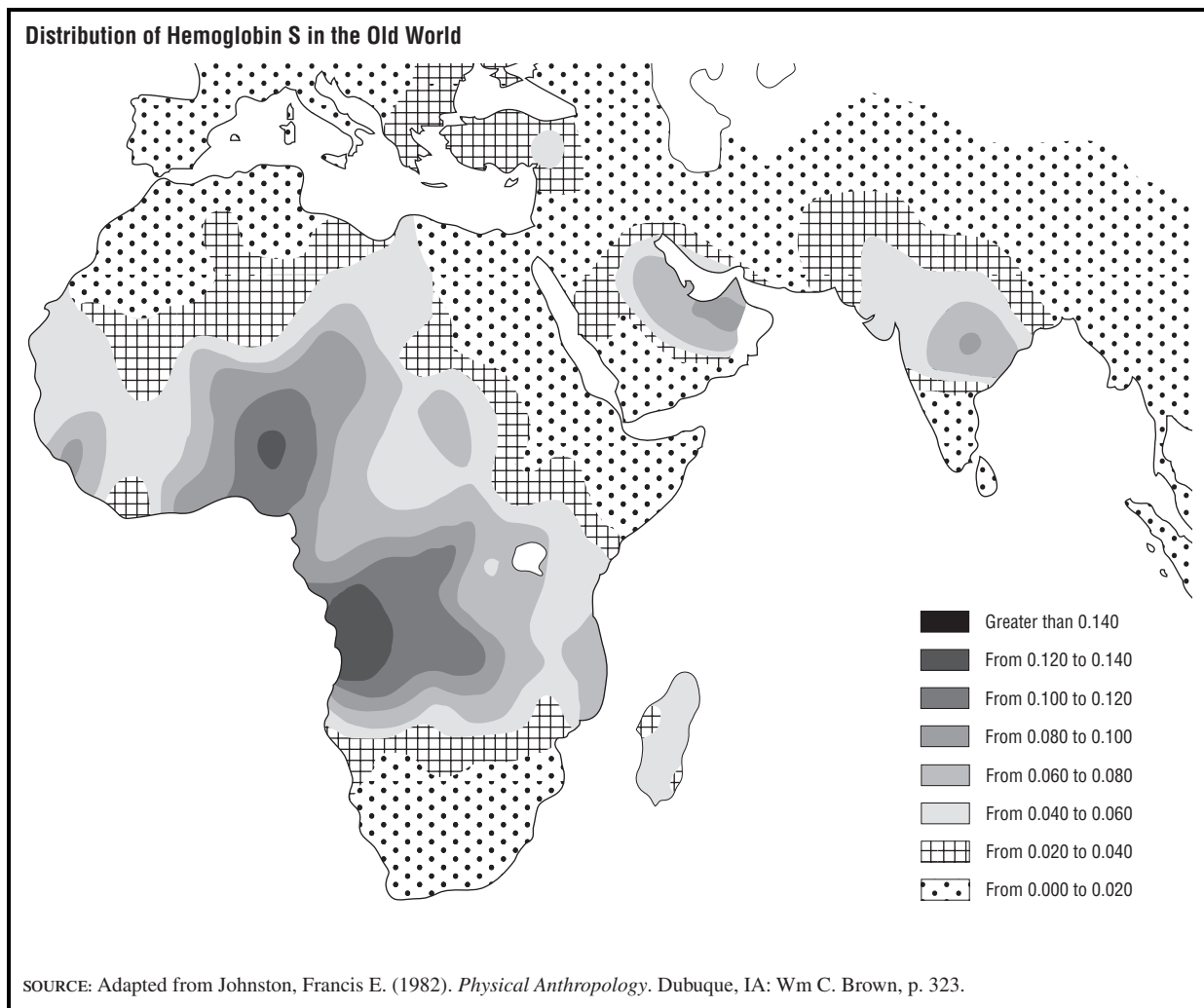
catalyst for change. Among the first was Livingstone's 1958 study of sickle-cell anemia, which showed that it was more frequent in malarial areas. Prior to this it was believed by some that genes for sickle-cell anemia were a discrete racial trait of black Africans. Livingstone was able to show that the alleles for sickling (Hb<sup>s</sup>) are most frequent in populations in West Africa but decline in frequency in areas to the north and east, and are still less frequent around the Mediterranean and throughout South Asia. This is because another mutation, for hemoglobin E, also resists malaria in areas where the intensity of agriculture affects the frequency of mosquitoes.

Malaria continues to kill millions of people, mostly children, each year. Inheriting an allele for sickling from each parent leads to extreme anemia, severely reducing the number of offspring and the percent of sickling alleles in the population. Those inheriting normal hemoglobin—that is, without any sickling blood—contract

malaria and have a significant death rate and a reduced number of offspring. Yet inheriting one such allele confers a resistance to the symptoms of malaria. Frequency of survival and reproduction with one sickle-cell allele is relatively greatest in areas where there is more agriculture being practiced, for the clearing of the land produces standing water where mosquitoes can breed. Therefore, the continuous variation over geographic regions is not due to biological race but is produced by human cultural practices in malarial climates.

**CLINAL MAPS**

Livingstone's data was reported in a list, but a map developed later depicts a graphic clinal pattern (Johnston 1982, Figure 2). It is clearly a clinal pattern distributed through malarial regions of Africa, Europe, and Asia. Livingstone's data demonstrated that continuous clinal variation occurs



**Figure 2.**

within populations and across their boundaries, in clear disproof of the validity of the idea of race.

Another influence on the cline concept was presented by C. Loring Brace in "A Nonracial Approach Towards the Understanding of Human Diversity" in *The Concept of Race* (1964). Brace's nonracial approach was the use of clines, and he illustrated it with four clinal maps (derived from Biasutti 1941), covering skin color, hair form, facial form based on relative tooth size, and nose form. All of these are traditional observable physical features (phenotypes) that had been used to construct racial stereotypes. Each clinal pattern can be studied, and Brace showed that evolutionary hypotheses could be developed and tested regarding their origin and distribution. When the four clinal patterns are overlaid on each other, it clearly demonstrates that racial boundaries do not exist, because the clinal patterns are not congruent and do not covary. Instead, they are discordant; that is, their distribution does not correspond with racial boundary lines. Brace declared that it was "extremely difficult to say where one population ends and another begins" (Brace 1964, p. 104). Thinking in terms of clines in this way clarified that racial boundaries are arbitrary cultural errors. The discordance of clines was further presented to biologists by Paul Ehrlich and Richard W. Holm (1964). The biologists Edward O. Wilson and W. L. Brown (1953) used clinal data as a basis for rejecting the concept of "subspecies," in the sense of race.

Beginning in 1938–1939, and again in 1952–1954, genetic anthropologist Joseph B. Birdsell measured Australian Aborigines for a number of traits. Using this data, Birdsell constructed numerous clinal maps. He viewed the data in the context of the concept of race up to the early 1970s, but in 1975 he wrote, in *Human Evolution*, that "The use of the term race has been discontinued because it is scientifically undefinable and carries social implications that are harmful and disruptive" (p. 505). In 1993 he published *Microevolutionary Patterns in Aboriginal Australia, A Gradient Analysis of Clines*. It contains a large number of clinal maps showing lack of covariation, contrary to the Western image of there being one stereotypical image of Australian Aborigines. In 1994, the geneticists L. Luca Cavalli-Sforza, Paola Menozzi, and Alberto Piazza published a worldwide analysis using a database of 76,676 gene frequencies from aboriginal ethnic groups that were believed to be in the same location at the time of the study as they were at the end of the fifteenth century, although the gene pool and ethnic identity of each group had likely altered. They published more than 500 clinal maps, which were condensed into worldwide summary maps using 128 gene variants (alleles). The result did not correspond to racial boundary lines; and the coauthors rejected the race con-

cept as a scientific failure and race classification as a futile exercise.

### RESISTANCE TO CLINES

Acceptance of clines as a basis for rejecting the race concept was resisted by some anthropologists, especially by forensic anthropologists who asserted that they could identify an individual's race by examining his or her skull. In doing so they ignored the fact that while crania might have some feature attributed to a person of one race, a particular skull could be that of a very light-skinned person who could be identified either as black or white. In addition, cranial features vary clinally within populations and change over time. Outspoken in defense of race was the forensic anthropologist Alice Brues in *People and Races* (1977). Brues wrote that clines were sometimes the appropriate concept to use, while at other times race was both a necessary and valid concept. Brues pointed out the apparent differences between races with a scenario of flying from a Scandinavian city and landing in Nairobi, Kenya. Brace replied that walking or bicycling between these two areas and progressing southward along the Nile, one would view a gradual change in physical features.

Acceptance of the new clinal concept and data on continuous variation became widespread beginning in the 1970s in anthropology, although the concept was less often explicitly stated than was the underlying and crucial fact of continuous variation. There continues to be reluctance among some scientists to relinquish race as the traditional and convenient way of extending to human populations the classification system of the Swedish botanist Carolus Linnaeus (1707–1778).

### EXPLAINING CLINES

Thinking that uses the race concept assumes a high degree of uniformity of each trait, as well as the association of these traits within a population. Brace pointed out that this association "obscures the factors influencing the occurrence and distribution of any single trait. *The most important thing for the analyses of human variation is the appreciation of the selective pressures which have operated to influence the expression of each trait separately*" (Brace 1964, p. 107; italics in original). One example, as described above, is Livingstone's explanation of the cline for sickle-cell allele in relation to the frequency of malaria, which in turn is affected by the intensity of agriculture. Brace proposed explanations for clinal distribution of nose form, hair form, skin color, and relative tooth size affecting face profile. Skin pigment is a protective response to ultraviolet radiation, which causes skin cancer. However, there is some uncertainty about the frequency of skin cancer as an influence on natural selection (through differential fertility), because the cancer develops after the years when reproduction is most likely. A stronger explanation

for increased melanin is found in the effect of ultraviolet rays in reducing folic acid (folate) in the body. Low levels of folic acid result in a defect in the neural tube (spina bifida) of the developing fetus, and they may also affect the production of sperm (Jablonski 2004). The clinal pattern in melanin arises as the intensity of ultraviolet exposure decreased away from the equator. The presence of populations with lesser amounts of melanin as one proceeds north occurs because the reduced degree of ultraviolet intensity allows for the persistence of adequate folic acid, coupled with the need to generate more vitamin D for normal bone growth and the possibility of resistance of lighter skin to frostbite.

The covariation of hair form and skin color are an exception to the pattern of clinal discordance. Hair on the head varies, and for a biological reason—spiral and wooly hair insulates the head from ultraviolet radiation. Clinal patterns tend toward smaller teeth in areas with longer histories of food production from agriculture, while larger teeth occur in areas of hunting and gathering. Dental reduction began in the northern latitudes when cooking and the use of pottery for more liquid foods began, reaching equatorial areas later. As food became more tender, natural selection did not require large teeth and mutations for smaller teeth could accumulate. Stature, meanwhile, varied in response to climate. In cold climates, body temperature is conserved by stocky bodies and short arms and legs. In hot, dry areas, a more linear body with long arms and legs dissipates heat more efficiently. The small stature of pygmies is an exception to the linear pattern, but they live in a hot, moist rainforest, along with other species that are smaller than closely related species living in the open savannas.

Particular genetic conditions, such as Tay-Sachs disease or sickle-cell anemia, have mistakenly been viewed as identifying particular races. Tay-Sachs is a condition in which inheriting two recessive genes is lethal. It has been attributed to Jews and explained by the possibility that the presence of one gene conferred a resistance to tuberculosis among the Ashkenazic Jews of eastern Europe who lived in crowded ghettos. The condition is also found in other populations but at a lower frequency, and a slightly different mutation also causes Tay-Sachs among French Canadians of Quebec. Racial stereotypes attribute other features to one or another particular race, such as uniform epicanthic folds over the eyes, prominent cheekbones, or thick lips. However, these vary by degree in a clinal pattern. Explanations for them as advantageous adaptations have not been established. They may have originated in one small population of related families and dispersed with population expansion, becoming more varied due to mating with members of other populations. Clinal variations in physical features are most commonly explained as advantageous for survival in different and sometimes extreme geo-

graphic locations. These biological features, mislabeled in the past as racial markers, did not necessarily make migration into those areas possible, but they may have evolved in gradations after movement into those areas. The spread of humans throughout the globe occurred because humans had the potential to live in many different areas, from the Arctic Circle to the semi-arid, near deserts of southwestern Africa. It has been suggested that races varied in their achievements because of their hereditary intelligence, but no proven method of measurement free of the cultural variation in IQ tests has been devised. Genes relating to intelligence have not been found, although many different negative mutations may reduce the functioning intelligence of an individual. The kind of achievements of various populations is best viewed not as the result of biological differences, but rather as a result of human flexibility for problem solving expressed in diverse cultures.

The availability of clinal data was necessary to bring about thinking without the idea of biological races, and an awareness of continuous variation has made racist stereotypes more difficult to use. Clinal thinking has become standard among anthropologists, and it is increasing among biologists.

**SEE ALSO** *Clines; Genetic Variation Among Populations; Nonconcordant Variation; Racial Formations.*

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Leonard Lieberman

## CLUSTERS

When adaptive traits are considered, the aphorism coined by Frank Livingstone more than forty-five years ago still holds true: "There are no races, there are only clines" (1962, p. 279). Each such trait is distributed as a gradient controlled by the distribution of the selective force that controls the intensity of its expression, and no two such selective forces have the same distribution. In order to make biological sense out of trait distributions, each has to be analyzed separately. The pattern made by the intersection of such traits has no meaning in and of itself. However, people in a given part of the world cluster together and look more like each other than they look like people in other parts of the world. What is being expressed in this is simply local relatedness—"family resemblance writ large"—and such regional groupings based on the sharing of similar traits can be called "clusters" (Brace 1996, p.136; 2005, p. 16).

The features that demonstrate the visible relatedness of local or larger regional clusters of people almost certainly have no particular adaptive value. Where a set of traits operates to show the relatedness of people in a particular region, it can be taken as a given that those traits are unimportant for the survival of the people in question. Whether the shape of the eye sockets is round or oblong, whether their lateral edges are on the same plane as the root of the nose or swept backwards, whether the outline of the whole skull viewed from the top is round or oval, whether the skull viewed from the rear has an unbroken oval contour or displays vertical sides that abruptly change directions at a boss as the flat sides of the roof angle up to the midline—but none of these have any influence on the differential ability to survive.

Such features are clearly different between one population and another and warrant recognition. The problem is in finding an appropriate designation for obvious clusters. The common use of the word "Mongoloid" to refer to the people of Asia runs into the problem that, when craniofacial features are analyzed, the Mongols themselves tend to share the fewest features with the rest of the inhabitants of Asia. If

the features of the inhabitants of the Caucasus between Russia and Iran are used to describe "Caucasians," then the Norwegians and the English do not qualify for this designation. "Negro" is based on skin color, an adaptive trait, and it thus lumps together long-time residents of the tropics all the way from New Guinea to southern India and equatorial Africa, even though they may have been separated for the better part of the Pleistocene.

The best thing to do when identifying clusters is to indicate geographic area. One can speak of the inhabitants of Asia, and, when needed, specify whether Northeast Asia, Southeast Asia, South Asia, or West Asia is meant. The same approach can be used for any of the geographic entities of the world. Specifying a locale of long-term residence basically solves the problem of naming human clusters.

**SEE ALSO** *Clines; Folk Classification; Gene Pool; Genes and Genealogies; Genetic Distance; Genetic Marker; Genetics, History of; Heritability.*

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C. Loring Brace

## COLONIALISM, INTERNAL

The concept of "internal colonialism" has become so widely used and applied that almost every minority group in the world has been viewed as an internal colony. The discussion here, therefore, will be limited to the United States, where the "colonial analogy" emerged in the 1960s.

By 1962, when the social commentator and writer Harold Cruse first suggested that black-white relations were a form of "domestic colonialism," the colonial liberation movements throughout the world, and above all in Africa, had become a source of inspiration for African Americans. These overseas developments contributed to the increasing militancy of the civil rights movement, which provided the larger context from which the idea of internal colonialism arose. The new perspective filled a vacuum, for the prevailing theories of race relations did a poor job of helping scholars understand the urban insurrections in Watts and Detroit, as well as the shift in civil rights strategy from an

ideal of integration to the more militant “Black Power” and black nationalism. At a time when race relations theory “expected” black Americans to assimilate into the larger society, as various white ethnic groups had done, they were instead calling for the building of their own culture and autonomous institutions. Further, when the big news in America was racial oppression and antiracist movements, sociologists still tended to view racial realities through the prism of class analysis.

In addition to Cruse, internal colonialism theory was pioneered by such black scholars and activists as Kenneth Clark, the author of *Youth in the Ghetto* (1964), and Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton, the authors of *Black Power* (1967). By the late 1960s, the Black Panther Party had adopted the concept of internal colonialism, and even the liberal aspirant for the Democratic Party nomination, Eugene McCarthy, routinely referred to blacks as a colonized people in his 1968 campaign.

A product of 1960s and 1970s militancy, internal colonialism fell out of favor in the United States during the more conservative 1980s, just at the point when it was being used to analyze race relations in other societies. However, when incidents of racism flared up in almost epidemic proportions in the United States in 1987 and 1988, American sociologists got interested in the concept again.

Although the internal colonialism perspective now has a secure position in the panoply of theories of ethnic and racial relations, many social scientists still do not find it convincing, especially when applied to the United States. The eminent anthropologist Margaret Mead once said that she found the differences between America’s race relations and the colonial societies she had worked in to be much more compelling than the similarities, and the position that the consequences of these differences are more salient for creating social theory is certainly a reasonable one.

*Colonialism* traditionally refers to the establishment of domination over a geographically external political unit, most often inhabited by people of a different “race” and culture. This domination is both political and economic, and the colony is subordinated to and dependent upon the “mother country.” Typically, the colonizers exploit the land, the raw materials, the labor, and other resources of the colonized nation; formal recognition is given to the difference in power, autonomy, and political status between indigenous and colonial institutions; and various agencies are set up to maintain this subordination.

Seemingly, this model must be stretched beyond utility if the American case is to be included within it, for any discussion of U.S. minorities must be about group relations within a society. The geographical separation between mother country and colony is therefore absent in this case. Although whites certainly colonized the territory of the

original Americans, the “colonization” of African Americans did not involve the settlement of whites in a land that was unequivocally black. Unlike the classical situation, there have been no formal recognitions of differences in power since slavery was abolished. In addition, traditional colonialism involves the control and exploitation of the majority of a nation by a minority of outsiders, whereas in America the oppressed black population is a numerical minority and was, originally, the “outside” group.

Both classical overseas colonialism and the internal variety share common features that justify the use of the concept of internal colonialism, however. For both forms of colonialisms—with the British conquest of their colonies in Africa and the Indian subcontinent and slavery in the New World being good examples—developed out of the same historical situation and reflected a common world economic and power stratification. In addition to sharing a historical context, both colonialisms shared critical dimensions that made up a “colonization complex.” Five such common features may be spelled out.

The first, and most critical, for it affects all the others, is that colonized groups do not enter a new society voluntarily, as do immigrant groups for the most part. Instead, they become a part of the society through force and violence. Second, they are forced into labor that is either unfree or extremely undesirable, and that typically restricts the group’s physical and social mobility as well as its political participation. In the United States, people of color were concentrated in the most unskilled jobs, the least advanced sectors of the economy, and the most industrially backward regions of the country. Third, the cultures of the colonized are not permitted free expression but are constrained, exploited, and often destroyed. The experience of Native Americans is an especially tragic example of this. Fourth, the communities and institutions of colonized groups lack the autonomy that immigrants generally enjoy. Instead, their lives are controlled and administered by government bureaucracies, police forces, and other outsiders. Finally, colonized groups suffer racism, which is qualitatively different than ethnic prejudice and much more damaging to individual selves and group culture.

The perspective of internal colonialism served as an important corrective to previous theories of race and ethnicity in the United States. It provided a hard-hitting analysis that was able to make more sense of the militant racial movements of the 1960s and 1970s than earlier frameworks, which emphasized assimilation and class analysis. It also provided a historical perspective that was too often lacking in other approaches. Its emphasis on race as an “independent variable” was also important, though as the pendulum shifts to a racial analysis, there is always the danger of neglecting class, especially class differences within minority groups.

The British sociologist Ernest Cashmore has provided another important criticism: the distinction between voluntary and involuntary entry, as stated above, is often ambiguous. Groups such as Puerto Ricans, Chinese Americans, and Filipinos entered the United States through processes that involved both voluntary and involuntary aspects. And because the framework of internal colonialism was originally an analogy, it perhaps lends itself to applications that are too often overschematic, rather than being based on fresh approaches that emphasize historical concreteness and complexity.

A final problem with the perspective is that for America's internal colonies there is no "functional equivalent" to colonial liberation. Marxists believe that social contradictions contain within them the seeds of their resolution. Capitalism produced a proletariat that was supposed to end the exploitation of labor and bring down the system. Colonialism produced "natives" who organized into movements to send the colonists back to their mother countries. But in America, even if blacks were to control the politics and economics of their communities (and the Indians their reservations), their autonomy would be quite limited. They would still not control the social and economic forces in the larger society, which would continue to impinge on them.

SEE ALSO *Exploitation; Fourth World; Racial Hierarchy.*

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**Bob Blauner**

## COLOR-BLIND RACISM

Polls on racial attitudes in the United States consistently find that whites are more racially tolerant than ever.

Respondents indicate they do not care if minorities live in their neighborhoods or if people marry across the color line, and they express support for the principles of integration. However, the same polls also find that whites object to government policies developed to ameliorate the effects of discrimination, such as affirmative action and busing. Furthermore, the data also shows that whites believe racism is no longer a major problem in the United States and that existing racial inequality is the product of the culture and behavior of minorities. The sociologist Eduardo Bonilla-Silva has argued that all this means is that the nature of racial discourse has changed and that there is a new way of expressing prejudicial attitudes, which he calls "color-blind racism." Color-blind racism is the dominant racial ideology in post-civil rights America, and unlike its predecessor (Jim Crow racism), it is subtle, apparently nonracial, and avoids traditional racist discourse.

### WHITE RACIAL ATTITUDES IN THE POST-CIVIL RIGHTS ERA

Scholars differ in their interpretation and analysis of whites' racial attitudes in the post-civil rights era. Their explanations can be grouped into four categories: (1) racial optimism, (2) racial pessimism, (3) symbolic racism, and (4) group position. *Racial optimists*, such as Seymour Lipset and Paul Sniderman, believe whites have, in fact, become more racially tolerant, and that their objections to programs such as affirmative action are not racially motivated. Although the views of these scholars are no longer dominant in academia, they are popular among the masses because they resonate with whites' racial common sense. *Racial pessimists*, best represented by the work of Howard Schuman and his colleagues, believe that the change in whites' racial attitudes is best understood as a combination of progress and resistance. Although scholars in this tradition acknowledge the resistance of whites to racial change, they are still wedded to the old perspective elaborated by Gunnar Myrdal in his *An American Dilemma* (1944). Myrdal put forward the idea that whites will overcome their prejudice as soon as they reconcile the facts and realize that discrimination has no place in a truly democratic society.

*Symbolic racism* scholars, such as David Sears and Donald Kinder, argue instead that whites are still prejudiced, but in a new way that combines a moralistic discourse with antiblack affect. For example, these scholars interpret whites' opposition to programs such as affirmative action as a symbolic expression of their prejudice. Lastly, scholars advocating the idea of *group position*, such as Lawrence Bobo and James Kluegel, believe whites'



prejudice is a way to defend white privilege. The defense of group status is done nowadays, according to Bobo, through a “laissez-faire racism” that blames minorities for their inability to improve their economic and social standing. All these approaches, however, share three limitations: (1) They are all fundamentally anchored in the prejudice *problématique*, (2) they derive their data from surveys and thus cannot fully capture contemporary white discourse, and (3) they are ultimately bounded by their methodological individualism (i.e., their unit of analysis is the individual). *Problématique* is a French structuralist term that refers to the limits or boundaries of a concept. Analysts trapped in the “prejudice *problématique*,” for example, cannot “see” or accept the structural nature of racial dynamics.

An explanation of whites’ apparently paradoxical attitudes that has gained support is that developed by Eduardo Bonilla-Silva. He argues that whites’ racial views in the post-civil rights era represent a new racial ideology: color-blind racism. Unlike Jim Crow racism, color-blind racism articulates whites’ defense of the racial order in a subtle, apparently nonracial way. It provides tools to talk about race without appearing to be “racist”—a very important matter, given that the normative climate that has crystallized in the United States since the 1960s disavows the open expression of racial views.

#### A COLOR-BLIND IDEOLOGY

Bonilla-Silva argues that whites’ views constitute an ideology rather than mere prejudice. This means that whites’ views should be understood within the context of how power relations between whites and nonwhites are maintained in the racial arena. Thus, because the civil rights movement forced changes in the way racial inequality is reproduced in the United States, new explanations, accounts, and vocabulary emerged to justify the racial status quo.

For analytical purposes, racial ideology can be conceived as comprising the following three elements: frames, styles, and racial stories. The central frames or themes of this ideology are set paths for interpreting information. There are four principal frames: (1) abstract liberalism, (2) naturalization of race-related matters, (3) cultural racism, and (4) minimization of racism. The style element refers to the linguistic strategies used to convey the components of this ideology, which have become slippery, subtle, and indirect. Finally, racial stories are the narratives whites use to articulate and bolster their racial accounts. They take the form of story lines (generic stories without much personal content) and testimonies (stories that are seemingly personal).

The frame of *abstract liberalism* uses ideas typically associated with liberalism, such as “equal opportunity,”

“meritocracy,” and “individual effort,” in an abstract and decontextualized way to account for inequality. For example, a young, white, female college student stated the following when asked about whether minorities should be afforded unique opportunities to attend college:

I don’t think they should be provided with unique opportunities. I think that they should have the same opportunities as everyone else . . . I don’t think that just because they’re a minority that they should, you know, not meet the requirements, you know. (Bonilla-Silva 2003)

This student’s response ignores the effects of past and contemporary discrimination on the social, economic, and educational status of minorities. Therefore, by saying “they should have the same opportunities as everyone else,” this student is defending racial inequality in the educational realm while maintaining her non-racist image.

The *naturalization* frame explains racial matters, such as residential segregation or whites’ preferences for whites as partners and friends, as natural outcomes. Although this frame does not employ a “color-blind” logic to explain racial differences, it is part of the larger ideology because it reinforces the myth of nonracialism. An example of how whites use this frame is a middle-age, male manufacturing manager who stated:

I don’t think it’s anybody’s fault. Because people tend to group with their own people. Whether it’s white or black or upper-middle class or lower class or, you know, upper class, you know, Asians. People tend to group with their own. . . . You know, people group together for lots of different reasons: social, religious. You can’t force that. (Bonilla-Silva 2003)

By suggesting that segregation is natural, this respondent ignores the legacy of legalized Jim Crow segregation and the structural dynamics that exist in the early twenty-first century to keep racial groups apart. His account also betrays a profound belief in differences between racial groups, for he likens the segregation between whites and nonwhites to the separate lives of two different species.

The *cultural racism* frame relies on arguments based on culture to explain the position of racial groups in society. In essence, whites “blame the victim” by suggesting that the position of minorities is due to their family disorganization, lack of effort, or laziness. A young female college student, for instance, in response to a question that explained the overall situation of blacks in this country as the result of them lacking motivation, having a deficient work ethic, or because they are lazy, stated:

If they worked hard, they could make it just as high as anyone else could. (Bonilla-Silva 2003)

Believing that blacks live in the projects because they do not work hard, as this student suggests, shows whites' amnesia about past and contemporary discrimination in the labor and housing markets.

The *minimization of racism* frame suggests discrimination is no longer a real problem because civil rights legislation eradicated all racial ills and people are now "beyond race." For example, in response to a question trying to assess the significance of discrimination, a female retail salesperson in her early forties stated the following:

I think sometimes it's an excuse because people felt they deserved a job, whatever! I think if things didn't go their way I know a lot of people have tendency to use prejudice or racism as whatever, as an excuse. (Bonilla-Silva 2003)

By minimizing the significance of discrimination, whites can deflect minorities' claims of discrimination and bounce them back to them as "excuses," or as playing the infamous "race card."

#### THE STYLE OF COLOR-BLINDNESS

The "style" of a racial ideology refers to its particular linguistic manners and rhetorical strategies. These are the tools that allow users to articulate the frames and stories of an ideology. Because overt racist talk in public venues is no longer tolerated, contemporary racial discussions must be done in code or with shields that allow actors to express their views in a way that preserve their image of race neutrality. Color-blind racism has five components: avoidance of racist speech, semantic moves, projection, diminutives, and rhetorical incoherence.

*Semantic moves*, or *strategically managed propositions*, are phrases that are interjected into speech when an actor is about to state a position that is seemingly racist. Two classic examples of semantic moves are "I'm not prejudiced, but" and "Some of my best friends are black." A woman in her sixties used the former move in her explanation of why blacks are worse off than whites in the United States:

Well, I'm gonna be, you understand, I'm not prejudice or racial or whatever. They're always given the smut jobs because they would do it. Then they stopped, they stopped doing [them]. The welfare system got to be very, very easy. Why work if the government's gonna take care of you? (Bonilla-Silva 2003)

This is a classic example of how these moves are used. After the respondent stated "I'm not prejudice or racial or whatever," she proceeded to state her belief that blacks are lazy and welfare-dependent. The ideological value of the disclaimer is clear, as it allowed this respondent to justify racial inequality in a nasty way without opening herself to the charge of racism.

Another stylistic element of color-blind racism is *projection*. Whites project racism or racial motivations onto blacks and other minorities as a way of avoiding responsibility for racial inequalities and feeling good about themselves. A female college student, discussing the so-called problem of self-segregation, stated the following about African Americans:

I think they segregate themselves. Or, I mean, I don't know how everybody else is, but I would have no problem talking with or being friends with a black person or any other type of minority. I think they've just got into their heads that they are different and, as a result, they're pulling themselves away. (Bonilla-Silva 2003)

By claiming that segregation in college campuses is a black problem, this student can ignore white tables, white fraternities, white friendship networks, and white bars. More significantly, this projection allows the student to cover the fact that white students dominate the social scene in historically white colleges, and are thus the ones who have the onus of working hard to integrate people of color.

Yet, another stylistic tool whites can use in speech is *diminutives*, which are used to soften racial blows. For instance, if a person wishes to say something that is racially problematic (such as their outright opposition to interracial marriages or affirmative action), the person can use diminutives to cushion the statement. An example of this is a young male college student who used diminutives to express his "concerns" about interracial dating:

I would say I have a little bit of the same concern about the children just because it's more, I mean more difficult on them. But, I mean, I definitely [*nervous laugh*] have no problem with any form of interracial marriage. That's just an extra hurdle that they would have to over, overcome with the children, but I—(it) wouldn't be a detriment to the kids, I don't think. That just makes it a little more difficult for them. (Bonilla-Silva 2003)

By using diminutives twice ("I have a little bit of the same concern" and "That just makes it a little more difficult to them"), this respondent was able to voice his concerns about interracial marriage in a safe way.

Lastly, when whites discuss racially sensitive matters, they use *rhetorical incoherence*, which means they often become incomprehensible. Although not properly a stylistic tool of color blindness, rhetorical incoherence is included under this rubric because it is part and parcel of contemporary race talk. An example of this is Ray, a very articulate student who could hardly finish his sentences when discussing whether he has ever been attracted to women of color:

Um, so to answer that question, no. But I would not, I mean, I would not ever preclude a black woman from being my girlfriend on the basis that she was black. It just seems to me like I'm not as attracted

to black women as I am to white women . . . for whatever reason. It's not about prejudice, it's just sort of like, ya' know, whatever. Just sort of the way, way like I see white women as compared to black women, ya' know? (Bonilla-Silva 2003)

### THE RACIAL STORIES OF COLOR-BLIND RACISM

The racial stories associated with color-blind racism assist whites in making sense of their world in ways that reinforce the racial order. Racial storytelling is ideological because the stories are collectively produced and circulated, and they are told as if there is only one way of telling them, or only one way of understanding what is happening in the world. Racial stories are, therefore, extremely powerful tools because they seem to lie in the realm of the matter-of-fact world.

There are two types of racial stories: story lines and testimonies. *Story lines* are socially shared tales that are fable-like and incorporate a common scheme or wording. They are fable-like because they are often based on impersonal, generic arguments with little narrative or personal knowledge of the facts in the story. The dominant story lines of the post-civil rights era are "The past is the past," "I didn't own any slaves," "I did not get a job, or was not admitted to college, because of a minority," and "If Jews, Irish, and Italians made it, how come blacks have not?" Roland, an electrical engineer in his forties, used the first two story lines when expressing his extreme displeasure about the idea of reparations:

I can't help what happened in the 1400s, the 1500s, or the 1600s, when the blacks were brought over here and put into slavery. I mean, I had no control over that, neither did you, so I don't think we should do anything as far as reparations are concerned. (Bonilla-Silva 2003)

Roland, like most whites, assumes that discrimination means slavery, and that it is thus something in America's remote past. By missing 150 years of racial history, Roland can voice anger over the idea of reparations.

*Racial testimonies* are also powerful ideological tools that whites use to justify their racial beliefs. Testimonies are accounts in which the narrator is a central participant in the story or is close to the characters in the story. Thus, the aura of authenticity help narrators gain sympathy from listeners. These testimonies can be categorized into three groups: (1) stories of interactions with blacks (negative and positive), (2) stories of disclosure of knowledge of someone close who is racist, and (3) a residual category of *sui generis* testimonies.

A young, female college student who claimed to have liberal values regarding multiculturalism stated the following about the consequences of "busing" black kids to white schools:



**California Proposition 209.** State Senator Diane Watson speaks at a Los Angeles Urban League rally in support of Proposition 209 on November 1, 1996. The proposition to ban race or gender preferences in public hiring, contracting, and education was approved by California voters. AP IMAGES.

When I was in the P.E. locker room and I set my bag down just to go to the bathroom and . . . I was gone maybe a minute and I come back and I see a really big woman [with other black students] stealing money out of my bag. (Bonilla-Silva 2003)

This student's negative experience with a few blacks allowed her to generalize bad behavior to all blacks, and this justifies her opposition to busing. Personal negative experiences can thus provide a convenient rationale for stereotyping minorities and justifying white privilege.

Testimonies about positive experiences with blacks allow whites to protect their color-blind sense of self. Often, a once-in-a-lifetime encounter with a black person is used as evidence of racial purity on the part of the narrator. For example, a female college student, after attesting that her family is racist, attempted to signify that she was not with the following testimony:

## *Continuous Variation*

My floor actually, the year I had a black roommate, happened to be predominantly African American and so those became some of my best friends, the people I was around. And we would actually sit around and talk about stereotypes and prejudices and I learned so much just about the hair texture, you know? (Bonilla-Silva 2003)

Although this respondent speaks highly of her interaction with African-American women, she uses the term “those” and claims she “learned” from this interaction, but she then points out superficial things such as hair texture and does not even mention the name of her “best friends,” with whom she does not have currently a meaningful relationship.

### COLOR-BLIND RACISM IN TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY AMERICA

Color-blind racism has crystallized as the dominant racial ideology of the United States. Whites no longer need to utter the ugly racial epithets of the past, claim God made whites superior, or argue that minorities are inferior biological beings in order to keep them in a subordinated position. Instead, whites chastise minorities in a color-blind way and, by default, defend their racial privilege in a “now you see it, now you don’t fashion.” Color-blind racism is thus a formidable weapon to maintain white privilege.

Will color-blind racism increase in significance in the twenty-first century, or will Americans realize the continuing impact of racial stratification in their country? The trends, unfortunately, suggest that, if anything, color-blind racism is bound to become even more salient. For one thing, the Supreme Court may eliminate all forms of race-based policies (e.g., Affirmative Action, busing) as “discriminatory in reverse.” Such an outcome will underscore whites’ “we are beyond race” racial common sense. In addition, Congress may stop gathering racial statistics, because gathering them presumably racializes Americans. This will make it all but impossible to document racial gaps in income, education, occupations, and other areas. This would only eliminate racial inequality artificially. Finally, the United States is developing a plural racial order, a development that will further diffuse the salience of race. In the emerging racial order, a middle group of “honorary whites” will buffer racial conflict and become arduous defenders of color-blindness.

Hence, the United States may be on its way to becoming a land of racism without racists, where people formerly known as blacks, Latinos, and Asians will still lag well behind the people formerly known as whites. Yet this inequality, formerly known as racial, will no longer be interpreted as such because Americans will believe, like the character Pangloss in Voltaire’s novel *Candide*, that they live in the best of all possible worlds.

**SEE ALSO** *Affirmative Action; Aversive Racism; Cultural Racism; Everyday Racism; Implicit Racism; Symbolic and Modern Racism; White Racial Identity.*

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*Eduardo Bonilla-Silva  
Michelle Christian*

## CONTINUOUS VARIATION

**SEE** *Clines and Continuous Variation.*

## “CONVERTING THE SAVAGE”

**SEE** *Missionaries among American Indians.*

## CORONA, BERT 1918–2001

Bert Corona was one of the great leaders in the Chicano struggle against racism, ethnic and cultural discrimination, and class exploitation. Although less well known than his contemporary César Chávez, Corona is equally as important in Chicano and U.S. history. Both leaders did what no one else had ever done before: Chávez successfully organized farm workers, while Corona successfully organized undocumented immigrant workers. Corona’s life spanned the major periods of twentieth-century Chicano history. But he not only observed history, he made history.

Corona’s parents were part of the Mexican Revolution of 1910. His father, Noe Corona, was a follower of Pancho Villa and a member of Villa’s elite fighting unit, “Los Dorados.” He was assassinated in 1921 while attempting to resurrect the Villa movement. Corona never knew his father, but the memories of his father as a fighter for social justice would instill in him the same values. In addition, his

mother and his grandmother always socialized Corona and his siblings to care for the poor and the oppressed. These principles would become the center of his life.

Corona was born in El Paso, Texas, on May 29, 1918. After graduating from high school, he migrated to Los Angeles and got work at a downtown warehouse in the late 1930s, when the militant Longshoremen's Union affiliated with the CIO was organizing that industry. Corona joined the union and quickly became one of its major leaders, helping to organize the unskilled and largely immigrant workforce of various ethnic backgrounds.

It was in the union movement that Corona cut his teeth as an organizer. Here he would learn the importance of building coalitions among different ethnic groups and constructing organizations from the grass roots to include not only workers but also their families. Corona also immersed himself in Mexican-American community affairs. He was involved with the Mexican American Movement (MAM), which lasted from late 1937 to 1945 and encouraged Chicano students to stay in school and to consider going to college, and he was part of the Spanish-Speaking Congress (1939–1945), which focused on civil rights and organizing Chicano workers into the CIO unions. After serving in World War II, Corona returned to Los Angeles to resume his community work. In the late 1940s, he became one of the principal organizers for the Community Service Organization (CSO) in California. He traveled the state for the CSO, registering Mexican-American voters. This work led to the successful election of Edward Roybal to the Los Angeles City Council in 1949. Roybal was the first Mexican American elected to that body since the late nineteenth century, and he went on to win a seat in the U.S. Congress in 1962.

In the 1950s, Corona also became a key organizer for ANMA (*Asociación Nacional México-Americana*). ANMA was an offshoot of the progressive Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, which was very influential among Mexican-American workers in the Southwest. In California, Corona assisted in the unionization of Latino workers and provided civil rights support. Part of this work consisted of supporting the strikes organized by braceros, the contract workers from Mexico being imported to the United States at that time.

In 1960 Corona, along with Roybal and others, started the Mexican American Political Association (MAPA), which became the principal Latino political and electoral group in the country. It spearheaded civil rights issues for Mexican Americans concerning education, housing, jobs, health, and police brutality. At the same time, MAPA became the first national Latino electoral organization to actively participate in presidential politics. Corona, for example, was one of the key organizers for the campaign of President Lyndon Johnson in California in 1964. Four years later, he was a national codirector of the Robert

Kennedy presidential campaign, which ended in tragedy with the assassination of Kennedy following his victory in the June primary in California.

The death of Robert Kennedy, whom Corona was very close to, shifted Corona's attention away from electoral politics and back toward community organizing. He joined and soon led the *Hermandad Mexicana Nacional*, which became the largest self-help organization for undocumented immigrant workers in the United States. For more than thirty years, Corona served as its executive director, organizing thousands of Latino undocumented workers and their families in the struggle to protect themselves against repressive anti-immigrant legislation and movements such as California's anti-immigrant Proposition 187 in 1994. As part of this effort, he also organized CASA (*Centro de Acción Social Autónomo*) as the Hermandad's political wing.

Through his values and his work, Corona inspired and educated numerous Latinos who have gone on to become labor, community, and political leaders in their own right. Even in the months before his death on January 15, 2001, while confined to a wheelchair, Corona lobbied for immigrant rights. When he entered a room, he became the center of attention due to the respect he commanded. When asked when he might retire, he said, "No, I can't, because we still have so many struggles ahead of us." Bert Corona died as he would have wanted, working for social justice and against racism, and trying to make this country live up to its ideals, especially for its most marginalized people.

SEE ALSO *Chicano Movement; Latino Social Movements.*

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*Mario T. Garcia*

## CRANIAL INDEX

The cranial index is the ratio of the maximum breadth of the skull to its maximum length. In craniometric terms, the maximum breadth of a human skull is measured across the broadest points of its parietal bones. The maximum length is measured from the point furthest forward on the brow, called the glabella, to the point on the occipital bone furthest from this point. This ratio is often expressed as a percentage, by multiplying the ratio by 100.

The cranial index is closely related to the *cephalic index*, which is the ratio of the length and breadth of the head, taken externally by calipers on a living person. The cephalic index was originated by Swedish anatomist Anders Retzius as an instrument to compare the cranial dimensions of living peoples of Europe with ancient skulls. Hence, both indices have been closely interlinked as instruments of comparison. The cranial and cephalic indices differ because the latter includes the soft tissue external to the skull, and the former includes the shrinkage of the skull as it dries. Older authorities often used “cephalic index” to apply to both indices, treated the two as synonyms, or converted the cranial into the cephalic index by the addition of some constant (often 8 millimeters) to the cranial length and breadth dimensions.

Almost all human crania are longer than broad, and therefore the cranial index is nearly always less than 1. Various systems to divide crania into long-headed (dolichocephalic), medium-headed (mesocephalic), and round-headed (brachycephalic) were once used. The boundaries between these categories were somewhat arbitrary and sometimes involved as many as eight grades of shape (Crawfurd 1868). In later years, the most widespread system of categorization classified a skull with a cranial index greater than 80 percent as brachycephalic, less than 75 percent as dolichocephalic, and between 75 and 80 percent as mesocephalic (Hooton 1946, p. 488).

The cranial and cephalic indices gained much of their initial importance from their variation across Europe in living and archaeological populations. This variation became attributed to the migration of ancient races with different head shapes, and anthropological research was directed toward finding the origins of living European peoples among these ancient races. William Ripley (1899) divided Europeans into three races: long-headed “Teutonics” in the north, round-headed “Alpines” in the center, and long-headed “Mediterraneans” in the south (Alexander 1962). At its apex, this craniological enterprise linked the expansion and contraction of cephalic races not only to the movements of ancient peoples but also to the wars of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (e.g., Grant 1916), and the relations of these races to other peoples of the world were examined.

This view has since been discredited. Not long after the definition of the cephalic index, it was observed that variation in the cranial or cephalic index within populations is more extensive than variation between them. In particular, the categorization of crania into discrete categories of “dolichocephalic” and “brachycephalic” made it easy to point out that these categories could be found in all human races, and even within individual families (Crawfurd 1868). The lack of correspondence between the cephalic index and “race” was

employed by Giuseppe Sergi (e.g., 1901) to criticize its application, although some suggested that even more complex categorizations of cranial shape might provide greater accuracy of classification.

The plasticity of the cranial index has been an important element of craniological research. Early investigators observed that artificial deformation of the skull by indigenous peoples could affect the cranial index. Franz Boas (1899) noted that the cranial index was inversely correlated with cranial length, and further that it is correlated with stature and facial dimensions. In a study of immigrants to the United States and their U.S.-born children, Boas (1912) found that the cephalic indices of offspring differed slightly from those of their parents, interpreting this change as the product of their new environment. These results were recently reexamined in two separate studies, which found a strong genetic effect on the cephalic index but confirmed a slight environmental plasticity (Sparks and Jantz 2002; Gravlee, Bernard, and Leonard 2003).

A fully satisfactory theory to account for the ontogeny and evolution of the cranial index has not yet been developed (Holloway 2002). Arthur Thomson (1903) considered that the cranial base was more constrained in development than the vault, so that the cranial index emerged from the interaction of the cartilaginous developing cranial base and growing brain. This hypothesis is consistent with recent research, but the details of the interaction remain unclear. The cranial index remains important to the diagnosis of certain developmental disorders of the skull, such as craniosynostosis (premature fusion of the cranial bones), hydrocephalus (rapid head growth resulting from cerebrospinal fluid blockage), and positional deformation (as may occur from a preferred sleeping position in infants). In terms of evolution, Kenneth Beals, Courtland Smith, and Stephen Dodd (1983) interpreted the cranial index as a thermoregulatory adaptation to ancient climates. In contrast, Maciej Henneberg (1983) suggested that a recent evolutionary trend toward broader skulls was a consequence of structural reduction affecting the length of the skull. Makiko Kouchi (2000) finds that the cranial index has changed in Japan as a consequence of increases in breadth, correlated with larger body sizes. In truth, the mechanisms of the evolution of the cranial index may be diverse in different regions of the world, and they remain poorly characterized.

**SEE ALSO** *Forensic Anthropology and Race*.

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John Hawks

## CRIME AND AMERICAN INDIANS

The racial concept of American Indians, extending back some 500 years, has always included labels of the "alien Other" or the "hostile enemy," as well as a general criminalization of any resistance to conquest, cultural domination, or the discriminatory systems put into place to maintain their subordination in segregated, oppressed areas called "reservations." These exclusionary and discriminatory policies criminalized the cultural and social practices of Native nations and turned the reservations into internal colonies, while also causing high levels of violence, poverty, and crime on most Indian reservations. Luanna Ross, who has studied the "social construction of Native American criminality," calls this process "inventing the savage."

## HISTORICAL CONSTRUCTIONS

Violence accompanied the initial expansion of Europeans into the Americas. The indigenous population, given the racial designation of "Indians," or "*los Indios*," was at times sold as slaves for the Western nation-states advancing into the Caribbean. The invasion was called "discovery" by the Europeans, and it was supported by great military might and technological superiority. Early notions of race and "savagery" branded "Indian" peoples as the "Enemy," and thereby criminal, for their resistance to land-takings. The Native population was excluded as the "Other," as distinct from the settlers, colonizers, or civilized citizens of newly created nations, including colonial forebears that became nations such as Mexico, Canada, and Cuba. This treatment was evident in the genocidal conquest of Hispaniola (later called Haiti), and in the destruction of the peoples of Mexico by Spanish conquistadors. Skin-tone visibility, compounded by vast cultural differences, allowed the dominating groups permanent recognition of status through "race" stratification. Racial hierarchies would continue to be used for three centuries by the Spanish, until they became essentially unmanageable. However, the effect on native peoples in the "New World" was always the same: outright genocidal destruction or racial subordination with a loss of culture, and a more powerful loss of sovereignty, freedom, and society.

The English colonies in North America imported their institutionalization of the Irish, designating Indians as "savage" and the Other in their own lands, and subsequently barring Native peoples by religion and "national" (cultural) origin from any real participation in colonial development preceding the United States, including at Jamestown or Plymouth. Both of these colonies, critically important to Anglo-Saxon laws that were inherited by the United States, treated Indians as aliens in their own lands, as either a potential enemy or an inferior Other. Thus began the legal underpinnings of treating Indians as "Hostiles." Both Virginia and Massachusetts slipped into genocidal warfare against Native nations, blurring any distinction between the "criminal" and the alienated enemy resisting further invasion and land-takings. This also became a legacy of United States law, enshrined in the Constitution as "Indians not taxed" (and therefore not citizens) and in U.S. congressional rights to make (and break) treaties with Indian Nations. Indians thereby existed outside the legal protections of citizens of the new republic, yet they retained the dangerous, demonic labels of Enemy, Other, Alien, and Hostile.

## CITIZENSHIP

United States law enforcement, and its attendant influence over violence and crime among and against

American Indians, is reliant on historical relations between the nation-state and Native nations or tribes. In addition to wars, treaties, land-takings, the development of the Indian Reservation system, and legal restrictions, the key issue in respect to crime has been the nature of citizenship for Indian people. The U.S. Constitution criminalized the American Indian in ways remarkably similar to modern designations of “enemy combatant” under military law. Relations between the Native peoples and the United States can be divided into four basic historical periods of about a half century each. The first extended from the original era of treaty making through completion of the Indian Removal policies. The second period began with the Civil War and lasted until the killings at Wounded Knee and the end of the “frontier” around 1890. The third period covers the first half of the twentieth century, whereas the fourth, modern, period comprises the rising of social movements and U.S. policies that determine issues of sovereignty. Each period is marked by changing laws, enforcement, violence, and criminology relating to the changing legal position of American Indians, Native nations, and indigenous peoples.

The first two periods, from the founding of the United States (with its acceptance of colonial notions of race and racism) to the last genocidal acts of violence by U.S. military and militia forces, were marked by massive land-takings and a slippage into genocide and culturicide whenever outright theft or dishonest treaty-making could not accomplish the alienation of Indian lands. This included extending colonial claims of sovereign domination through two “legal” principles: the “Right to Conquest” and the “Doctrine of Discovery” (see Deloria and Lytle 1984). These amounted to little more than legal cover for conducting war, eliminating Indian resistance, and taking Native lands that stood in the way of U.S. westward expansion. The overall effect of these policies was to place American Indian people outside the citizenship rights of the new nation-state but provide little recognition of any indigenous rights.

Exemplifying these changing systems of criminality, including the use of genocidal policies arising to the level of war crimes, was the practice of “Indian Removal,” especially regarding the “Five Civilized Tribes” (the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, and Seminoles). Local states, especially the Carolinas and Georgia, took umbrage at Indian resistance and began taking Cherokee land by force and unilateral declaration, leading to new rounds of official relationships between the United States, its own “states,” and Indian Nations. Individual Indians had a Faustian choice of remaining in the United States, with little to no protection, or to being forcibly removed to new lands, with a minimum of rights and the certainty of future struggles. The Chero-

kees took legal action to resist continued state encroachment into their lands, leading to a set of U.S. Supreme Court decisions on this issue. The first was *Johnson v. McIntosh* (1823), in which the court acknowledged a limited “sovereignty” but sided with individual states. Following this was the moot *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831), in which the Court called the Cherokees “domestic dependent nations,” further attempting to define the status of Native American tribes.

Finally, in *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832), the Court ruled against Georgia and, in a limited way, for Indian Nations. However, President Andrew Jackson broke with constitutional law and began removing Indian peoples from the southeastern states, cajoling Congress into passing the Indian Removal Act of 1830. This act led to the forced removal of the Cherokees to Oklahoma in 1838. About 4,000 Cherokees died on the forced march during the brutal winter months, a journey now memorialized as the “Trail of Tears.” Jackson based his actions primarily on essentialist notions of the “race” of American Indians, and he essentially eliminated indigenous legal rights. The “Indian” was functionally criminalized as either an enemy or an alien. They were thus criminals on their own lands, and Native nations were targeted for elimination.

The U.S. rejection of its own treaties and laws continued until the 1871 Treaties Statute prohibited the nation from entering into treaties with Indian tribes. The 1868 treaty clearly gave certain rights to the Lakota and Indian peoples, as well as recognition of nations and treaty boundaries, and was thus unexceptionable to the U.S. congressional elimination of these rights. This marked the end of a dialogue between nations and the beginning of relations between a dominant nation-state and its internally colonized Indian peoples. U.S. policies shifted from a focus on treaties to one on individual laws, including the Indian Offenses Act of 1883, and the recognition of “tribal” courts with tribal jurisdiction. This was formalized under the Major Crimes Act of 1885, which made U.S. law dominant over tribal law in seven major criminal offenses (expanded to fourteen crimes in 1888).

These policies outlawed many cultural practices, even traditional religious and educational practices, with the ostensible purpose of assimilating Native peoples into mainstream, dominant, “white” American society, albeit without citizenship or other polity rights. The Sun Dance, a peaceful spiritual gathering, was specifically made illegal, further criminalizing Lakota indigenous religious practices. Coercive assimilation against group property and kinship holdings, which was finally ended by the land allotments required by the 1887 Dawes Act, was in fact a form of cultural genocide. The Dawes Act





***Crime in Indian Country.*** A table holds weapons seized during a methamphetamine investigation near the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in 2003. American Indians are the most likely racial group to be victims of violent crime. AP IMAGES.

broke up collective land rights and allowed simple patent fee “rights” causing individually held land to be sold to non-Indians.

Variations on the criminalization and exploitation of American Indians existed in other parts of the country as well, notably in California, where an extensive set of local militias were systematically destroying the native population. Vagrancy laws legitimated indentured servitude under state law, which kept surviving Indian peoples under constant duress, just as the Fugitive Slave Act kept blacks in a state of duress in the pre-Civil War United States. The shortage of white women exacerbated the sexual exploitation of many Native women during this period, creating legitimized violence across California.

This period ended in 1890 with the quasi-genocidal killings at Wounded Knee, aptly described by Dee Brown in his book *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*. Brown’s title refers to the imprimatur of Euro-American domination and the end of the “frontier,” or the world of Indian peoples. Essentially, the aforesaid cultural and religious practices of resisting tribes, such as the Lakota in the

Dakotas, were made illegal and were being repressed when a vast social revitalization movement, dubbed the Ghost Dance, spread across the western and northern regions of the United States. The U.S. Indian Commissions asked for and received military assistance to “put down” the Ghost Dance in Lakota country, and it was made illegal as an extension of the Indian Offenses. Indian agents gave lists of names to the government of those to be arrested, leading to the killing of Sitting Bull and some of his supporters on the Standing Rock Reservation. The survivors fled southward and surrendered, along with many Lakota from Cheyenne River, as they entered the Pine Ridge Reservation. Near the end of the disarmament the soldiers opened fire and butchered more than 300 people, signaling the end of American Indian freedom and independence. Civilian and military authorities in the U.S. predicted that Indian nations and tribes would disappear forever in the twentieth century (see Cadwalader and Deloria 1984). However, such reports of the demise of Indian nations were both premature and untrue. Of course, there is not a single case in which a “white man” was brought to justice for killing Indians, although many certainly did, while any violence toward non-Indians were prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law, or by vigilantes.

#### TWENTIETH-CENTURY LAWS, CRIME, AND VIOLENCE

Military violence subsided as the United States, having centralized federal sovereignty, maintained effective control over the social institutions within the purview of the states, especially through taxation, the judicial system, public education, transportation, and many economic enterprises. This meant that in any conflict (or act of cooperation) between federally recognized Indian nations tribes, the Indians were dealing with two sovereign entities, and were in fact acting as sovereigns themselves (not fully recognized for another fifty-plus years). Among the most contested relationships in twentieth-century America was that between the tribal sovereignty and individual state sovereignty. The general public, meanwhile, continued to racially identify indigenous peoples as “Indians.” Confusion over racial, political, and ethno-national identities persist in the twenty-first century, with ambiguous and changing laws applied to American Indians as individuals and as members of tribes or nations.

Finally, in 1924, the U.S. government passed citizenship laws that included Native Americans, perhaps as a last attempt to dissolve tribal sovereignty. In the twentieth century, two distinct forms of struggle over sovereignty began to emerge: sociopolitical sovereignty, related to Supreme Court decisions and jurisdictional relationships, and “cultural” sovereignty, expressed as the ability

of a people to speak their own languages, practice their spirituality, and raise their families with “traditional” values. Arising after the civil rights movement and the urbanization of Indian families in the United States, Native social movements converged in the form of the American Indian Movement (AIM). By 1975 there were arrests, false imprisonment, selective assassinations, and a virtual prison industry against American Indian activists across the nation, finally coming to a head on Pine Ridge, when two FBI agents were killed in a conflict with AIM members. Suppression increased as the sovereignty movements of the 1980s became strong. Yet Native activism stayed alive, along with cultural retention struggles.

Complex governmental policies reflect the development of various forms of internal colonization, with laws unequally applied in and around Anglo communities near Indian reservations, very violent environments for Native people, and separate laws constructed for Indian nations. As the United States moved out of the third general time period, following World War II, American Indians began to protest the highly discriminatory systems they found in and around the reservation system and in large urban areas. At the same time, forms of crime that were not common in previous periods became more frequent, including the rise of domestic violence and assault. One example is instructive here. On the Standing Rock Reservation, which has a high rate of violent crime, death, and suicide, internalized and fratricidal violent assault increased in the second half of the twentieth century. Yet domestic abuse was relatively rare in traditional Native society, because a woman’s family would be present in living situations and the entire community would be responsible for the welfare of children. As forced assimilation confined Native peoples to the nuclear family structure, private property, and personal accumulation, internal struggles and assaults increased.

Complex criminal law further complicated law enforcement on most Indian reservations. After the Major Crimes Act, and the ensuing federal court decisions, most criminal cases involving Indians were prosecuted under federal guidelines. Jurisdictional issues had to determine whether it was Indian-on-Indian crime. Further, if non-Indians were involved, it had to be determined whether state laws applied. These “inter-racial” cases were often settled without considering Indian law or tribal codes, at least until relatively recently. The Navajo Nation developed a Peacemaker Court system that relies on traditional justice systems, and some other indigenous civil codes have evolved. Tribal court systems arose on most of the larger reservations, with Indian police enforcing laws for Indian peoples, though with mixed results for non-Indi-

ans: Questions arise over jurisdiction of tribal police over non-Indians and resulting prosecution and civil laws. “Code of Federal Regulations” (CFR) courts oversee tribal courts. One policy arising from the earlier termination era, that of designated Public Law 280 states, was meant to cause states to provide law enforcement and other services where Indian peoples could not, often because of size or lack of institutional development. However, many, if not most, states interpreted this policy as giving them jurisdiction, and this interpretation often created “lawless” areas for non-Indians. Because tribal law would apply, under federal guidelines non-Indians were not subject to tribal law or police, and local or state police were often not patrolling or enforcing these areas, thus creating lawlessness (see Goldberg 1999).

**VIOLENT CRIME AMONG NATIVE AMERICANS**

As noted earlier, violent crime rates among Native populations rose during the last decades of the twentieth century, both internal to the reservation system and in towns and cities near reservations. When the U.S. Department of Justice finally studied these rates, they were surprised to learn that American Indians were the most likely racial group to be victims of violent crime, with a crime rate of two and a half times the national average, and many rates are even higher on reservations (see Table 1). Further, Indians were found to be the only victims of violent crime to have the perpetrators come primarily from another racial group, Anglo-Americans. Indeed, about seven out of ten violent victimizations of American Indians involve an offender described by the

	Number of victimizations per 1,000 persons age 12 or older in each racial group			
	American Indian	White	Black	Asian
Rape/sexual assault	7	2	3	1
Robbery	12	5	13	7
Aggravated assault	35	10	16	6
Simple assault	70	32	30	15

SOURCE: Reprinted from Greenfield, Lawrence A. and Smith, Steven K. “American Indians and Crime.” U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, Washington D.C. Released February 1999.

**Table 1.** About 7 in 10 violent victimizations of American Indians involved an offender who was described by the victim as someone of a different race—a substantially higher rate of interracial violence than experienced by white or black victims.

victim as someone of a different race; this is a substantially higher rate of interracial violence than experienced by white or black victims (see Greenfield and Smith 1999, Perry 2004). More alarming is the finding that more than one-third of all Native American women will be raped at least once in their lifetime, and nearly two-thirds will be victims of violent assault. Yet, with few exceptions, tribal law enforcement cannot pursue and prosecute non-Indians, who are the most likely perpetrators of this violence (see Eid 2007).

All forms of crime have increased on most Indian reservations, with the notable exception of more well-off tribes with casino wealth. Violent crime is consistently high in communities near larger reservations, with much of the crime perpetuated by non-Indians on Indian victims. There is substantial hate crime as well. Drug use and alcoholism are very problematic and accompanied by the attendant criminal activity, with a shocking 25 percent of federal drug and alcohol prosecutions emanating from "Indian Country" (ironically, this term came into use during U.S. military invasions). Methamphetamine use and production has also posed particular issues for rural Native communities. Law enforcement systems have been underfunded and misdirected, and there are ongoing misunderstandings (and sometimes conflicts) between local and state police jurisdiction over American Indians on sovereign Native territory.

Overall, one can trace four hundred years of violent domination and changing criminal justice systems in the United States, including the limited and coerced assimilation of most American Indian tribes. Traditional justice systems have been suppressed and often eliminated, with only limited inclusion into the dominant social system, and this inclusion has usually proven to be discriminatory. Tribal law enforcement systems have become stronger since the 1970s, as Indian law has developed over a wide range of crime and social control. This may point to a future increase in cross-national justice that respects the sovereignty and cultures of indigenous peoples and Native nations.

SEE ALSO *American Indian Movement (AIM)*.

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## CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

One of the most troubling features of the American criminal justice system is the disproportionate involvement of members of minority groups at every stage of the justice process. Long-standing debate centers on whether this overrepresentation results from higher rates of criminal acts committed by minority group members (i.e., biological race) or is a consequence of racism in case processing within the criminal justice system. Some scholars suggest that racial disproportion is contextual, depending on the particular circumstances of a case, the race of the defendant and victim, or geographic location. These explanations suggest that racism flows from systemic racism through discriminatory actions by individual judges, court-appointed lawyers, police officers, “three strikes and you’re out” laws, composition of juries, and correctional systems.

The background for this problem is a long-standing pattern of historical intolerance and cultural depictions of members of minority groups as deviant or criminal. African-American and Hispanic men in particular have been viewed as suspicious, violent, and dangerous. Such portrayals have contributed to assumptions that they are more likely to be involved in criminal activity, a belief that consequently leads to increased surveillance of their activities and harsher punishments once they come into contact with the criminal justice system.

### HISTORICAL TREATMENT

Historically, the criminal justice system has functioned as an instrument of racism and oppression through legislation and the practices of the police, court, and correctional systems. For example, during slavery police were used for patrols to catch runaway slaves and return them to their owners, and in the late 1800s in the western United States, Chinese immigrants faced laws restricting their opportunities to own land and businesses (Mann 1993). The lynching of black men suspected of crimes, particularly rape of white women, was a widespread practice in southern states in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Such violence occurred with either the explicit

consent and participation of criminal justice actors, or a willingness to ignore mob violence against people of color. There has also been a historical pattern of discriminatory treatment of minorities who are victims of crimes.

### MEDIA DEPICTIONS

In addition to legislation and decision-making that treated racial and ethnic minorities as inferior, media and popular culture have depicted minorities as deviant and criminal, with differences between the depiction of men (as violent) and women (as irresponsible). In print and television news, and entertainment media such as music and movies, African-American men in particular have been presented as violent and dangerous. These portrayals encourage fear and suspicion of people of color. In contrast, the so-called war on drugs, a movement to give harsh penalties to individuals involved in drug crimes, formulated images of crime and deviance in which women were represented as crack cocaine addicts who neglected and endangered their children. Images of “crack babies” led to legislative efforts to criminalize drug use during pregnancy and imprison women whose babies were born with drugs in their systems. In retrospect, scholars have analyzed the period as a moral panic with little empirical evidence that the scope and magnitude of the problem were accurately presented. Whether these views led to discriminatory processing within the criminal justice system is a central question.

Such media and popular cultural myths and stereotypes perpetuate ideas that people of color are criminal and dangerous or irresponsible and reckless, and therefore should receive harsher treatment and penalties in the criminal justice system (Mann and Zatz 2006).

### RACIAL DIFFERENCES IN JUSTICE INVOLVEMENT

The disparity of involvement within the criminal justice system exists at all stages of the process. In 2002, while African Americans comprised 12 percent of the U.S. population, they were 27 percent of people arrested and 37 percent of felony offenders convicted in state courts. The disparities are even greater in rates of incarceration. In 2004, 41 percent of state and federal prison inmates were African American and 19 percent Hispanic. The lifetime likelihood of criminal justice system involvement is also much higher for African Americans. By some estimates, as many as one in three African-American men will be on probation, parole, or in prison in their lifetime. In 2004, 8.4 percent of all black males aged twenty-five to twenty-nine were incarcerated (Pastore and Maguire).



*Death Row Exercise Yard, San Quentin, 2003. Death Row inmates play basketball in the crowded exercise yard at San Quentin State Prison in California. Research on the death penalty indicates that after controlling for legally relevant factors such as offense and defendant's prior record, a death sentence is more likely when the victim is white. AP IMAGES.*

#### DISPARITY VERSUS DISCRIMINATION

While members of minority groups are disproportionately involved with the criminal justice system, the explanations for this are a source of debate. Samuel Walker, Cassia Spohn, and Miriam DeLone (2007) point out the distinction between disparity and discrimination. A disparity does not necessarily result from racism. For example, when considering legal factors such as offense seriousness or offender's prior record, members of minority groups are more likely to be sentenced to prison because of their greater criminal histories. This may represent a disparity in outcome, but one that is legitimately based on non-racial factors relevant to sentencing.

Yet disparity may result from the use of extralegal factors, such as the defendant's or victim's race, ethnicity, gender, or marital or employment status—and these may operate as indirect causes of discrimination. For example, marital and employment status are related to race, and when criminal-justice decision makers take factors such as these into account, they put members of minority

groups at a systematic disadvantage because of race-based differences in background characteristics.

To better understand the differences between disparity and discrimination, Walker, Spohn, and DeLone created a discrimination–disparity continuum regarding processing in the criminal justice system. The five elements on the spectrum, ranging from the highest levels of discrimination to no discrimination at all, are: systematic discrimination, institutionalized discrimination, contextual discrimination, individual acts of discrimination, and pure justice.

At one end of the spectrum, *pure justice*, there is no racism in the system, and longer sentences and higher rates of incarceration for members of minority groups result purely from higher rates of criminal involvement. At the other end, *systematic discrimination* suggests that decisions are made according to racist assumptions and that members of minority groups are always discriminated against at every stage of the process. The intermediate points on the spectrum represent varying levels of discriminatory individuals

making unfair decisions and institutional arrangements that work to the disadvantage of minorities.

#### BIOLOGICAL RACE

There is little credible research proposing that minority involvement in the criminal justice system is attributed to biological inferiority, deviance, or propensity toward violence. There have been periods in history when such ideas were embraced, and promoted for political purposes (Mann 1993). There is a long history of research examining structural factors in crime (unemployment, poverty, neighborhood of residence) that are highly correlated with race (Walker, Spohn, and DeLone 1996).

#### INDIRECT AND CONTEXTUAL RACISM

Indirect and contextual racism may be the best explanations for why people of color are overrepresented in the criminal justice system. For example, prosecutors and judges look at the offense seriousness and prior record of the offender when they make charging and sentencing decisions. These are the legal factors that legitimately influence decisions if racism was not involved in those prior sentences. Some studies of racial bias in sentencing have found that when these variables are controlled for, evidence of racial discrimination disappears.

There are characteristics of the racial and economic structure in the United States that systematically put people of color at a disadvantage, and some of these disadvantages carry over to the criminal justice system. Minority defendants are more likely to be poor and therefore less likely to be represented by private attorneys or be released before trial. In addition, when law enforcement resources are focused on street crime, white-collar crimes are less likely to be detected, and perpetrators of such crimes go unpunished.

Contextual factors may be important for certain types of crimes, or when a defendant is a person of color and a victim is white. Research on the death penalty, for example, indicates that after controlling for legally relevant factors such as offense and defendant's prior record, a death sentence is more likely when the victim is white (Baldus, Woodworth, and Pulaski 1990).

#### CONSEQUENCES OF OVERREPRESENTATION

Increasingly, research is focusing on the devastating consequences for communities of color from overrepresentation in the criminal justice system. More than half of the states deny voting rights to individuals under correctional supervision, and fifteen states deny rights to those in prison. It is estimated that 13 percent of black men are perma-

nently banned from voting (Human Rights Watch 1998). Moreover, justice involvement, particularly imprisonment, is geographically concentrated, leading to disparate impact on members of minority groups. The removal and return of large numbers of young men because of incarceration has a destabilizing effect that may reverberate through many aspects of community life.

New approaches to crime and justice issues are attempting to overcome the history and legacy of racist and discriminatory treatment in the criminal justice system. Community-based programs, including policing and court models, revolve around problem solving that may prevent criminal justice involvement and make criminal justice actors more responsive to the needs of specific communities. In addition, there is a growing sentiment that the criminal justice system should be involved in building neighborhoods' capacity to provide safe environments, particularly in the communities that have suffered from systematic racism and discrimination in the United States (Clear and Karp 1999).

**SEE ALSO** *Criminality, Race and Social Factors; Hoaxing.*

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## CRIMINALITY, RACE AND SOCIAL FACTORS

In 1918 the Bureau of the Census reported that blacks, who made up only 11 percent of the U.S. population, accounted for 22 percent of the inmates of prisons, jails,

and reform schools (U.S. Department of Commerce 1918, p. 438). The authors of the report acknowledged that these figures “will probably be generally accepted as indicating that there is more criminality and lawbreaking among Negroes than among whites,” and they stated that this conclusion “is probably justified by the facts.” The authors then posed a question that would spark debate and generate controversy for years to come. They asked whether the difference “may not be to some extent the result of discrimination in the treatment of white and Negro offenders on the part of the community and the courts.”

This question is still being asked in the twenty-first century. As the proportion of the jail and prison population that is African American approaches 50 percent (Bureau of Justice Statistics 2005), social scientists and legal scholars continue to ask whether, and to what extent, racial discrimination infects the criminal justice system. Although most scholars believe that the overrepresentation of African Americans in arrest and incarceration statistics results primarily from the disproportionate involvement of African Americans in serious crime, most also acknowledge that discrimination plays an important role. Michael Tonry, a professor in criminal law at the University of Minnesota Law School, contends that the war on crime, and particularly the war on drugs, “has caused the ever harsher treatment of blacks by the criminal justice system” (Tonry 1995, p. 52). Like Tonry, most scholars concede that the overrepresentation of African Americans in the criminal justice system results “to some extent” from discrimination against racial minorities and the poor.

#### RACE AND INVOLVEMENT IN CRIME

For many people, the word *crime* evokes an image of a young, African American male who carries a weapon and murders, rapes, robs, or assaults someone of another race. These perceptions, which are fueled by the attention the media, politicians, and criminal justice policymakers give to street crimes such as murder and rape, are inaccurate. The typical crime is in fact not a violent crime; the typical criminal offender—that is, the offender who appears most often in arrest statistics—is not African American; and most crimes are intraracial rather than interracial. According to the Federal Bureau of Investigation’s Uniform Crime Reports, in 2004 there were ten times as many property crimes as violent crimes reported to the police. In addition, whites made up 61 percent of those arrested for violent crimes (murder, rape, robbery, and aggravated assault), 69 percent of those arrested for property crimes (burglary, larceny-theft, auto theft, and

arson), and 66 percent of those arrested for drug abuse violations. Although data on the race of the offender and the race of the victim are more difficult to come by, the Bureau of Justice Statistics has reported that from 1976 to 2002, 86 percent of white homicide victims were killed by whites, while 94 percent of African-American homicide victims were killed by African Americans.

Using the term *typical offender* in discussing race and crime is somewhat misleading. First, African Americans make up more than half of all arrests for two particular violent crimes—murder (including nonnegligent manslaughter) and robbery. For these offenses, in other words, the typical offender is African American. Second, although it is true that most of those arrested in the United States are white, the percentage of African Americans arrested for most crimes is disproportionate to their percentage in the population. In 2004, African Americans made up approximately 13 percent of the U.S. population, but they accounted for 54 percent of those arrested for robbery, 53 percent of those arrested for murder and manslaughter, 37 percent of those arrested for rape, and 36 percent of those arrested for aggravated assault. For these violent crimes, African Americans were overrepresented (and whites were underrepresented) in arrest statistics. African Americans also were overrepresented in arrests for property crimes (29.4% of all arrests) and drug abuse violations (36.5% of all arrests). In fact, the only crimes for which whites were overrepresented in arrest statistics were driving under the influence (88% of all arrests), liquor law violations (84.8% of all arrests), and drunkenness (83.3% of all arrests). These racial differences are found for both juveniles and adults.

Criminologists have conducted dozens of studies designed to explain the overrepresentation of African Americans in crime statistics. Although many scholars contend that at least some of this overrepresentation can be attributed to racial profiling (that is, the tendency of police and other criminal justice officials to use race as an indicator of an increased likelihood of involvement in crime) and discrimination in the decision to arrest or not, most acknowledge that racial disparities in arrest statistics do reflect racial differences in criminal involvement.

Explanations for the relationship between race and crime generally focus on the effects of economic inequality, community social disorganization, residential segregation, individual- and family-level risk factors, weakened family attachments, weak bonds to school and work, and involvement with delinquent peers and gangs. According to these interrelated perspectives, the higher rates of crime—and particularly the higher rates of violent crime (that is, the number arrested per 1,000 population)—for

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African Americans than for whites reflect the fact that African Americans are more likely than whites to be poor, to be unemployed or underemployed, and to live in drug- and gang-ridden communities with high rates of family disruption and social disorganization. African Americans, in other words, have higher rates of crime than whites because of the very different economic, social, and cultural situations in which they often live. As Robert Sampson and William Julius Wilson put it, “the most important determinant of the relationship between race and crime is the differential distribution of blacks in communities characterized by (1) structural social disorganization and (2) cultural social isolation, both of which stem from the concentration of poverty, family disruption, and residential instability” (Sampson and Wilson 2005, p. 182).

### THE IMPRISONMENT OF AFRICAN AMERICANS

There is irrefutable evidence that racial minorities comprise a disproportionate share of the U.S. prison population. At the end of 2004, there were 1.3 million persons incarcerated in state and federal prisons; 41 percent of these inmates were African American, 34 percent were white, and 19 percent were Hispanic (Bureau of Justice Statistics 2005). The disparities are even more dramatic for males, and particularly for males in their twenties and thirties. The incarceration rates for African-American males in these age groups are seven to eight times higher than the rates for white males, and two-and-a-half to three times higher than the rates for Hispanic males. When these rates are expressed as percentages, they reveal that 8.4 percent of all African-American males age twenty-five to twenty-nine were in prison in 2004, compared to 2.5 percent of Hispanic males and 1.2 percent of white males in this age group. Although the absolute numbers are much smaller, the pattern for females is similar. The incarceration rate for African-American females was more than twice the rate for Hispanic females and four times the rate for white females.

Other statistics confirm that racial minorities face a disproportionately high risk of incarceration. In 2000, substantially more African Americans were under some form of correctional supervision (jail, prison, probation, and parole) than were enrolled in college. Among whites, the situation was just the opposite. In fact, there were more than twice as many whites in college as there were under correctional supervision (Walker, Spohn, and DeLone 2004, p. 297). There also are significant racial and ethnic differences in the lifetime likelihood of imprisonment. According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics (2003), an African-American boy born in 2001 faced a 32 percent chance of being imprisoned at some



**Arrest on Skid Row.** Los Angeles police officers arrest a homeless woman near downtown Los Angeles on October 10, 2006. The percentage of African Americans arrested for most crimes is disproportionate to their percentage in the population. AP IMAGES.

point in his life, compared to a 17 percent likelihood for a Hispanic boy and a 6 percent likelihood for a white boy.

The crimes for which racial minorities and whites are imprisoned also differ. Although the proportions held in state prisons in 2002 for violent offenses were similar, African Americans and Hispanics were much more likely than whites to be imprisoned for drug offenses. Twenty-seven percent of the Hispanics and 25 percent of the African Americans were imprisoned for drug offenses, compared to only 15 percent of the whites (Bureau of Justice Statistics 2005). Drug offenses also constituted a larger share of the growth in state prison inmates for racial minorities than for whites. From 1990 to 1998, increases in drug offenders accounted for 25 percent of the total growth among African-American inmates, 18 percent of the growth among Hispanic inmates, and 12 percent of the growth among white inmates (Bureau of Justice Statistics 2000).

As all of these statistics indicate, African Americans and Hispanics (particularly African-American and Hispanic males) are substantially more likely than whites to be locked up in U.S. prisons. These statistics suggest that state and federal judges sentence a disproportionately high number of racial minorities to prison, or that racial minorities are sentenced to serve longer terms than whites (or both). The question, of course, is why this occurs.



### EXPLANATIONS FOR DISPROPORTIONATE IMPRISONMENT OF RACIAL MINORITIES

Researchers have used a variety of strategies to determine whether, and to what extent, the disparities in imprisonment reflect differential involvement in crime or differential treatment by the criminal justice system. The most frequently cited work compares the racial disparity in arrest rates for serious crimes to the racial disparity in incarceration rates for these crimes. According to Alfred Blumstein, a professor of public policy at Carnegie-Mellon University, if there is no discrimination following arrest, then “one would expect to find the racial distribution of prisoners who were sentenced for any particular crime type to be the same as the racial distribution of persons arrested for that crime” (1982, p. 1264). If, for example, 60 percent of those arrested for robbery are black and 60 percent of those incarcerated for robbery are black, one could conclude (assuming no bias in the decision to arrest or not) that the disproportionate number of blacks imprisoned for robbery reflected differential involvement in robbery by blacks.

To determine the overall portion of the racial disproportionality in prison populations that could be attributed to differential involvement in crime, Blumstein calculated the proportion of the prison population that, based on arrest rates, was expected to be black for twelve separate violent, property, and drug offenses. He then compared these expected rates to the actual rates of incarceration for blacks. Using 1979 data, he found that 80 percent of the racial disproportionality in incarceration rates could be attributed to racial differences in arrest rates. He reached a similar conclusion when he replicated the analysis using 1991 data, finding that 76 percent of the racial disproportionality in incarceration rates was accounted for by racial differences in arrest rates. Blumstein stresses that these results do not mean that racial discrimination does not exist. He notes that “there are too many anecdotal reports of such discrimination to dismiss that possibility.” Rather, his findings imply that “the bulk of the racial disproportionality in prison is attributable to differential involvement in arrest, and probably in crime, in those most serious offenses that tend to lead to imprisonment” (1993, pp. 750–751).

### THE IMPACT OF THE WAR ON DRUGS

Blumstein’s conclusion that from 76 to 80 percent of the racial disproportionality in imprisonment can be explained by racial differences in arrest rates does not apply to each of the crimes he examined. There was a fairly close fit between the percentage of African Americans in prison and the percentage of African Americans arrested for homicide,

robbery, and (to a lesser extent) burglary. For drug offenses, however, African Americans were overrepresented in prison by nearly 50 percent. This figure probably exaggerates the degree to which racial differences in imprisonment for drug offenses reflect racial differences in involvement in drug crimes. This is because arrests for drug offenses are not a particularly good proxy for offending. If, as critics suggest, police target African-American neighborhoods where drug dealing is more visible, and where it is therefore easier to make arrests, statistics on the race of those arrested for drug offenses will overestimate offending rates for African Americans. Coupled with the fact that drug offenders make up an increasingly large share of the prison population, this means that a declining proportion of the overall racial disparity in imprisonment can be explained by higher rates of arrests for African Americans.

**SEE ALSO** *Criminal Justice System; Hoaxing.*

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## CRITICAL RACE THEORY

Critical race theory (CRT) is a scholarly and politically committed movement that takes as its starting point the

centrality of race in American history and social life. CRT scholars focus on contemporary economic and political arrangements as well as the historic distribution of public and private resources. CRT began as an attempt to identify the ways in which race had either been ignored or minimized in the study of law and legal institutions, and to point out the consequences of that ignorance.

Fundamental to the scholarly inquiries that animate CRT is the idea that race is a socially constructed category that is deeply implicated in the use and circulation of power in society. Thus its two principal objects of analysis are race and power. CRT represents a body of work created primarily, but not exclusively, by legal scholars of color. It has generated related inquiries in the social sciences and humanities, especially history, sociology, anthropology, and education. Because it takes reflective engagement as a fundamental feature of its methodology, CRT sees the knowledge generated by community-based practices as an essential source for the questions that scholars need to ask. Methodologically, this has produced a narrative form of scholarship that uses “storytelling” as a concrete expression of the commitment to reflective engagement. The importance of storytelling is located in its narrative methodology for construing reality, making sense of that reality, and then translating that meaning, through the use of stories to invoke the voices of an excluded community.

#### SCHOLARSHIP IN THE FIELD

Composing the canon of essential works in critical race theory is difficult because of the heterogeneous nature of the scholars working in the field. Nonetheless, several important early works stand out. Robert M. Cover, in *Justice Accused: Antislavery and the Judicial Process* (1975), A. Leon Higginbotham Jr., in *In the Matter of Color: Race and The American Legal Process* (1978), Derrick Bell, in “Serving Two Masters” (1976), and Alan D. Freeman, in “Legitimizing Racial Discrimination through Antidiscrimination Law: A Critical Review of Supreme Court Doctrine” (1978), produced some of the works that presaged the blossoming of the CRT critique. Two things bind these works together and to the scholarship that has followed. The first is the shift in perspective that locates the scholarly inquiry as an effort to understand the impact of law from the viewpoint of the objects of the law. The second important link is an analysis that recognizes the contingent nature of many conventional legal assumptions. These early works challenge many of those things that are taken as given, raising questions about the political meaning and consequences of the doctrinal structure of the law. Finally, these early works, among others, began to sketch out the structural nature of racial exclusion. This is a focus that has continued to animate CRT scholarship.

These practical and intellectual commitments produced a critique of liberal pluralism (the theory that begins from the premise that politics is properly understood as the aggregation of individual preferences or interests) that grew out of the more general critique of liberal legalism. (Liberal legalism is premised on the idea that all fundamental social problems are capable of being understood and resolved by access to the courts through reliance on individual rights.) The critique of rights is most commonly associated with Professor Duncan Kennedy and the critical legal studies (CLS) movement that had its home at the Harvard Law School. Although CLS challenged the neutrality of legal principles, it failed to confront the interaction of race and law; nor did it acknowledge the symbolic power of legal rights to energize and sustain social movements, especially the civil rights movement of the mid-twentieth century. These gaps in the CLS scholarship helped crystallize the CRT critique.

In contrast to the dominant idea that racial discrimination is an individual problem and the product of bad people, CRT took the position that racism is both an individual problem in its concrete expression (that is, a problem for the object of racism) and a social problem in its generation. Whereas there may be individual ill will, the effects of racism embedded in American history can continue to produce racist effects with no individual ill will at all. This methodological stance led to an inquiry into the ways in which law and its institutions have continued to obscure rather than highlight the systemic effects of the system of racial management that characterized the civil rights jurisprudence in the early days of the civil rights movement (usually understood as the era of Martin Luther King Jr. culminating in the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965). Once the cases involving southern systems of racial subordination worked their way through the courts and through legislation, the legal, economic, and political elite of the day assumed that most of the heavy lifting was over. Yet because the transformation of legally acceptable race-related conduct and institutional practices was crucial for the alteration of acceptable social behavior, the ideology of individual-rights-based liberal reform was insufficient.

Early CRT scholarship hailed the liberal commitment to rights, noting the inspirational power and civic significance of “civil rights” for those who struggled just to belong. But CRT soon saw the mainstream civil rights jurisprudence largely as a technique to manage racial unrest and to tame the goals and the practices of the civil rights movement. Especially threatening to legal liberals was the idea that group interests, and thus group conflict, were at stake. As CRT matured, its practitioners began to see law being used to take the politics out of the struggle for racial justice. By restricting the claims of subordinate groups to “interests,” political engagement was limited to

the expression of justice through the protection of group rights as outlined by the courts. But the legal system reduced rights claims to individual claims (sometime aggregated, but at root an individual grievance) predicated on the intentional bad deeds of identifiable individual people. The law demanded formal neutrality as to interests. One response, the cultural nationalism that emerged toward the end of the resurgent mass civil rights movement, was an attempt to construct an oppositional cultural foundation that would facilitate the assertion of claims by those whose interests were first given voice within the legal context of “civil rights.”

### CONTRIBUTIONS OF CRT

Building on these elements, critical race theorists focused on the role of law in changing the meaning of social action. This transformation was viewed as central to the project of material transformation and, perhaps more importantly, to the possibility of imagining the social innovation that would be necessary to finally confront the ways in which race continues to affect the way American social institutions function and how that stunts the life chances of people of color. The focus on both law and culture was in the service of understanding the ways that power was expressed in support of the existing distribution of social and material goods. Thus, while CRT was engaged in a thoroughgoing critique of legal doctrine, it was also engaged in a critique of the ways in which the ideology contained in that doctrine was expressed through social life.

Another important contribution was CRT’s engagement with feminism. By adopting a consciousness-raising methodology and reflective practice from the feminist movement, CRT integrated storytelling into the process of understanding the community that drives the movement. This commitment to understanding the lived experience of communities of color meant that CRT imagined itself speaking to many audiences. The rootedness of the narrative methodology was not just an analytic technique but also an intellectual expression of a political commitment. Perhaps just as importantly it introduced a critique and sustained debate about the nature and content of essentialism (the idea that there are fixed and irreducible traits that define individual members of a social group) as a limiting factor in social analysis. While CRT had introduced a critique of essentialism in the attack on both nationalism and color blindness, the engagement with feminism was an important moment in the evolution of CRT scholarship and produced the idea of using strategic essentialism as a potentially politically expedient stance. Simultaneously, CRT scholars challenged the essentialism of a feminist discourse that uncritically assumed the category “women” was white and middle class. This critique led to the development within the law of intersectional

analysis, an approach most closely associated with the work of Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw. Intersectional analysis is premised on the claim that forms of social oppression do not act independently of one another, but must be understood from the points at which they modify one another. The social effect of these compounded oppressions require a critical rethinking of any particular one. Intersectionality necessarily implies, for example, that sexism is modified and has different expressions depending upon the race, class position, or sexual orientation of the women or men to whom that analysis is applied.

CRT also launched a sustained critique of black/white dichotomy in the understanding of race in modern American life. By incorporating intersectional analysis in its engagement with feminism, CRT went further by suggesting that the crosscutting impact of race required a thick understanding of local expression of racial hierarchies. While the legal doctrine took as its cardinal example the experience of African Americans, Latino and Asian participants in CRT demonstrated the partiality of a black-dominated analysis. Yet, to confront the disaggregating of communities of color as a strategy for weakening the critique of racism, CRT reformulated the division not along a white/nonwhite axis, but along a black/nonblack axis in order to put the political nature of racial categories in stark relief and to suggest the oppositional nature of the CRT project.

The latest and perhaps most vital expression of the CRT project is found in the emergence of LatCrit (Latina/o critical theory). LatCrit is a self-conscious amalgam that has come to be called “outsider jurisprudence” or an outsider theory of law. LatCrit has taken the activist bent of CRT and created a space for critical legal studies, feminist legal theory, critical race theory, critical race feminism, Asian-American legal scholarship, and queer theory to engage with one another.

**SEE ALSO** *Color-Blind Racism; Everyday Racism; Institutional Racism; Orientalism; Racial Formations; Scientific Racism, History of.*

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Gerald Torres

## CUBAN RACIAL FORMATIONS

Racial formations in Cuba can be traced to the conquest of Cuba's original inhabitants, the Guanahatabetes, Ciboneys and Taino. The historian Juan Perez de la Riva estimates that after the first Spanish landing, the indigenous population declined from between 100,000 and

200,000 to only about 4,000. Further, the conquest of Cuba's indigenous population set the stage for Cuba's incorporation into the growing Atlantic slave economy.

### CUBA'S INDIGENOUS POPULATION

Bartolomé de Las Casas (1484–1566), a Spanish Dominican friar, documented the atrocities committed against Cuba's indigenous peoples. He recorded the story of Hatuey, the best-known indigenous rebel-hero, who is now celebrated for his resistance and martyrdom at the hands of the Spanish, who eventually burned him at the stake. When indigenous people were subjected to servitude, many fled to the mountains or hung themselves in despair. According to Perez de la Riva, "after 1550, when the indigenous population had been reduced to some five or six thousand, *mestizaje* surely became the main cause of extinction of the indigenous 'race'" (Chomsky et al. 2003, p. 24). Thus, Perez de la Riva argues, *mestizaje*, or race mixing, rapidly absorbed Indo-Cubans into the white population.

The Cuban-born historian Jose Barreiro refutes the widely held notion put forth by Perez de la Riva and Cuba's best-known early twentieth-century intellectual, Fernando Ortiz, that Cuba's indigenous population was eliminated in the 1500s. Barreiro studied isolated eastern Cuban populations in the 1980s and 1990s, and he found an estimated 1,000 to 3,000 people who could be identified as indigenous. Hence, Barreiro argues that Indo-Cuban communities must be considered part of Cuba's hybrid nature of ethnicity. Even though Ortiz ignored the existence of the Indo-Cuban population and indigenous identity, he introduced the word *transculturation* to describe the diverse origins and nature of Cuba's population. Barreiro suggests that Ortiz's concept of *transculturation* be broadened by incorporating the Indo-Cuban population along with Cuba's European (primarily Spanish), African, and Asian communities.

### SLAVERY IN CUBA

During the nineteenth century, Cuba's demography was transformed by the implementation of a slave economy. The production of sugar shaped African slavery in Cuba. The Cuban historian Hortensia Pichardo notes that whites were a minority between 1841 and 1861 (1973, p. 367). By 1869 the Cuban population had grown to 763,176 whites, 238,297 free people of color, 34,420 Asians, and 363,286 African slaves. There are a few significant accounts that document the resistance deployed by African peoples subjected to slavery. According to Louis Pérez Jr., slave uprisings occurred throughout the early colonial period. The large-scale plantation revolts that took place from 1825 to 1845 in the province of Matanzas were so frequent that

Spanish authorities referred to them as “La Escalera” (“the escalation,” or “the ladder to revolt”). Government officials responded by arresting, torturing, and executing thousands of slaves and free people of color.

A notable document, published in 1964, is Miguel Barner’s oral history of Esteban Montejo (1860–1973), who escaped plantation life and survived alone in the mountains of Cuba until the end of the nineteenth century. He was among a number of slaves who escaped on their own and survived in nearby caves and mountains. Others, along with indigenous peoples, formed runaway-slave communities called *palenques* in areas outside of Spanish control. According to Aviva Chomsky and colleagues, “For over three hundred years, the *palenque* was a form of resistance to the slave economy and European culture. Africans of different ethnicities, cultures, and languages joined together under the ideal of freedom” (Chomsky et al. 2003, p. 65).

Prior to the late nineteenth century, the sugar plantation system was based mainly in western Cuba. The eastern part of the island had a smaller, but much more heterogeneous population that consisted of free Mulattoes and free blacks, primarily from war-torn Haiti. The expansion of the sugar economy and slave labor into eastern Cuba, along with black migrants from other parts of Cuba and the Caribbean, contributed to a stronger Afro-Caribbean identity than existed in western sectors of the island. Many slaves who worked in urban settings and escaped did not flee to *palenques*, but instead passed as free persons inside the city. Those who escaped were urban slaves who had carried out tasks in the city. This explains why they remained in the city, for they were familiar with it, while the countryside was an environment completely foreign to them.

Caribbean sugar planters sought new sources of cheap labor after the demise of African slavery. It is estimated that between 60 and 200 Chinese indentured laborers were brought to Cuba during the mid-nineteenth century. Perez de la Riva cites harsh conditions that led to a suicide rate of about 500 per 100,000 among Chinese “coolies.” In general, Chinese laborers were granted freedom after eight years of working for the extremely low salary of 4 pesos per month. Given that the trade in Chinese laborers was not regulated, it is highly possible that many lived their lives in servitude, or what Evelyn Hu-Dehart calls “neoslavery,” because “the coolie system resembled plantation slavery” (1994, p. 48).

Hu-Dehart also notes that the inclusion of Chinese people into Cuban slave society disrupted the Creole ideological code of dividing society into black and white, or slave and free. During the coolie period, official censuses considered free Chinese to be white, thus distin-

guishing them from both free blacks and black slaves. In some cases, when Chinese married free Cuban women, they were registered as white in the matrimonial registry. Regarding the Chinese population as white perpetuated racial hierarchies in which Afro-Cubans were considered inferior to Chinese.

## STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

The Ten Years’ War, a separatist uprising led by Cuban-born Creole elite of eastern Cuba, lasted from 1868 to 1878. The leaders of this uprising, including Carlos Manuel de Cespedes, were considered reformist rather than revolutionary, though they sought an end to slavery and Spanish colonial rule. Cuba’s elite, however, chose Spanish colonial rule over social equality, thus prolonging Afro-Cuban slavery. The American historian Philip Foner has argued that racism contributed to the failure of the Ten Years’ War to bring independence to Cuba and end slavery. However, “The Cry of Yara” eventually led to the demise of slavery in the late 1880s and made “pro-independence the dominant political ideology” (Brock 1994, p. 17).

In 1895, Cuban nationalists defined a “nation” as a society where black and whites had to live together in order to avoid replicating the independence struggles in Haiti and the United States. Jose Marti (1853–1895) is recognized for defining Cuba’s nationalism by acknowledging and celebrating the country’s multicultural heritage. Considered the “father of the Cuban nation,” he wrote ideologies of an antiracist and anti-imperialist nationalism while exiled in the United States. Marti’s essay “Our America,” published in 1891, became one of the most influential documents for Latin American intellectuals and popular movements, helping to create an identity recognized for its differences from that of Europe and the United States.

During this time period, growing U.S. involvement and investment in Cuba’s sugar industry impacted Cuba’s conceptualizations of and struggles for independence. The Spanish-American War (1898) may have freed Cuba from Spanish colonial rule, but Cuba became a U.S. colony in 1898 rather than an independent nation. Cultural images of Cuba constructed by U.S. media sources reveal the imperialist pretensions of the United States following the defeat of Spain in 1898. According to John J. Johnson, “Cubans were portrayed as black caricatures of infants, carefree children, or rowdy, undisciplined youths, requiring constant guidance from the United States” (quoted in Chomsky, et al., 2003, p. 135). The struggle for Afro-Cuban equality and self-determination could not be successfully waged under the auspices of U.S. imperialism.

## THE REPUBLIC OF CUBA

On May 20, 1902, the Republic of Cuba was inaugurated under the presidency of Tomás Estrada Palma. However, Cuba's independence was unstable due to a series of U.S. military and political interventions and occupations from 1902 to 1934, economic dependency on the United States, and treaties such as the Reciprocity Treaty, which was signed in 1903 and constrained economic initiatives by consolidating Cuba's sugar monoculture. In addition, the Platt Amendment, which was appended by the U.S. Congress to appropriations bill in 1901, painted Cuba as a fragile state and served as a constant reminder of U.S. self-declared authority to play a role in Cuban affairs. Article 7 of the Platt Amendment allowed for the establishment of a U.S. naval base at Guantanamo Bay. (In the early twenty-first century, this base remains in place as a reminder of Cuba's neocolonial past.) Such political agreements between the United States and the Cuban elite only ensured privilege, wealth, and social inequalities.

The Cuban nationalist motto of "With All and for the Good of All" did not resolve the problems of national independence and racial inequality. Afro- and Euro-Cubans held very different interpretations of Martí's antiracism, particularly of his association of Cuban nationalism with the eradication of racial discrimination. Euro-Cuban and Afro-Cuban elites considered race-based organizing a threat to national security, while the *El Partido Independiente de Color* (PIC, the Independent Party of Color), founded in 1908 by Evaristo Estenoz, associated racism with colonialism and insisted on the association of independence with racial equality. In 1912 government troops and white militias massacred the PIC leadership, including thousands of Afro-Cubans. The massacre was ordered by President José Miguel Gómez and led by José de Jesus Monteagudo.

Anti-imperialist agendas grew throughout Latin America as a response to U.S. interventions in Central America and the Caribbean during the 1910s. During the 1920s Cuban intellectuals such as Julio Antonio Mella developed a critique of the country's social and economic conditions that focused on an anti-U.S. imperialist ideology. This ideology was strongly associated with the emergence of *Afrocubanismo*, a movement among white Cuban intellectuals who "discovered" Afro-Cuban culture and developed an analysis that placed this culture at the center of Cuban identity.

## CUBAN FEMINISM

The decade of the 1930s was marked by the first wave of feminism, a reformist movement of resistance. The goals and ideology of the Cuban feminist movement were shaped by Cuban culture, history, and the class position of the women who led the movement. Cuban feminists based

their claim to political and social rights on their roles as mothers. According to K. Lynn Stoner, they advocated that "a feminism centered on motherhood, cooperative with patriarchy, and respectful of class ordering" could humanize traditional male spheres (Stoner 1991, p. 183). As a means of differentiating Cuban feminism from U.S. feminism, the socialist-feminist activist Ofelia Dominguez Navarro stressed that Cuban feminists emphasized their patriotism and commitment to complementary, rather than equal, roles for women and men.

As elite white Cuban women dedicated themselves to social change, many Afro-Cuban women were employed as domestics, others were unemployed, and a substantial number were prostitutes. Much of Havana's prostitution surged with the inception of North American tourism and an investment in real estate during the 1920s. Cuban propaganda portrayed Havana as the "Paris of the Western Hemisphere." Following World War II, Cuba was promoted as a strange, exotic, tropical island filled with African-inspired rhythms and sexually uninhibited "mulattas." Havana's reputation as the "brothel of the Caribbean" attracted foreign tourists as well as Cubans, and tens of thousands of women were employed as prostitutes. Thus, Afro-Cuban women's sexuality was commodified and racialized, transforming the tourist industry and contributing to an essentialized identity based on sexual and racial stereotypes.

## THE REVOLUTION

Resistance to neocolonialism imposed its strongest stance in 1953 under the leadership of a young student named Fidel Castro. In 1952 General Fulgencio Batista had staged a coup and became the country's president. Opposed to this regime, Castro led a daring, but unsuccessful, assault on the Moncada Barracks of the Cuban Army in Santiago de Cuba on July 26, 1953. The cadres of the 26th of July Movement eventually undermined the Batista regime by practicing armed resistance, engaging in sabotage in the urban centers, and distributing propaganda. In the Sierra Maestra, guerrilla-controlled zones were established with the help of country people and sugar workers in northern Oriente Province. Women such as Vilma Espine, Celia Sanchez, and Haydee Santa Maria were prominent revolutionary participants. In the early morning of January 1, 1959, Batista fled Cuba for exile in the Dominican Republic. Rebel forces led by Che Guevarra and Camilo Cienfuegos occupied Havana, while Fidel Castro led a victory march from Santiago to Havana.

The Cuban Revolution of 1959 was committed to a new anti-imperialist, antiracist ideology that grew throughout a newly defined Latin America. Cuba's growing economic reliance on the Soviet Union through the late 1960s and

1970s shaped the path of the revolution politically and socially, thus solidifying the revolution while limiting its possibilities. Culturally the Soviet Union had little impact on Cuba, as U.S. culture attracted Cubans of all ages. Ernesto “Che” Guevara remains a very important revolutionary leader, martyr, and myth in Cuba. Guevara emphasized promoting economic change via the radicalization of peoples’ consciousness. His idea of “the new man,” however, glorified traditional male values, thus failing to engage critical analyses of patriarchy, including sexuality and gender roles. Hence, previous dialogues in associating the eradication of racism with nationalism were subsumed under the newly defined Marxist-Socialist state. The plight of Cuba’s citizens was couched in a socialist ideology, which regarded them primarily as workers without critically engaging the complexities of their lives, particularly the way the nation was divided by race, class, gender, and sexuality.

According to Louis Pérez Jr., “The subject of race in twentieth century Cuba is an elusive theme. . . . Therefore, the psychic, psychological, and cultural baggage that has historically accompanied institutional racism was never challenged. Race became the classic ‘non-topic’ in Cuban scholarship” (Pérez 1992, p. 59). Others, such as Alejandro de la Fuente, suggests there are at least three conceptual issues that make race and racism a complicated debate in contemporary Cuba. First, Fuente argues, issues of race and racism are highly politicized. Supporters of the revolution argue that there has been improvement in the area of race relations, whereas opponents highlight examples of racism and racial inequality. Second, race and racism must be understood within the Cuban context, rather than applying categories and ideas from a U.S. perspective. Third, structural, ideological, and cultural changes are not always complementary.

One of the most widely published critiques of race relations is Carlos Moore’s *Castro, the Blacks, and Africa* (1988). Moore claims that Castro’s public discourse on race relations has focused on two features: “a commitment to an integrationist stance steeped in white liberal paternalism and a system where Blacks are not allowed to define the content of their own oppression or ethnic emancipation” (Moore 1988, pp.15–16). Lisa Brock and Otis Cunningham criticize Moore, however, for using a “narrow racialisation framework,” thus ignoring how class, nation, and international political economy shape the lives of Afro-Cubans (Brock and Cunningham 1991, p. 171). Brock further argues in a 1994 article that the issue of race has been overlooked due to three notable achievements associated with the triumph of the Cuban Revolution: (1) the overall quality of life for blacks was drastically improved, (2) Cubans openly admitted and appreciated their African heritage, and (3) the Cuban government supported African liberation movements.

The Cuban Revolution has been extraordinarily successful in eliminating the legal mechanisms that upheld racial discrimination by implementing comprehensive health care, free and universal education, social security, and subsidized housing. Even though Afro-Cubans benefited greatly from the economic and social policies adopted after 1959, the persistence of a racist mentality toward Afro-Cubans in cultural and social realms remained a challenge. The Cuban scholar Gisela Arandia Covarrubias has suggested that Cubans develop national unity by investigating the contributions of Afro-Cubans to revolutionary culture and identity, and that they move toward demystifying the “colonial residue of racist sensibilities” rather than transcending or ignoring critical discourse on race and racism (quoted in James 1994, p. 5).

The Soviet Union’s intention of installing missiles in Cuba, combined with U.S. concerns about a newly defined socialist country just ninety miles from its borders, led President John F. Kennedy to impose a U.S. blockade and embargo of the island in October 1962. During the Cuban Missile Crisis the blockade consisted of a number of provisions, which have the following prohibitions: 1) exportation of all U.S. goods to Cuba, including medicines and foodstuffs; 2) importation of any Cuban goods into the United States, including food and medicines; 3) all other types of commercial activity between the two countries; 4) importation of third country products that contain Cuban materials; 5) restrictions on travel to Cuba for U.S. citizens except for official, journalistic, special professional or family purposes; 6) a restriction on third country ships visiting Cuba from docking in U.S. ports; and 7) a restriction on open trade between Cuba and U.S. subsidiaries. The embargo still holds to the seven restrictions. However, in October 2000, the U.S. Congress voted to allow direct food and medicine sales to Cuba, using third-country banks to finance the transactions. In addition, the U.S. Senate is discussing a Freedom to Travel bill calling to remove all restrictions for all Americans traveling Cuba.

The U.S. embargo toward Cuba is regarded as a blockade by many Cubans, who feel that their lives are being constantly threatened by U.S. attempts to derail the Cuban Revolution. As of 2000, the U.S. government had invested \$70 billion (including the estimated loss of monetary profit by direct trade) to enforce the embargo. Despite the overall harsh and inhumane impact of these measures on the Cuban people, the extent to which this policy has been sensible or constructive is still being debated in Washington, D.C.

In 1989 the Cuban Revolution was seriously jeopardized by the demise of the Soviet Union. In particular, Cuba lost nearly 80 percent of its import capacity from the Soviet bloc. Cuba responded to the crisis by declaring a “Special Period in Time of Peace.” This was, in essence,

a wartime economy, and it involved a considerable rationing of daily survival necessities. The government also responded by investing in tourism for foreigners. This investment was financed by American dollars, however, because the Cuban government needed dollars to participate in the global, capitalist economy. The tourism industry established “dollar stores” for the convenience of foreigners, and restaurants, transportation, and cultural sites were only available to foreigners, for Cubans did not have access to the currency that would allow them to participate in the newly defined tourist industry. Thus, a form of “tourist apartheid” developed, marked by a two-tiered economy: Tourism was operated with dollars, whereas Cuban citizens were dependent on the peso for their daily survival in a society with very scarce resources but an abundance of material goods for foreigners or those who had access to dollars. In the mid-1990s, those who had relatives in Miami were allowed \$1,200 per year in remittances. Thus, race relations were affected by remittance dollars from the United States, as the majority of those receiving money were white Cubans, creating a new privileged group in Cuba. Those who had little or no access to dollars sought ways to work in the tourist industry, mainly at hotels, restaurants, and nightclubs or as taxi drivers. Drawing from the work of McGarrity and Cardenas (1995), Lusane notes, “black Cubans appear to be excluded to a great degree from the tourist industry where access to foreign currency is critical for survival” (2000, p. 95). Consequently, many black Cubans are excluded from the lucrative tips in foreign currencies. Hence, many Afro-Cuban women, and eventually both white and Afro-Cuban men, engaged in sex work. Afro-Cuban women’s sexuality and racial-ethnic identity were once again colonized and commodified within the tourist industry, providing a stark mirror of pre-revolutionary Cuba.

The contradictions and complexities of the revolution’s stance on racism became most transparent during the special period with the inception of capitalist oriented enterprises, namely tourism. In order to better understand racism and race relations in contemporary Cuba, the revolution’s general policy on racism merits attention. The revolutionary discourse on racism argues that with the possible exception of individual racial prejudice, evident primarily among the elderly population, Cuban socialism eliminated the material basis for the reproduction of racism and that racism was eliminated within the first post-revolution generation (Lusane 2000). The Cuban Revolution eradicated institutional racism, but racial prejudice and individual discrimination continue to occur. On the flip side of Cuba’s policy in eliminating institutional racism, any expressed racial group consciousness, from black as well as white Cubans, is considered racist, a counter-revolutionary act, therefore no specific program of racial affirmative action similar to the

programs and efforts to integrate women, youth, and the rural population into the new society was implemented (Lusane 2000).

In general, the Cuban people do not self-identify as either “black” or “white” Cubans, but identify in a nationalist context as “Cuban.” It is not uncommon, however, for the term “black Cuban” to be used as a descriptive by all Cubans. In recent years, among a small but increasingly race-conscious cohort of primarily exiled black Cubans, the term “Afro-Cuban” has (re)emerged. The development of a self-classification from black Cuban to Afro-Cuban indicates race consciousness. As noted earlier, race consciousness has generally been considered counter-revolutionary. If the revolution maintains a myopic view of race, there is a great potential that it could become so.

Assessing the nature and contours of race relation in Cuba is further complicated by the challenge of identifying who belongs in what racial category and the government conscious decision not to gather racially-oriented data. Consequently, it is difficult to gauge racial inequality by social indicators such as occupation, age, gender, etc. Economic inequalities that have a disproportionate racial consequences are likely to remain static or even become worse during the special period. It appears that the special period will continue for some time. The United States shows little promise of softening its position of antagonism toward Cuba and the global economy is atrocious. No doubt Cuba’s current and future economic transformations will impact race relations. How the Cuban government will respond depends on how strongly the Cuban leadership maintains that racism has been eliminated in Cuba.

Despite continuing U.S. efforts to “democratize” Cuba or penetrate neo-imperialism into a country of color that has survived nearly fifty years of economic and psychological warfare (not to mention the changing economic world order of global capitalism), Cuba has reinvented itself under severe economic and political conditions. In general, the quality of life for all Cubans has improved since the mid-1990s, and the most notable achievements of the revolution, free health care and universal education, have not been compromised. It would be unrealistic to state that Cuba does not continue to struggle with limited resources in food, transportation, medical and educational supplies, and housing. Additionally, the issue of sex workers, primarily among Afro-Cuban women and a growing number of men, calls for critical analyses of international and national discourses on gender, sexuality, racism and patriarchy. Furthermore, Fidel Castro was forced to step down in July 2006 after intestinal surgery leaving the island’s fate in the hands of his brother Raul Castro, who has kept Cuba’s Communist system intact, avoiding the collapse many Castro detractors have predicted for decades. Raul Castro tends to embrace limited free enterprise and has expressed interest in China’s model of capitalist reform



with one-party political control. Cuba's revolutionary history is still being written, however, as Cubans continue to compassionately debate and mold their future.

**SEE ALSO** *Caribbean Racial Formations; Children, Racial Disparities and Status of; HIV and AIDS; Latin American Racial Transformations; Poverty; Racial Formations; Social Welfare States.*

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Elisa Facio

## CUFFE, PAUL 1759–1817

Paul Cuffe was a humanitarian, civil rights advocate, Quaker, businessman, sailor, merchant, and colonizer. He was born on the Massachusetts island of Chuttyhunk in 1759, the son of Cuffe Slocum, a former slave of Asante heritage, and a Native American named Ruth Moses. Refusing to use the name of his father's former owner, a "Mr. Slocum," young Paul chose the first name of his father as his own surname. *Cuffe* was the English version of the Asante word *kofi*, meaning "born on Friday." The family moved to Westport, Massachusetts, where young Cuffe grew up, and in 1773, at the age of fourteen, he went to sea as a whaler. He was bright and energetic, and the earnings from his maritime merchant activities enabled him to marry Alice Pequitis, a Native American. The couple would have seven children.

In 1797, Cuffe decided to purchase farmland near Westport. The price tag of the farmland was about \$3,500.00, a rather large sum in those days. Taxes on this property would lead to his active concern about the citizenship status of Massachusetts' free blacks. Cuffe's material status and his interest in the education of his children led him to urge the people of Westport to build a school for the children of the town. He presented his case at a town meeting, but the predominately white group opposed Cuffe's suggestion for several reasons. While some opposed the idea because they believed that their informal school was more efficient than the suggested one, others opposed it because of its potential expense. Still others disliked Cuffe's proposal because it was initiated by a member of a race that they consciously or unconsciously viewed as inferior to their own. Finally, Westport's whites opposed the proposal because they did not want an integrated school in the town.

After his suggestion was rejected, Cuffe used his own money to build a school on his newly acquired farmland. He asked Westport's whites to attend his school, with a teacher paid by him, a request that was well received. This school, built in 1797, would continue to serve as a school for all of Westport's children for many years before it was taken over by public officials of the town.

Despite his generosity and upright personal conduct, Cuffe—along with other blacks in Westport and other Massachusetts towns—was continually discriminated

against. For example, although he was a man of significant material status and paid his required property taxes, Cuffe was not allowed to vote or hold public office. Indeed, because of their race, no blacks in Massachusetts were allowed these privileges. Against this backdrop, Cuffe and his brother John Slocum, together with other blacks, decided to send a petition to the General Court of Massachusetts, appealing to that body to spare them from paying property taxes and poll dues. The petition was dismissed. As a protest of the dismissal of the petition, Cuffe and his brother chose not to pay their taxes for the years 1778, 1779, and 1780. This action would lead to their arrest and imprisonment in the jail in Taunton, Massachusetts.

Even though they were later freed, Cuffe continued to fight for the civil rights of blacks. This was reinforced reciprocally by the rise of racism in America, on one hand, and his desire to promote commerce, Western civilization, and Christianity in Africa on the other. Like other African Americans, such as Lott Carey, Daniel Coker, Joseph Jenkins Roberts, and John Brown Russwurm, Cuffe supported colonization. The American Colonization Society, which was founded a year prior to Cuffe's death, promoted Christianity, Western civilization, and commerce through the Liberian colony that the group established on the West African coast in 1822 as a refuge for free American blacks, including former slaves. Cuffe had previously established links, for similar reasons, with Sierra Leone, a colony that had been established by British humanitarians and businessmen in 1787 for their poor blacks and the blacks who sided with the British against the Americans during the American Revolutionary War.

Cuffe's commercial venture in Sierra Leone, unlike his commercial links with Europe and the West Indies, was not solely determined by his material wants; it was also influenced by his desire to promote Western civilization in Africa. He and other Westernized blacks believed that this would help to redeem the continent from its backwardness. Just before his voyage to Sierra Leone on his own vessel, *Traveler*, on January 2, 1811, Cuffe maintained that among the goals of his trip was to explore the possibility of having some black Americans of high moral and religious standards settle among the indigenous Africans in Sierra Leone, where they could promote Western values. These values would, in turn, help to spiritually and socially liberate Africa.

Cuffe's second trip to Sierra Leone, which had been delayed by the War of 1812, began in December 1815, when he and some thirty-eight other black Americans sailed from Boston on board the *Traveler* for West Africa. Also on the vessel were trade items such as tobacco, soap, candles, flour, and iron.

Although they were welcomed unenthusiastically by British colonial officials—obviously because of racism and what they perceived as Cuffe's potential threat to their leadership—the thirty-eight expatriates were allowed to stay in the colony to promote the civilization Cuffe envisioned.

Cuffe's interest in Sierra Leone was reinforced after he returned to America in April 1816. The insults he experienced from whites during his trip from Washington, D.C. to Baltimore played a decisive role in this. That he was refused service in a café in Baltimore because he was black only strengthened his beliefs and goals. He concluded that America was too racist to treat blacks as full Americans. He therefore became a strong advocate of the colonization of black Americans in West Africa just before his death on September 7, 1817.

**SEE ALSO** *American Colonization Society and the Founding of Liberia*; *Garvey, Marcus*.

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## **CULTURAL DEFICIENCY**

*Cultural deficiency* refers to a theoretical argument that the cultural attributes or practices often associated with historically disenfranchised racial/ethnic groups (specifically, blacks and Latinos) have prevented them from assimilating and attaining social mobility within U.S. society. Examples of cultural deficiencies include limited outlooks and attitudes toward the future, a failure to internalize the work ethic, instant gratification behavior, a lack of parent involvement in schools, low intellectual abilities, an emphasis on masculinity and honor, and an aversion to honest

work. Other so-called deficiencies, as identified by Stanley Eitzen and Maxine Baca Zinn (2006), may include early initiation to sex among children, female-headed households, a fatalistic attitude toward life, and a limited interest in education. The cultural deficiency argument also posits a causal linkage between certain cultural attributes and upward socioeconomic mobility. It identifies the attributes of economically and socially successful middle-class whites as the mechanisms that enable success (e.g., emphasis on achievement, education, and independence) vis-à-vis legal or institutional structures and social ideologies.

The manner in which cultural characteristics operate forms another significant component of cultural deficiency. Culturally deficient groups are viewed as developing certain cultural qualities so as to adapt to poverty, particularly over time. Such characteristics are passed on from one generation to another, making it difficult for individuals to escape poverty. Thus the identified deficiencies have a cyclical impact; moreover, even with the elimination of many legal barriers to social mobility, these qualities are seen as having created new impediments.

Cultural deficiency has been used since the mid-1900s in academic discourse and in various fields, at times referred to as the “culture of poverty” or “culture of deprivation.” Some sociologists have applied the discourse of cultural deficiency to analyses of limited social mobility. Education specialists have used cultural deficiency arguments to explain why differences in academic performance exist and persist among racial/ethnic minority groups. The following is an overview of the operation of cultural deficiency within the discourse of race and ethnicity and that of education.

#### CULTURAL DEFICIENCY AND RACE/ETHNICITY

The term emerged during the 1930s and gained currency over the next three decades among sociologists who proposed that pre-1930s arguments of race as a biological construct were theoretically limited. Instead, sociologists argued that ethnicity was the prevailing construct of groups, their development, and their persistence. Within this ethnicity discourse, cultural deficiency emerged as an explanation for the differences in the ways blacks and Latinos on the one hand and European immigrants on the other became incorporated into U.S. society.

Much of the research on race during the early 1900s argued that certain attributes, such as attitudes, intelligence, and sexual prowess, were racial characteristics—that is, a construct of biology. During the 1920s, sociologists from the Chicago school of economics challenged this assertion by presenting race as a social category of ethnicity: Ethnicity was a construct of culture, rather than biology, with *culture*

understood to represent language, religion, nationality, and other customs of groups. The ethnicity discourse presented group features as involving varying attributes, with race a subset of ethnicity. However, this discourse developed different strands of research: Those following the effects of *assimilation* and *cultural pluralism* asked certain questions about what happens to culture over time. For example, do certain ethnic groups maintain their ethnicity, and if so, what are the factors supporting maintenance? If not, what are the factors preventing maintenance? Although the assimilation and cultural pluralism arguments offered differing explanations of what happens to ethnic groups over time, they both posited that an “Anglo-conformity” majority culture exists within U.S. society.

Assimilation theorists argued that European immigrants, blacks, and Latinos undergo a natural, evolutionary process in which, over time, they adopt the dominant cultural patterns of white Americans. In 1971 Nathan Glazer predicted that, although ethnic minorities, such as blacks, have endured centuries of legalized discrimination and oppression, their migration to the north and experience with wealth and employment opportunity would result, in due time, in their integration into and adoption of dominant cultural patterns. Milton Gordon in 1961 elaborated on this notion of assimilation by arguing that there are two forms of assimilation, behavioral and structural. Behavioral assimilation refers to “absorption of the cultural behavior patterns of the ‘host’ society” (Gordon 1961, p. 279). Later scholars called this process acculturation. Structural assimilation is defined as the “entrance of the immigrants and their descendants into the social cliques, organizations, institutional activities, and general civic life of the receiving society” (Gordon 1961, p. 279). Such assimilation, Gordon argues, prevents the continued salience of an ethnic identification to an immigrant group and the acceptance of an American identity and value system. The lack of incorporation of blacks and Latinos into American society, however, posed a challenge to the applicability of this model, which was based on the experiences of European immigrants. Gunnar Myrdal’s 1944 study, which distilled the elements of American society that black Americans were not experiencing, argued that “pathological” elements of black culture were preventing blacks from following the linear path outlined in the assimilation model. These pathological elements, or cultural deficiencies, represent the values or norms of groups, specifically blacks and Latinos. The 1965 Moynihan Report, a famous study by Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York, argued that the main causes of poverty in the black community were female-headed households, low marriage and high divorce rates, and a lack of goal orientation and emphasis on education.

Cultural pluralists, on the other hand, argued that assimilation is not an inevitable or necessarily desirable

process; groups can maintain remnants of their racial/ethnic identity while supporting a white or American identity. Cultural pluralism emphasized the significance of groups' maintaining their cultural heritage or identity—whether European immigrant groups, blacks, Mexicans, or Puerto Ricans—while simultaneously assimilating into U.S. society. However, this discourse of identity continued to link cultural deficiencies with the minimizing of mobility. Andrew Greeley (1974) cited third- and fourth-generation European immigrants who had intermarried but maintained an ethnic identification with their original immigrant group. Stanley Lieberon (1963) observed that the persistence of cultural heritage was mainly observed in European immigrants from the second migration wave (post-1865 to 1924), who experienced economic and social conditions different from those experienced by the first wave of European immigrants (the initial immigrants from Europe). Lieberon concluded that the behaviors of later generations of the second wave (e.g., maintenance of a hyphenated American identity, barter systems, civic community) were attributable to the economic and social conditions they faced early in their adaptation process. Their maintenance of cultural identity did not limit their social mobility, whereas the opposite was true of blacks and Latinos. Thus for these minority groups identity as a remnant of ethnicity became a culturally deficient attribute: The persistent use of a non-American identity was not in keeping with American social norms, which include uniformity in cultural affiliation.

#### CULTURAL DEFICIENCY AND EDUCATION

In the field of education, cultural deficiency was used to explain the differences among racial or ethnic groups in academic achievement. Before the 1960s, it was also used as a justification for separate schools. For example, as Carlos Blanton notes in a 2003 article, from the 1920s to 1940s Mexican-American students were tested for intellectual abilities as a basis for separate classrooms. Many theorists employing the cultural deficiency argument maintained that the low academic performance of Latinos was a consequence of their deficient cultural practices. In this view, familial and community practices suppress the development of low-income, minority children in terms of the linguistic, cognitive, and affective skills necessary for successful school functioning. For example, in 1966 Celia Heller asserted that Mexican-American upbringing “creates stumbling blocks to future advancement by stressing values that hinder mobility—family ties, honor, masculinity, and living in the present—and by neglecting the values that are conducive to it—achievement, independence, and deferred gratification” (pp. 34–35).

Other theorists of cultural deficiency pointed to the perpetuation of patterns of cultural socialization from one generation to the next. Oscar Lewis (1961) argued that low-income Mexicans and Puerto Ricans self-perpetuated a culture of poverty that included violence, an inability to defer gratification, and political apathy. These cultural practices, according to Lewis, became embedded in the behavior of low-income Mexicans and Puerto Ricans by the age of six or seven and continued even if the economic status of the community improved.

#### POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Cultural deficiency arguments within academia have had significant staying power. Policy makers have taken up the arguments and applied them to many policy agendas, one of the most significant being the War on Poverty campaign of President Lyndon B. Johnson during the 1960s. The campaign was institutionalized with the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, which led to the creation of the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO). Programs such as VISTA, Job CORPS, and Head Start emerged from this campaign. The premise of many such programs was to end the cyclical nature of poverty by altering the attributes of low-income minority groups. The emergence of such a policy initiative testifies to the far-reaching significance of cultural deficiency as a theoretical explanation.

The term maintains some academic and policy significance. Although much of the research on cultural deficiency emerged during the mid-1900s, there continue to be significant discussions as to whether identifiable cultural attributes among low-income black and Latino groups explain their persistent underperformance in schools and minimal social mobility. In addition, welfare policy continues to rely on elements of the cultural deficiency argument to explain why some low-income, ethnic minority groups are unable to move out of the cycle of poverty.

**SEE ALSO** *Colonialism, Internal; Cultural Racism; Education, Racial Disparities; Motherhood, Deficiency in; Underemployment.*

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## CULTURAL RACISM

*Cultural racism* is one of several terms that scholars have coined to describe and explain new racial ideologies and practices that have emerged since World War II. The postwar era has seen the demise of overt forms of racism in Europe, North America, Australia, and the global postcolonial world. Reeling from the horrors of Nazism, Europe and other Western nations formally rejected racist values and established antiracism legislation. The world community, through the 1966 United Nations International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, put itself on record as opposing racism.

The post–World War II era also witnessed the success of anticolonial movements; the dismantling of old colonial, racist structures; and the emergence of newly independent nations, such as India, with strong commitments to equality and social justice. In the United States, the civil rights movement succeeded in eradicating most formal, legal, and other institutionalized forms of racism, from segregated schools, jobs, housing, and public facilities to antimiscegenation laws which forbade interracial sex or marriage.

By the beginning of the 1970s, most overt forms of racism had disappeared in Western countries, colonialism was virtually dead, and with the striking exception of South Africa, majority rule had replaced European

minority rule. Yet racial inequality persisted, and in some cases had worsened, judging by standard socioeconomic indicators. This was true on a global scale, when "First World" and "Third World" nations were compared, as well as in western European nations, Australia, Canada, and the United States.

Scholars have struggled to understand the apparent stubborn persistence of racial inequality (Harrison 1995; Mullings 2005). They have tried to identify the more covert forms racism has taken since the 1970s, including its varied permutations in different historical, national, and local settings. They have also tried to explain the processes that foster racial inequality without "overtly targeting its victims" (Mullings 2005, p. 679).

There is general agreement that these new forms are both complex and subtle, and that they operate in ways that do not require the formal assistance of educational, legal, and other institutions. Several terms have emerged to characterize what is sometimes called "the new racism" (or, perhaps, racisms. These include "laissez-faire racism," "cultural fundamentalism," "unmarked racisms," "neoracism," "color-blind racism," and "cultural racism."

"Cultural racism" is not yet a standard label in the race and racism literature, especially in the United States. It is virtually absent in the anthropological literature and has only recently appeared in the U.S. sociological literature (Bonilla-Silva 2003). It is more common in the European literature (Modood 2005) and among U.S. scholars familiar with European debates on race (Wylie 2001). Yet even when scholars use the term "cultural racism," they do not necessarily employ it in the same way.

Yet if one worries less about labels and focuses on recurring themes that emerge in the literature on the "new racism," there is widespread agreement on a set of processes occurring that can be labeled "cultural racism." At its core, cultural racism is a form of racism (that is, a structurally unequal practice) that relies on cultural differences rather than on biological markers of racial superiority or inferiority. The cultural differences can be real, imagined, or constructed. Culture, rather than biology, has become a popular, political, and scientific explanatory framework for understanding and rationalizing the unequal status and treatment of various racial groups. Racialized groups are not burdened or blessed by their genetic traits but by their cultural traits.

Cultural racism manifests itself in different ways. At least three forms of cultural racism are discussed in the literature: (1) cultural-difference explanations and solutions for inequality, (2) a continuing rationale for modern imperialism, and (3) race discourse and political rhetoric.

CULTURAL-DIFFERENCE  
EXPLANATIONS AND SOLUTIONS  
FOR RACIAL INEQUALITY

The emergence of cultural racism partially reflects the discrediting of old biological explanations for racial inequality. Arguments of cultural differences in the United States were originally employed as an alternative to biological explanations for racial inequality, often by liberals committed to racial justice. Since the 1960s, anthropologists and other scientists have amassed evidence showing that biological races do not exist, that racial categories are cultural inventions rather than scientifically valid partitions of the human species, and that race is not a useful, accurate, or meaningful description of human biological variation (Mukhopadhyay and Henze 2003; Mukhopadhyay, Henze, and Moses 2007). In short, they have argued that race as biology is fiction and that racial classifications are historical and culturally specific ideologies invented to justify slavery and other forms of systematic, institutionalized inequality.

In the absence of biological explanations for racial differences and racial inequality, researchers turned to culture—exploring, for example, the role of cultural or linguistic factors in the educational achievement of minority groups or the role of family structure in reproducing poverty across generations. For liberals and anthropologists, culture (unlike biology) was never a barrier to achieving racial equality. All humans have the same capacity for culture, and all cultures are learned. Moreover, cultures are dynamic, flexible, creative human adaptations, changing over time and in different circumstances. If, as some argued, the culture of African Americans or Puerto Rican migrants differed from the dominant U.S. culture, that “problem” could be solved. New cultural ways could be learned, either by abandoning old ways or by acquiring a second cultural repertoire, much like a second language. Cultural differences, while recognized, were not viewed as insurmountable obstacles to racial equality. Culture was instead the explanatory paradigm for racial inequality, and cultural assimilation was the solution.

Cultural-difference arguments have come under scrutiny, however, and many scholars have come to consider them examples of cultural racism. Critics have pointed out that, historically, cultural differences between Europeans (or Euro-Americans) and non-Europeans have always been framed in terms of superiority and inferiority. In the United States, Africans and other racial groups were deemed culturally inferior to “whites” (meaning those from northwestern Europe). Nineteenth-century evolutionary science attempted to rank racial groups from “primitive” to “advanced.” They did not simply use biology, but also what would come to be called culture. For example, British marriage and kinship forms (monogamy and nuclear fam-

ilies) were considered more “advanced” than other cultural forms (e.g., polygamy or multigenerational, extended families).

During the twentieth century, arguments for the superiority of Anglo (Christian) culture grew more strident as U.S. anti-immigration legislation restricted the entry of “lower ranked” European subraces (such as “Semitic” or “Alpine”). Dominant groups feared cultural pollution from “inferior” cultures, and immigrants were expected to assimilate to the “superior” culture. The only question was whether all races and subraces, such as southern and eastern Europeans or the Irish, were capable of assimilating to the dominant Anglo (Protestant) culture.

With the rejection of race as biology in the post–World War I, post–civil rights era, cultural difference as cultural deficit, or what is now called “cultural racism,” was the reigning paradigm. During the 1960s, for example, African American school children were considered linguistically impoverished, possessing linguistic forms fundamentally inferior to the standard American English taught in schools. African American families, with a core matrifocal unit and extended kinship ties, were described as not only inferior but pathological (“dysfunctional”) relative to the European American nuclear family.

Oscar Lewis’s theory of a “culture of poverty,” initially based on fieldwork in Mexico and Puerto Rico, focused on cultural adaptations to the circumstances of poverty. Yet some interpreted his findings within what might be called a “poverty of culture” framework, seeing other cultures as clearly inferior and deficient compared to middle-class U.S. American or Western culture, and as the primary barrier to upward mobility. When applied to racial and ethnic minority groups in the United States, the culture of poverty approach, or more often, the poverty of culture approach, became the explanation for why families remained poor or children did poorly in school. Culture, in short, rather than any larger system of inequality, produced racialized poverty or educational underachievement. In the educational jargon of the late 1960s and early 1970s, minority children were “culturally deprived.” Implicitly, for those who wished to see it that way, poor people had only their culture (and hence themselves) to blame. Many scholars now characterize this literature as an example of cultural racism.

During the 1970s and 1980s, largely because of the activism of racial minorities, the U.S. and some European nations, including Britain, began to accept and even celebrate the cultural differences of racial groups. Racial minorities, including indigenous and immigrant groups, embraced their cultural roots, rejecting the prevailing philosophy that assimilation was essential for social advancement. Cultural relativism prevailed, at least in theory. All cultures became valued equally. In this sense, society had become “color-



***Kwanzaa in the United States.*** A couple celebrates Kwanzaa, an African-American and Pan-African holiday, in December 2005. Racial minorities have begun embracing their cultural roots, rejecting the philosophy that assimilation was essential for social advancement. AP IMAGES.

blind.” That is, “color” was irrelevant. Or rather, all colors were relevant.

From the perspective of many racial minorities, the goal was mutual respect and an institutionalized recognition of cultural diversity as legitimate. The era of “multiculturalism” took various forms. In Britain, it included having Imams as chaplains in prison and setting up separate public schools for Muslim children. In the United States, it ranged from recognizing alternative cultural celebrations such as Kwanzaa, to creating “cultural” (ethnic) clubs on campuses, establishing ethnic studies departments, pursuing Afrocentric curriculum, and broadening affirmative action goals to include cultural diversity.

Old “culturally deprived” terminology was replaced with cultural diversity, cultural competence, and other language that conveyed respect for multiple and equally valid cultural forms. In the educational context, teacher education programs emphasized diverse learning styles, expressive forms, and other educationally relevant cultural

resources that children from varied racial backgrounds bring to school. Many well-intentioned educators committed themselves to teaching to the child, rather than forcing the child to assimilate to the culture of the school.

Nevertheless, despite success at institutionalizing multiculturalism, racial inequality persists. Educational underachievement remains a major problem for most indigenous and racial minorities. In a 2006 editorial in the *New York Times*, Orlando Patterson put forward the idea that “cultural” arguments have been totally rejected, and that only structural explanations (the “system”) are currently acceptable explanations for underachievement. Yet cultural “differences,” while now positively valued, continue as a predominant explanatory framework for variations in the educational achievement of racial groups. Researchers continue to explore more complex, but nevertheless cultural, processes that depress educational achievement, such as cultures of “opposition” among some U.S. racial groups. These school peer cultures consciously “oppose,” it is argued, the perceived emphasis of the racially dominant culture on academic excellence.

While culture has become the new explanation for racial inequality, cultural racism employs a concept of culture that is, from an anthropological perspective, enormously simplistic, static, rigid, overly homogeneous, deterministic, ahistoric, and without context. Culture is depicted as so deeply embedded, so tradition-bound, that it is nearly “intrinsic” or “natural” to a group. In short, culture is “naturalized” and “essentialized,” making it nearly as immutable as biology. The line between cultural essentialism and biological determinism is sometimes indistinguishable. Culture thus becomes an explanation for racial inequality that offers little hope for change. Cultural racism depicts culture as an insurmountable obstacle for racial minorities or an insurmountable advantage for dominant racial groups.

Minority groups, of course, can also employ essentialized, naturalized images of cultures and ignore underlying structural factors. Sometimes this is a conscious political strategy, such as when it is used by Native Americans (as culturally superior “stewards of the land”) to maintain control over their lands. Nevertheless, such examples would not be considered “cultural racism” because of the power relations involved. That is, they are not the dominant groups’ characterization of a subordinate group.

Cultural-difference explanations for racial inequality are coming under increasing attack, partially for the reasons just cited. But critics go farther. Focusing on culture, they argue, ignores the larger national, global, economic, and political forces that contribute to social inequality, whether racial or nonracial. Thus, complex, multifactorial, multileveled, and nuanced analysis is needed to understand the processes that contribute, on different levels, to persistent racial inequality.

#### CULTURAL RACISM AS A CONTINUING RATIONALE FOR MODERN IMPERIALISM

Many scholars argue that social inequality has been racialized, even though its roots are not racial. Cultural racism, from their perspective, is simply a new ideological device for masking more fundamental processes of global capitalism that are responsible for contemporary inequality and stratification. Cultural racism is the latest “discourse” of the powerful to justify domination, a discourse that some say has its roots in the colonial era.

These scholars are examining the relationship between cultural racism and the pursuit of imperialism and capitalist developmental goals. They note how ideas of cultural superiority and inferiority among nations serve to justify the political and economic subjugation of the seemingly economically “backward” Third World countries. With the decline of biological explanations of racial disparities, cultural racism emerges as an updated explanation of continual, yet seemingly hidden, transformations in a postcolonial and globalizing era. Analysts view cultural racism as a widespread

manifestation of (and response to) such transformations as global labor competition, powerful multinational corporations, and increasingly concentrated wealth, although these are expressed differently in local contexts.

Studies of colonial and postcolonial migrant labor, particularly within the western European context, trace the emergence of an ideology of cultural racism to industrial and postindustrial capitalism. In the British context, the sociologist Robert Miles (1982) describes the nineteenth-century racialization of Irish migrant laborers, the negative depictions of the Irish, and the use of these culturally racist images to justify the exploitation and mistreatment of Irish. More significant, cultural racism operated to mask the more substantive class relations underlying Irish-British relations. Studies continue to show how racial ideologies, such as cultural racism, are integral to class formations and capitalist development.

Third World social ills are not interpreted as rooted in institutions, in power relations between nations and governments. Rather, proponents of cultural explanations highlight the cultural inferiority of subordinate groups and the cultural superiority of dominant groups. Third World cultures are “mired” in insurmountably “traditional,” “static” values and practices—in contrast to purportedly flexible, pragmatic, and “scientific” First World practices. Third World nations can only “benefit” from their inclusion in the global polity and economy. But to do so, Third World countries must undertake significant self-sacrifices and take “individual” responsibility to overcome their traditional “backward” cultural practices.

Frantz Fanon was one of the first to explore the role of cultural racism as a new legitimizing ideology for imperialism. In his 1956 speech “Racism and Culture,” the Martinique-born and French-trained psychiatrist used the term “cultural racism” to emphasize the impact of western European cultures on the minds of its colonized and newly independent populous. Fanon referred to it as an “enslavement” doctrine that targets the psyche, destroying cultural values and the ways of life of colonized people and producing alienation. The colonized, in contrast, never question the intrinsic “superiority” of their culture. Fanon viewed this doctrine as the ideological content necessary for the “systematized oppression of a people.”

Others have built on Fanon’s work, showing how cultural racism reinforces dominant-subordinate relations between former colonies and colonizers, whether between “First” and “Third” World nations or among racial groups within newly independent states, such as South Africa and Zimbabwe. Cultural racism has shaped the social psyche of varying groups and complicates efforts to create “culturally authentic” national institutions in postindependence contexts. For instance, colonial



structures of cultural domination often created both western-trained elites and revolutionary fighters, each offering a different cultural version of postindependence, nationalist redemption.

Scholars such as Arun Sivanandan offer reminders that Fanon's notion of cultural racism persists under postcolonial forms of imperialism, as political and economic refugees flow from Third to First World nations. One legacy of cultural racism, he argues, is the continuing appeal of the colonial culture, prompting some former colonials to migrate to Europe. Once there, they encounter, even more pervasively, the colonial legacy, including its assumption of cultural superiority and its erosive effects on the psyche of the formerly colonized. This legacy is visible in all institutions, and it exists subliminally in "the food you eat, the clothes you wear, the music you hear, the television you watch, the newspaper you read" (Sivanandan 1989, p. 12).

Some analysts focus on how cultural racism has been linked since the 1980s to what are called "neoliberal" economic practices. These practices seek to privatize government activities (e.g., public health, education, and prisons), dismantle government laws regulating corporations and protecting labor and the environment, and eliminate restrictions on trade between countries. Institutions such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Trade Organization argue that neoliberal policies and structural adjustment will help "develop" and "modernize" Third World economies, alleviate poverty, and curtail what they describe as cultural deficiencies such as political corruption, social welfare dependency, and insularity (i.e., economic protectionism).

Critics observe how neoliberalism, through the discourses of government officials, development agencies, and powerful media, implicitly employs cultural-racist explanations for inequality. Third World nations are consistently, if subtly, depicted as culturally incompetent, culturally ignorant, and culturally incapable of managing their own affairs. They are seen as being responsible for their own poverty, health problems, agricultural degradation, educational underachievement, and lack of equal participation in civil society. Cultural deficiencies, therefore, provide a rationale and explanation for persistent economic inequalities, legitimizing neoliberal capitalism as a redemptive solution.

Cultural racism, in its neoliberal guise, appears to be enlightened, seemingly promoting global racial equality through eliminating Third World poverty and including "developing nations" in the "world" economy and culture. Yet it ignores history, the impact of colonialism, and prevailing power relations, thus delegitimizing Third World struggles to achieve global justice. It can also be

used to legitimize the seizure of communal land, extraction of material resources, and exploitation of human labor (Wylie 2001).

#### CULTURAL RACISM AS A RHETORICAL STRATEGY FOR POLITICAL GOALS

Some scholars have studied another form of cultural racism, one embedded in popular and political discourses about race. While the specifics differ across nations, these rhetorical strategies and framing devices share common features that have allowed social institutions and individuals alike to deny the continual significance of racial meanings, identities, and politics. Race, in these discourses, has become irrelevant—if institutions have become color-blind, then policies should reflect this change.

**The Color Blind Society.** By the late 1970s, the United States and other Western (and non-Western) nations had enacted equal opportunity and affirmative action policies designed to remedy the pervasive institutional racial discrimination of the past. These actions resulted from decades of political mobilization by racial minorities. Antiracism was initially framed in terms of empowerment and equal participation in all levels of society. Subsequently, this call for institutional integration was reframed to include respect and preservation of race-based cultural distinctiveness, but in the context of social equality.

Since the 1980s, scholars have studied how policymakers, mass media, and prominent political figures have strategically employed cultural racism (and other liberal rhetoric) to justify changes in public policies affecting racial groups, particularly as outright expressions of racism have declined. Eduardo Bonilla-Silva (2003) asserts that cultural racism in the United States operates through the recurring notion of color-blindness, reflected in particular rhetorical devices that deny the continuing significance of race, racial identities, meanings, and practices. As a framing device, this produces color-blind and cultural-racism narratives that declare race irrelevant and argue—seemingly logically—for the dismantling of earlier affirmative action and other race-sensitive programs, which are seen as being no longer "needed," and indeed as "discriminatory." Color-blindness is put forth as the most appropriate form of antiracist strategy because it is fair, equitable, and legally provides for equal opportunities for all individuals.

Conservative politicians, in particular, employ rhetorical elements from the civil rights movements (e.g., "equal opportunity," "antidiscrimination," a "color-blind" society) to rationalize continuing racial inequality while simultaneously dismantling affirmative action and other legal remedies for past institutional discrimination.

Affirmative action becomes “reverse discrimination,” an “unfair advantage” to those hired, and an “injustice” (though only to those of the dominant racial group). The language of “justice” is used to ignore the continuing legacy of historically rooted injustice.

Color-blind rhetoric also appropriates multiculturalism, including the celebration of racial diversity and cultural pride initially advocated by racial minorities, to “essentialize” culture as immutable cultural practices that, even if voluntary, “prevent” racial minorities from getting ahead in this now color-blind society. Speaking “Ebonics” or “Spanish” is rhetorically placed in opposition to becoming proficient in standard English, rather than as a viable strategy of multilingualism. Multilingualism is equated with educational underachievement, despite evidence from Europe and other countries that academic success and fluency in multiple languages go together. Similarly, in this rhetoric, self-segregation, not covert discrimination, produces racially segregated neighborhoods, workplaces, and social networks.

Political rhetoric also infuses traditional U.S. notions of “individualism,” “hard work,” “meritocracy,” “freedom of choice,” “autonomy” and the “the self-made man” into arguments against attempts to eliminate de facto school segregation (e.g., through “forced busing”), discrimination in hiring (“forced government quotas”), or to diversify other institutions. Code words that are substituted for racial terms (e.g., “welfare queen”) are partially rooted in cultural (and gender) stereotypes, such as long-standing sexual stereotypes about African Americans. Cultural attributes of “model minorities” (e.g., some Asians) are highlighted, with a presumed emphasis on “education,” “family” (nuclear family) life, and “hard work.”

Such rhetoric erases the collective cultural memory of past discrimination, ignores its continuing effects, and portrays racial minorities as unjustly demanding “special privileges.” Instead, it emphasizes unbounded opportunities and implicitly attributes inequality to individual inadequacies or collective but selective cultural traits (e.g., “rap music,” the “drug culture”).

**“Law and Order” and Preserving the Nation.** Scholars have also observed how cultural racism is employed in framing “law and order” as a social problem, a rhetorical device that does not explicitly mention racial groups yet deliberately utilizes markers that associate criminality and cultural differences with particular racial groups. In *Policing the Crisis* (1978), Stuart Hall and his associates focused on the rhetoric of mugging “scares,” and on how the British mass media and politicians managed to draw upon and distort cultural traits of young black (especially Caribbean) men in order to portray them as criminals.

While official crime statistics revealed no clear waves of street crimes, British governments from Prime Minister Harold Wilson to Margaret Thatcher managed to frame them as a national crisis and use them to enact a series of strict law-and-order policies. The enforcement rationale portrayed black communities as sites of crime, unemployment, and underground activities that had to be “cleansed” of young men in order to re-establish law and order in Britain. This form of cultural racism was not explicitly racist, but instead utilized notions of criminality and public safety in ways that had clear racial impacts.

Immigration, multiculturalism, and perceived threats to the “nation” (or, more accurately, to national culture) have also been significant frames in the rhetoric of cultural racism. Nativist rhetoric in France, Great Britain, and other countries employs notions of cultural homogeneity, assimilation, and national patriotism. While officially promoting social inclusion, they nonetheless increasingly use cultural criteria, and hence cultural differences, to exclude and to argue for immutable cultural barriers to citizenship. An assumed monolithic national culture underlies rhetoric about “French culture” or the “British character.” This allows anti-immigrant groups to portray themselves as supporting racial equality and opposing racial discrimination.

Yet the cultural criteria for full national “citizenship” have differential racial impacts. Cultural criteria are employed to justify increased immigration restrictions, control, and regulation on “cultural” grounds, such as religion, family structure, and marriage practices. This, in effect, limits political rights, economic resources, and social inclusion on racial grounds, creating permanent cultural outsiders of some migrants, refugees, guest workers, and descendants of the formerly colonized.

Some scholars emphasize how the xenophobic and patriotic rhetoric masks and conflates racial grouping, cultural distinctions, and national boundaries. They suggest that “Islamophobic” responses to the Salman Rushdie affair involving the novel *The Satanic Verses* (1988), the headscarf ban instituted in French schools in 2004, and the *Jyllands-Posten* Muhammad cartoons controversy of 2005 are not simply individual forms of racial prejudice, but rather an expression of cultural superiority that intertwines religion, culture, and national differences.

Feminist scholars have shown how groups that promote cultural racism also rely on cultural ideas of femininity, motherhood, and women as the nation’s caretaker to justify the persistence of cultural differences and racial inequalities globally. In these images, conflicting gendered and sexualized notions of aesthetics, purity, responsibility, and submission are deployed to maintain national, regional, and familial traditions conceived as culture.

These ideas are embodied in migration laws, which often contain provisions that are both culturally specific and gendered. For example, software engineers (primarily males) usually receive priority over “domestic” workers (primarily females). Family unification laws privilege spouses over parent-child and sibling relations. Policies that admit “guest” workers often do not allow their accompanying spouses to work, implicitly encouraging male immigrants and the nuclear family with a “stay-at-home wife.”

This subtle form of cultural racism also has a greater impact on countries in the Americas and Asia who are sending relatively low-skilled, low-wage, workers to Western nations, or on families who need both spouses to be employed (or culturally assume that they will be). Consequently, such laws foster racial inequalities without explicitly targeting particular racial groups.

Cultural racism, at its most basic level, rationalizes and perpetuates racial inequality through an ideology of cultural superiority and inferiority. Subordinate groups are culturally deficient even when the vocabulary is less judgmental. Dominant culture forms, or their presumed superiority, are rarely questioned. Cultural superiority is the rationale for cultural dominance, not racism, as though racial groups had no culture.

Cultural racism, when combined with the rhetoric of individualism and meritocracy, makes social inequality, even when extreme and harsh, seem normal, natural, logical, reasonable, and, in many cases, just. It produces racism without racists. By denying racism but covertly racializing inequality, cultural racism masks other fundamental sources of inequality or sources of change that threaten all racial groups and all people, except powerful and wealthy elites. By attributing current inequality to culture, a meritocracy is asserted, consistent with liberal ideals.

Simultaneously, the history of racism and the struggles of subordinated populations against racism is rendered invisible. There is no past, no history, no prior condition, and no legacy that is carried forward to the present. The erasure of the past subtly erases legitimate claims for special treatment (for reparations) and for affirmative action, creating a supposed level playing field.

SEE ALSO *Affirmative Action; Color-Blind Racism; Language.*

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## DALITS

*Dalit* is the word most commonly used for India's untouchables in the early twenty-first century. Its basic meaning is "broken, ground down," but "oppressed" is the best translation for its current use. It is a self-chosen word, made popular by the Dalit Panthers in Bombay (now Mumbai) in the 1970s. It replaces *ex-untouchable* (used because the constitution of independent India made the practice of untouchability illegal) and *Harijan* (children of God), Mahatma Gandhi's kind but patronizing term. *Scheduled castes* is an official governmental designation created in 1935 when a list or schedule was created for castes that qualified for special representation or governmental benefits. *Scheduled tribes* refers to tribes that merit special treatment. The term *Dalit* often includes both castes and tribes and may be used by any group that feels itself oppressed.

The untouchables or scheduled castes comprise one-sixth of the population of India, approximately 160 million people, and there are some four hundred castes considered "untouchable." The phenomenon of a group of outsiders has given English two words: outcaste and pariah. The untouchables, however, are in castes of their own, and pariah literally refers to a drum. One duty of the actual pariah caste was ritual drumming for higher castes.

## THE CASTE SYSTEM

The English word *caste* is used for two very different forms of the caste system: *varna* and *jati*. The classic categories of *varna*, depicted in the tenth and last book of the Rig Veda (Sanskrit texts created from 1500 to 900 BCE), describe the gods' sacrifice of primeval man: From his mouth were made the Brahmins, the priests; from his shoulders the

Kshatriyas, the warriors and rulers; from his thighs the Vaishyas, farmers (later changing to indicate merchants and traders); and from his feet the Shudras, servants of all, a category that became inclusive of all who worked with their hands, from musicians to farmers. The first three categories could study the Vedas and receive the sacred thread; the fourth category could not. Untouchables, below Shudras, do not appear in the four oldest texts of the Vedas and later came to be known as *avarna*, without *varna*.

The reality of the caste system rests on the *jatis*, endogamous groups that eat together, often work in one occupation, and consider themselves to have a common history and culture. There are probably more than three thousand *jatis* in India. Many can be fitted into the *varna* system, but in Maharashtra and the South there are only two *varnas*: Brahmins and Shudras. There are, of course, merchants and soldiers and rulers in the South, but few call themselves Kshatriya or Vaishya or Shudra, and the *varna* category does not seem to matter except for Brahmins (and untouchables). The system allowed groups coming into India to find a place in the social structure, depending upon their political power and economic skills.

In the modern period, organizations on the basis of *jatis* were formed to cooperate in economic, educational, and even political matters. This, as well as the British census begun in 1872, which gave *jati* and *varna* status to all groups, seems to have strengthened and solidified the caste system.

## PURITY AND POLLUTION

Behind the caste system is a strong belief in purity and pollution. Some occupations are polluting, but some castes with no polluting occupation are also polluted by

birth. The purity of the upper castes must be preserved, it is believed, and this results in quite literally groups that may not be touched. The classic rationale for the creation of untouchables is twofold: wrongful marriage, that is, the offspring of a male Shudra and a Brahman woman, or karma, misdeeds in this life will result in a low birth in the next life. Few untouchable castes accept either theory, although individuals sometimes attribute their status to a previous birth. Most castes have an elaborate theory whereby some unfortunate and misguided good deed resulted in untouchability.

Three occupations are considered polluting throughout India—the handling of leather or a dead cow, the removal of human waste, and work on the cremation ground. The prohibition against touching a dead cow seems to have extended to the playing of a cowhide drum, hence the pariah caste. In the North, leather workers are known as Chamars (now many call themselves Ravidasis, the name of an untouchable Chamar saint of medieval times). Traditionally the scavenging caste was known as Bhangi but now they prefer to be called Valmikis, after the legendary author of the epic Ramayana. (200 BCE–200 CE.) Other occupations such as washerman and toddy tapper connote untouchability in some areas and not in others. Untouchability by birth is determined in the village setting and is marked by denial of temple entry and the village well, by occupying living quarters outside the village, and usually by having the duty of performing agricultural labor on higher castes' fields.

Although the concept of purity and pollution goes back to the Upanishads (700–500 BCE), the despised “Chandala” in those texts does not seem to indicate a separate caste by birth. The general consensus is that by the fourth century CE, the status and occupational duties of certain groups indicates the formation of a “caste system,” with untouchables recognized as such.

#### THE ORIGIN OF UNTOUCHABILITY

There is no agreement on the origin of untouchable castes. The scholar and political leader Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar (1891–1956) traced a “broken men” theory and a related previous Buddhist theory to the increasing Hinduization of India in pre-Muslim times. Ambedkar, however, rejected a race theory, holding to the idea of Indians as one race with even the Aryans, thought by most as northern invaders who developed Sanskrit and classical literature in India, as originating in India. There is current controversy about Dalits and race. Most scholars and Dalits prefer the term *discrimination by descent* to a racial category. There is a new move to claim “original inhabitant” status, which is akin to race. There are also traditions of “sons of the soil” and “lords of the earth” in many untouchable traditions, which suggest a non-Aryan background. Early-twentieth-century movements often

used the word *Adi* or *Ad* as in Ad Dharm or Adi Dravida, the first or original religion or, in the South, the first Dravidians, as opposed to Brahmanical culture. The current usage is *mulnivashi*, meaning the inhabitants in India before the Aryan invasion who possessed a non-Brahmanical but complete culture.

The government of India, when faced with Dalit demands such as those presented at the World Conference against Racism held in Durban, South Africa, in 2001, and more recently before a United Nations commission, denied that “discrimination by descent” was akin to race and maintained that India must deal with its own peoples without international interference. The practice of untouchability was “abolished” in the constitution of independent India (articles 15 and 17), and the Untouchability (Offenses) Act of 1955 makes such discriminatory practices punishable by law. Article 46 provides the Indian version of affirmative action, specifically the promotion of educational and economic benefits for the “weaker sections” of the society. The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act of 1989 prescribes stringent penalties for violence against these groups. The government of India claims this eliminates the need for Dalits to approach Amnesty International, the United Nations, or Human Rights Watch about their concerns, but Dalits take every opportunity to point out the discrimination and violence that continues. The British House of Lords is the latest group outside of India to take up the issue of violence against Dalits.

#### ANTI-CASTE MOVEMENTS

Buddhism, founded in the sixth century BCE, held that status should be determined by action, not birth. The only people who were Brahmans were those who fulfilled the specific role of Brahmins. All castes were admitted into the Buddhist *sangha*, the order of monks or *bhikkhus*. Although Buddhism was the most consistently egalitarian, there are suggestions of reform in the Siddhas, the Nath cult and the Mahanubhav religion, as well as others.

The *bhakti* movement, which held that devotion to God was the key to salvation and happiness, not any sort of ritual or orthodoxy, began in the South in about the eighth century and moved slowly North, covering most of India by the eighteenth century. From Tamil Nadu, the *bhakti* idea moved to Karnataka where Basavanna (1134–1196) became the most radical of religious leaders. From total equality to intercaste marriage, Basavanna preached a new way, but his followers, the Lingayats, soon became a caste themselves. In the Marathi area, in the fourteenth century, Cokhamela and his family, wife, sister, sister's husband, and son, all wrote songs of both bliss and humiliation, over four hundred of which are now credited to them. In the North, Ravidas, a Chamar of the fifteenth

century, is still very influential as model, source of pride, and symbol of identity.

The general consensus is that the *bhakti* movement was spiritually egalitarian, but had little social effect. Nevertheless, all the untouchable saints are remembered—their legends told, their songs sung, and their places secured by proof of creativity and piety.

The reform institutions of the nineteenth century, the Brahmo Samaj based in Bengal, the Prarthana Samaj of Bombay province, and the Arya Samaj of Punjab, the United Provinces, and to some degree throughout India, had various sorts of effects. The Brahmo instituted schools for the so-called depressed classes. The Prarthana Samaj admitted a few untouchables into its group, and the Arya Samaj instituted purification rites that theoretically removed untouchables from any polluting category. All had some effect on the Indian mind, but none had any large effect on the depressed classes. A very radical group, the Satyashodhak Samaj (truth-seeking society) of the non-Brahman Jotirao Phule, flourished in the late nineteenth century and was influential in the area that became Maharashtra.

#### POLITICAL ACTIVITY

Political activity on the part of Dalits began as early as the 1890s with the attempt to create a petition for reenlistment of Mahars and other untouchable castes into the army. The participation of untouchables in the army had been important in the eighteenth and most of the nineteenth centuries, but the late-nineteenth-century British emphasis on “martial castes” barred untouchables from the army. Gopalnak Baba (Vittalnak) Walankar, a retired Havaldar (native officer in the British army) in Bombay province, created a long petition with the help of Hindu caste reformers, but the ex-army men were too timid to sign it. In the early twentieth century, Dalits from all over the country petitioned the various British commissions for rights and privileges, including the Minto-Morley tour for the 1909 reforms and the Southborough (Franchise) Commission in 1919.

In the testimony before the Southborough Commission, a new and different voice was heard. Ambedkar had returned from his study at Columbia University in New York and had not yet departed for his study at the London School of Economics and Gray’s Inn. In long and sophisticated testimony, Ambedkar asked for a very low franchise for untouchables, few of whom were educated or land owning, and representation in such numbers as would “enable them to claim redress.” But the government allowed two nominated seats for untouchables in the Madras Legislative Council, and one each in the provinces of Bombay (a few years later increased to two), United Provinces, Bengal, Bihar, and the Central provinces. M. C. Rajah of Madras, who had served on

the Madras Legislative Council and had written the first book on untouchables from within the group itself, was nominated to the central Legislative Council. With this unpromising start, the effort of Dalits to serve on legislative bodies and to create new laws was set in ever-increasing motion.

Both Ambedkar and an untouchable from Madras, Rattamalle Srinivasan, were nominated to attend the Round Table Conferences of 1930 to 1932, which were to determine the nature of representation in India. In London, as Sikhs and Muslims pled for separate electorates, that is, electorates in which Muslims would vote for Muslim representatives, Sikhs for Sikh, and so on, Ambedkar also began to think that untouchable representatives in legislative bodies should be elected by their fellow untouchables. This view appealed to the British, and the Communal Award of 1932 gave such representation to the depressed classes. Mahatma Gandhi, however, who was in the Yeravda prison near Pune for civil disobedience, was so opposed to separate electorates for untouchables that he declared a fast unto death. Ambedkar gave in, striking the best bargain he could: enhanced numbers of depressed classes representatives.

#### GANDHI AND AMBEDKAR

Ambedkar had supported Gandhi as one of the few caste Hindus trying to change the untouchables’ situation with his Vaikom Satyagraha movement in the South. Ambedkar became quite critical of the lack of commitment to untouchables’ rights on the part of the Indian National Congress, however, and the outcome of the so-called Poona Pact of 1932 made him an implacable critic. Dalits continue to feel that Gandhi betrayed them with his denial of the right of separate electorates, which for them meant genuine political power. In 1933 Gandhi began to use the term *Harijan* (children of God) for untouchables, and until Dalit came to be widely used *Harijan* was the universal designation for untouchables, in spite of the objection of some.

Gandhi was a caste Hindu, a Vaishya. Ambedkar was a Mahar and knew discrimination firsthand. Gandhi never repudiated the *varna* theory of four major groups, although he fought against the idea of a group below the *varnas* and he held all *varnas* to be equal. Ambedkar repudiated the entire caste hierarchy, dismissing what was a current effort among untouchables to “sanskritize,” that is, adopt upper-class customs in order to raise their status. Gandhi did not believe in political battles for untouchables’ rights or approve their attempts to enter temples unless the temple authorities agreed. Ambedkar felt political power was part of the solution to untouchability. Basically, Gandhi’s faith was in change of heart; Ambedkar’s trust was in law, political power, and education. Ambedkar went on to become the best-known voice

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of the untouchables, and also a powerful representative, serving both the government of India before independence and as law minister in independent India's first cabinet. In the latter capacity he chaired the committee charged with drafting a constitution for India.

### POLITICAL PARTIES

Ambedkar began the Independent Labour Party in 1936 and was successful in gaining eleven of the fifteen seats reserved for scheduled castes, plus seats for three Hindu caste legislators. The party was not successful, however, in gaining *rights* for Dalits and for workers. An effort to reintroduce the idea of separate electorates brought about the Scheduled Castes Party in 1942. Ambedkar's Republican Party was the next try but did not come into being until after his death in 1956. Lacking a central figure, it was soon divided into various leaders' components. But Dalits are politically very aware, and the lack of party success resulted in the Dalit Panther movement in Bombay, which was combined with a Dalit literary movement in the 1970s. After a strong initial impact, the Panthers split, and now constitute only minor parties in Tamil Nadu and some cities of Uttar Pradesh. The literary movement, however, has spread to almost all the language areas of India.

The political momentum has been taken over by the Bahujan (majority) Samaj Party (BSP) founded in 1984 by Kanshi Ram, a Punjabi. In the North and to a smaller degree in Maharashtra it has considerable strength. Ram had established two earlier organizations, BAMCEF (All India Backward and Minority Communities Employees Federation) and a political party. BAMCEF claimed 200,000 members, including university-educated Dalits and Bahujans. Both these organizations gave way to the BSP, which has made real inroads into the politics of Uttar Pradesh. Its base is the Chamar community, and although Ram refused to talk about caste, he probably was from the Ramdasi Sikh community, recruited from the Chamars. In 1985 Mayawati Kumari, a single woman commonly called simply Mayawati, emerged as an effective and powerful leader, and she has led the party single-handedly since Kanshi Ram's death in 2006. An early partnership with the Socialist Party of Mulayam Singh Yadav, which promised enormous power, soon broke apart, and Mayawati has ruled Uttar Pradesh as chief minister three times within other alliances. Links with the Brahmanical party of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) have been held suspect by some Dalits but welcomed by others. In the 2007 elections Mayawati's BSP party in combination with Brahmans won a clear majority, and she is now chief minister in Uttar Pradesh.

### AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

India and the United States have the most comprehensive affirmative action systems of all the nations in the world. India, however, favors a quota system, which America



***Dalits Reject the Caste System.*** At the World Social Forum, held in Bombay in 2004, an Indian Dalit marches against the caste system. Activists demanded that the world pay more attention to the poor, highlighting in particular the plight of the Dalits. INDRANIL MUKHERJEE/AFP/GETTY IMAGES.

refuses to use. All government positions have quotas for scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, and backward classes, and the system has produced a somewhat effective middle class of educated Dalits. However, the first-class government servant category is rarely filled. Any educational institution that receives government funding must also include the Dalit categories, but the increasing numbers of private educational institutions have no such requirement. Medical schools have seen much protest of reserved places for scheduled castes and tribes and other backward classes. There is considerable pressure to force private businesses to hire scheduled castes and tribes, and many envy the U.S. commitment to affirmative action.

### VIOLENCE

Much of the discrimination against untouchables in the cities, in terms of personal insults, has lessened. In the villages especially, however, there is actually increasing violence over such matters as a Dalit marrying into a higher caste, a quarrel over land, or a Dalit assuming a privilege

that is not traditional. Rape, arson, physical violence, and boycotts are familiar weapons against Dalits claiming equality. The National Commission for Scheduled Castes records the atrocities that are reported to it, and these vary from 25,000 to 30,000 per year. The statistics vary from state to state, and many violent encounters are not brought to the attention of the police or the courts.

### BUDDHISM

Ambedkar rejected Hinduism as early as 1935, but he did not convert until shortly before his death in 1956. He had learned about Buddhism as a boy, read about Buddhism from then on, studied Pali, and compiled *The Buddha and His Dhamma*, based on Theravada texts but adding his own rational and humanitarian views. The fiftieth anniversary of his conversion was celebrated in October 2006. Conversions continue in many parts of India, especially in Delhi. Many use “Navayana,” the new vehicle, as a name for Ambedkar Buddhism.

SEE ALSO *Affirmative Action*.

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*Eleanor Zelliot*

### DANCE

Dance has long provided a key means of expression for the movement of racialized bodies, and it has intersected

with notions of race in a number of ways. In particular, dance has been a literal stage upon which ideas about racial superiority and inferiority have played out. It has also been a means for promoting social mobility.

Practiced by nearly every human society in all eras and locations throughout the world, dance enacts the ways in which people relate to each other; it defines the terms of representation for bodies and behavior; it expresses spirituality and sexuality in terms of the body in motion; and it provides a way to physically resist political structures. Dance in all idioms represents an idealized combination of physicality, aesthetic and spiritual possibility, and social occasion. Dance is widely—and wrongly—assumed to be a “universal language” that can be understood easily by any who witness its movements. In truth, dance exists only in relationship to recognizable human interaction, and it is structured according to local beliefs and ideologies. Because dance encompasses so many powerful possibilities, it has always been tinged with material implications for racist ideologies. Thus, racist practices and racialized representations of cultural formations abound in the historical record of dance performance.

### RACIALIZED DANCE IN THE UNITED STATES

In the United States, difficult race relations have allowed for an extensive permeation of racist ideologies through dance. Persistent stereotypes of ethnic action abound: Latino dances are “sensual” or “hot”; African Americans are “natural dancers” who specialize in “lascivious” and “grotesque” social dances; Native Americans are “spiritual” dancers who “passively” celebrate their ancestors and the land; and Asian dance forms are “delicate” and “mysterious” to their gathered audiences.

Each of these stereotypes deserves scrutiny. As a whole, Latino dances do indeed value accurate rhythmic meter. They stress fast-paced physical isolation of feet, torso, neck, hips, and arms, and they promote social interaction between partners or groups of people. Variations of group dances, including rumba and samba, are featured at festival events and carnival celebrations, while partnered social dances, including salsa and tango, bring couples into close physical proximity to explore movement possibilities as a single unit. For Latino dancers, these forms enhance social interaction, including group solidarity (in festival dances) and communication skills (in partnered dances).

During the European colonization of the Americas, Native American dances were considered to hold such power as tools of spiritual and social organization that white officials routinely banned them. For example, the Ghost Dance, performed by intercultural groups of Plains Indians from 1888 to 1890, emerged as part of a prophetic religion developed in the face of the hostile white takeover of North America. The dance, which lasted four days at a time, called



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for a costume that included absolutely nothing made by the white man. In 1890, infamous massacres at Wounded Knee involved the interruption of Ghost Dances by U.S. Army troops. Even before this, Native dancers had been consigned to become secular performers in popular entertainments such as Buffalo Bill's Wild West stage shows of the late nineteenth century.

Asian dance forms practiced in the United States, which range from Indian Bharata Natyam through Javanese Kecak, often rely on symbolic gestures to narrate stories based on legend, mythology, and historical events. Because the term "Asian" encompasses hundreds of ethnicities, it lumps together diverse populations—including Indonesian, Japanese, Chinese, and Korean people—and their vibrant contemporary dance traditions. The broad variety of these cultures and their dance forms, combined with the important and coded gestural significations of each, perpetuates the impression of inscrutability for many Americans unversed in the particularities of any of these forms.

### EARLY AFRICAN-AMERICAN DANCES

African-American social dances convey the most consistent ideologies of race in the United States. Black social dances have been banned by city councils and considered lewd and inappropriate for performance in public spaces. They purportedly signaled the breakdown of moral standards and society itself, thus effectively demonstrating the potential for social disorder. Significantly, African-American social dances have effectively defined each historical era of the twentieth century, as with the Charleston of the 1920s, the lindy hop of the 1930s, the twist of the 1960s, and breakdancing idioms in the 1980s.

The cakewalk offers a particular example of race in dance. Created by African Americans, this partnered social and performance dance derived from activities at corn-husking festivals in the early nineteenth century. The cakewalk emerged as a sly parody of the quadrille, a French-derived set dance popular among slaveholders in the South. African-American dancers made fun of the "genteel manners" of the quadrille, adapting its erect posture and precision patterns to include complex rhythmic walking steps, sequences of bowing low, waving canes, tipping hats, and a fast-paced, high-kicking grand promenade. In its competitive form, the cakewalk involved acrobatic stunts performed by duos who strove to maintain an upright stance even as they kicked higher and higher in tandem. Those determined to possess the most precision, grace, ease, and the highest kicks won a highly decorated cake prepared for the occasion.

Surprisingly, whites who witnessed the dance failed to notice its derisive origins, and they clamored to learn



**The Cakewalk.** An African-American dancer performs the cakewalk, an early jazz dance, in 1903. The dance originated among slaves as a parody of European ballroom dances. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES.

it. The form transferred easily into blackface minstrel shows and early Broadway offerings as it spread as a popular pastime. The highly successful African-American minstrel team of Williams and Walker (Egbert Austin Williams and George Walker) became the most famous practitioners of the dance. Walker and his wife, Aida Reed Overton, a noteworthy dancer and choreographer in her own right, brought the cakewalk to the height of its international popularity when they danced a Command Performance at Buckingham Palace in 1897. Thus, the cakewalk, which began as a racialized parody of white manners, offered social mobility to its African-American performers who became professional entertainers to the very people that their dance mocked.

### RACE AND THEATRICAL DANCE

As a realm, dance includes theatrical dance and social dance, its two most prevalent idioms in the West. Theatrical dance contains histories of racist exclusion for artists

and audiences in the United States, as in the routine barring of black children from ballet classes populated by whites, and the strict segregation of black and white audiences in many theater spaces until the mid-twentieth century. These exclusionary practices held profound significance in the formation of dance performance. For Americans, ballet has stood for the pinnacle of classical achievement in dance, inevitably tied to a winsome white femininity stereotypically considered to be antithetical to African-American womanhood.

The largest ballet schools have resisted efforts to integrate their student bodies in significant numbers, and ballerinas of color have yet to achieve international celebrity in any part of the world, except, perhaps, Chinese ballerinas who tour to Europe and the United States. Because ballet in Europe grew to reflect European ideologies of grace, precision, and physical achievement, many felt that it could not translate to other cultures or geographic locations beyond Europe and the former Soviet Union. But ballet has emerged with vigor in the United States, South Africa, Australia, the Caribbean, and China. Cuba, in particular, holds a place of importance as a training ground for exceptionally trained classical dancers of color who break the mold of “white only” participation in the form. Not surprisingly, Cuban ballet dancers in the United States, some of whom identify as white rather than as people of color, are typically described in terms of their “fiery Latin temperament” while Chinese dancers are often noted for their “shy reticence” and “doll-like stature.”

The founding of Dance Theatre of Harlem (DTH) in 1969 by Arthur Mitchell and Karel Shook triumphantly confirmed an African-American presence in classical ballet. In sharp rebuke to racists who contended that their “joints” and “weak feet” rendered African Americans unsuited to ballet, DTH achieved international acclaim at the height of its popularity in the 1990s, drawing on a repertory of some seventy-five ballets danced by a predominantly African-diaspora company of forty-nine dancers.

Mitchell, who had begun his career in 1955 as the only African-American dancer with the New York City Ballet (NYCB), was one of many individual artists who trained in ballet only to find limited possibilities for employment due to race. In Chicago in the 1920s, Katherine Dunham studied ballet with Ludmilla Speranza before creating her own Dunham dance technique. The Jones-Haywood School of Ballet, founded in Washington, D.C., in 1940, trained several significant African-American personalities including Sylvester Campbell and Louis Johnson. Philadelphia’s Judimar School of Dance, created in 1948, offered ballet classes led by Essie Marie Dorsey that produced several outstanding ballet artists of the 1950s and 1960s including Delores Brown, Tamara Guillebeaux, John Jones, and Billy Wilson. After the civil

rights era and the founding of DTH, several individual dancers, many of whom had affiliations of some sort with DTH or its school, rose to the ranks of principal dancer in white-majority companies. In the twenty-first century, important African-diaspora classical artists include Alonzo King, who directs the Lines Ballet based in San Francisco, and the dancers of Atlanta’s Ballethnic, who tether classical technique to modern dance and neo-African forms.

At times, some ballet companies presented works that explored racial identity or offered racialized representations to audiences. In 1911, Serge Diaghilev’s Ballets Russes, the premiere company of modern ballet of its era, presented *Petrushka*, danced to an original score by Igor Stravinsky. This fantasy ballet tells the story of a lover’s triangle between a female doll, the clown Petrushka, and the black-face Moor character, who brutishly slays the clown in a jealous rage. The Swedish-based Ballets Suedois premiered *Sculpture Nègre* in 1920 with costumes that imitated African statuettes.

During the civil rights era, representations of black people gained in humanity on ballet stages in works such as *Trinity* by Gerald Arpino (Joffrey Ballet 1970), which featured the Trinidadian-born dancer Christian Holder leading a cast of youthful optimists who imagine a color-blind utopia of dance, and the NYCB choreographer George Balanchine’s *Requiem Canticles* (1968), set to music by Stravinsky, which honored the memory of the recently slain civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr. Balanchine continually expressed an interest in African American-derived jazz rhythms and movement sensibilities, often adopting a propulsive attack in his choreography that suggested the melding of neoclassical and social dance styles. Balanchine allowed black children to train at the School of American Ballet that fed his company, and in 1955 he hired Arthur Mitchell, who became the first principal African-American dancer with a major ballet company. Balanchine featured Mitchell in several original works including the plotless 1957 masterpiece *Agon*. Set to a commissioned score by Stravinsky, the work traded in a precise modernism and, in its central pas de deux, explored the color dynamics of the black and white skin tones of Mitchell and the white ballerina Diana Adams. Balanchine often lobbied for racial integration in ballet, and he refused to accept television engagements that would not allow black and white dancers to partner each other. Still, the ranks of ballet dancers continue to be largely segregated well into the twenty-first century.

#### MODERN DANCE

Modern dance forms offered a more hospitable climate for black dancers in the United States. The racial division of Americans led to the formation of several separatist,



*The Joffrey Ballet in Rehearsal.* Christian Holder rehearses the part of one of the ugly stepsisters for The Joffrey Ballet's production of *Cinderella*, in September 2006. For Americans, ballet has stood for the pinnacle of classical achievement in dance. AP IMAGES.

all-black dance companies, which have offered performing opportunities for growing numbers of classically trained dancers. Hemsley Winfield's New Negro Art Theater Dance Group brought concert dance to the New York Roxy Theater in 1932, effectively proving that black dancers would be accepted by largely white audiences. John Martin of the *New York Times* noted the dancers' refusal to be "darkskinned reproductions of famous white prototypes," and termed the concert "an effort well worth the making" (Martin 1932, p. X11). Winfield's company performed with the Hall Johnson Choir in dances of his own making.

Modern dance that explores African-American life has tended to valorize religious practice, particularly in myriad versions of dances set to Negro Spirituals. Alvin Ailey's masterpiece *Revelations* (1960) set a standard of exquisite choreographic imagination in telling the story of the African-American progression from slavery to freedom. The work includes scenes that depict profound social resilience in an abstract group prayer, an enactment of an Afro-Caribbean-derived riverside baptism, scenes of solitary penitence, and a gospel-inflected service in a rural southern sanctuary. This work, which suggests a vibrant and closed hegemonic universe of African-American perseverance, has been seen by more audiences than any other modern dance

work. Among contemporary artists, the dance company of Bill T. Jones and Arnie Zane, founded in 1982, stands apart in its willingness to confront uncomfortable racial perceptions in large-scale works. Jones, an African American, and his Italian-American partner Zane offered audiences a study in physical contrasts in several duets. As their company's acclaim grew, Jones continued to work as a soloist, and his powerful performances sometimes included improvised movement layered with freely associated autobiographical text. In 1981, he danced an untitled solo built upon spoken oppositional statements such as "I love women; I hate women" and "I love white people; I hate white people."

Jones and Zane were both diagnosed as HIV positive in 1986, and Zane succumbed to AIDS in 1988. After Zane's death, Jones continued to make large-scaled works that addressed themes of racial identity, sexuality, and cultural memory, as in the epic *Last Supper at Uncle Tom's Cabin/The Promised Land* (1990). This four-part, three-hour fantasia is loosely based on the Harriet Beecher Stowe novel and included an intergenerational cast, rap poetry, and scores of nude dancers in its final utopian vision. At the premiere of *Reading, Mercy and the Artificial Nigger* (2003), Jones and actor Susan Sarandon read aloud as the

multiracial company shifted in and out of the various characters detailed in Flannery O'Connor's short story *The Artificial Nigger*, underscoring the mutability of race in theatrical dance. O'Connor's story of a bigoted white southern farmer and his grandson's journey to the big city provided the narrative background for a charged exploration of race, gender, and theatrical representation.

Several contemporary dance companies resist racist presumptions surrounding dance technique, including Complexions Dance, founded by two former Ailey dancers, Dwight Rhoden and Desmond Richardson. Based in New York, Complexions features a multiracial ensemble of ballet-trained dancers who work in sleek accord performing Rhoden's abstract choreography.

Dance on the Broadway stage has always embraced transformed African-American social dance forms as the preferred idiom of movement. Jazz dance, acknowledged as the foundational technique of contemporary Broadway-style dance, is built on the codification of eccentric African-American dance movements culled during the early part of the twentieth century. At intervals, segregated, "all black" companies of performers have been assembled to perform energetic or titillating fare on Broadway, from the Charleston dances of *Runnin' Wild* (1923) to the disco-inspired bump choreography of *The Wiz* (1975). Those shows reinforced the truism that African-American social dance forms, best embodied by African-American dancers, could easily entertain audiences of cultural outsiders. Some musicals attempted to confront race: The 1957 hit *West Side Story* pitted an Italian street gang against a Puerto Rican one in a series of danced battles inflected by ballet; while in 1992 George C. Wolfe's *Jelly's Last Jam* (1992) used tap dance and blackface to underscore a ironic narrative of racial jealousy among African Americans of different pigmentation.

By 2005, tap dance, like its footwork and rhythm-based kin flamenco and Bharata Natyam, had become respected as a classical form in the United States. This shift in attitude must be related to expanding information regarding the artistic nuances of the form for all American audiences. The elevation in status, reflected in a shift of venues from variety stages and community centers to concert halls, mirrors a rise in middle-class patrons of color able to support various art forms.

Another change in racist ideologies surrounding dance derived from its increased media representations. In film, from *Birth of a Nation* (1915) to *You Got Served* (2005), African-American dance has offered audiences an outrageously odd array of physical sociability. Many films of the 1930s and 1940s featured dance to enliven otherwise dull proceedings, as in the flamboyant maneuvers of Whitey's Lindy Hoppers in the 1941 feature *Hellzapoppin*. Another popular narrative strain offers black social dance

forms as a passageway to individual salvation, as in *Flashdance* (1983), *Footloose* (1984), or *Save the Last Dance* (2001), in which white teenagers find their mature social voices through their mastery of African-American dances.

Television programs, including *American Bandstand* and *Soul Train*, also introduced black social dances into the living rooms of whites and others who would never have seen them otherwise. More recent television shows include culturally diverse casts of dancers, such as *Dancing to the Hits* (1980s), Debbie Allen's several award show choreographies (1990s), and the syndicated competition show *Dance 360* (2000s), in which dancers of every ethnicity try to imitate each other in African-American-derived social dance forms.

The discipline of dance studies, which came into focus only after the civil rights and women's liberation movements, contributed to an expanded humanitarian sensibility of dance documentation in terms of race. The 1993 video series *Dancing*, created by Rhoda Grauer for PBS and accompanied by an oversized book written by Gerald Jonas, offered an essential, cross-cultural assessment of dance as a realm across geographies and cultural traditions. The video series includes many examples of rarely seen dance cultures, such as Yoruban egungun dances, that might have served as exotic spectacle for earlier generations. Documentary films about African-American dance cultures, including *Paris is Burning* (1991) and *Rize* (2005), have introduced wide audiences to specific scenes of racialized lives deeply invested in dance practice. These films highlight the difficulties of everyday life for young people of color, as well as the ways in which dance mediates some of those struggles.

As the scholarly study of dance has grown, so have the variety of its representations. A vibrant literature that complicates assessments of race in dance has emerged in journals, books, and Internet sites. Outstanding offerings from dance historians such as Lynne Fauley Emery, Richard Long, and John Perpener have detailed African-American dance practice; while the performance theorist Brenda Dixon Gottschild routinely writes about the role of race as a lens that clouds perceptions of dance among African-diaspora people. A cohort of other authors and artists continues to address the persistence of particular cultural practices in dance framed by racial stereotyping.

More recently, queer and feminist activists and scholars have worked to enlarge perceptions surrounding identity in dance, as in the work of feminist choreographer Chandralekha, from India, and the group ethic of the U.S.-based Urban Bush Women, led by Jawole Willa Jo Zollar. Still, even as dance moves beyond its obvious boundaries of performance and social practice to become a valued agent of aesthetic and social change, race becomes a guiding trope that defines its appreciation. "Classical"

forms of dance, recognized as the highest forms of physical expression, are often regulated to whites, while dancers of color are often thought to be experts only at “lower-value,” social dance forms. It seems that race, alongside sexuality and gender, constructs difficult barriers for artists and audiences to surmount as they approach the realm of dance.

SEE ALSO *African Diaspora; Black Popular Culture.*

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Thomas F. DeFrantz

## DAVIS, ANGELA 1944–

Angela Y. Davis was born on January 26, 1944, in Birmingham, Alabama. An activist and scholar, Davis was appointed a professor in the History of Consciousness Program at the University of California, Santa Cruz, in 1991. She is one of the main architects of a global movement to abolish what she has called the “prison-industrial complex” in the United States and elsewhere in the world. Davis has campaigned against all forms of racism since the mid-1960s, publishing numerous articles and essays in both the popular media and scholarly journals, as well as a half dozen books. A sensational trial in which she was charged by the state of California with murder and kidnapping because of her prominence in a movement for prisoners’ rights resulted in her acquittal on all charges in June 1972. As a result of the movement to “Free Angela Davis,” she became an icon of revolutionary movements and national liberation struggles worldwide.

The oldest of four children, Davis’s mother was Sallye B. Davis, an elementary school teacher, and her father, B. Frank Davis, was the owner of a local service station in Birmingham. At the age of four, her family moved to an all-white section of town, which became known as Dynamite Hill because of the number of racist-inspired bombings undertaken to drive out African-American families. Her family however, persevered. Davis went on to attend Elizabeth Irwin High School in New York City, and she graduated from Brandeis University in 1965 with a degree in French literature. After two years studying abroad, Davis returned to the United States and resumed her graduate studies at the University of California, San Diego, under the tutelage of the Marxist philosopher Herbert Marcuse. She joined the U.S. Communist Party and worked closely with the Black Panther Party in the late 1960s, while also writing her dissertation and teaching in the Philosophy Department at the University of California, Los Angeles.

Her academic career was interrupted by her imprisonment and trial. Davis was charged with first-degree murder, kidnapping, and conspiracy to commit both following an attempted escape by prisoners from San Quentin on August 7, 1970. The escape attempt was organized by Jonathan Jackson, the 17-year old brother of George Jackson, one of the Soledad Brothers. Davis knew Jonathan and was involved in the Soledad Brothers Defense Committee. In the attempted escape Jonathan and two prisoners were killed by San Quentin guards, and a judge was also killed. Another prisoner, Ruchell Magee, was badly wounded, and so was a woman juror. Davis was placed on the FBI’s Ten Most Wanted list and was eventually arrested in New York City. She was then extradited to California to stand trial. Her case galvanized a global movement for her freedom, and catapulted her into international fame. Whereas the President of

the United States, Richard Nixon, branded her “a terrorist,” the “Free Angela” movement insisted upon her innocence and showed the ways in which a racist criminal justice system was deployed to seek to silence Davis for her radical activism. Her trial began on February 28, 1972, in San Jose, California, and ended in an acquittal on all counts on June 4, 1972. Following her acquittal, she resumed her scholarly work and helped to launch the National Alliance against Racist and Political Repression. After some thirty years campaigning to free individual prisoners, Davis helped to initiate a conference at the University of California, Berkeley, in September 2002. This conference launched a new movement called Critical Resistance, which was directed against the prison system itself. In her book *Are Prisons Obsolete?* (2004), Davis argued that prisons are part of a racist criminal justice system, and she showed how the prison-industrial complex was shaped by slavery and its aftermath.

Angela Davis has been pivotal in developing an anti-racist feminist scholarship. She has been especially attentive to myriad forms of violence against women of color. While in prison she wrote “Reflections on the Black Woman’s Role in the Community of Slaves,” originally published in *The Black Scholar* in December 1971. This article helped to initiate the field of black women’s studies. A second, very long essay, also written in prison, “Women and Capitalism: Dialectics of Oppression and Liberation,” was prepared for a Symposium of the Philosophical Study of Dialectical Materialism in December 1971. (It was subsequently reprinted in the *Angela Y. Davis Reader*). This work is a detailed theoretical and political critique of the writings of white feminists in the women’s liberation movement of the 1960s. In addition, Davis published an important collection of essays titled *Women, Race, and Class* in 1981. In 1998 she wrote *Blues Legacies and Black Feminism: Gertrude “Ma” Rainey, Bessie Smith, and Billie Holiday*, a detailed analysis of the feminist consciousness of working-class black women in the 1920s and 1930s. The book includes the lyrics to all the songs of the three singers.

As scholar, teacher, and activist Davis has inspired generations of students, colleagues, and community activists for more than forty years.

**SEE ALSO** *Black Feminism in the United States*.

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*Bettina Aptheker*

## DAY LABORERS, LATINO

No formal definition of *day labor* exists, although the term is mostly used to convey a type of temporary employment that is distinguished by impermanency of employment, hazards in or undesirability of the work, the absence of fringe and other typical workplace benefits (e.g., breaks, safety equipment), and the daily search for employment. More specifically, day labor involves a group of men (and some women) who congregate on street corners, empty lots, or parking lots of home improvement stores, rental truck outlets, and paint stores to solicit temporary daily work. This type of work is growing and increasingly visible in those cities throughout the United States that have large concentrations of the working poor and Latino immigrants. Day labor is unstable and poorly paid, with most workers obtaining only one or two days of work per week, with wages clustering between eight and ten dollars per hour. The work that day laborers perform is often dangerous and dirty, and it is mostly in the fields of construction, landscaping, moving, demolition, and painting. With the exception of a few studies, little is known about this labor market because the workers move in and out freely; federal agencies inadequately define day labor, and thus do not count the participants accurately; and a large proportion of these workers are foreign-born, unauthorized, and Latino, making them difficult to study.

#### THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF DAY LABOR

The practice of men and women gathering in public settings in search of work dates back to at least medieval times, when the feudal city was originally a place of trade. In England during the 1100s, workers assembled at daily or weekly markets to be hired. Statutes regulated the opening of public markets in merchant towns and required agricultural workers (foremen, plowmen, carters, shepherds, swineherds, dairymen, and mowers) to appear with tools to be hired in a “commonplace and not privately” (Mund 1948, p. 96). In the United States during the early to mid-1800s, day laborers recruited from construction crews worked as track repairmen for railroad companies. Casual laborers (often out of work from construction jobs) worked in a variety of unskilled positions (e.g., brakemen, track repairmen, stevedores at depots, emergency firemen, snow clearers, or mechanic’s

assistants). Some of these workers were recent immigrants, particularly Chinese and Mexicans in the West and Germans and Irish in the East (Mohl 1971). Between 1788 and 1830, hundreds of day laborers (or “stand-ups,” as they were known then) worked along the waterfront. More than half of New York City’s male Irish workers were day laborers. In 1834, a “place was set aside on city streets in New York where those seeking work could meet with those who wanted workers” (Moore 1965). This exchange worked for both men and women, with employment for women (primarily African Americans) concentrated in the domestic labor market sector.

Since at least the mid-1800s, “shape-up” sites in New York and other Northeast ports provided a system of hiring dockworkers for the day or half-day (a minimum of four hours) by a seemingly arbitrary selection from a gathering of men. Under this casual labor system, longshoremen seeking work were forced to gather on the docks every morning to await the shape-up call from a hiring foreman signaling for the men to gather around him, usually in the shape of a circle or horseshoe, to be selected for work for the day or a four-hour shift. The number of men seeking work typically outnumbered the available jobs (Larowe 1955).

Contemporary day labor in the United States (since at least the early 1970s) is not much different than it was in the past. Most of the participants are men, most are recent arrivals in the country, and most of their work is primarily in the construction industry. To the extent that women participate in day labor, their work is still primarily in domestic help. The growth and development of day labor in the United States and elsewhere has very real implications for thousands of workers and their employers. In its simplest form, day labor provides a distinct service to employers who wish to forego traditional forms of hiring workers and prefer not to undertake the time-consuming and costly activities associated with “regular” employment. The gains from hiring day laborers are clear: Day laborers are plentiful, easy to find, and relatively inexpensive to hire, and employers are spared liability and bureaucratic paper work. A subcontractor needing help to finish a project can easily hire a day laborer for several hours or several days to tidy up, remove debris, clean the site for inspection, or for other types of unskilled and skilled tasks. A job or project that would normally entail paying a regular worker at a higher rate is easily circumvented via this market. Similarly, a homeowner wishing to move from one home to another or uproot a tree in his or her backyard need not hire an expensive contractor for such seemingly simple but labor-intensive jobs. Day laborers also find some benefit from this type of labor market, particularly if they would not otherwise be employed. In addition, day laborers get paid in cash (usually untaxed), they can walk away from a job

if dangerous or particularly dirty, and they can negotiate a wage for a day of work. Finally, for some day laborers, this occupation provides a level of flexibility that a regularly scheduled job does not, autonomy from a difficult employer, and the opportunity to learn different skills.

**DAY LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES**

Based on a national survey of day laborers conducted by Abel Valenzuela and colleagues in 2006, some key facts about the men (and the few women) who undertake this line of work are available. For example, on any given day, approximately 117,600 workers are either looking for day-labor jobs or employed as day laborers. Most day laborers congregate at informal hiring sites that have formed in front of home improvement stores and gas stations, along busy thoroughfares and near expressway on-ramps, or in parks and other public spaces. Because there are a small number (64 nationally in 2006) of officially sanctioned “worker centers,” a minority of workers seek work at these formalized hiring halls, where day laborers and employers arrange the terms of employment for the day. The day-labor hiring site is a dynamic labor market whose size and dimensions change by the season, week, day, and even hour. The daily flow of workers through a site can vary dramatically as workers leave the site once they receive a job assignment and new job seekers are drawn to the site in their search for employment.

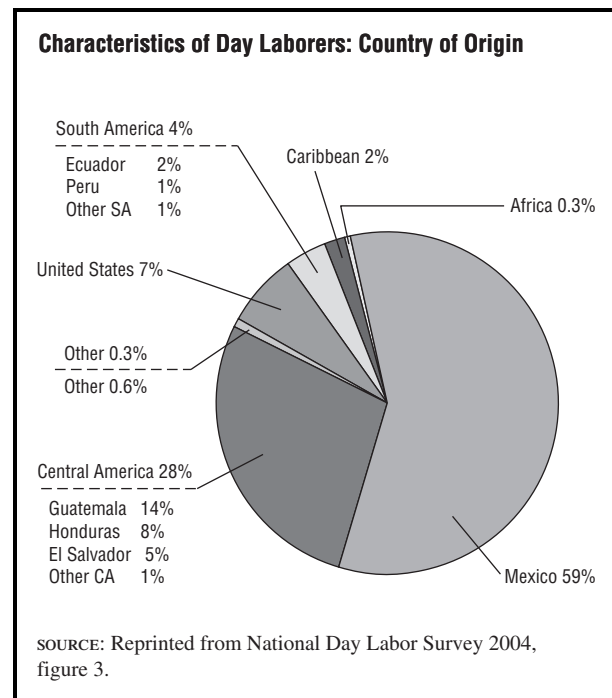


Figure 1.



**Day Laborers, September 2000.** Immigrants from Mexico wait on the street for work opportunities in Farmville, Long Island, New York. The work that day laborers perform is often dangerous and dirty and is mostly in construction, landscaping, moving, demolition, and painting. © ERIK FREELAND/CORBIS SABA.

The largest concentration of hiring sites and day laborers is in the West, while the Midwest is the region with the fewest number of sites and workers. The day-labor workforce in the United States is predominantly male (just 2% are female) and largely comprised of migrants from Mexico and Central America (see Figure 1). More than half (59%) of day laborers surveyed were born in Mexico, 14 percent were born in Guatemala, and 8 percent were born in Honduras. U.S.-born workers comprise 7 percent of the day-labor workforce, though in the southern region of the country almost one in five day laborers were born in the United States. Three-quarters of the day-labor workforce were undocumented migrants. However, about 11 percent of the undocumented day-labor workforce had a pending application for an adjustment of their immigration status. It has not been possible to determine how many of these workers may indeed be eligible for temporary or permanent immigration relief.

Overall, day laborers tend to be relatively recent immigrants. Almost one in five (19%) migrated to the United States less than one year before they were interviewed at a

day-labor hiring site, while 40 percent have resided in the United States for one to five years. Less than one-third of day laborers (29%) have resided in the United States for between six and 20 years, and 11 percent have resided in the United States for more than two decades.

Day laborers experience a high incidence of workplace injury. One in five day laborers suffered an injury while on the job. Rates of work-related injury are highest in the Midwest, where one-third of the day laborers have been hurt on the job. Most day laborers are aware that their work is dangerous, but the pressing need for employment finds them returning to this market to search for work. About three-quarters of day laborers nationwide find their occupations to be dangerous, while in the Midwest, where roofing jobs are undertaken at significantly higher rates than in the other regions, an astounding 92 percent find their work to be dangerous.

Employer violations of day laborers' rights and violations of basic labor standards are an all too common occurrence in the day-labor market. Wage theft is the most typical abuse experienced by day laborers. Nearly



half of all day laborers (49%) have been completely denied payment by an employer for work they completed in the two months prior to being surveyed. Similarly, 48 percent have been underpaid by employers during the same time period.

#### DAY-LABOR WORKER CENTERS

In addition to the hundreds of informal hiring sites that have proliferated across the United States, 64 day-labor worker centers, or formal hiring sites, have been established by community organizations, municipal governments, faith-based organizations, and other local stakeholders. The goal of these centers is to curtail wage theft, abuse, and hazardous working conditions. The creation of day-labor worker centers is a relatively recent phenomenon, with most having been established since 2000. Worker centers are typically located near informal day-labor hiring sites, offering both workers and contractors an alternative to the unregulated sites found on street corners and in parking lots. Indeed, location can be a crucial determinant of a center's success, and these hiring sites are frequently established in areas where both workers and employers have ready access.

Most day-labor worker centers provide fairly basic accommodations to workers and employers. All operate as hiring halls where employers and day laborers can arrange work for the day. Available amenities and services typically include restrooms, drinking water, places to sit, telephones, classrooms, outreach to employers, and parking facilities. But even such simple provisions are a marked improvement over informal hiring sites. Moreover, they serve to establish a worker center's presence in the day-labor market. The primary purpose of day-labor worker centers is to regulate the day-labor market by intervening in the market and establishing rules governing the search for work and the hiring of laborers. Through these core activities, worker centers are able to place a "safety floor" under conditions in the day-labor market and curtail abuses and workplace injuries.

**SEE ALSO** *Braceros, Repatriation, and Seasonal Workers; Farmworkers; Immigrant Domestic Workers; Immigration to the United States; Undocumented Workers; Workfare and Welfare.*

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## DEME

*Deme* (pronounced "deem," from the Greek for "people" and originally referring to a political division within ancient Greece) has been used in biology since the 1930s as a term for a local interbreeding population within a species. As such, the recognition of demes can be confused with, and can appear to provide justification for, the existence of biological races or subspecies.

The rationale for naming population units below the species level comes from the simple fact that members of a species are seldom, if ever, evenly distributed throughout the species' geographical range. Uneven distribution can result in clusters of individuals partially isolated from other such clusters—that is, with more interbreeding within the clusters than between them—simply because of proximity. It is to such clusters that the term *deme* is usually applied. Thus, the green frogs in an isolated pond, a town of prairie dogs, or a field of wild sunflowers might be examples of demes.

If demes inhabit different local environments, natural selection can operate in different directions in these populations with the result that there may be genetic and even physical variation in the characteristics of individual demes. Other processes of evolution, such as mutation and other forms of genetic change, can also enhance these differences, depending upon the extent of demic isolation.

The problem with the concept of the deme is that there is no definitive set of criteria for recognizing demes within species. Normally, some spatial separation or other obvious impediment to genetic exchange is a clue, with genetic or physical distinctions as an expected result. Demes, however, are populations within species, and by definition, exchange genes with other demes of the same

species either directly, in the case of adjacent demes, or by a series of steps, in the case of widely separated demes.

Demes are also transitory. According to Stephen Jay Gould in *The Structure of Evolutionary Theory*, demes have “porous borders,” they do not function as a “discrete [evolutionary] entities,” and are “defined only by the transient and clumpy nature of . . . habitats” (p. 647). Richard Dawkins, in *The Selfish Gene*, likened demes to “clouds in the sky or dust storms in the desert . . . temporary aggregations” (p. 36). Moreover, even if demes are spatially distinct clusters, their phenotypic features might still grade into one another in response to environmental gradients, thus making the boundaries between the demes even less distinct. This is known as a clinal distribution.

Given the accepted general definition, it can certainly be said that demes exist within the human species, where they are identified as semi-isolated endogamous (literally, “marriage within”) populations. The isolation may be spatial, as in any of a number of societies inhabiting separate and secluded valleys in the New Guinea Highlands, or cultural, as in the religiously based isolation of groups such as the Hutterites, Mennonites, and Amish.

All human populations consist of members of a single species. Thus, by definition, they exchange genes with other populations, directly or indirectly. More specifically, even the most isolated human population has experienced gene flow with adjacent populations at some point in time. Outsiders have always married into the Hutterites, for example, and Hutterites have married out. Over time, human demes are as ephemeral as those of any other species, and probably more so, given the human proclivities for mobility and genetic exchange.

The question becomes, then, what is the relationship between the concept of the deme and that of the biological race or subspecies? Both are proposed populations below the species level. Traditionally, a biological race was considered to be a group of related demes inhabiting the same general region and sharing genetic and/or physical characteristics (Savage 1977; Mettler et al. 1988).

The limitations noted for the deme concept, however, provide a lesson for considering such larger groups as races or subspecies because those limitations become more pronounced with larger populations. Larger populations within a species contain more genetic and physical variation, and thus stand even less chance of having specific biological characteristics. Because there is more gene flow between large populations, the boundaries between such populations are further blurred and have less real biological meaning and utility. At best, as Lawrence Mettler et al. note, defining and naming subspecific groups is “purely subjective” and a “matter of convenience” for the purpose of “intelligible communication” (1988, p. 48).

**SEE ALSO** *Clusters; Gene Pool; Subspecies.*

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*Michael Alan Park*

## DEMOGRAPHICS AND RACE

The United States Census has collected information about race ever since the first census was taken in 1790. Indeed, the Census and the collection of information about race were originally mandated in the U.S. Constitution. In Article One, Section Two, the founders of the United States set forth the language for collecting information about race in the decennial census:

Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons. The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct.

This language acknowledges several racial designations. In almost all circumstances “free persons” and persons “bound to service for a term of years” meant European immigrants and their descendants. Very clearly, American Indians who resided outside the jurisdiction of Anglo-American communities were excluded, insofar as they could not be taxed. The notorious “three-fifths compromise” was an obvious allusion to African slaves and their descendants, who were born into slavery for the duration of their lives.

Despite the obvious racial overtones of this language, it is important to understand that the Constitution was a product of Enlightenment philosophy. The Enlightenment had an enormous influence on the framing of the U.S. government, but, ironically, this intellectual tradition offered little insight into the nature of race and racial distinctions. As a result, the incorporation of race into the Constitution was shaped more by considerations of

conquest and oppression than by abstract philosophical principles. Race, for the founders of the United States, was mostly a matter of civil status.

#### THE HISTORY OF MODERN RACE CONSCIOUSNESS

The articulation of racial thinking that would justify the collection of information about race awaited the emergence of biology as a full-fledged body of scientific knowledge in the late eighteenth century. The Swedish biologist Carl Linnaeus deserves credit for devising the first racial classification for *Homo sapiens*, published in 1735. This classification consisted of four groups—*Americanus*, *Africanus*, *Asiaticus*, and *Europeanus*—and each was associated with race-specific behavioral characteristics. In 1775 the German scientist Johann Blumenbach elaborated Linnaeus's scheme and introduced a vocabulary for describing race that still more or less remains in use. His categories were Caucasian, Malayan, Mongolian, Negro, and American. Blumenbach also assigned particular behavioral traits to each of these groups. The work of Linnaeus, Blumenbach, and the French biologist Jean-Baptiste Lamarck had a profound influence on scientific thinking about race in the United States, and on the way racial data were collected in nineteenth-century censuses.

From 1790 to 1810, there were few changes in the U.S. Census. Households were enumerated according to the number of persons, both free and slave, and most American Indians were excluded from the count. The first significant modification of the census with respect to race occurred in the 1820 enumeration, in which a distinction was made for "colored" persons, free or slave. At the very least, this signified that there were sufficient numbers of free colored persons to merit enumeration, as well as a tacit acknowledgement that race was a physical quality in addition to being a condition of civil status.

The distinction between free and slave colored persons remained in the next several censuses, but the 1840 census was particularly noteworthy; it was the first to precipitate a controversy over the accuracy of racial data. In particular, the 1840 enumeration resulted in an unusually large number of "colored insane" living in northern states. This, of course, became fodder in the slavery debates, with the proponents of slavery using this finding to argue for the deleterious consequences of emancipation (Anderson 1988).

The debates over the accuracy of the 1840 census proved to be long lasting and especially bitter. They also set the stage for a larger role for scientific opinion in the 1850 census. Congress appointed a special Census Board consisting of the secretaries of state and commerce and the Postmaster General. This board received considerable authority to conduct the census, and it appointed Joseph C. G. Kennedy as the superintendent of the census.

Kennedy proved to be a highly effective leader and an especially important superintendent because he actively sought scientific advice about how to conduct the census. He sought, for the first time, the advice of leaders in the American Statistical Association and the American Geographical and Statistical Society, as well as leading European statisticians such as Charles Babbage.

The 1850 census was taken in an era when the country was not yet at war, but the sectional conflict over slavery was growing in intensity. It was also a period when eugenics and ethnology were reaching a pinnacle of influence within the scientific community. Among the innovations introduced by Kennedy for the 1850 census was a special schedule for the enumeration of slaves—they were identified by a number along with the name of their owner. The 1850 census also admonished enumerators to carefully record the racial heritage of household members. One noteworthy innovation in this census was the introduction of the term "Mulatto." It was the first tacit acknowledgement that sexual relations transcended racial barriers and that the offspring of these unions existed in sufficient numbers to merit enumeration.

#### POST-CIVIL WAR CENSUSES

In the decades following the Civil War, the race question was modified in ways that reflected the social and political concerns of the era. The preoccupations of scientific racism played a very large role in the development of the census. The enumerator instructions in the 1870 census epitomized the obsession with racial purity that characterized this period. These instructions admonished enumerators to "Be particularly careful in reporting the class Mulatto. . . . Important scientific results depend on the correct determination of this class" (Snipp 2003, p. 567).

The 1890 census did not stress the scientific importance of its racial classification or the gravity of accurately assessing racial heritage. However, it was significant because it introduced an even finer classification for persons with African heritage by identifying persons as Octoroons, Quadroons, or Mulattos. It took careful stock of the racial composition of the American Indian population, particularly the numbers of mixed-race persons. Another significant innovation reflected the racist and nativist concerns about immigration from China and Japan. Earlier censuses had enumerated the presence of Chinese and Japanese immigrants in California. Their numbers had grown sufficiently large in other parts of the country causing an outpouring of alarm that culminated in the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act. The 1890 census was the first effort to monitor the spread of Chinese and Japanese immigrants to locations outside California.

At the dawn of the twentieth century, ideas about race that first appeared in the early and mid-nineteenth century

were still influential. Jim Crow racism institutionalized these ideas and made them the scientific underpinnings for laws and public policy governing race relations in the early twentieth century. For example, the so-called one-drop rule stipulated that even the smallest amount of African heritage was sufficient to be designated as black. Consequently, for the 1900 census, efforts to divide the black population into subgroups such as Octoroon were abandoned. By 1920, at the peak of Jim Crow, even the category of Mulatto was jettisoned.

Changing patterns of immigration and continuing anti-Asian public sentiment led to the addition of several new categories in the 1930 census. Specifically, the government added categories for Mexican, Filipino, Hindu, and Korean. With the exception of “Mexican,” these categories were retained in a virtually identical format for the 1940 census. In response to lobbying by the Mexican government, the Census Bureau deleted “Mexican” as a separate designation and counted Mexican Americans as “White.” One other change connected with the 1940 census was that data for ethnic minorities ceased to be published as part of the decennial reports for states and localities. Instead, a special subject report was issued titled *Characteristics of the Nonwhite Population by Race*.

Racial measurement in post-World War II America became an urgent matter for at least two reasons. First, a significant undercount of black men was discovered to exist in the 1940 census, and a similar undercount was documented after the 1950 census. Second, and more important, the civil rights movement gathered momentum and the census, as the principal tool for allocating political power and resources, became recognized as essential for ensuring the enfranchisement of blacks and other minorities. Given the unmatched importance of the census for obtaining fair political representation, any undercount of racial or ethnic minorities was simply unacceptable.

### SELF-IDENTIFICATION

In every census since World War II, the U.S. government, particularly the U.S. Census Bureau, has struggled to minimize the undercount of racial and ethnic minorities while also confronting other challenges, such as containing the costs of the census. One cost-cutting measure that proved to have profound consequences for the way the census measures race was introduced in the 1960 census. Prior to 1960, the decennial census was taken by enumerators conducting door-to-door interviews. Race was a characteristic that was visually determined and recorded by the interviewer. To save the expense of hiring thousands of enumerators for the 1960 census, the Census Bureau mailed census forms to households and allowed individuals to self-identify their race. This led to a subtle, though fundamentally profound, shift in the measurement of race in the census. The race that individuals reported in the census was deter-

mined less by the phenotypical cues that might influence an enumerator’s judgment, and more by the personal beliefs, feelings, and attitudes that shape the racial identity of individuals. Race was no longer a matter of observable physical traits; it was now a matter of personal subjectivity.

The shift to self-identification had little or no effect on the enumeration of some groups, such as blacks or whites. However, for one group—American Indians and Alaskan Natives—the effect was profoundly significant. The shift to self-identification resulted in a significant increase in the number of American Indians, rising from 357,000 in 1950 to 524,000 in 1960—an increase of 47 percent. This increase was followed by similar or even larger increases in subsequent decades. Some of this increase was due to an excess of births over deaths. However, an even larger amount was due to the fact that many persons who had once been identified as white or black chose to report their heritage as American Indian.

The Census Bureau continued to use the same question format for obtaining information about race in 1970, 1980, and 1990, albeit with small modifications. The 1990 census proved to be a pivotal event that triggered a storm of protests because it instructed respondents to choose only one race for their heritage. Even more infuriating was the fact that if respondents chose to mark more than one race for their background, the Census Bureau had a complex procedure in place for assigning one and only one race to each individual for whom more than one race was reported. The groups who objected most strongly to this measure were mixed-race couples that were expected to choose one over another in designating a race for their children. Why, they demanded, should a child with a black mother and a white father be forced to choose one race or another, when in fact they were genuinely multiracial?

### A MULTIRACIAL POPULATION

These complaints eventually led Congress and the Office of Management and Budget to undertake a thorough review of the procedures the federal government uses for the collection of information about race. In October 1997 the U.S. government issued new guidelines for collecting this information. These guidelines were mandatory for all federal agencies, their contractors, and their grantees, effective January 2003. The new guidelines made two significant changes. One was the creation of a new category: “Native Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders.” Formerly, people in this population had been counted among “Asians and Pacific Islanders.” The second and most profound change was a mandate that whenever the federal government (or its contractors or grantees) collects information about race, the instruction to “mark one or more” or “choose one or more” must appear on the questionnaire.

The Census Bureau was the first government agency to adopt this language. Thus, the 2000 census included language

on the race question that instructed respondents to “Mark one or more races to indicate what this person considers himself/herself to be.” In response to this question, 6.8 million persons were identified as having more than one race—about 2.4 percent of the total U.S. population. Relatively little is known about this population except that it is an extraordinarily diverse group. For example, persons of black and American Indian heritage are very different from persons of white and Asian descent in terms of where and how they live. Another notable quality is that about 22 percent of the multiracial population is composed of Hispanic persons who identify themselves as “White” and “Some Other Race.” Studies conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau indicate that multiracial persons frequently change the way they identify their race, perhaps in ways to meet the social expectations of other persons around them (Bentley et al. 2003).

The racial data produced by the 2000 census is an extraordinarily complex body of information, but in many respects it mirrors the racial complexity of American society. Once it seemed possible to frame race and ethnicity in American society entirely as a matter of black and white. The changing nature of American society, however, now demands an approach that allows for myriad forms of racial identification, and data will undoubtedly be even more complex in the future.

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C. Matthew Snipp

## DEW, THOMAS RODERICK 1802–1846

In the wake of the Nat Turner rebellion of 1831, which took the lives of fifty-seven whites in Southampton County, Virginia, and startled slaveholders throughout the South, the Virginia House of Delegates conducted an

intense debate in 1832 over the institution of slavery itself throughout the South. Although the numbers of whites and blacks directly involved was small, with about seventy slave rebels in Turner’s band, the census of 1830 showed that Virginia contained 694,306 whites to 462,031 blacks, including 47,348 free blacks. As a direct result of the insurrection, more than 200 potential slave insurgents were executed; throughout the South, tighter rules were enacted for controlling blacks, free and unfree. Racial membership was seen literally as a matter of life and death.

The idea that any white person could lose his or her life in a slave uprising raised new fundamental issues about the institution of slavery, issues related to justice, safety, property rights, governance, economic value, moral effects, racial status, emancipation, colonization, and the “good” society. The members of the Virginia assembly were aware of the abolition of slavery in Mexico in 1829, as well as the decision of the British government to terminate slavery in the English-speaking West Indies. In January and February 1832 the legislators intensely debated the pros and cons of these issues. When the debates ended with the legality of slavery unchanged but the state seriously divided between its western sections, with few slaves, and the rest of the state, with the nation’s largest proportion of blacks, Governor John Floyd requested Thomas R. Dew to write a document to temper the effects of the debates. Dew, a thirty-year-old professor at the College of William and Mary, responded with *Review of the Debate in the Virginia Legislature of 1831 and 1832*.

Born into an affluent family in King and Queen County in Virginia on December 5, 1802, Thomas Roderick Dew studied history, metaphysics, political economy, law, and government at William and Mary College in Virginia. Following his graduation in 1820 at the early age of eighteen, he toured Europe and studied philosophy in Germany before returning to the United States. In 1826 his alma mater hired him to teach history and political economy, and subsequently appointed him in 1836 to serve as its thirteenth president, a position he held to his death of pneumonia in Paris in 1846.

What follows is a summary of the primary points made in Dew’s *Review of the Debate in the Virginia Legislature of 1831 and 1832*.

Dew held that, overall, slavery was good for the South and the enslaved blacks. He noted that slavery had not only been part of human history since antiquity, but the Bible also sanctioned it. He chastised—as inexperienced youthful males who were swayed by the enchantments of ill-advised so-called humanitarians—the Virginian lawmakers who supported an aspect of Thomas Jefferson’s idea. (Although he accepted Jefferson’s racist views about blacks, Dew strongly opposed the black colonization vision that the former had stressed in his book *Notes on the State of Virginia*).

Dew supported slavery and used racist, religious, and moral sentiments, among others, to justify the perpetuation of slavery, precisely because he felt that Virginia and the rest of America would not survive economically or materially without slavery. He hypothesized that southern states would suffer from permanent famine if slavery were immediately abolished. He added that such a famine would be so severe that resources from other states in the Union would not eradicate it.

Perhaps referencing the chaos brought by the abolition of slavery in Haiti and other Caribbean islands in the 1790s and 1830, Dew echoed his opposition to immediate abolition of slavery when he implied that the replacement of enslaved labor with free labor in society would only bring social disruptions and calamities to such a society. To morally validate the continuation of slavery, Dew noted that any immediate abolition of slavery would only bring devastation to both former masters and slaves.

In line with his racist view, Dew noted that slavery changed the slaves from indolent and childlike Africans to a proficient workforce that cultivated crops, such as rice, sugar cane, tobacco, and cotton, and that helped to enrich America and other countries. He further noted that slavery, together with the racism used to justify slavery, was good in another sense because it was obviously helping to alleviate the tension that existed between the privileged and poor white classes in the antebellum South.

Dew's statement that most slave-masters were good to their slaves was apparently intended to provide a further justification for the perpetuation of slavery, because the view implied that slavery was beneficial to the slaves as well as to the masters, and therefore there was no moral justification for its abolition.

Dew's implication was that most slaves showed sincere affection for their masters, because according to him, they received paternal, benevolent treatment from them. Another example of Dew's use of racism to rationalize the continuation of slavery is his view that the enslaved blacks would become the most insignificant and lazy of all Americans if slavery were abolished.

As noted, Dew not only attacked the supporters of abolition of slavery, but he also strongly rebuffed the American Colonization Society's (ACS) attempt to colonize blacks on the coast of West Africa. To turn Southern planters against the ACS, Dew inconsistently envisaged that any regular expatriation of blacks from America would simply increase the cost of slaves, hearten slave procreation, increase the population of blacks in America, and overall would bring about irredeemable economic ruin to the antebellum South. He reminded Southerners as well as Northerners that there was nothing as risky as the attempt on the part of the ACS to tamper with the population of

blacks. He added that such a move would increase the population of black people so dramatically that ACS would be unable to accommodate it. Dew declared that the colonization scheme was nothing but madness. He cautioned that if the scheme were to be carried out, it would destroy a large portion of Virginia's wealth, together with its proud history and material achievements.

Thomas Dew's publication was widely distributed and became the pro-slavery guidebook in the Deep South, giving much aid and comfort to those who may have once felt that something was not right in the buying and selling of human beings.

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Amos J. Beyan

## DIABETES

Starting in the second half of the twentieth century, the prevalence of non-insulin-dependent (type 2) diabetes increased substantially in many populations and ethnic groups, including African Americans, Native Americans, Mexicans Americans, and Pacific Islanders. Diabetes is a metabolic disorder characterized by an inability to regulate blood sugar. The increase in this disease is clearly related to shifts in diet and lifestyle. While some researchers have proposed that it is related to genetic factors, other researchers point to stressful and challenging life conditions resulting from poverty and social inequality.

## THE EPIDEMIOLOGY OF TYPE 2 DIABETES MELLITUS

More than 90 percent of all diabetics have type 2 diabetes. Unlike the more rare form of the disease, type 1 diabetes, people with type 2 diabetes produce insulin and therefore seldom need therapeutic insulin at the initial onset of the disease. Type 2 diabetes is considered a late-onset chronic disease and is associated with risk factors such as increased obesity, dietary fat intake, smoking, and low physical activity. Racism, stress, and socioeconomic status have also been implicated in the development of diabetes. Diabetes is diagnosed by measuring the percentage of red blood cells that are bound with glucose. There is no cure for diabetes, but the traditional treatment includes alterations in diet, exercise, and drug therapies to control glucose metabolism.

Prevalence rates follow a strikingly similar pattern in varied populations. For First Nations Canadian men and women, age-adjusted prevalence rates are 3.6 and 5.5 times higher, respectively, than among the general Canadian population. Among Indigenous Australians, the prevalence rates are almost four times higher than the rate for the non-Indigenous population. Researchers comparing age-adjusted prevalence rates for Nigerians and people of African origin living elsewhere found diabetes rates were 2.5 to 5 times higher for those living in the Caribbean and United Kingdom. In the United States, the National Institute of Diabetes and Digestive and Kidney Diseases (NIDDK) estimates that at least 8 to 10 percent of all Latinos, African Americans, and Native Americans aged twenty years or older have diabetes. The comparable prevalence rates for non-Hispanic whites is 4.8 percent.

According to the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), diabetes is the seventh leading cause of death in the United States. The World Health Organization (WHO) has called diabetes an emerging epidemic, with more than 16 million people affected in the United States and millions more in the rapidly urbanizing Southern Hemisphere and China. According to the WHO, approximately 366 million people worldwide will have diabetes by 2025. The very similar epidemiological patterns that exist for U.S. minorities, First Nations Canadians, Indigenous Australians, peoples of the African diaspora, and peoples of the Pacific Islands strongly indicate that diabetes disproportionately affects subordinated groups around the world.

## COMPETING ETIOLOGICAL HYPOTHESES: NURTURE VERSUS NATURE

Type 2 diabetes (hereafter referred to simply as diabetes), like heart disease, hypertension, and asthma, is a complex disease because its putative risks lay in both environmental and biological domains. That is, diabetes

is caused by an as yet unknown combination of factors such as lifestyle, diet, physical activity, and an array of physiological triggers. The relative overburden of diabetes on people whose social histories contain violent and radical disruptions of their lifeways has not resulted in any real agreement about its cause. Rather, diabetes has engendered competing etiological hypotheses. For simplicity, these three competing theories will be named the social conditions, the fetal origins, and the thrifty genotype hypothesis respectively.

Research into the social conditions that impact diabetogenesis has generated considerable evidence for the link between stress and glucose metabolic impairment. Life conditions such as experiences of racism, poverty, and job insecurity have all been associated with measured levels of elevated blood glucose. These findings clearly suggest that the epidemiological patterns of diabetes reflect sociocultural conditions in nonrandom ways. For example, the increased prevalence of diabetes within Native American, Latino, and African-American groups can be attributed to the differential experiences of social inequality these groups endure compared to nonwhite Hispanics. Similarly, the increasing rates of diabetes in geographic areas where human populations are rapidly moving to urban areas suggests that the disease may be an index of the stressors of rural-to-urban migration and lifeways disruptions resulting from the profound political and economic dislocations required for flexible labor markets.



**Controlling Diabetes.** A diabetic receives information from a dietician on the use of a blood sugar monitor. In the United States, the National Institute of Diabetes and Digestive and Kidney Diseases (NIDDK) estimates that at least 8 to 10 percent of all Latinos, African Americans, and Native Americans twenty years old or older have diabetes. AP IMAGES.

Researchers looking for physiological causes of diabetes investigate conditions during fetal development as primarily responsible for the disease. This hypothesis, also called the thrifty phenotype hypothesis, the developmental hypothesis, or the fetal origins hypothesis, proposes that poor fetal conditions, such as those that cause low birth weight, impair the in-utero development of the glucose-insulin physiological systems. Research in a number of populations and animal studies suggests that the fetus adapts itself to its developmental environment as a preparatory response to postnatal life conditions. Because low birth weight is also associated with the deprivations often linked to social inequality, the fetal origins hypothesis implicates historical and contemporary systems of social stratification as causally linked to disease outcomes in groups with these experiences. Fetal origins research offers physiological evidence that social and environmental conditions related to social inequality can impact developmental gene expression and lead to impaired health in adult life.

The other dominant theory for the pronounced differences in the prevalence of diabetes, and perhaps the oldest, is the thrifty genotype hypothesis. Research into this hypothesis attempts to explain disparities in disease patterns between human groups as a function of evolutionary pressures. One of the oldest gene-based theories of chronic disease causation, the thrifty genotype hypothesis postulates the existence of an evolutionarily and advantageous genetic predisposition to the efficient metabolic storage and utilization of caloric energy—a predisposition rendered “maladaptive” by the contemporary widespread overabundance of food. The thrifty genotype hypothesis has enjoyed more than four decades of concerted research attention, coinciding with, and in many respects developing alongside, the molecular revolution.

In this model, disparities in diabetes between various ethnoracial groups are often attributed to the genetic triggering of the “thrifty genes” that are presumed to result from the transition to urban, sedentary lifestyles. The original proponent of the thrifty genotype hypothesis, geneticist James Neel (1915–2000), considered diabetes a condition of environmental origins. In his final statement on diabetes, Neel found “no support to the notion that high frequency of NIDDM [non-insulin-dependent diabetes mellitus] in reservation Amerindians might be due simply to an ethnic predisposition—rather, it must predominantly reflect lifestyle changes” (Neel 1999, p. S3). Still, the thrifty genotype model has widespread allegiance and fuels millions of dollars in research activity.

#### **RACIALIZATION: SOCIAL DESCRIPTIONS VERSUS BIOLOGICAL ATTRIBUTIONS**

The technical, methodological, and conceptual premises of the gene-based hypothesis have engendered consider-

able ethical debates surrounding the use of socially labeled populations for studies of complex diseases like diabetes. Underlying these current debates are laudable goals of disease prevention and harm reduction for all persons, especially descendants of the formerly enslaved or colonized. Yet the persistence of these concerns, in and out of academe, signals a fundamentally sociocultural phenomenon that will not be resolved by attention to analytical considerations alone and will involve complex sociological and cultural factors.

First, owing to advances in genomic biology, genetics-based models of diabetes causation now have considerable advantages in competition for research attention. Researchers claim that finding genetic contributions to complex diseases is the first step to understanding physiology and subsequent drug interventions. In nations where public health infrastructures are already suffering from neglect, the policy impulse to advance a gene-based research that promises drug therapies for the most costly diseases is understandable. Yet while public health interventions to prevent tobacco use, require seat belts, provide prenatal care, and make vaccinations widely available have been proven to be cost effective, no such proof exists for gene-based research into complex diseases such as diabetes. Thus, there is reason to dispute the high investment in capital and human talent for scientific hypotheses that have little translatable application toward disease prevention and treatment.

Second, the use of genetic variation hypotheses to explain ethnoracial differences in complex diseases is a particular form of racialization, which is “a dialectical process by which meaning is attributed to particular biological features of human beings, as a result of which individuals may be assigned to a general category of persons that reproduces itself biologically” (Miles and Brown 2003, p. 102). In other words, racialization is the attribution of innate fixed biological differences between human groups labeled with ethnic, cultural, national, political, or geographical taxonomies. It does not refer to descriptive taxonomic structures, which are the labels humans use to identify themselves or others. Rather, racialization occurs when these descriptions are used in a manner that ascribes a somatic innate and fixed difference between the labeled groups. In the descriptive mode, the labels black, African American, Latino, Mexicano, or white are labels used as identifiers. Yet these identifiers have been shown time and again to be historically and situationally determined, unreliable, and invalid proxies for biological human differences.

Socially derived group labels, at best, work like pronouns, always requiring specification and never defining the person or thing to which the pronoun refers. In the attributive mode, these labels are used to ascribe fixed, innate attributes to the bodies of human groups. This



occurs, for example, when geneticists studying diabetes use “Mexicano” as a label and attach to it the meanings of biological features that differentiate Mexicanos from other human groups. When inequalities of morbidity and mortality of a disease such as diabetes are explained or hypothesized as a condition of innate and fixed biological differences among groups, the existence of sociopolitical inequalities between human groups are effectively overlooked, and the related embodied health outcomes are, by default, attributed to biological differences.

Racialization must be distinguished from the descriptions of humans used in studies that measure different health outcomes not attributed to evolution or to the discovery of biogenetic characteristics of one human group. These studies use ethnoracial labels to describe the social histories of health phenomena, the social epidemiology of disease, and the health consequences of sociopolitical phenomena—or to simply socially identify those human groups most impacted by a disease. A non-racialized understanding of disease patterns avoids the biological determinism that is inherent in racialization.

#### DIABETES AS A BIOCULTURAL DISEASE

As a racializing practice, gene-based approaches to diabetes advance the myth that biology can explain social phenomena. In fact, considerable evidence suggests that biology and social phenomena are co-produced, that biological and social phenomena develop in mutually interdependent ways. In its most crude form, this is evident when genetic researchers use social labels to describe human groups, which renders their findings both biological and social in origin. Similarly, researchers using evolutionary models for complex diseases require genetic samples of the populations most impacted by diabetes. They are thus investigating the physiological impact of social stratification and the radical lifestyle transformation required of advanced capitalism.

Viewing complex disease through a genetic lens is a long-established sociocultural phenomenon, one that has been applied to diseases such as sickle-cell anemia, hypertension, and diabetes. For diabetes, the alleged metabolic adaptation within the thrifty genotype hypothesis presumes that hunter-gatherers experienced severe episodes of feast and famine. Selective evolutionary pressures would therefore favor those whose metabolism would best convert glucose to fat for use during periods of food scarcity. Contemporary human groups impacted by diabetes are viewed as genetically predisposed to the disease by virtue of their current similarity to the lifeways of earlier humans. However, both the extent of the feast-and-famine cycles of hunter-gatherers and the association of contemporary human groups with early human lifeways are unsubstantiated premises, relying on presumed

rather than empirically supported benefits of modernity. The widespread adherence to the evolutionary hypothesis of diabetes (and the considerable resources directed toward such studies) is another iteration of a race theory that advances the cultural notion that diabetes affects human groups differently because of innate genetic differences.

Examining diabetes as an evolutionary trait denies the impact of the social dislocation, dispossession, colonization, slavery, racism, and other sociohistorical impact on those groups affected by diabetes. For example, the groups most disproportionately impacted by diabetes, Native Americans, experienced extreme deprivations during the violent dispossession of their lands and subsequent attempts by white settlers to eradicate them. It is the children and grandchildren of those born during this period who now suffer disproportionately from diabetes. These conditions support the fetal origins hypotheses and do not require the logical leap that such recent experiences could have evolutionary significance, and thus result in genotypic human variation. Thus, the widespread adherence to the genetic predisposition thesis for diabetes reflects a dominant cultural way of making sense of relations between groups impacted by the disease.

In order to understand the causes of diabetes, its evolutionary hypothesis must be seen as fitting not the natural history of the disease, but rather the ideological premise of a subordinating majority whose scientists refuse to seriously account for the social history of those peoples most impacted by the disease. Researchers seriously interested in preventing diabetes would greatly benefit by approaching the disease in ethnoracial groups as a biocultural phenomenon. To avoid merely reproducing another unprovable evolutionary genetic predisposition claim, researchers must carefully investigate diabetes as the biological impact of economic and sociocultural changes for human life. This requires uncommon multidisciplinary methods spanning the biological and social sciences and humanities. More importantly, researchers must actively counter the racialized hypothesis of genetic predisposition, especially in research into health inequalities among minority and emerging majority groups in parts of the world with high levels of ethnoracial stratification and an unequal distribution of resources. In short, researchers must recognize the link between diabetes and institutional racism.

SEE ALSO *Diseases, Racial.*

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## DIE BROEDERBOND

SEE *Afrikaner Broederbond*.

## DISCRIMINATION

SEE *Social Psychology of Racism*.

## DISEASES, RACIAL

A historical discussion about diseases defined along racial lines is an important part of examining the origins of concepts and ideologies of race. First, the association of particular diseases with certain racial groups was a central part of the project of identifying the so-called immutable differences between blacks and whites, particularly in the United States. Comparative anatomy and morbidity and mortality statistics are only some of the ways in which differences between whites and blacks were usefully delineated. Second, the notion of racial disease factored heavily into initiatives to prevent racial mixing. Therefore, an examination of racial disease is important in understanding how the threat of miscegenation was historically understood and articulated. Third, racial diseases are an ideal site for exploring the constantly shifting meanings and definitions of race, as the association of diseases with certain races often required the shifting of boundaries within and between racial groups. Finally, an examination of racial diseases is helpful in identifying how gender bears on the construction of racial difference. While African Americans were generally targeted as a source of disease in the United States, the bodies of men and women were differentially involved in the construction of racial difference, not to mention differentially affected by these constructions.

The discussion that follows centers on notions of racial disease primarily developed in the United States during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This is an ideal period of focus because information is readily available and notions of race were crystallized and demonstrated in a variety of ways during this time.

### MEDICAL SCIENCE AND RACIAL THINKING

Medical language and research played an important role in constructing and reinforcing racial difference. Attributing certain diseases to particular racial groups helped to create and reinforce existing social beliefs in racial difference and in the immutable fixity among races. In addition to diagnostic methods, the linking of certain diseases to certain racial groups by medical scientists was accomplished through the use of analogy and metaphor. Nancy Leys Stepan, in *Race and Medicine: The Role of Analogy in Science* (1993), states that analogies were used to create relationships between previously unrelated elements. In the case of racial disease, a naturalized association between blackness and certain illnesses was constructed. Metaphors were used for the same purpose, allowing for the explanation of cultural elements in biological terms. It is important to note that these are the same methods social authorities use to promote these ideas. This underscores the

point that scientific practices and knowledge reflected existing social and political ideas.

The metaphor most central to this project was that of blood. Anthropological research such as that conducted by Audrey Smedley in *Race in North America: Origin and Evolution of a Worldview* (1999) indicates that since the sixteenth century, blood was central to the belief in the heredity of social status. While not yet associated with physical traits or a “racial” type, this notion of blood suggested a fixity of difference in social qualities believed to be transmitted biologically. Arguably, this implication contributed to blood becoming a fundamental element of kin, character, and biological identity beginning in the eighteenth century. Therefore, when racial and physical traits became prominent in scientific and social thinking, the physical, cultural, and social differences between racial groups were also tied to differences in blood. The differences between whites and blacks in terms of physical, intellectual, and cultural characteristics reflected a difference in blood as well. This logic was useful in reinforcing notions of biological difference beyond physiognomy, which helped to lay the groundwork for the numerous publications, research projects, and public discussions that began in the nineteenth century about Negroes’ susceptibility to and propensity for certain diseases. As a result, certain diseases came to be labeled as “Negro diseases.”

#### THE “NEGRO PROBLEM”

It is important to note that the discourse around Negro diseases developed concurrently with discussions about the place of the formerly enslaved in U.S. society. This is because it was feared that blacks, without being properly confined within the institution of slavery, would fall into a state of poor health and behavior that would have a negative effect on the existing social order and threaten the safety of the white population. Scientists and physicians were called upon to explain and resolve this “Negro problem.”

In keeping with existing studies that typed the Negro as the lowest in the hierarchy of humankind on the basis of physical traits, it was generally accepted that the health of African Americans was better in bondage than in freedom. Historians such as Tara Hunter, in *To 'Joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women's Lives and Labors After the Civil War* (1997), note that many physicians studied the effects of emancipation on Negro health and found that after the Civil War, blacks showed a susceptibility to insanity, typhoid, syphilis, alcoholism, idiocy, and tuberculosis. Therefore, freedom caused blacks’ mental, moral, and physical deterioration, and many believed it would lead to the extinction of African Americans. In large part, this argument was substantiated by results of comparative morbidity and mortality studies.

Frederick Hoffman, a nineteenth-century statistician for the Prudential Insurance Company, reviewed the results of censuses and doctors’ and army surveys to put forth his extinction hypothesis in “Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro,” published in 1896. Hoffman’s statistical evidence suggested that the Negro was susceptible to many illnesses and constitutionally unfit for survival, and thus was destined to die out. Specifically, he argued that emancipation had allowed blacks to fall into immoral living habits resulting in a decline in their vital capacity and corresponding increase in their susceptibility to disease, especially tuberculosis and other respiratory diseases. He further argued that misguided efforts such as the educational work of philanthropists played a key role in their demise. According to Hoffman, these efforts were misdirected because Negro mortality is an indication of racial traits: “It is not in the conditions of life, but in the race traits and tendencies that we find the causes of excessive mortality” (p. 95).

Responses to Hoffman’s extinction hypothesis were mixed. Many of the refutations, some from white researchers, were based on the fact that his primary data sources were incomplete and included inadequate information on African Americans. African American scholar Kelly Miller pointed out these shortcomings in his “Review of Hoffman’s Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro” (1897). In addition, he argued that Hoffman did not give enough weight to environmental conditions as an influence on Negro health and mortality. W. E. B. Du Bois also refuted Hoffman’s conclusions on these grounds in a 1906 paper titled “The Health and Physique of the Negro American.” Du Bois stressed the difficulty of racial classification and accepting a monolithic image of the race. Regardless of the agreement or disagreement with Hoffman’s extinction hypothesis, labeling diseases in terms of race was generally accepted during this period, almost always involving the exaggeration or misinterpretation of statistics.

The following discussion provides examples of three diseases labeled as “Negro diseases” in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Each highlights the utility of examining racial diseases.

**Syphilis.** Siobhan Somerville, in *Queering the Color Line: Race and the Invention of Homosexuality in American Culture* (2000), notes that beginning in the nineteenth century, sexuality was used as a primary means for establishing racial difference and the hierarchy between whites and blacks. Negroes were thought to possess an excessive sexual desire that was seen as a threat to white society. As such, blacks were especially prone to venereal disease. As with other diseases, the high incidence of syphilis was attributed in part to emancipation. Some doctors, such as H. L. McNeil in “Syphilis in the Southern American

Negro” (1915), determined that while virtually free of disease as slaves, over 50 percent of all free Negroes were prone to venereal disease. This in turn caused the high numbers of stillbirths that caused the population to dwindle, as well as increased criminal behavior and insanity. These exaggerations aided in the demonization of blacks as a threat to white society and in predictions of their extinction.

There are two important gender dimensions to the construction of syphilis as a “Negro disease.” One particular feature of blacks’ hypersexuality doctors noted was black males’ desire for white women, something thought to be specific to the Negro racial character. Neither syphilis nor the hypersexuality of black men was seen as a threat to black women because they were also characterized as hypersexual. While black males were the focus of discussions regarding syphilis, the examination of black female bodies provided the historical basis for establishing sexual differences that reflected racial differences. Specifically, Cuvier’s nineteenth-century anatomical study of Sarah Baartman, outlined in “Account of a Dissection of a Bushwoman” by Flower and Murie (1867), also known as the “Hottentot Venus,” initiated the practice of locating the boundaries of race through the bodies of African women. African women’s (and later African American women’s) bodies were characterized in terms of excess, especially the sexual organs, which supposedly placed her body outside the boundaries of normalcy. Her anatomy was explained by her characteristically unladylike hypersexuality. Therefore, black women were also marked as sexually deviant and diseased in their “natural” state.

While the Tuskegee experiment is a well-known demonstration of these beliefs, medical research on the prevalence of syphilis among blacks conducted beforehand during the 1920s and 1930s contested these ideas. A study funded by the Julius Rosenwald fund in 1929 actually illustrated the success of mass treatment for syphilis among blacks in Macon County, Alabama, but the results were ignored. Rather, the high prevalence of syphilis in the county was interpreted as “an unusual opportunity” to conduct a natural study of the disease. This perspective reflects the generally accepted idea that blacks, in their “natural state,” were diseased. In addition, this logic contributed to the lack of consideration for socioeconomic factors when examining black health. The biological basis of the Negro had to be accepted as unchangeable. Not surprisingly, the exaggeration of statistics was central to the construction of this naturalized state. U.S. Public Health Service physicians at the helm of the Tuskegee experiment argued that “lust and immoralities, unstable families, reversion to barbaric tendencies” made blacks especially prone to venereal diseases. Allan Brandt, in “Racism and Research: The Case of the Tuskegee Syphilis Study” (2000), states that some doctors “estimated” that over 50 percent of blacks over the age of twenty-five were

syphilitic. In reality, the rates of syphilis fell way below expectations. Therefore, research revealed more about the pathology of racism than the pathology of syphilis.

**Tuberculosis.** The high incidence of tuberculosis was also attributed to both the freedom and hypersexuality of blacks and was seen as a harbinger of their eventual extinction. However, during the antebellum period, tuberculosis was thought of as a white disease. Susan Craddock, in *City of Plagues: Disease, Poverty and Deviance in San Francisco* (1997), states that specifically it was a disease of standing, associated with the upper and artistic classes. Tuberculosis was transformed into a black disease only after the “quarantine effect” of slavery was removed.

In the segregated South, black female domestic workers were targeted in particular as disease vectors for tuberculosis. It was generally accepted that they infected whites (in most cases their employers) as a result of their daily movement between black and white worlds. Black women were targeted not only because of their mobility in and out of white households but also because of the stereotypes about black female hypersexuality. Whites considered black women as “naturally promiscuous” and depicted them as seducers of “innocent white boys.” Their bodies were receptacles for dangerous germs, including venereal diseases and tuberculosis. As such, they were considered a threat to white society.

Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, medical research was constantly focused on determining whether tuberculosis assumed a unique form in the Negro. During the 1830s, U.S. physicians such as Louis Yandell (1831) published articles in medical journals about “Negro consumption,” “struma Africana,” and “Negro poisoning.” As indicated by the terms, doctors argued that this form of consumption was specific to blacks and was a more acute type than that found among whites. During the Civil War, black Union Army soldiers were subjected to batteries of tests and measurements to the end of identifying disease susceptibilities. The results of this study indicated that Negroes had an inferior lung capacity to whites. According to Hunt (1869), the Negro had a smaller “tropical lung” that could not function adequately in temperate climates. Although initial comparative research on Negro and white lungs was inconclusive, the inferior lung theory persisted into the twentieth century.

Researchers were also preoccupied with the possibility of isolating characteristics of susceptibility in the population. In keeping with the exploration of the “Negro problem,” these inquiries were made to the end of identifying how Negroes, now uncomfortably situated within U.S. society, were beings different from whites. The issues of Negro increase or decline in the population and the prospects of race mixing were also in the forefront of the

minds of scientists. Whites were worried about the proximity of a race considered to be a vector for disease.

Research on tuberculosis gained renewed fervor in the wake of emancipation, as rates among Negroes increased. Marion Torchia, in "Tuberculosis Among Negroes: Medical Research on a Racial Disease, 1830–1950" (1977), states that the statistics on Negro mortality from tuberculosis factored heavily in the prediction of Negro extinction. As with discussions of syphilis, emancipation allowed blacks to fall into immoral living habits resulting in a decline in their vital capacity and an increase in their susceptibility. However, some scholars (e.g., Holmes 1937) countered this logic by emphasizing consideration of socioeconomic factors in the prevalence of the disease. Others pointed out the misinterpretation of mortality statistics, arguing that results showed that Negro deaths from consumption fluctuated according to population density.

Research on Negro susceptibility to tuberculosis fell out of popularity in the late 1930s. By the 1950s, racial studies of tuberculosis were deemed particularly suspect in light of racial integration initiatives and the role that antibiotics played in nearly eradicating the disease.

**Sickle Cell Anemia.** Sickle cell anemia was first discovered in 1910. The disease was recognized as a Mendelian dominant disorder specific to African Americans. Therefore, it could be spread by an individual parent who carried the trait to her or his offspring. As with the other diseases discussed, this perception of heredity and the nature of the disease reflected concerns about race mixing and the general dangers of associating with Negroes brought about by emancipation. By 1925, cases of sickle cell in whites were being reported in medical journals. Rather than leading to a broader conceptualization of the disease as affecting multiple races, these cases confirmed that the disease could be spread through miscegenation: "Its occurrence depends entirely on the presence of Negro blood, even in extremely small amounts it appears that the sine qua non for the occurrence of sickle cell anemia is the presence of a strain, even remote, of Negro blood" ("Sickle Cell Anemia" 1947, p. 33).

Keith Wailoo, in "Genetic Marker of Segregation: Sickle Cell Anemia, Thalassemia and Racial Ideology in American Medical Writing, 1920–1950" (1996), states that in the 1910s and 1920s, the development of methods to identify individuals with blood that had the potential or tendency to sickle led to statistically tying sickling to race. Physicians became heavily engaged in research to confirm that sickle cell anemia was specific to the Negro. This included sampling the blood of hundreds of individuals as well as studies of individual families. Again, because of the detection of sickling among whites, attention turned to investigating this particular problem.



**Sickle-Cell Anemia Patient.** *An African-American patient suffering from sickle-cell anemia receives a blood transfusion. This hereditary disorder mostly affects people of African ancestry, and about 70,000 Americans suffer from the disease.* CUSTOM MEDICAL STOCK PHOTO.

Such diagnostic techniques reproduced and reflected the dominant ideology, as scientists took for granted the distinction between black and white bodies. Research was used to confine sickle cell anemia to the black body and to represent the distinctiveness between black and white bodies as a product of indisputable scientific evidence. Therefore, sickle cell was employed as a test to specify who was black and white, as well as an instrument for policing the boundaries between these groups.

Diagnosing sickling in a person presumed to be white called the true racial identity of the person into question. During the 1940s, literature on individuals who could not easily be identified as black increased. In most cases, the articles made clear that the identification of sickle cells led to a closer examination of family background. Specifically, physiognomy, geography, and genealogy were relied on to clarify the picture. Faces were examined for evidence of admixture, and genealogies were examined for places of family origin where "significant crossbreeding" between blacks and whites took place. As such, the medical practice of revealing black ancestry in apparently white individuals

became commonplace. This information was used to explain sickling among whites as the result of association with blacks in the remote past. Justifying the presence of sickle cell in white populations was achieved through means such as noting the geographical proximity of a country to Africa or identifying “Negro strains” in seemingly isolated populations because of historical events, such as Hannibal’s invasion of Spain.

Ironically, at the same time that this logic reinforced racial boundaries between blacks and whites, it also led to the creation of new criteria for defining and identifying true whiteness. A new set of lines was essentially drawn around the white body rather than accepting the occurrence of sickling in the population. In other words, medical authorities used the emergence of these cases to reveal black ancestry in people who only appeared to be white, thus refining the technique of determining who was and was not “racially pure.” As noted by Melbourne Tapper (1995), this line of thinking destabilized the notion of whiteness being solely identifiable by skin color and other physical features at the same time that it reinforced the notion of racial fixity. The necessity for shifting racial boundaries to maintain racial fixity is one of the many reasons that race was rarely defined in the literature pertaining to research on racial diseases.

#### CONTINUED CLASSIFICATION

Each of the three diseases discussed here reveals different elements of the historical construction of racial disease. Misconceptions about syphilis reflected the way in which racial difference was constructed through an association with abnormal sexuality. Discussions about the etiology of tuberculosis indicate, among other things, the reliance upon differential physiology in delineating racial difference. The dilemma raised in the case of sickle cell speaks to the important role that disease played in creating meaning around the concept of racial purity, as well as identifying it. All three cases illustrate how maintaining racial boundaries was privileged over disease treatment and prevention. They also underscore the fact that race, be it in the past or present, is not solely articulated on the visible surface of the body.

Arguably, this practice of seeking and finding racial difference “below the skin” factors heavily into understanding what became of racial diseases. A vast amount of research in the biological sciences over the past 35 years confirms that human diversity cannot be genetically organized into racial categories. However, the rise of genetic technologies has fostered explanations of disease associated with “inherited predisposition.” As with racial diseases, the notion of “genetic disease” is at odds with epidemiological evidence that health disparities can be attributed to social and historical factors. In addition, summaries of genetics

research result in the scientific and popular press often including the use of racial groups to delineate the “increased risk” that some individuals have to certain diseases. These summaries wrongfully imply that race is both a genetic reality and useful category for understanding differences in disease frequencies between human groups (Braun 2002).

**SEE ALSO** *Hottentot Venus; Medical Racism; Mental Health and Racism; Sexuality; Sickle Cell Anemia.*

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## DIXON, THOMAS, JR. 1864–1946

Thomas Dixon Jr. was born January 11, 1864, in Shelby, North Carolina. He is best known for his racist novel *The Clansman* (1905), which served as the basis for D. W. Griffith's infamous film *The Birth of a Nation* (1915). Throughout his long artistic career as a lecturer, playwright, filmmaker, and novelist, Dixon railed about the horrors of Reconstruction, the inferiority of African Americans, and the dangers of miscegenation. Whereas he was popular in his day, especially in the South, his strident views on race have left his name tainted in history.

### EARLY YEARS

Dixon was born the son of Thomas Dixon Sr., a Baptist minister, and Amanda Evira McAfee, the daughter of a wealthy plantation owner. Growing up in the rural South in the midst of Reconstruction left an indelible mark on the young Dixon. He would always characterize this era as one of history's greatest tragedies, a time when good southerners suffered at the hands of corrupt northerners and freed slaves. It was also during this period that Dixon became acquainted with the Ku Klux Klan. His most direct influence came from his uncle, Leroy McAfee, who later in life became a leader of the original Ku Klux Klan in Cleveland County, North Carolina. Dixon would go on to justify the original Klan's actions in his writings, his plays, and his lectures as a harsh but necessary response to a desperate situation. For him, black freedom meant disaster in mainstream public life and miscegenation in private life.

From 1879 to 1883 Dixon attended Wake Forest College, and upon graduation he enrolled at Johns Hopkins University. Dixon was an excellent student, but he soon realized that theater was his true love. He decided to drop out and attend Frobisher's School of Drama in New York City. Unfortunately, the tall, lanky Dixon was awkward on stage, and his dream of becoming an actor ended quickly. After returning home to Shelby, North Carolina, in 1885, he served a term as a state legislator, earned his law degree, and married Harriet Bussey in 1886.

Dixon soon found a new audience as an ordained Baptist minister. Beginning in 1887, Dixon would go on to hold several ministerial posts over the next decade, including with the Dudley Street Church in Boston and the Twenty-third Street Baptist Church in New York City. As one biographer has noted, Dixon was a "flamboyant and sensationalist preacher," whose mastery of oratory skills and penchant for showmanship gained him a popular following (Slide 2004, p. 20). His sermons from the pulpit were joined by lucrative lecture tours that, by 1897, made him a very wealthy man. He was known for appealing to the emotions of the crowd, and his favorite topics included the plight of the working man and, especially in the South, the evils of Reconstruction.

### WORKS

Dixon's first novel, *The Leopard's Spots* (1902), was written as a satirical sequel to Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which he condemned for its gross misrepresentation and mistreatment of southerners (Cook 1968, p. 51). Appropriating a number of Stowe's characters, including Simon Legree and George Harrison, Dixon wrote an emotionally charged, melodramatic novel of white southern victimization by vengeful former slaves and scheming carpetbaggers. *The Leopard's Spots* was the first part of Dixon's best-selling "Trilogy of Reconstruction," which also included his most famous novel, *The Clansman* (1905), and *The Traitor* (1907).

Most notable in these works is Dixon's treatment of race. His African-American characters are racist stereotypes. He portrayed black men as highly sexualized, brutish beings driven by their desire to violate white southern women. Dixon felt that African Americans were a threat to white purity, and he railed in his trilogy against the perils of miscegenation. In Dixon's novels, the horrors of Reconstruction only end with the emergence of the Klan and the reestablishment of white rule in the South through the use of lynching, Jim Crow laws, and the disenfranchisement of African Americans. This theme is most fully developed in *The Clansman*, in which Dixon presents the robed and hooded horsemen as modern day medieval knights out to protect the white southern population from harm. While Dixon claimed to have opposed slavery and argued that he had no sympathy for the modern Ku Klux Klan, he was a committed segregationist, believing that miscegenation and racial integration would destroy white American civilization in the South.

Dixon's other notable novels include another trilogy, comprising *The One Woman* (1903), *Comrades* (1909), and *The Root of Evil* (1911). These books focus on the evils of socialism and communism. Over his lifetime, Dixon wrote twenty-two novels, a number of plays, numerous sermons, and other works of nonfiction.

Dixon was well aware of the theatrical potential of his novels, and he labored diligently to bring his works to the stage. He wrote the script for the play version of *The Clansman*, which opened in Norfolk, Virginia, on September 22, 1905. Like his novels, the production was a melodramatic spectacle, complete with live horses carrying hooded Klansmen on stage. Dixon would go on to adapt several of his novels for the stage, including *The One Woman* (1903), *The Traitor* (1907), and *The Sins of the Father* (1912).

An early admirer of motion pictures, Dixon sought to get his play *The Clansman* onto the movie screen as early as 1910. After two attempts at producing the film failed, the project was taken over by D. W. Griffith, whose adaptation, *The Birth of a Nation*, opened in 1915. Whereas Dixon's storyline was the basis for the movie, Griffith was, by all accounts, the real creative force behind *The Birth of a Nation*. Dixon increased his wealth as the holder of a quarter interest in the film, which earned millions. Both Dixon and Griffith denied any responsibility for the inspiration the film provided to the creation of the modern Ku Klux Klan in the early twentieth century. Dixon went on to write a total of sixteen movie screenplays, including *The Fall of a Nation* (1916), *The Foolish Virgin* (1924), and *Nation Aflame* (1937).

#### LATER YEARS

Dixon's fame and fortune declined greatly in his later years. He lost nearly all of his money in the stock market crash of 1929, and by the 1930s he was no longer a popular author. In 1937 he gained modest employment as a court clerk in Raleigh, North Carolina. After suffering a cerebral hemorrhage in 1939, he was cared for by his second wife, Madelyn Donovan. Dixon died on April 3, 1946.

SEE ALSO *Birth of a Nation*, *The*.

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*Kevin Hicks*

## DOUGLASS, FREDERICK 1818–1895

Frederick Douglass was the black face of antislavery and civil rights in the United States from the mid-1840s until his death in 1895. As a speaker, writer, newspaper editor

and publisher, he influenced public opinion and perspectives about African Americans. His autobiography became a classic American literary masterpiece. A world-renowned orator, he battled slavery and racial segregation, and also championed women's rights. The masthead of his signature *North Star* newspaper carried the motto, "Right is of no sex—Truth is of no color—God is the Father of us all, and we are all Brethren."

Douglass was born on Maryland's Eastern Shore in February 1818. His mother was a slave named Harriet Bailey. Speculation held that his father was probably Aaron Anthony, his mother's white owner. Douglass stole himself from slavery on September 3, 1838, assisted by Anna Murray (1813–1882), a free black Baltimore resident whose savings supplemented his expenses. Forged seaman's protection papers got him from Baltimore to Philadelphia, and then to New York City, where he and Anna reunited and wed. The couple soon moved on to New Bedford, Massachusetts. Jettisoning parts of his birth name of Frederick Augustus Washington Bailey, he took his last name from the heroic character in *The Lady of the Lake*, a popular 1810 novel by the Scottish novelist and poet Sir Walter Scott. His renaming was both a break from the past and a disguise for the future.

In New Bedford, a haven for fugitive slaves, Frederick and Anna had three sons and two daughters in ten years. In August 1841 the radical American Anti-Slavery Society leader William Lloyd Garrison invited Douglass to speak against slavery to an audience of whites in Nantucket, Massachusetts. The precision and eloquence of his speaking ability stirred the audience, and Douglass soon became something of a living antislavery exhibit, recounting his experiences as a slave. He attacked American hypocrisy about freedom and he challenged the Christian pronouncements of U.S. churches. He mixed moral fervor with a vision of enlightenment democracy that challenged America to shun the prejudices and practices of white supremacy and embrace the egalitarianism of universal human rights.

Written to convince skeptics he had indeed been a bondsman, the first version of Douglass's autobiography, *The Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave* (1845), made him a national and international celebrity. However, as a fugitive slave, he stood liable under U.S. law to be captured and returned in chains to his legal owner, Thomas Auld. Reacting in part to the prospect of capture, and also to many invitations to speak abroad, Douglass sailed to Great Britain in 1845. He was lionized during a near two-year stay in England, Ireland, and Scotland, and the British bought his freedom for about seven hundred dollars.

Returning to the United States as a legally free man, Douglass struck out on his own, though his growing





**Frederick Douglass.** This portrait of Douglass appeared on the frontispiece of his 1845 autobiography, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*. SPECIAL COLLECTIONS LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.

independence caused a breach with Garrison. With \$2,174 from his British admirers, Douglass launched his *North Star* newspaper in December 1847. To imitators, he retitled the publication *Frederick Douglass' Paper* (1851–1860) and also produced *Douglass' Monthly* (1859–1863). He subsidized his publications with some \$12,000 of earnings from his public appearances.

On the editorial pages of the *North Star*, Douglass rejected Garrison's belief that moral suasion, rather than political action, was the best way to abolish slavery, and that the U.S. Constitution was primarily a proslavery document. He held instead that the Constitution's basic principles supported freedom. Responding in May 1857 to the U.S. Supreme Court's infamous *Dred Scott* decision which classified blacks as noncitizens, Douglass declared, "I base my sense of the certain overthrow of slavery, in part, upon the nature of the American Government, the Constitution, the tendencies of the age, and the character of the American people."

U.S. law was not inherently racist, Douglass argued. The law that elevated concepts of race and racism could also reduce and erase them. He persisted in this view even after the backlash of postwar Reconstruction reversed the nation's apparent progress, as reflected in the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the U.S. Con-

stitution. Douglass persisted in his quest to have the United States honor universal individual liberty, fully recognizing that the end to slavery had not ushered in equal rights.

While editing the *New National Era* newspaper in Washington, D.C., from 1870 to 1874, Douglass continued to speak and write for expanding civil rights. Yet the racially conservative politics of postbellum America increasingly shunted him from the national stage. Aligned with the Republican Party of Abraham Lincoln, and with the Constitutional amendments ending slavery and bestowing citizenship upon blacks, Douglass was increasingly dismissed as a mere partisan. Apparently unable to fully recognize the distinct differences of economic condition that beset the mass of blacks after slavery's end, Douglass's later voice oversimplified the efficacy of civil rights, middle-class uplift, and simple self-reliance amid violent white reaction and rising industrial capitalism's oppression.

Douglass's marriage to the white feminist Helen Pitts (1838–1903) in 1884, two years after Anna Murray's death, symbolized his commitment to racial integration and his sense that racism in America would end only when race in America was no longer visible. Prior to their marriage, Pitts worked for Douglass, and she later led the preservation work on their home on Cedar Hill in Washington, D.C. In the early twenty-first century the house is a national historic site visited by tens of thousands of tourists. Douglass died at home of a heart attack on Wednesday, February 20, 1895, just after appearing nearby at a meeting of the National Council of Women.

**SEE ALSO** *American Anti-Slavery Society*.

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Thomas J. Davis

## DRED SCOTT V. SANDFORD

*Dred Scott v. Sandford* is probably the most important Supreme Court case involving race and African Americans decided before the Civil War. The facts of the case are complicated, as is the lengthy opinion of the court, written by Chief Justice Roger B. Taney. But the implications for blacks and American race relations were profound.

### DRED SCOTT'S LIFE AND SUIT FOR FREEDOM

Dred Scott was born a slave in Virginia sometime between 1795 and 1800. In 1830 his owner, Peter Blow, moved to St. Louis, taking Scott with him. After Blow's death, Scott was sold to Dr. John Emerson, a U.S. Army surgeon. Emerson took Scott to Fort Armstrong in Illinois, and then to Fort Snelling in what was then the Wisconsin Territory and eventually became part of Minnesota. Illinois was a free state, while the Missouri Compromise of 1820 Congress had prohibited slavery in the Wisconsin Territory. While living at Fort Snelling, Scott married Harriet Robinson, a slave owned by Major Lawrence Taliaferro, the Indian Agent stationed near Fort Snelling. Taliaferro was also a justice of the peace, and in that capacity he performed a formal wedding ceremony for his slave and her new husband. This was extraordinary and significant. Under the laws of the slave states, no slave could actually participate in a legal marriage. Slaves might be married by their masters or by a clergyman, but because a marriage is a legal contract, these ceremonies were always informal. This formal marriage by the local justice of the peace may be an indication that after living in nonslave jurisdictions for more than two years, people at Fort Snelling presumed Scott to be free.

Scott did not gain his freedom at this time, however, and he remained Emerson's slave until the physician died in 1843. Scott then asked Emerson's widow, Irene Sanford Emerson, to allow him to purchase his own freedom. When she refused, Scott sued for freedom based on his residences in Illinois and the Wisconsin Territory. His case was delayed for a variety of reasons, but in 1850 a jury of twelve white men in St. Louis declared Scott, his wife, and their two daughters to be free. This decision was supported by nearly thirty years of Missouri precedents, which held that a slave became free when allowed to live in

a free jurisdiction. Irene Emerson then appealed to the Missouri Supreme Court, which in 1852 overturned the jury's decision and held that Scott was not free. The Court explicitly rejected its long-held position that if a slave resided or worked in a free state because of the voluntary act of a master, the slave became free. In a frankly political decision, Justice William Scott explained:

Times are not now as they were when the former decisions on this subject were made. Since then, not only individuals but States have been possessed with a dark and fell spirit in relation to slavery, whose gratification is sought in the pursuit of measures, whose inevitable consequence must be the overthrow and destruction of our Government. Under such circumstances, it does not behoove the State of Missouri to show the least countenance to any measure which might gratify this spirit.

The case should have ended at this point. Scott's status had been determined by the highest court of his state, and he had no appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court. At this time, the U.S. Constitution did not generally protect the liberties or rights of individuals, and personal status was generally determined by the states.

At about the time Scott won his jury trial, his owner, Irene Emerson moved to Springfield, Massachusetts, where she married a Massachusetts physician named Calvin Chafee. Irene Emerson Chafee's brother, John F.A. Sanford, now looked after her interests. By 1854, Sanford, who had assumed ownership of Scott, had moved to New York. This set the circumstances for Scott to make one more attempt to gain his freedom. (The Supreme Court would misspell Sanford's name as "Sandford," and thus the case would be argued as *Dred Scott v. Sandford*.)

### THE MOVE TO FEDERAL COURT

In 1854 Scott's lawyers initiated a suit against Sanford in the U.S. Circuit Court in St. Louis. Scott could not directly sue for his freedom, but he could use the federal courts to test his freedom indirectly. The U.S. Constitution allows a citizen of one state to sue a citizen of another under what is called "diversity jurisdiction." This phrase simply means that citizens of different states can sue each other in federal courts. As long as Irene Emerson lived in Missouri, Scott could not claim a diversity of citizenship because he also lived in Missouri. But when Sanford, his new owner, moved to New York, a diversity of residence was clearly created: Scott lived in Missouri; Sanford lived in New York.

The problem for Scott—and this would become a key to the decision by the U.S. Supreme Court—was what constitutes citizenship. Scott was a resident of Missouri, but was he a citizen of Missouri? Scott's new

## Dred Scott v. Sandford



**Dred Scott.** *Dred Scott sued for his freedom in the landmark Supreme Court case Dred Scott v. Sandford.* THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

lawyer, Roswell Field, made a complicated argument in federal court. Field argued that Scott was free on the basis of his residence at Fort Snelling, and that if he was free he must be a citizen for the purpose of diversity jurisdiction. He did not argue that Scott had all the rights of a citizen; instead, he argued that if Scott was not a slave he must be able to sue as citizen of Missouri. On this basis, Field brought suit against Sanford for false imprisonment and battery against Scott, his wife, and their two daughters. These claims were really a subterfuge for gaining a hearing before the Court to test Scott's freedom.

Scott assumed that Sanford would argue that Scott was a slave, and that he therefore had a right to imprison or beat him. Scott's answer would be that he was free, and that Sanford was not, therefore, entitled to imprison or beat him. This would set the stage for a trial on Scott's freedom. If the Court decided he was free, then Sanford would lose and pay minimal damages, and Scott would go free. Sanford would, in fact, make these arguments, but only after he made a more important one.

Sanford's first answer to Scott's suit was not about ownership, but about race. Sanford argued that, as a black man, Scott could never be a citizen, and thus could never sue in federal court. Sanford did not say that Scott could not sue because he was a slave. Rather, he argued that even if Scott were free, he could not vindicate that freedom in federal court because blacks could never be

considered citizens under the Constitution, and thus could never sue in diversity. In making this argument, Sanford's lawyers filed a "plea in abatement," asking the Judge to abate, or end, the case immediately because a black could not be a plaintiff in a diversity suit in federal court.

U.S. District Judge Robert W. Wells rejected Sanford's claim in the plea in abatement. Judge Wells held that if Scott was free, then he was entitled to sue in federal court. However, after hearing the evidence in the case, Judge Wells ruled that Scott's status as a slave or a free person could only be decided by Missouri law, and the Missouri Supreme Court had already ruled that Scott was still a slave. In reaching this decision, Wells ignored the force of the Missouri Compromise and did not consider whether the Missouri Supreme Court had the power to overrule, or ignored the federal law that made slavery illegal in the federal territory north of Missouri.

### THE SUPREME COURT

This set the stage for Dred Scott to take his case to the U.S. Supreme Court. What had begun as a relatively simple claim by a slave to be free had now turned into an extremely important case involving race, citizenship, federal law, the power of Congress, and national politics. The Supreme Court heard arguments on the case in the spring of 1856, but it did not decide the case then; instead, it ordered a reargument for December 1856. In the intervening months the nation went through a presidential campaign in which the recently created Republican Party promised to prevent the spread of slavery into the western territories and to prevent any more slave states from entering the Union. The party carried eleven free states, sending a shudder through the South. Had the Republican candidate, John C. Fremont, carried just a few more states, he would have become president. Instead, a proslavery Democrat, James Buchanan, won the election.

In March 1857, two days after Buchanan's inauguration, Chief Justice Taney announced the decision in the Dred Scott case. In his "Opinion of the Court," Taney declared that no black person could ever be a citizen of the United States, and that Dred Scott, even if free, could therefore not sue Sanford in federal court. On the basis of this part of the decision, Taney might have declared that he had no jurisdiction to hear the case at all. Critics of the decision argued he should have done this. However, Taney did not stop with this pronouncement. He also addressed the effect of the Missouri Compromise on the status of slaves brought into territories made free by federal law. He concluded that Congress did not have the power to prohibit slavery in the federal territories, and he thus held that the Missouri

Compromise of 1820 was unconstitutional, as were all other restrictions on slavery in the territories. These two dramatic and controversial rulings placed the decision at the center of American politics and law for the next decade-and-a-half.

Thus, Taney argued that framers of the Constitution did not intend to include blacks as citizens and that they could not now be considered citizens. He wrote:

The question is simply this: Can a negro, whose ancestors were imported into this country, and sold as slaves, become a member of the political community formed and brought into existence by the Constitution of the United States, and as such become entitled to all the rights, and privileges, and immunities, guaranteed by that instrument to the citizen? One of which rights is the privilege of suing in a court of the United States in the cases specified in the Constitution.

The very nature of this question led Taney to conclude that blacks had no such rights. This analysis conflicted with both the history of the nation's founding and with current practice. At the time of the founding, blacks voted in a number of states and even held office in some of them. In most of the northern states and at least one southern state (North Carolina), free blacks voted in the elections to choose delegates to attend the state conventions to ratify the Constitution. These voters were certainly considered citizens when the nation ratified the Constitution. Furthermore, at the time that Taney wrote his opinion, free blacks could vote in a number of states, and in some states free blacks had held public office since the American Revolution. But he argued that even free blacks living in those states could never be citizens of the United States and have standing to sue in federal courts. Thus, Taney set up the novel concept of dual citizenship. He argued that being a citizen of a state did not necessarily make one a citizen of the United States.

Taney based this novel argument entirely on race. He offered a slanted and one-sided view of American history that ignored the fact that free blacks had voted in a number of states at the time of the ratification of the Constitution. Ignoring this, the Chief Justice nevertheless argued that at the founding of the nation blacks were either all slaves or, if free, without any political or legal rights. He declared that blacks:

Are not included, and were not intended to be included, under the word "citizens" in the Constitution, and can therefore claim none of the rights and privileges which that instrument provides and secures to citizens of the United States. On the contrary, they were at that time [1787] considered as a subordinate and inferior class of beings, who had been subjugated by the dominant race, and, whether emancipated or not, yet remained subject

to their authority, and had no rights or privileges but such as those who held the power and government might choose to grant them.

According to Taney, blacks "had for more than a century before been regarded as beings of an inferior order, and altogether unfit to associate with the white race, either in social or political relations; and so far inferior, that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect; and that the negro might justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery." Thus, he concluded that blacks could never be citizens of the United States, even if they were born in the country and considered to be citizens of the states in which they lived.

This dual citizenship meant that Massachusetts, where blacks were full and equal citizens, could not force its notions of citizenship on the slave states. It also meant that Southern states did not have to grant privileges and immunities, or any other rights, to the free black citizens of Massachusetts and other Northern states.

Taney's opinion horrified not only free blacks, but also many Northern whites.

The antebellum North was hardly a bastion of racial equality, but many northerners who would never have advocated social equality or political rights for blacks nevertheless believed that blacks had minimal rights of citizenship.

The vast majority of Northern whites were even more shocked by Taney's conclusion that Congress could never ban slavery from the federal territories. Taney reached this conclusion through two routes. First, he asserted that the Territory Clause of Article IV of the Constitution did not apply to territories acquired after 1787. This argument was weak and unpersuasive, and may not even have had a majority of the court supporting it. More persuasive, and more ominous for Northerners, was Taney's assertion that the Fifth Amendment prevented Congress from ever freeing slaves because slaves were property that was specifically protected by the Constitution.

The message of *Dred Scott* was profoundly depressing for African Americans and their white allies in antebellum America. Taney's statement about the rights of blacks—that they were "so far inferior, that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect"—may have been a statement of Taney's vision of history, but in fact most Americans understood that this is what the Chief Justice of the United States believed should be the legal and social condition of African Americans. "They had no rights" was the lesson of *Dred Scott*.

The impact of the decision, however, was hardly what Taney expected. In the North, there was an uproar of protest and a rededication of purpose for Republicans. In Illinois, Abraham Lincoln, a relatively obscure railroad lawyer and one-term Congressman, re-entered politics to

denounce the decision. In 1862 and 1863—less than six years after Taney announced his decision—Lincoln, by this time the President of the United States, would sign legislation ending slavery in the District of Columbia and the federal territories, and he would then issue the Emancipation Proclamation ending slavery in most of the South. By 1865, the Thirteenth Amendment would end slavery throughout the nation. In 1866, Congress would declare that all people born in the United States—including all former slaves—were citizens of the United States. In 1868, the nation as a whole would reaffirm this position by ratifying the Fourteenth Amendment, which permanently reversed *Dred Scott*. At that point, blacks would have the same Constitutional rights as whites, even if it would take another century to insure that the laws throughout the nation were applied equally to all people.

SEE ALSO *Slavery and Race; United States Constitution*.

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Paul Finkelman

## DU BOIS, W. E. B. 1868–1963

William Edward Burghardt Du Bois’s life spanned the two great reconstructions of democracy in the United States. He was born in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, on February 23, 1868, as the former slaves were entering political life in the South, and he died in Accra, Ghana, on August 27, 1963, on the eve of the March on Washington that marked a high point in the modern civil rights movement. In his ninety-five years, Du Bois not only bore eloquent witness to his country’s advances toward and retreats from interracial democracy but, as a scholar, activist, and artist, he actively participated in the cause of racial justice in the United States and around the world. He also contributed to the understanding of the nature of race and the causes of racism, offering a powerful refutation of scientific conceptions of race and

insisting on the distinctive cultural, political, and economic contributions of Africans and African Americans.

Du Bois often observed that he spent his childhood in New England largely detached from African American life and unaware of the power of racial hierarchies. It was as a college student at Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, that he encountered both the privations of Jim Crow segregation and the richness and variety of African American culture. During this period, Du Bois’s work as a schoolteacher in rural Tennessee also impressed on him the ongoing after effects of slavery. Leaving Fisk in 1888, Du Bois went on to study philosophy, history, and economics at Harvard and the University of Berlin. In 1895, he became the first African American to receive a doctorate from Harvard, and his first book, based on a dissertation on Americans’ erratic efforts to withdraw from the international slave trade, heralded the entry of a remarkable scholar.

In the first phase of his scholarly career, Du Bois pursued the conviction that ignorance was the root of racial prejudice and that collecting and disseminating knowledge about black life was crucial to obtaining full citizenship for African Americans. To that end, he published a groundbreaking sociological study of the African American community in Philadelphia, and as a professor at Atlanta University, produced sixteen studies of African American life. Over time, Du Bois came to believe that knowledge alone would not eliminate racial injustice, and his writing increasingly focused on the importance of unconscious racism and economic self-interest in sustaining racial hierarchies. Among his greatest achievements, *Black Reconstruction in America: 1860–1880* (1935) rewrote the history of Reconstruction by highlighting the central role of the slaves in securing the Union’s victory and by countering the prevailing view that the experiment in interracial democracy was a disaster. *Black Reconstruction* also explored the links between capitalism and white supremacy, revealing the growing influence of Marx’s ideas on Du Bois’s thought.

Persistent violence against African Americans convinced Du Bois to trade academic life for full-time activism in 1910. He had already come to public attention when he published an essay in *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903) that criticized the leadership of Booker T. Washington and when he established the Niagara Movement in 1905 to demand civil and political rights for African Americans. He was one of the founding members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), its only original African American board member, and the founder-editor of its journal, *The Crisis*. Over the next twenty-four years, Du Bois used this platform to advocate for anti-lynching legislation, black political and civil rights, women’s suffrage, international peace, and a host of other social justice issues.

Du Bois never confined the fight against racism to the United States. Even his early writings indicate an

awareness of connections between racial hierarchies at home and European colonialism in Africa and Asia. When he first prophesied that “the problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the color-line” in his 1900 “Address to the Nations of the World,” Du Bois insisted that the color line encompassed the globe. After World War I he organized a series of Pan-African Congresses to encourage cooperation among people of African descent; and after World War II he continued to work with transnational networks of activists, fighting for human rights at home and abroad, for the independence of colonized nations, and for the cause of world peace.

Art was, for Du Bois, an essential element of the struggle against racism. “All art is propaganda and ever must be,” he declared in his 1926 essay, “The Criteria of Negro Art.” Du Bois never meant that beauty should be sacrificed to politics. Rather, he insisted that beauty was intimately connected to truth telling, particularly to conveying the truth of African American humanity. He understood, furthermore, that poetic expression could change people’s perspectives where a mere recitation of facts might fail. To that end, Du Bois wrote constantly and in a variety of genres; he published essays, novels, poetry, autobiographies, and a wide range of occasional pieces; he staged elaborate pageants that displayed the glories of black civilization; and he served as a conduit for other writers and artists as editor of *The Crisis*. The best known of his books, *The Souls of Black Folk*, exemplifies Du Bois’s ability to blend historical and sociological detail with profoundly moving passages about the impact of race on his own life and that of his fellow citizens.

Although Du Bois’s final years have received relatively less scholarly attention, he remained active until his death. He continued to write prolifically, and after an unsuccessful bid for the U.S. Senate as an American Labor Party candidate in 1950, he dedicated much of his energy to the peace movement. A victim of cold war politics, Du Bois was indicted in 1951 on charges of operating as an agent for foreign interests. Despite his acquittal, he was denied a passport in 1952 and was not allowed to travel abroad until 1958. In 1961, he joined the Communist Party and left the United States for Ghana, where, upon his death, he was buried as a hero. Fittingly, at his death, Du Bois was at work on the *Encyclopedia Africana*, a comprehensive study of black life and history.

SEE ALSO *Niagara Movement*; *Pan-Africanism*; *Racial Hierarchy*.

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Lawrie Balfour

## DUKE, DAVID

1950–

David Duke was born in Louisiana in 1950 and is perhaps America’s most well-known racist. While attending Louisiana State University, Duke founded the White Youth Alliance, a youth organization affiliated with the National Socialist White People’s Party. Upon graduation in 1974, he founded the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), which remains one of the largest and most influential Klan groups in the country.

Duke realized early in his career that violent racism was no longer acceptable to the majority of the American middle class, and he altered his message in order to gain wider support. He changed the title of Klan leader from Grand Wizard to National Director. He stopped “burning crosses” and began holding “cross lighting” ceremonies, and he used “coded racism.” For example, he quit speaking in public about the danger of racial and ethnic minorities, referring instead to the “lawless underclass” and “perpetual welfare recipient.”

In order to gain even broader middle-class support and to build a political career, Duke left the KKK in 1980 and founded the more acceptable-sounding National Association for the Advancement of White People, which retained the Klan’s membership roster and mailing list, and in fact operated out of the same office.

In 1989 Duke ran successfully for the Louisiana legislature and served as a member of the state House of Representatives. He then ran unsuccessfully for the U.S. Senate in 1990, the Louisiana Governor’s office in 1991, the U.S. Presidency in 1992, the U.S. Senate again in 1996, and the U.S. House in 1998. However, he did receive the majority of votes from white voters in both the 1990 and 1991 races.

In 2000, Duke retired from politics and founded yet another new white supremacist organization, the National

***Duke, David***

Organization For European American Rights, or NOFEAR. Since founding NOFEAR, Duke has traveled throughout Europe and to Russia in particular, gathering supporters. His anti-Semitic essays have been translated into Arabic and republished throughout the Middle East. He has also authored two significant books: *My Awakening: A Path to Racial Understanding* in 1998, and *Jewish Supremacism: My Awakening on the Jewish Question* in 2002.

In March 2003 Duke was convicted in federal court on charges of mail fraud and tax evasion, charges related to funds raised during his political campaigns. He spent thirteen months in federal prison and was released in May 2004.

**SEE ALSO** *Ku Klux Klan*.

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***J. Keith Akins***

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## EDUCATION, DISCRIMINATION IN HIGHER

Colleges and universities play an important role in advancing equity through their efforts to recruit and retain students, faculty, and staff of color. Despite the great improvement in educational equity since the 1950s, racial discrimination in institutions of higher education continues to exist in the early twenty-first century. To overcome the barriers to advancement in higher education for racialized people, institutions of higher education must make real commitments to greater racial equity on campus. Such commitments do not come in the form of proclamations, but rather in the form of bodies, time, and monetary and community resources. Educational institutions must closely examine the racial climate on campus and work toward ideological shifts that will remove any existing barriers for racial/ethnic groups. Such commitments result in the sort of institutional transformation that is necessary in order to see a meaningful reduction in racial discrimination at colleges and universities. There are a number of basic ideas that institutions can implement in order to both address issues of discrimination and attempt to retain faculty of color.

### STUDENT ISSUES

Colleges and universities have not traditionally provided equitable educational opportunities to students of color, and in the early 2000s, students of color are not represented in higher education at proportions that reflect their numbers in the population as a whole. Table 1 demonstrates this point by examining the number of students earning doctorates in 2002.

This table indicates that the number of earned doctorates is well below any reasonable expectations for any racialized groups, except for whites and Asian Americans. According to the 2000 census, 12.5 percent of the U.S. population identifies as Latino/Latina, 12.3 percent identify as African American, 3.7 percent identify as Asian American, .9 percent identify as American Indian/Alaska Native, .1 percent identify as Pacific Islander, and 69.1 percent identify as white. One might reasonably expect the student population receiving doctorates to be more closely aligned with these numbers. This is not to say that the ratios should be exactly the same, but the discrepancies indicate a lack of access to and retention in institutions of higher education. Clearly, there are barriers for some racialized groups to institutions of higher learning.

One strategy for improving admissions, retention, and hiring in institutions of higher education is through affirmative action programs. Race-based affirmative action programs in higher education have been advocated by a number of scholars, and they are often supported by traditionally marginalized students. Yet attacks on these programs have been fierce, and the discontinued use of affirmative action in some states has resulted in significantly fewer students of color applying to and attending institutions of higher education. Although arguments abound in support of need-based rather than race-based affirmative action programs, a number of scholars have expressed the view that institutions of higher education have a moral obligation to repay communities of color for past injustices, and that need-based programs are likely to divert more resources to white men (see Feinberg 1996, Heller 2002, St. John 2004).



Earned Doctorates for Racial Groups in the United States, 2005	
Racial and ethnic group of U.S. citizens	
American Indian and Alaska Native	0.5%
Asian	5.3%
Black	6.6%
Latinas <sup>1</sup>	4.9%
White	81.0%
Other	1.7%

<sup>1</sup>In this entry, we use the term Latinas to indicate both Latinas and Latinas. U.S., state, and local governments often use the term "Hispanic" to denote this group.

SOURCE: Reproduced by permission of *The Chronicle of Higher Education*. *Chronicle of Higher Education: The Almanac*, 2005. Volume 52, Number 1, p. 19.

Table 1.

Once students are on campus, the racial climate of the institution is crucial in determining whether students persist in their studies and graduate. Campus climate is an important issue because even if institutions of higher education are able to recruit more diverse student bodies, students are less likely to persist and graduate if they experience a hostile environment on campus. Evaluating campus racial climate has been the topic of much research since the 1980s. A 1991 survey by the American Council on Education found that 36 percent of all institutions (and 74 percent of research institutions) reported incidents of intolerance involving race, gender, or sexual orientation. Further, despite current efforts, many students—including many minority students, white women, gay and lesbian students, and disabled students—still find the campus climate unresponsive to their needs, past experiences, and educational expectations (see Humphreys 1998). In their book *The Agony of Education* (1996), Joe Feagin, Hernan Vera, and Nikitah Imani argue that when researchers examine campus racial climate and racism in institutions of higher education, they need to consider not just overt racial incidents, but also patterns of human recognition of racialized students and how social spaces are racially marked. Critical-race scholars have focused on the microaggressions experienced by students of color on college campuses across the nation. In 1998, for example, David Solorzano analyzed the microaggressions experienced by Chicana and Chicano students who were Ford Foundation Minority Fellows, and his findings led him to challenge the colorblind meritocracy ideology that tries to pass these microaggressions off as “oversensitivity.” Researchers have also documented how students of color experience greater emotional stress due to prejudice, and that racial tensions

are more likely to be perceived by students of color (see Hurtado 1992, Johnson-Durgans 1994). These experiences of hostile racial climates also impact the academic success of students of color such that they are less likely to do well in college. Walter Allen, a professor of higher education at University of California, Los Angeles, has documented that black students at historically black institutions have better completion rates and report closer connections to their universities than black students at predominantly white institutions. Ana Alemán, an associate professor at Boston College, reported in 2000 that the dominant culture of predominantly white universities makes friendships with racially matched peers even more important for the success of racialized students. Clearly, then, access to institutions of higher education is not enough to ensure equity within these institutions, because the campus climate experienced by students of color is often extremely hostile and stands as a barrier to these students’ academic achievement.

#### FACULTY ISSUES

The proportion of people of color in faculty positions continues to lag behind that of whites and closely mirrors the rate of those people earning doctorates. Table 2 illuminates the disparities in faculty positions at all levels.

The low proportion of doctorates being awarded to people of color is often blamed for the dismal increase in faculty of color since the mid-1990s. However, there is more to the problem of low numbers of faculty of color than the “pipeline” argument. Octavio Villalpando and Dolores Delgado-Bernal argue that faculty of color face “institutional barriers at most stages of their academic careers” (2002, p. 244). Reflecting on the framework for diversity outlined by Sylvia Hurtado, Jeffrey F. Milem, Alma Clayton-Pedersen, and Walter R. Allen in 1998 provides a reminder that problems in achieving structural diversity are related to issues of psychological and behavioral diversity, and to the historical legacies of individual institutions and the broader institution of higher education. In the following examination of literature regarding faculty diversity in higher education, the focus is on available research, most of which examines the experiences of faculty of color and the barriers they face.

Biases against people of color “contribute to unwelcoming and unsupportive work environments for faculty of color” (Turner, Myers, and Creswell 1999, p. 28). Overt and covert racial barriers include: tokenism, isolation, racial and ethnic bias in recruiting and hiring, barriers found in tenure and promotion practices, the devaluation of “minority research,” and isolation and lack of mentoring. Tokenism is a problem common to environments where structural diversity is low. Relatedly, researchers have pointed out that faculty of color feel alone and often invisible when they are the only scholar of color in departments or colleges (see

**Number of Full-Time Faculty Members by Rank and Racial and Ethnic Group during Fall, 2003**

<b>American Indian and Alaska Native</b>		
Professor	507	0.3%
Associate Professor	529	0.4%
Assistant professor	661	0.5%
TOTAL	1,697	0.4%
<b>Asian American</b>		
Professor	10,202	6.2%
Associate Professor	9,183	7.1%
Assistant Professor	13,216	9.3%
TOTAL	32,601	7.5%
<b>Black</b>		
Professor	5,343	3.2%
Associate Professor	7,204	5.5%
Assistant Professor	9,464	6.7%
TOTAL	22,011	5.0%
<b>Latinas<sup>1</sup></b>		
Professor	3,429	2.1%
Associate Professor	3,861	3.0%
Assistant professor	5,321	3.8%
TOTAL	12,611	2.9%
<b>White</b>		
Professor	144,924	88.2%
Associate Professor	109,313	84.0%
Assistant professor	112,920	79.8%
TOTAL	367,157	84.2%
TOTAL OVERALL PROFESSOR	164,405	
TOTAL OVERALL ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR	130,090	
TOTAL OVERALL ASSISTANT PROFESSOR	141,582	
TOTAL OF ALL	436,077	

<sup>1</sup>In this entry, we use the term Latinas to indicate both Latinos and Latinas. U.S., state, and local governments often use the term "Hispanic" to denote this group.

SOURCE: Reproduced by permission of *The Chronicle of Higher Education*. *Chronicle of Higher Education: The Almanac*, 2005. Volume 52, Number 1, p. 26.

**Table 2.**

Essien 2003). Biases in recruiting and hiring can reflect the racism of individuals, but they also mirror an institution's lack of attention to its own legacy of exclusion. The mechanism of tenure and promotion in higher education is an institution itself, and it is rife with barriers to faculty of color, including the devaluation of the extraordinary service responsibilities of faculty of color and the lack of legitimacy granted to research agendas that fall outside of the mainstream. In a 1994 article in *Educational Researcher*, Amado M. Padilla discussed the concept of "cultural taxation" to illuminate the fact that many underrepresented faculty are expected to cover minority affairs, in addition to completing a rigorous agenda in research, teaching, and institutional service.

In addition to questions regarding their research agendas, faculty of color find their legitimacy questioned

by those who challenge their place in the institution due to the role of affirmative action in the hiring process. Linda Johnsrud and Kathlee Sadao found in 1998 that such ethnocentric behaviors and attitudes are rampant in college and university faculty. In a 2000 survey by the American Council on Education, Geoffrey Maruyama and colleagues found that the faculty in their survey who had more experience working with diverse groups of students had more positive attitudes towards institutional and departmental values about diversity and the importance of having a diverse population. As with students, it appears that faculty exposure to and interaction with diverse groups and individuals leads to an increased acceptance of diversity.

Another challenge to faculty of color is the amount of institutional service they are asked or required to perform. Indeed, they "often complain about overwhelming counseling responsibilities" (Allen et al. 2002, p. 192). Faculty of color serve on a myriad of institutional committees and are expected to represent the "minority voice." Additionally, these faculty become mentors and counselors to students of color in their departments. Departments may have only one or two people of color on staff and they are often expected to serve larger numbers of students of color. While time spent on these activities is important, and faculty gladly undertake it, it does detract from research responsibilities, which are more highly valued in the promotion and tenure process. In this way, institutional service expectations for faculty of color actually represent barriers to their professional progress. Increasing structural diversity will add more faculty of color to share the responsibilities of institutional service. However, it is important to also examine institutional histories and the psychological climate on campuses, and to assess their impact on differential service expectations for faculty of color and white faculty. Working towards diversity in these areas will create better institutional environments in which faculty of color can focus on performing excellent research, teaching, and service to further institutional missions, including diversity initiatives.

## TRANSFORMING INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Institutions are transformed by increased diversity through positive changes in campus climate. Some researchers have argued that these changes are evident in the increase in the acceptance and value of diversity that they bring. Further, Hurtado and colleagues (1998) suggest that a recognition of historical legacies of inclusion and exclusion and a desire to make the campus more inclusive of all people and groups are ways institutions can increase diversity. This mirrors the argument that as students are exposed to different groups and individuals they become more committed to the concept of diversity. Devon Williams argues that university

teachers can improve intergroup relations by employing “jigsaw” groupings in their classrooms (forming groups and then switching members to new groups) in order to force students to cooperate and interact with their peers. Finally, diversity courses often challenge students to think in more complex ways about identity and history and to avoid cultural stereotyping. Diversity in the curriculum has a positive impact on attitudes toward racial issues, on opportunities to interact in deeper ways with those who are different, and on overall satisfaction with the university. These benefits are particularly powerful for white students who have had less opportunity for such engagement (see Humphreys 1998).

Institutional transformation can be evident in more tangible ways as well. For instance, changes in institutional mission are indications of institutional transformation. Roxane Harvey Gudeman, a psychology professor at Macalester College in Saint Paul, Minnesota, has found that such adjustments in mission statements reflected the institutional value of diversity. Mission statements are often criticized as having purely symbolic value, but once adjusted to reflect changing attitudes toward diversity, they do contribute to improving the climate for people of color at all levels of the institutions. It can be argued that this kind of transformation accompanies an institution’s examination of its historical legacies of exclusion and inclusion. However, mission statements alone do not reflect historical context or change psychological climate. They are, as with all other steps towards increasing diversity, only factors in a larger approach to a continuing problem.

Institutional transformation can also be assessed in terms of policies that either do or do not advance greater equity. Research that has examined university policies as they relate to diversity and equity generally shows that institutions still have much to do. The shift to distance education and a greater reliance on Internet technology may open doors to students in rural areas, but, as Rachel Moran argues in “Diversity, Distance, and the Delivery of Higher Education” (1998), it actually further stratifies higher education because those without access to the technology are largely people of color and those from low-income backgrounds. When colleges and universities fail to implement ethnic fraud policies, they are “allowing a charade to continue” and thus fail to advance more equitable hiring, admissions, and financial aid practices (Pewewardy 2004). Angelina Castagno and Stacey Lee point out in a 2007 article that universities that continue to embrace Native American mascots contribute to the perpetuation of racism and stereotypes against Indigenous peoples, whereas Delgado Bernal noted in 2002 that admissions criteria largely exclude students of color because of the Eurocentric epistemologies that shape and guide them. In general, the thrust of this work is that universities have a

significant responsibility to work toward greater equity in their policies and practices, and that many institutions are currently failing in this regard.

Focusing on institutional transformation in relation to discrimination and the benefits of diversity contributes to the effort to move the emphasis away from the idea that students of color come to college with deficits. A spotlight on the institution, rather than the individual, allows for a recognition of the role institutional strategies and policies play in the culture of exclusion on many higher education campuses.

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## EDUCATION, RACIAL DISPARITIES

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Declaration on the Rights of the Child, and other international agreements make plain that education is a fundamental and universal human right. To achieve this right for all people, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has affirmed the principles of nondiscrimination, equality of opportunity and treatment, universal access to education, and solidarity. Further, UNESCO considers it the responsibility of states to advance and implement these principles, and disparities in educational opportunities and outcomes along ethnic or racial lines is considered to be a violation of this fundamental right to education. Nevertheless, such disparities are widespread in the United States and elsewhere. This entry will explain why these disparities continue to exist despite the fact that most nations profess a commitment to racial and ethnic equality.

In many cases, racial and ethnic inequities are a consequence of the legacies of colonialism and slavery. In the North American colonies, for example, slavery created a racial order with whites at the top and nonwhites at the bottom of the hierarchy. Poor whites were encouraged to find common cause not with their class allies across racial lines, but with the ruling whites. As Howard Zinn points out in *A People's History of the United States* (2003), when and if blacks and whites did join together to rebel, these rebellions were met with very harsh punishment for both parties.

Under slavery, Africans and their descendants were forbidden to receive any sort of education. After emancipation, the doctrine of "separate but equal" ensured that the education of blacks continued to be inferior to that of whites. It was not until 1954, in the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, that the U.S. Supreme Court declared

that school segregation was unconstitutional. Nevertheless, while this was an important step towards equality in educational opportunity in the United States, it left much to be desired. Moreover, a 2003 study conducted by Jaekyung Lee reported that some of the gains made in the 1970s in terms of diminishing the achievement gap between blacks and whites were lost as the gap widened again in the early 1990s.

The United States gained its independence from Great Britain following the American Revolution, but most Latin American countries had to wait until the early nineteenth century to achieve their independence, and many African countries remained European colonies up until the twentieth century. However, many of these former colonies won their independence from Europe only to become dependent on the United States or the Soviet Union for survival during the Cold War. The dismantling of the Soviet Union and the consequent abandonment of client states after the Cold War led to economic crises and ethnic strife in a number of African and East European countries. This had, among other things, negative repercussions for access to education for ethnic minorities.

The 2001 UN Report on the World Social Situation reported that in sub-Saharan Africa teacher's salaries had decreased since the 1980s, and that the civil war in Rwanda resulted in more than 60 percent of its teachers either being killed or fleeing the country. The aftermath of the Cold War also wreaked havoc on the educational system in the former Yugoslavia. The withdrawal of autonomy in the province of Kosovo resulted in 300,000 children of Albanian origin being removed from school. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, at least one-third of the school buildings were destroyed during the war. In addition, Gladys Mutangandura, Vicki Lamb, and Judith Blau reported in 2002 that structural adjustment programs in Africa and Latin America negatively affected schooling because countries were required to curtail educational programs to comply with International Monetary Foundation mandates. In each of these cases, large-scale crises ended up causing the most harm to the most vulnerable populations—the poor, women, children, and ethnic and religious minorities.

While many experts predicted that globalization and the spread of capitalism would be beneficial across social classes and for rich and poor alike, it is hard to ignore the figures that demonstrate that inequality has increased since the 1980s, both within countries and between countries. The 2001 UN Report on the World Social Situation declared that, in many developing countries, this has meant that children are obligated to work and forego their education. Roughly 250 million children worked in 2001, and many of them did not attend school. One report found that more than 30 percent of fifteen to eighteen year olds in Bolivia, Chile, El Salvador, and Venezuela who were not in school reported that it was their need to work that kept

them out of school. A 1998 Inter-American Development Bank report found that in El Salvador, 50 percent of fifteen-year olds in the poorest 30 percent of the population were not enrolled in school, while 50 percent of the richest 10 percent were still in school at age twenty-one. In addition, the top 10 percent of Salvadorans completes an average of six more years of schooling than the poorest 30 percent. In many countries, children are not able to attend school because their families cannot afford the direct costs associated with school attendance. In Indonesia, for example, direct costs for attending a primary school, such as school fees, uniforms, and books, are 38 percent of the per capita income of the poorest 20 percent of Indonesians. In Georgia, in the former Soviet Union, a set of new books for a student entering the seventh grade costs twice as much as the average worker makes in a month. Worldwide, children that are from ethnic, religious, racial, or linguistic minorities are often more likely to be poor, and thus less likely to be able to attend school for these reasons.

Racial and ethnic inequalities exist around the world, despite the fact that most governments profess agreement with international conventions that decry discrimination and advance universal education as a human right. Leaders of countries utilize distinct discourses to talk about the racial and ethnic discrimination and inequality that exist in their respective countries. Joe Feagin argues in his book *Racist America* (2000) that, in the United States, representatives of the government are willing to recognize that racial inequality exists, but that they are frequently not willing to admit that racial disparities are the result of past or present racial discrimination. In Brazil, on the contrary, the government not only attests a commitment to racial democracy, but also claims to have achieved it, thereby curtailing any possibility of discussions of eliminating disparities. This has begun to change, however, and the top Brazilian state universities have begun to implement affirmative action programs.

Many Brazilians uphold this ideal of a racial democracy, although studies show that most recognize that this is an ideal, not a reality (Bailey 2004). Robin Sheriff's 2000 ethnographic study of a *favela* in Rio de Janeiro demonstrates that the prevalence of this myth makes Brazil a candidate for achieving racial equality insofar as most Brazilians do see this as a desirable goal. In her book, *Racism in a Racial Democracy* (1998), France Twine argues that the lack of an antiracist curriculum in schools in Brazil inhibits Brazilian children from developing an understanding of racism and leads them to believe that a racial democracy does indeed exist.

Michael Omi and Howard Winant have described the distinction between the United States and Brazil as the difference between a racial dictatorship and racial hegemony. Similarly, Anthony Marx has argued that apartheid



**Brazilian Students Wait for School Buses.** Poorer people do not have the same educational opportunities as their wealthier counterparts. Here Brazilian students wait for buses to go to school at the Vila Estrutural slum as part of a program in which the government provides poor families with money if they send their children to school. AP IMAGES.

and legal segregation in South Africa and the United States encouraged black solidarity and opposition, while the ideology of racial democracy in Brazil elicited more muted racial identity and mobilization. In the United States, black solidarity brought about the civil rights movement, while Brazil has not witnessed a movement of such strength. When legal apartheid existed in the United States and South Africa, Brazilians could compare themselves to these two countries and claim that their government at least did not endorse apartheid. In a similar fashion, Joe Feagin points out that U.S. government officials have argued that now that racial discrimination is no longer legal, it is not the responsibility of the leaders of this country to ensure that racial equality is achieved.

Capitalism generates inequalities, and these inequalities are superimposed on racial and ethnic divisions. In the United States, despite legal measures taken to ensure equality of opportunity across ethnic and racial lines, nonwhites continue to be disadvantaged in the educational system. In her book, *Bad Boys* (2000), Ann Ferguson demonstrates how institutions such as elementary schools devalue black culture, and thus black children. She explains how teachers and administrators interpret black children's behavior with a different lens than that used for white children, which leads to black boys getting

into much more trouble, and thus getting behind in school. In *Race in the Schools* (2003), Judith Blau discusses how schools racialize opportunities and the educational process, to the advantage of white children.

In Brazil, Peru, and the United States, illiteracy and low literacy are more prevalent among nonwhite populations. Weiss et al. (1995) reported that about 10 percent of the adult population in the United States lacks basic reading skills. Further, ethnic and racial minorities and inner-city residents are overrepresented both in terms of illiteracy and low literacy in the United States. In Brazil, one quarter of African-descended people have no schooling at all. Overall, they have about two-thirds of the level of education of whites. In addition, Patricia Justino and Arnab Acharya (2003) report that Afro-Brazilians who do graduate from high school are only about half as likely as white Brazilians to go on to university. In Peru, the overall illiteracy rate is about 13 percent. However, 33 percent of the indigenous population is illiterate, and 44 percent of indigenous women in Peru are illiterate.

Anthropologist Marisol De la Cadena describes how Peruvian educational reforms of the 1950s were designed to culturally whiten indigenous Peruvians by teaching them to no longer wear braids or traditional dress and to speak only Spanish, and that the curricula devalued indigenous customs and values (De la Cadena 2005). These sorts of assaults on indigenous cultural forms contribute to educational inequality, because by devaluing indigenous culture the schools deprecate indigenous people, making them less inclined to complete their schooling. Sociologist Tanya Golash-Boza has described how the globalization of capitalism and the end of protectionism for internal markets in Peru have led to extreme poverty in indigenous and Afro-Peruvian farming communities. In these isolated communities, the availability of qualified teachers, up-to-date textbooks, and even school supplies is much more limited than in the larger cities where whites are concentrated.

Another factor working against minority youngsters is the digital divide. Modern technology brings great opportunities for expanding educational materials, even to those not attending school. Many children in developing countries are unable to do well in school because they cannot afford textbooks, while textbooks have become somewhat obsolete for children with access to the Internet. The sort of basic information held in textbooks could easily be made available over the Internet, but unfortunately the children who most need textbooks are also the ones with the least access to the World Wide Web. This problem is not restricted to the developing world. In the United States, Mexican Americans and African Americans are only about half as likely as white Americans to have a computer or Internet access in the home (Fairlie 2004).

## El Mestizaje

A world in which racial equality of opportunity and of outcomes in education exists is still a long way off, despite the fact that most countries not only profess a commitment to education, but also invest in it. The poorest and very poor countries spend about the same percentage of their country's total Gross National Product (GNP) on education as do the rich countries, roughly 5 percent. The staggering obstacle worldwide is poverty. Poor people in rich and poor countries simply do not share the same educational opportunities as their richer counterparts.

A world where pluralism prevails and where universal human rights take precedence over ethnic and racial interests is far from being achieved. Basic human rights are not met in many parts of the world, much less social, cultural, and collective rights. In line with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, it is the responsibility of international organizations as well as individual states to ensure universal access to quality education, regardless of gender or racial, ethnic, national, or religious background.

SEE ALSO *Brown v. Board of Education; Capitalism; Education, Discrimination in Higher; Social Problems.*

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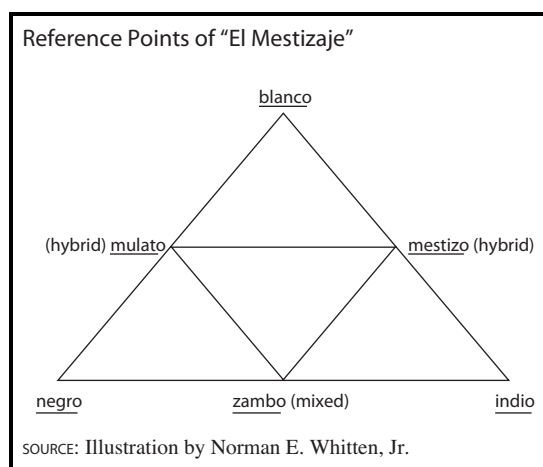
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Tanya Golash-Boza

## EL MESTIZAJE

In many Latin American nations, October 12, Columbus Day, is known (or has been known) as *el día de la raza*, "the day of the race". On this day in 1492, Christopher Columbus made landfall on one of the islands of the Bahamas, in what was to be called the Caribbean Sea. The very next day he described the natives as a *generación* (generation, connoting ancestry and descent), writing that they "are of the color of the Canarians, neither black nor white." He carefully noted that they should be good and intelligent servants. On the way back to Spain with his indigenous chattel, the name *indios* (feminine *indias*) emerged, because Cristobal Colón, the Admiral of the Ocean Sea, insisted that he had reached India, the gateway to Asia, wherein dwelled the Great Kahn and his kingdom of riches.

On his second voyage in 1493, Columbus carried black slaves, called *negros*, as well as sugar cane and cattle to the territory he named Española (now Hispaniola, which includes Haiti and the Dominican Republic), and though he and his fellow explorers, conquerors, and administrators named islands and territories everywhere (ignoring the native Taíno names), he and others routinely used *indio* as a designation for the diverse populations that could be "profitable" (*provechoso* is the word used by Columbus) for the Europeans. As the geographical constructions became diversified the cultural constructions of profitable labor became condensed to *indio* (Indian) and *negro* (black). In spite of the cultural construction of Españoles (and later



**Figure 1.** Reference points of El Mestizaje.

*blanco* [white]) at the top of an economic pyramid, with African Americans and Indigenous Americans on the bottom, the flow of genes among those of European, African, and Native American descent created phenotypic diversity and a system of multicultural, known in colonial times as *las castas* (breeds).

#### RACE, MESTIZAJE, AND THE CASTAS

By 1500 the concept of *raza* (race) replaced that of *generación* in the Americas, and the phenomenon of *el mestizaje*, a category that already existed under various names along the West African coast, emerged in the crucible of European hybridity that stressed the blending of civilization with savagery. *El mestizaje* means “the blending,” or “the mixing” of “races” and the mixing of “cultures.” But more than that, *el mestizaje* means “hybrid,” the breeding of the domesticated with the wild to improve the stock, or the “race.” Hybridity, and hence colonial *mestizaje*, exists where the civilized mixes with the savage or barbarian. Synonyms given in Spanish-English dictionaries for this phenomenon of culturally constructed miscegenation are “half-breed,” “crossbreed,” and “half caste.” *Mestizos*, the result of the hybrid mixing of Spanish or other Europeans with Africans and Native Americans, may derive from the medieval Spanish word *mesta*, which referred to an association of cattle breeders. What is clear is that concepts of culture and the powerful social construction of race emerge in the idea of *el mestizaje*.

People in the *castas* were subdivided again and again into imputed “blood mixtures” according to how they appeared to others. Examples included dark people who were only one part white or light people who were three parts white. Other categories proliferated in Spanish including names such as “wolf,” “throwback,” “near Spanish,” and even “there you are” or “where are you?” The types were so far from a person’s genetic make-up that a couple’s six children might each be categorized as being in a different *casta*. It was the label of

*mestizo* that encompassed them, that set them off from elite Spanish or whites, as well as from those classed as black and Indian.

As the socially constructed race of *mestizos* grew and grew, it remained separate from whites on the top of the economic, social, and political pyramid, and from those classed as *indios* and *negros* on the bottom. To paraphrase slightly the words of Ronald Stutzman, writing about the twentieth-century education system in Ecuador, *el mestizaje* became an all inclusive doctrine of exclusion. Two subdivisions of *el mestizaje* endured, and a third emerged to confound the entire notion of the tripartite pyramid of white, black, and Indian. One of these was the cultural construction of “hybridity” between white and Indian to produce *mestizo*. This is the prototype of *el mestizaje* in many Spanish-speaking nations, especially Mexico. In Guatemala, just to the south of Mexico, such people are known as *ladinos*. On the other side of the triangle is the cultural construction of “hybridity” between white and black to produce the *mulato*. This word is more complex and more explicitly racist than *mestizo*. It comes directly from horse and donkey breeding, wherein the cross between the two produces a sterile mule, from whence derives *mul-ata* (muled). What confounded all of this is the fact that indigenous people and people of African descent also interbred, shared cultural systems, and intermarried. Beginning about 1502, the very first African runaways on the Caribbean Island of Hispaniola escaped to the forested hills of the interior, which were occupied by Taíno indigenous people, who called these refuge zones *haití*, from which derives the contemporary Republic of Haiti. Indigenous people also fled oppression to areas secured by runaway Africans or black people from Spain, who were also enslaved in the Americas as the cultural concept *negro* (black) fused with *esclavo* (slave). The mixture without hybridity of indigenous people and African-descended people became known in many places as *zambo* or *zambaigo*. They soon came to constitute a confrontation with the European-American notions of hybridity because their socially constructed appearances and cultures owed nothing to the conquerors or colonials. The Spanish crown rejected this category and sought to convert it to *mulato*.

The liberator of northern South America from colonial rule, the Venezuelan Simón Bolívar (1783–1830), drew explicitly on this inverted triangle within a pyramidal triangle to create an ideology of continental unity against Spain (but not against whiteness), throughout South America. Together with the call for a liberation of enslaved peoples to serve the cause of an Americas revolution against colonial rule, he also championed a racial unity bound to common hybridity of the people of the continent. This ideology of hybridity, perhaps ironically, contributed directly to both the commemoration of Columbus Day as the *día de la raza* and the nationalist and continent-wide concept of *el mestizaje*. But following



the revolutions, the idea of oneness shattered in the face of the exclusions of indigenous people, on the one side, and the African-descended people, on the other. Another ideological force was necessary to forge unity within the diversity created by the Conquest and the 300 year-old colonial regimes.

### THE COSMIC RACE

In *The Rise and Fall of the Cosmic Race* (2004), Marilyn Grace Miller introduces the hubris of the Mexican educator, philosopher, and politician José Vasconcelos (1882–1959), who coined the figure of speech *la raza cósmica* (the cosmic race) to refer to the hybridized and whitening peoples of Latin America.

Although celebrated figures such as Simón Bolívar and José Martí had already posited equations between mixed race and Latin American identity, the 1925 publication of Mexican educator and politician José Vasconcelos' *La raza cósmica: Misión de la raza iberoamericana* (The Cosmic Race: Mission of the Ibero-American Race) marked the inception of a fully developed ideology of *mestizaje* that tied political and aesthetic self-definition and assertion to a racial discourse at both the national and the regional levels (p. 27).

Vasconcelos specifically contrasted ideologies of Latin America, as epitomized by the homogenizing vision of Simón Bolívar, with those of North America (the United States), as characterized by James Monroe. The former saw beauty and spiritual redemption in the concept of *mestizaje*, in its power of lightening or improving races, while the latter saw the darkening menace of miscegenation and sought to conquer those of darker skin living in Latin America and the Caribbean through what is, to Latin Americans, the infamous Monroe Doctrine. Vasconcelos spelled this out in his book *Bolivarismo y Monroísmo: Temas iberoamericanos* (Bolivarism and Monroism) in 1937. His first edition of *La raza cósmica* was published in Paris in 1925, then in Mexico in 1948, and again there in 1966, a span of some forty years, during which period the doctrine of *mestizaje*, and its accompanying, if often implicit, insistence on *blanqueamiento*, (whitening—in racial and cultural terms) and “improving the race and culture,” became an undergirding theme of Latin American developmentalism, permeating every area of life.

According to Miller, the slogan “*Por mi raza hablará el espíritu*” (the spirit will speak through my race) was to replace the fractured unities drawn together in revolution by warlords, heroes, and political bosses, and thus restore the Mexican people to a new homogeneity. Along the way, a united continent of Latin Americans opposed to the missions of the imperial north was to emerge. The

tragic flaw in this “cosmic race” notion as hubris for national identity or for a continent-wide movement of self-identity was the issue of *blanqueamiento*, and of its corollary concept *mejor la raza* (improve the race). Those classed as *mestizo* were stigmatized for their hybridity with Indian “blood,” or (less frequently in most countries) with African-descended phenotypes, both often referred to as *la mancha*, or “the stain” (of race).

The Puerto Rican poet and social critic Fortunato Vizcarrondo, in his satirical and ironical writings (published in his book of poems *Dinga y Mandinga*), summarized this stigmatizing affect of ancestry with the poem “¿y tu agüela, a'onde ejtá?” The Spanish is folk Puerto Rican for ¿y tu abuelo, adonde está? (where is your grandfather from?, or figuratively, “where are you hiding your ancestors?”) meaning “you may be lightening but we know you descend from blackness.” The latter is signaled by the concepts of “Dinga” and “Mandinga,” representing different African peoples well known by Iberians until the term *negro* came to subsume them. In some parts of Latin America the very concept of *mestizo* refers to the darkening of racial features, not lightening. This is the colonial notion of “throw back.” In fact, the figure of speech (common in both Puerto Rico and Cuba) “*lo que no tiene de dinga tiene de mandinga*” (what you don't have of the Dinga you have of the Mandinga) denies “whiteness” to the majority of people. Hybridity, in other words, cuts both ways: People who are lightening may be said to be upwardly mobile toward desired phenotypic and cultural features, or they may be backsliding into their darker indigenous- or African-descended roots.

### ENDURING RACISM: MESTIZAJE AS A POLARIZING SYMBOL

In the Andes of Ecuador and Peru, where the indigenous people far outnumber those of African descent, this phrase becomes “*lo que no tiene del inga tiene de mandinga*” (what you don't have of the Inca you have of the Mandinga). To move from the “racial” to the “cultural” stigma, one may say or write, “*quien no toca la flauta, toca el tambor*” (who doesn't play the flute [*indio*] plays the drum [*negro*]). These ditties stigmatize those classed as *mestizo* as either indigenous- or African-descended, or as a mixture of both. A very prominent liberal intellectual, Osvaldo Hurtado (1939–), the one-time president of Ecuador and one-time head of the Leftist Democratic political party in Ecuador, also favors the phrase in his often reprinted and updated book *Political Power in Ecuador* (1980, p. 325). He explicates the phrase by stating that it refers to that which is “in the blood,” which can be overcome only by cultural whitening. When he was president of Ecuador, Hurtado coined the phrase *indomestizaje* to refer to the populace of the country, but not to those of his upper-class position.

By doing so, he consciously omitted all traces of African-descended peoples from the nation's cultural make-up.

It should be clear by now that the doctrine, or ideology, or hubris of *el mestizaje* is best regarded as a polarizing symbol. From the standpoint or perspective of elites and those who are upwardly mobile with aspirations to adopt elite values, *mestizos* are those in the middle to lower rungs of a social ladder who have shed indigenous or African descended cultural orientations, values, dress, speech, or physical features. For those in the middle, however, who choose to move upward, *blanqueamiento* is their aspiration and *mestizaje* is their stigma. To those self-identifying as indigenous or black, *mestizos* are those who have shed their cultural orientation for a position to which they aspire, but which they cannot attain. This is the living dilemma of those whom many sociologists and journalists call the *clase mestiza*.

#### COUNTERFORCES TO "WHITENING" IDEOLOGY

There are many forces that work contrary to the doctrine of *el mestizaje* in Latin American nations. According to David M. Guss, in his book about Venezuela titled *The Festival State* (2000), *mestizaje* constitutes what many call the myth of racial democracy, the false nationalist premise promulgated by essentially white people (*los blancos*, or *blanquitos*) that Venezuelans do not have a perspective of "race": "the language of *mestizaje* masks unequal social relations between blacks and whites wherein *blanqueamiento* or 'whitening' is the unstated physical and cultural goal" (p. 61). Not only have blacks been subject to exclusion on the basis of *mestizaje* ideology in Venezuela, so too have its approximately 50,000 indigenous people. The fiery and controversial president of Venezuela, Hugo Chávez, changed the October 12 (Columbus Day) celebratory figure of speech from the *día de la raza* to *el día de la resistencia indígena* (the day of indigenous resistance) in 2002. By doing so, President Chávez was seeking to conjoin those against elitism and classism, against "whitening" as a key to upward mobility, as "indigenous." Thus far, those so categorized seem to accept this imagery and constitute a formidable political base.

Chávez prides himself in being of mixed heritage—black and indigenous—and he does not promulgate a doctrine of *mestizaje*. Rather, he regards himself as *pardo*, here meaning the mixing of Afro-descended people and indigenous-descended people. He proudly informs his followers, most of whom (if not all) are from lower classes and who are noticeably darker complexioned than those in upper socio-economic brackets, that his father was mixed Indian and black and that his grandmother was a Pumé Indian. This is a significant change in Latin American perspectives on "self" and "other," particularly



**Venezuelans Protest Columbus Day.** Protestors push a statue of Christopher Columbus through the street after pulling it down from a plaza in Caracas, Venezuela. In 2001, Venezuelan president Hugo Chávez declared Columbus Day as *el día de la resistencia indígena* (the day of indigenous resistance).

AP IMAGES.

for someone at the pinnacle of executive power and privilege. It marks the first time in Venezuelan history that a president has proclaimed himself to be *pardo* and to identify with those who have been and are *pardo*.

Chávez hails from the southern plains, or *llanos*, of Venezuela, an area long known for its black and indigenous mixtures, and for its spirit of rebellion. The liberator Simón Bolívar marched through these *llanos negros* (black plains, as they are known by some in Colombia) with an army of Haitian black soldiers, collecting another army of *pardo* warriors who swept through the Colombian *llanos* to their west. This turned into a successful campaign to free what is now Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador from the yoke of colonial rule. But, in the end, Bolívar promulgated a doctrine of *mestizaje*, fearing the force of the indigenous and black people upon whom he

depended during the revolution. Slaves were freed, but they were neither socially nor culturally liberated.

By bringing the power of the rebellious mixed-race *pardo* into the national scene, Chávez is spearheading a cultural-ethnic revolution, based on the actions of Simón Bolívar but divorced from the ideology of *mestizaje*. This is the cultural dimension of his *revolución bolivariana* (Bolivarian Revolution) that complements his goal of a populist-classist-socialist revolution. Other social movements resonate with that of Venezuela. For example, in Ecuador and Bolivia, indigenous people are forcefully seeking to exorcise the image of the whitening *mestizo* from their lexicon of self-liberation, and they are striving to change the national celebration of the Day of the Race to “500 años de resistencia” (500 years of resistance). The polarization of the two perspectives on the Day of the Race, which also constitutes the polarized perspectives on the celebration of *mestizaje*, places in strong relief a major cultural tension permeating many Latin American countries during the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

#### INTERCULTURALITY AND NORTH AMERICAN MESTIZAJE

Perhaps ironically, as the ideology of *el mestizaje* gives way to an ethos of *interculturalidad* (interculturality) in nations undergoing transformations to respect for the plurality represented by, especially, those of indigenous and African descent, the early to mid-twentieth century forces of cultural blending are making inroads in the United States. Near the end of her book on this subject, Miller writes:

“*Mestizaje* has repeatedly proven to be a flawed doctrine of Latin American identity that nonetheless continues to distinguish Latin Americans from their Northern neighbors. At the same time, it is newly mobilized and empowered through electronic diffusion that renders it ever more ubiquitous, so that its ideology is now pervasively felt in the United States, that same national and cultural power it was fashioned to repel” (Miller 2004, p. 142).

The transformation of *mestizaje* to interculturality in many Latin American nations, and its transformative manifestation among Chicano and Latina movements in the United States, suggests that the phenomena of Latin American interculturality and North American *mestizaje* stem from the same roots and have merged to become the same overall phenomenon. In Latin American nations, interculturality stresses a movement from one cultural system to another, whereas social and cultural pluralism and hybridity stress the institutional separation forced by the *blanco* (white) elite on diverse peoples. The latter is national, regional, and static; the former is local, regional, global, and dynamic. Latin American *mestizaje* emanates from the

top of social hierarchies and stifles creativity and the celebration of difference within a nation state. But in North America, the semantics change, for the ethos—probably born in the Mexican Revolution—is a bottom-up appreciation of the multiple experiences shared by peoples of other Latin American nations within the United States.

SEE ALSO *Blackness in Latin America; Blood Quantum; La Malinche; Latin American Racial Transformations; Multiculturalism; Multiracial Identities.*

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## EL PLAN DE SANTA BARBARA

During the heyday of the civil rights movement, in April 1969, the Coordinating Council on Higher Education, a network of Chicano students and professors, sponsored a meeting at the University of California, Santa Barbara. This

event became one of the most crucial episodes in the history of Chicanos in California. Out of the conference came *El Plan de Santa Barbara* (The Santa Barbara Plan), a schemata calling for the implementation of Chicano studies programs throughout the California university system. Many of the participants at Santa Barbara had attended the National Chicano Liberation Youth Conference at the Crusade for Justice (CFJ) Center in Denver, Colorado, organized by the CFJ's founder, Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, just one month earlier. More than 1,000 young people, most from California, participated in the Denver conference, engaging in the most intense celebration of Chicanismo (Chicano political ideological activity) to date. The most enduring concept that came out of this meeting was *El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán* (The Spiritual Plan of Aztlán), which proposed Chicano cultural separatism, if not a separate geo-political state, a position justified, according to the framers, by the "brutal 'gringo' invasion of our territories." The separate Chicano region in the southwest would be given the name "Aztlán."

This ideological experience inspired the Chicano student community in California to implement a higher education plan that would go beyond previous pronouncements. A major objective was to create a college curriculum that was relevant and useful in redressing social and economic inequality in Chicano communities. Higher education, the students reasoned, was a publicly funded infrastructure that enhanced the business community and other white bastions of power, while very little was spent on the needs of the tax-paying Chicano community. The Chicano students' plan of action centered on supporting a unified student movement called *El Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán* (MEChA, or the Aztlán Student Movement). The Santa Barbara activists claimed the term "Chicano" after this meeting vis-à-vis Mexican American, and the label became associated with community activism among the emerging young Mexican-origin intelligentsia. Activists elevated the word "Chicano" from its use in the 1920s to denote lower class Mexican immigrants, and from the slang of the 1940s and 1950s when it substituted for Mexicano, to symbolize the realization of a new found and unique identity. Because of its working class connotation, the term appeared more appropriate for a movement claiming grass roots membership; "Mexican American," according to this line of thinking, denoted individual upward mobility and class separation.

The most tangible and important accomplishment of the conference was the formulation of *El Plan de Santa Barbara*. The plan articulated the most resounding rejection of Mexican-American assimilationist ideology to date. Young Chicano activists insisted that older leaders of the "Mexican American Generation," active from the 1930s to the 1950s, had followed a strategy to gain civil rights objectives through litigation, electoral power, and diplomatic

appeals (and sometimes by claiming to be white), and that these approaches had not been successful. The framers of the plan advocated "Chicanismo," or a Chicano-centered ideology. According to the plan:

Chicanismo involves a crucial distinction in political consciousness between a Mexican American and a Chicano mentality. The Mexican American is a person who lacks respect for his culture and ethnic heritage. Unsure of himself, he seeks assimilation as a way out of his "degraded" social status. Consequently, he remains politically ineffective. In contrast, Chicanismo reflects self-respect and pride in one's ethnic and cultural background. . . . The Chicano acts with confidence and with a range of alternatives in the political world.

The curriculum envisioned by the Santa Barbara Plan would train a vanguard of future Chicano leaders, providing them with intimate knowledge of how American capitalism and racism had colonized their people. Each of these future leaders would know that "The liberation of his people from prejudice and oppression is in his hand and this responsibility is greater than personal achievement and more meaningful than degrees, especially if they are earned at the expense of this identity and cultural integrity."

The plan did specify a commitment to physical action, such as unionizing or to striving for a separate country. It also encouraged students to enroll in higher education. The Mexican American emphasis on getting a good education remained integral to the Chicano movement, but not at the expense of assimilating into Anglo society and forgetting their roots in the community. According to the plan, students should share control with the faculty in administering Chicano studies programs, including participating in the hiring and firing of professors in accordance with criteria established by Chicanos, not by the university administration.

After the meeting at Santa Barbara, Chicano studies departments, programs, and research centers became instituted—many, if not most, through student militancy. Most of the California state colleges and universities instituted such centers and teaching programs, as did numerous institutions of higher education in the Southwest, Michigan, Wisconsin, and New York. An enduring legacy of the *El Plan de Santa Barbara* is the "ownership" many college students articulate and insist on within these academic departments and research centers. Any tension this creates is resolved in different ways across different settings, but ultimately the goal of the plan to support civic engagement in the university is a vibrant intellectual and political force in higher education.

SEE ALSO *Aztlán*.

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*F. Arturo Rosales*

## EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

The Emancipation Proclamation was issued by President Abraham Lincoln on January 1, 1863. It declared that “all persons held as slaves” in the rebellious jurisdictions of the Confederate States “are, and henceforward shall be free.” With this executive proclamation, which Lincoln justified as a matter of “military necessity,” approximately 3.5 million African Americans in the Confederacy were emancipated from the bonds of slavery.

The Emancipation Proclamation was part of a lengthy process by which Lincoln, the first avowed anti-slavery president to be elected, moved the United States toward eliminating the enslavement of Africans. Lincoln had long harbored a distaste and opposition to slavery. However, he did not believe the federal Constitution allowed the federal government to abolish slavery unilaterally. Moreover, he believed slavery was a regressive institution that would eventually die out on its own. Lincoln’s inactivity disappeared after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, which appeared to open the western territories of the United States to slave expansion. Lincoln stood for the U.S. Senate in 1855 as an opponent of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and again in 1858 as a candidate of the new anti-antislavery Republican Party. He was elected president in 1860.

Lincoln attempted to calm dissension in the slave states, chiefly by agreeing to enforce the Fugitive Slave Act, but it was feared in these states that Lincoln would use the discretionary powers of the presidency to subvert slavery all the same. In fact, within six months of his inauguration, Lincoln composed a federal buyout plan that used offers of federal bonds to induce slave state legislatures to emancipate their slaves. By the spring of 1861, eleven slave states severed their ties to the federal Union and organized their own rival slave republic.

Lincoln interpreted the secession of the states as an “insurrection,” and he invoked the president’s war powers under the Constitution. Many antislavery advocates urged him to use the insurrection as the occasion to



**Emancipation Proclamation.** This illustration by J. W. Watts depicts an African American slave family gathered to hear about the Emancipation Proclamation. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

emancipate the enslaved through a war powers proclamation. Lincoln, however, was aware that the legal status of his war powers was ambiguous and he was unwilling to risk an emancipation proclamation that the federal courts might strike down. Furthermore, Lincoln was wary of alienating the four slave states (Delaware, Missouri, Kentucky, and Maryland) that had remained loyal to the Union. By 1862 Lincoln became convinced that a presidential proclamation was the only remaining option. The war had gone badly for the North, Lincoln’s caution on the slavery issue had failed to break the cohesion of the South, and the Confiscation Acts of 1861 and 1862, which freed slaves used in the Confederate war effort, had limited effect.

The Confiscation Acts provided only for the “confiscation” of rebel property, including slaves, but did not guarantee change of title; hence, slaves “confiscated” under the federal government legally remained slaves but were now in the custody of the federal government. Lincoln believed that the Acts, as *in rem* proceedings and as punishments for treason, violated the Constitution’s ban on bills of attainder, and in fact, very little enforcement of the Acts was undertaken. Even the Acts’ chief architect, Lyman Trumbull, admitted that the Confiscation Acts were mostly designed for political effect and would result in freedom for very few slaves. On July 22, 1862, Lincoln read a first draft of an emancipation proclamation to his cabinet; on their advice, he waited until after a Union victory in battle to issue the proclamation in preliminary form, which was done on September 22, 1862. He signed it into law on January 1, 1863.

The proclamation was not, in many respects, a radical document. It freed slaves, but did not abolish slavery as an institution, and it limited the extent of emancipation only to the geographical areas of the Confederacy still in actual rebellion and out of Union control so that the slaves in the loyal slave states and the occupied districts of the confederacy remained in slavery. These limitations, however, represent Lincoln's interest in heading off federal court challenges. In other respects, the proclamation was radical indeed: All of the slaves remaining within the Confederacy were declared permanently free, and "the armed service of the United States" was now opened to freed slaves who would enlist to fight against their former masters. Moreover, once issued, Lincoln refused any suggestion that he use the proclamation as a bargaining chip with the Confederate authorities.

Lincoln nevertheless remained anxious about possible court challenges after the war's close, and in 1864 he urged Congress to pass a Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution and completely abolish slavery as an institution. He also remained unsure about the civil status of the freed slaves, at one point underwriting an experiment in colonizing freed slaves out of the United States to the Caribbean. By 1864 it was clear that the freed slaves had no desire to leave the United States, and Lincoln turned to a variety of initiatives for granting citizenship and equal civil rights to the freed men and women.

Black enthusiasm for Lincoln and the proclamation was, in the generation following emancipation, almost reverential. Modern African-American interpretation has been more inclined to fault Lincoln for the proclamation's limitations. But a total presidential abolition may have incurred precisely the judicial retaliation Lincoln feared. In the end, the Proclamation and the Thirteenth Amendment together pointed the nation in the direction of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and full civil equality for African Americans.

**SEE ALSO** *Abolition Movement; Black Civil War Soldiers; Civil War Politics and Racism; Slavery, Racial; United States Constitution.*

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## ENGLISH SKINHEADS

"Skinheads" have become the most recognizable group within the white supremacist movement in America and Europe. Their unique haircuts and modes of dress set them apart from nonracist youth, and their propensity for violence distinguishes them from their more staid racist colleagues. The skinhead movement has spread throughout most Western nations and has evolved far beyond its simple beginnings in 1960s London.

The earliest British Skinheads appeared in the late 1960s as an outgrowth of the "mod" movement. They were sons of the working class and began dressing in what was essentially a caricature of the working man's uniform: short denim jeans, T-shirts, suspenders, and black Doc Marten boots. They clustered in nightclubs featuring reggae bands in the early 1970s, and music remains central to the subculture, though the preferred musical genre has evolved from reggae to punk to Oi! (a blend of "street punk," various forms of rock, and football cheers) and to White Power rock-and-roll.

In the early twenty-first century, there are essentially two conflicting skinhead cultures, both remarkably similar yet in violent opposition to each other. On one side of the divide are nonracist skinheads, led by organizations such as Skinheads Against Racial Prejudice (SHARP) and Anti-Racist Action (ARA), and on the other side are the racist skinheads. They dress in a similar manner, they listen to similar music, and they spend time in the same clubs, but they fight over which side represents the true skinheads—the white supremacists or the antiracists.

Skinheads in Britain generally eschew large, organized groups, preferring to spend their time in tight-knit, geographically determined packs. The groups, or gangs, are overwhelmingly male, and the rare female is generally treated as a sexual object, unless she is in her thirties or older, when she may be treated as a mother to a local gang. Skinhead violence occurs over issues of turf, class-based ideology, and ethnicity. The violence is often brutal, and it typically involves mass assaults against individuals or smaller groups. The preferred method of violence is a stomping party, in which a group gathers around a downed victim and stomps him with their Doc Marten boots. Such assaults usually result in death or severe injury.

**SEE ALSO** *Gangs and Youth Violence; Neo-Nazis; White Racial Identity.*

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J. Keith Akins

## ETHNIC CLEANSING

Cultural diversity within the same state or society has often led to problems of accommodation in sharing space and designing an acceptable form of governance. With few exceptions, nearly all of the 187 countries of the world are polyethnic, with about 40 percent comprising five or more ethno-national communities. This proliferation of ethno-national groups within states has resulted in numerous internal struggles, which in turn have generated costly humanitarian crises and created millions of refugees. Among the more nefarious tactics for coping with ethno-cultural diversity, apart from genocide and partition, has been the policy called “ethnic cleansing.” This peculiar practice involves a deliberate and often planned program of forcible removal and expulsion of an ethno-cultural community from its homeland and territory. The term itself is derived from the Serbian-Croatian phrase *etničko čišćenje*. It emerged in the early 1990s during the Bosnian-Yugoslav war, and it has since become generalized and popularized for any similar practice by any perpetrator, not only in relation to contemporary ethnic conflicts but for all structurally similar conflicts throughout history.

Episodes of ethnic cleansing have generally been marked by violence and egregious human rights violations and atrocities. The “cleansed” community is compelled to leave, usually on very short notice, and they are transported to inhospitable regions, with many dying along the way. The intent, however, is not to physically eliminate the community, as in genocide, but to remove it from a territory. The brutal methods employed, however, often border on the genocidal. The context of a security threat or war, either before or after the event, usually offers the cover for the cruel and callous mass removal of the victims to inhospitable or dangerous destinations. Often implicated as ethno-cultural factors are ethno-racial motives and patterns.

### DEFINING ETHNIC CLEANSING

In ethnic cleansing, the target may be a group that is perceived as possessing a distinctive way of life, or it may simply be an ethnic or ethno-cultural community. Ethnicity can be defined as a collective group consciousness that imparts a sense of belonging and is derived from membership in a community putatively bound by common descent and culture. The ethnic group is thus a cultural community, an intimately interactive society of shared symbols and meanings, and, as Walker Connor notes, it is “the largest group that can be aroused, stimulated to action, by appeals to common ancestors and to a blood-bond” (Connor 2004, p.23). Generally, ethno-cultural communities in polyethnic states tend to stake their claims to a distinctive identity by attributing to themselves in their narratives of origin not only cultural and historical differences, but also racial myths of superiority over rival groups.

The term *race*, as used here, refers to socially constructed categories assigned to putative physical and biological human differences, which tend to establish structures of inequality and political hegemony (UNESCO 1951). In many cases, racial claims in the construction of cultural identities tend to be quite explicit, as in apartheid in South Africa. In many other cases, however, the racial aspect is less evident and intermixed with other factors. It is also frequently denied altogether. Some communities that are deemed “ethno-racial” are actually recent inventions, as in the case of Rwanda. In the nineteenth century, colonial conquest, accompanied by European theories of scientific racism, led to the creation of many “racial” categories among colonial peoples.

### JUSTIFYING AND EXPLAINING

#### ETHNIC CLEANSING

Many economic, strategic, religious, and other justifications have been advanced by perpetrators of ethnic cleansing. Outright racial reasons have also been used. Under the apartheid system in South Africa, for example, this involved the uprooting of African peoples and the setting up of segregated residential townships and “homelands.” In nineteenth-century Europe, the development of so-called scientific theories of racial differentiation and hierarchy served to justify the forcible displacement and expulsion of indigenous and colonized Third World peoples from their homelands. In 1797 the British expelled the indigenous Caribs from St. Vincent Island in the Caribbean because they offered sanctuary to escaped slaves. The people of St. Vincent were removed to Roatan Island off the coast of Honduras. The larger context for this action was a concept of racial categorization in which a militarily superior European group could displace a black community deemed to be inferior.

Similar racial categorizations allowed the indigenous peoples of North America to be pushed into the interior hinterland and finally consigned to reservations. While mainly executed under the Indian Removal Act of 1830, there were numerous cases of Native Americans being forcibly uprooted and relocated. The practice of expelling native peoples from their land to peripheral areas was also enacted in conjunction with the establishment of white settler colonies in Africa, South America, and Australia. In Tasmania, systematic displacement eventually led to the virtual liquidization of an entire aboriginal community.

Many theories have been advanced to explain the phenomenon of ethnic cleansing, ranging from internal psychological drives to materialistic and rationalistic economic propositions. Perhaps the best known of these theories focuses on the idea of “ancient hatreds” to account for the periodic resurgence of ethnic strife in certain regions, such as the Balkans. Ethnic cleansing is

thus linked to deeply embedded animosities. Implicit in this explanation is the idea of descent, or blood, suggesting an inherent feature inscribed in the rituals, historical narratives, and cultural symbolism of these communities, and implying a natural and recurrent trajectory of revenge and retaliation. Yet in an empirical investigation on the recurrence of ethnic cleansing worldwide, John Fearon and David Laitin found that in sub-Saharan Africa, where all states are multiethnic, “there are only a few cases of murderous ethnic cleansing” (Fearon and Laitin 1996, p. 21).

### THE ROLE OF NATIONALISM

Another notable explanation of ethnic cleansing identifies nationalism as the key factor. In this proposition, the idea of “territory” has become connected with the cultural and linguistic uniformity of the state. Nationalism thereby becomes a homogenizing element, with national identity as the acid test of belonging. Each of the major European states, although populated by several minorities, has a dominant ethnic core so that the imperatives of nationalism, in sanctioning the demand of each ethno-cultural people for its own state, create a justification for mass expulsion, genocide, and ethnic cleansing. Hence, since the inception of the nation-state, there have been waves of ethno-nationalist movements accompanied by mass expulsions and ethnic cleansing.

After World War I, with the dissolution of the multi-ethnic Austro-Hungarian, Ottoman, and Russian empires, the principle of ethno-national self-determination guided the creation of several new states that required the transfer of several minority groups. Under the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923, compulsory population transfers between Greece and Turkey occurred, involving 1.5 million Greeks and 400,000 Turks. Under the Neuilly Treaty of 1919, some 100,000 Bulgarians and 35,000 Greeks were exchanged between Greece and Bulgaria. Under the Potsdam Protocol of 1945, German minorities in certain European nations were forced to migrate back to German soil. This movement of some 12 to 16 million persons expelled from Poland and Czechoslovakia remains the largest mass expulsion in history. Finally, after the collapse of Yugoslavia in the early 1990s, some three million persons were displaced as Croats, Serbs, and Muslims took turns—each often using mutually dehumanizing racio-cultural slurs and categories—cleansing claimed territory of their communal adversaries. It was from these campaigns of terror and inhumane brutality that the Croat-Serbian term *ethnic cleansing* was coined.

In implicating the state as a main culprit of violence against minorities, especially through ethnic cleansing, not only have nationalism and industrial technology been implicated, but so has the principle of democracy. Accord-



*Ethnic Albanian Refugees, 1999.* An ethnic Albanian woman and her baby are part of a group of refugees driven from their village near Pristina, Kosovo, by violent clashes between ethnic Albanian rebels and Serbian security forces. AP IMAGES.

ing to this view, majoritarian democracy, combined with the statist ideology of nationalism, offers a potent justification for the expulsion and repression of minorities. Michael Mann has argued that in the making of contemporary liberal democratic states in the West, especially settler democracies like the United States, “murderous ethnic cleansing” was pervasive. “The countries inhabited by Europeans are now safely democratic, but most have been ethnically cleansed” (Mann 2005, pp. 4–5).

### THE ROLE OF RELIGION

Many theorists of ethnic cleansing have singled out the ethno-religious factor as paramount. Andrew Bell-Fialkoff argues that in ancient times religious diversity and tolerance were the norm, and that population cleansing was mainly motivated by economic gain and political power. Following this period, with the emergence of Christianity and Islam as universalizing faiths linked to the state and the territory of empires, religion became politicized and the main marker



of identity and belonging. As a result, religious fervor and intolerance became widespread, compelling conversion, expulsion, and even massacres. Hence, the First Crusade (1096–1099) left wide swaths of territory cleansed of Muslims and Jews. The expulsion of Jews from various parts of Europe, including expulsions from Spain in 1492 and from Portugal in 1497, is a well-known example of ethno-religious cleansing. After the *Reconquista* in Spain, expulsions of Muslims and Jews occurred from the eighth through the fifteenth centuries. When the Christian Church suffered its major schismatic division following the Reformation, religious wars between Catholic and Protestant forces, especially in France and Germany, led to numerous massacres and expulsions. Noteworthy is the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre of Protestants in France in 1572, as well as the dispersal of French Protestants after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685.

Other notable cases of European ethno-religious cleansing refer to the expulsion of the Catholic Irish from Ulster between 1609 and 1641, when their land was taken over by Scottish and English settlers. Religion also played a pivotal role in the Balkan Wars in the 1880s, when the pushing back of the borders of Ottoman Empire saw the wholesale expulsion of Muslims. In the collapse of the Ottoman Empire following World War I, widespread ethno-religious expulsion and exchanges occurred, including the large-scale movement of Armenians and Greeks from Anatolia and other areas. In the twentieth century, the partition of India to create two separate states, India and Pakistan, led to extensive ethnic cleansing as millions of Hindus and Muslims were removed from their old communities. Following the collapse of Yugoslavia in 1991, the civil wars in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, Serbia, and Croatia saw widespread ethnic cleansing with a religious motive. In Kosovo, both Albanians and Serbs took turns forcibly removing one another. In the twenty-first century, religious differences between Muslims and Christians have played a pivotal role in the murder and cleansing that has occurred in Darfur, Sudan. Hence, while the religious variable is rarely the sole motivator, it often offers a justification for economic and political greed.

Quite frequently, religion is combined with other factors to justify the mass expulsion of a group. For instance, religion and economic interests have featured in European colonization projects that included the displacement of indigenous peoples in the Americas, Australia, and Africa. These settlers saw the acquisition of the land of native peoples as divinely ordained, while it simultaneously served economic interests and provided land for settlement.

#### ECONOMIC FACTORS

Economic motivations for ethnic cleansing, including the expropriation and looting of property of the victims, have

accounted for the forcible displacement of ethno-cultural communities. Among the most frequent claims by perpetrators of ethnic cleansing is a demand for equity and rectification in the face of exploitation and unjust gain by the other group. In culturally plural societies, this proposition relates to the perception of comparative collective shares and benefits that the communal groups enjoy relative to each other. Any perceived incidence of inequality assumes a particularly piquant and penetrating quality that can awaken images and stereotypes of rival ethno-cultural communities in the same state. Many of the claims of an aggrieved community, which could be the majority ethno-cultural group against a relatively more prosperous minority group marked off by religion and culture, seem to be elucidated by this dynamic. Both the Chinese in Indonesia and the Asian Indians in Uganda were deemed economic exploiters and expelled. In part, the displacement of the Armenians and Greeks by the Turks after World War I was driven by jealousy because these groups were relatively more prosperous and industrious than the majority Muslim population.

#### POLITICAL FACTORS

Political and strategic explanations have often taken center stage in elucidating ethnic cleansing. Included in this category are security and power perspectives. Essentially, as a political act of power, ethnic cleansing incorporates multiple motives of a military and strategic nature, as well as political acquisition and consolidation, economic aggrandizement, land settlement, cultural domination, racial discrimination, greed, and jealousy. In the Ottoman Empire, which was ethnically diverse, Armenians and Greek communities located in frontier or strategically significant regions were removed. Stalin's uprooting of the Chechen-Ingush peoples in the Caucasus during World War II was similarly motivated. Among the most prominent of the ingredients that enter into the calculus for territorial cleansing, apart from military-strategic interests, is the creation of a culturally homogenous state.

State creation that seeks congruence between territorial claims and cultural uniformity has already been discussed under the rubric of nationalism. Population transfers became part of the process of establishing more homogenous states with cruel expulsions and uprooting being part of the process, especially after the collapse of the Ottoman, Hapsburg, and Russian empires after World War I and with the defeat of the Axis powers after World War II. With the growth of industrial technology in the well-organized centralized states, ethnic cleansing became more complete and bordered on genocide. The twentieth century witnessed the worst cases of large-scale ethnic cleansing culminating in the 1990s when the Soviet Union collapsed leaving some 25 million ethnic Russians living outside of

their homeland. Many of these Russians, though they had resided in these other countries of the Soviet Union for many years—even generations—were subject to overt and covert pressures by the liberated states such as Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, and forced to leave. Likewise, when the Yugoslav state disintegrated there was a massive displacement of peoples. In the twenty-first century, ethnic cleansing continued in Darfur, Sudan, as well as in Iraq, where Sunnis and Shias expelled each other from their regions and neighborhoods.

### QUESTIONS AND AMBIGUITIES

Overall, several controversies and areas of ambiguity surround the use of the term *ethnic cleansing*. Are instances of the phenomenon always violent and swift? As a deliberate and planned policy of population transfer, can it not also be gradual and nonviolent? Among the nonviolent methods that can be applied, a state can deploy discriminatory policies and sanction unofficial abusive tactics to pressure an ethno-cultural community to migrate voluntarily. In Fiji, for example, after the military coup of 1987, the new regime—claiming to be guided by Christian principles—resorted to religiously discriminatory policies and terrorist tactics aimed at reducing, if not eliminating, the Asian Indian community, the members of which were mainly Hindus and Muslims. Over the course of a few years, with procedures simplified for their departure, Indians went from being the majority population in Fiji to being only 35 to 37 percent of the population.

Another question is whether the removal of an ethno-cultural community has to be officially planned and executed to qualify as ethnic cleansing. The use of terrorist tactics by thugs and paramilitaries can be condoned with impunity, for example, while a complicit governing regime denies any involvement.

In practice, it is not always clear that ethnic cleansing is a distinct category. It often seems to shade into other related practices, such as genocide and pressured migration. The term *genocide* was first coined in 1944 by Raphael Lemkin, a Russian lawyer of Polish-Jewish descent. It is defined by the United Nations as a criminal act aimed at destroying, in whole or part, an ethnic, religious, or national group. What distinguishes it from ethnic cleansing is the intent of genocidal acts to exterminate a community rather than transport them to another area. Periodically, however, during the frenzy to uproot and remove an ethno-cultural community, as in the cases of the expulsion of Germans after World War II and the Armenians and Greeks during World War I in Turkey, methods may quickly degenerate from nonviolent pressure to open massacres suggestive of genocide. It thus seems to fit in a continuum of methods ranging from the most indirect and subtle, such as policies of multiculturalism and assimilation, to the most brutal, such as physical exter-

mination. Likewise, the intent of the perpetrators can alternate between displacement and genocide. Given the wartime context and aura under which most programs of ethnic cleansing tend to occur, the role of old prejudices and the settling of scores can be concealed from view, as can greed for the easy acquisition of the property and wealth of the victims. Official strategic justifications can thus obscure the true intent of perpetrators.

Generally, the racial aspect of ethnic cleansing raises fundamental issues in the general scholarship pertaining to race, culture, and biology. The biological perspective, in which genetic heredity and phenotype are paramount, is often embedded in a culturalist idiom. This means that many of the ethno-cultural conflicts in which the expulsion of minorities occurs should be categorized as ethno-racial as well. All of this suggests that race, as an idiomatic expression of culture, is a much more pervasive feature of social relations and constitutes a silent subtext in many conflicts, including ethnic strife in the industrial countries of the West. In effect, in many ethnic conflicts that are not manifestly focused around racial categorization, the claims and identities created by ethnic groups have a subtext that includes a belief in some sort of common descent. In the contemporary international context of widespread media exposure it is difficult to conceal ethnic cleansing, but the true intent of perpetrators remains, such that many brutal acts of murder and mayhem seem to border on genocide. The case of Darfur in the Sudan is such an example.

**SEE ALSO** *Apartheid; Genocide; Genocide and Ethnocide; Genocide in Rwanda; Genocide in Sudan; Holocaust; Mayan Genocide in Guatemala; Social Problems.*

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## ETHNOCENTRISM

Ethnocentric persons believe that the principles and practices of their own tribe, nation, or ethnic group are not just different from other groups, but superior in some sense, perhaps because they are more sacred, or perhaps more reasonable, or more practical. At the highest intellectual level, some cultures regard their own religious beliefs and systems of morality as representing the wishes of the only true God, while they assert that the beliefs of others are derived from a false god, or have been misinterpreted by false prophets. Even among religions that represent “people of the book”—Jews, Christians, and Muslims—some denominations maintain that they are the only people who “got it right,” while other denominations and religions are wallowing in sin and ignorance. Ironically, congregations and denominations are oftentimes most critical of those who, by any objective measure, are most similar to themselves—Shia and Sunni Muslims, Protestant and Catholic Christians, Theravada and Mahayana Buddhists.

Disagreements among religionists at an apparently theological level frequently have social and political consequences for their respective adherents. Mahayana Buddhism, for example, is more ecumenical than Theravada Buddhism. The role of women is frequently at issue among religionists, as well as the proper structure of a family and attitudes toward other “races” and nations. In many cases, these social beliefs are part of a formal cosmology, frequently incorporating a creation story that delineates and rationalizes proper roles in society. For people of the book, the cosmology/creation story that they share is included in the Book of Genesis, with its narratives of the stories of Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, and the flood, which have been variously interpreted by theologians of the three faiths. All three religions have added supplemental sacred texts—such as the Jewish Mishnah, the Christian New Testament, and the Islamic Koran—which address the cultural differences among the three groups—concerning such social and political issues as pacifism, polygyny, diet, government, and even business practices such as the sanctity of contracts and charging interest for loans.

While large-scale, literate religious groups such as those above have most often accepted each other as “civilized,” in some sense, the same courtesy has not been extended historically to the practitioners of “primitive” religion. The most famous of the early comparative religious scholars, Sir James Frazer, contrasted civilized with “primitive” religions as a matter of real religion versus “magic.” In a classically ethnocentric manner, he managed to define *magic* in a way that made tribal religions seem to be magical while the “great religions” were not, being characterized as monotheistic and abstract instead of superstitious and magical. Critics soon challenged Frazer’s definitions, pointing out, for example, that Christian beliefs in transubstantiation or the power of prayer clearly constituted “magic” by Frazer’s own definition.

The acknowledged founder of modern anthropology, Sir Edward Burnett Tylor, wrote easily and ethnocentrically about “primitive” beliefs in his book, *Primitive Culture* (1871). Like other cultural evolutionists of his day, he placed existing “primitive” societies on a historical scale leading from savagery to civilization, with different tribal societies of his day representing extinct societies that were the antecedents of “civilized” peoples. At that time, the word *savage* was also used to describe people known in the twenty-first century as *tribal* or *pre-literate*, an even more derogatory term than *primitive*. Franz Boas, the usually progressive founder of anthropology in the United States, used the milder term in his 1911 book, *The Mind of Primitive Man*, but his contemporary Bronislaw Malinowski wrote of *The Sexual Life of Savages* in 1929, and a 1966 book by Claude Lévi-Strauss was entitled *The Savage Mind*, although the term *savage* is considered less offensive in his original French than in English.

For a time in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the languages of tribal peoples were likewise regarded as “primitive.” European traders and travelers often reported that the native peoples of Africa and Indonesia spoke languages that were “guttural,” consisting of mere grunts and noises. Of course, the people who made these observations did not speak the languages in question, and so these comments are more an expression of European ignorance than of the “primitive” condition of native languages. In the twentieth century, textbooks in general linguistics made a serious effort to dispel these misunderstandings about language, pointing out that some languages had more sounds than others, and some had grammars that were more complicated than others, but there were no general criteria that could be used to categorize certain languages as “primitive.” A language might be simple in some respects, such as number of sounds, but very complicated in other respects, such as grammar. Also, they pointed out, it is ethnocentric to describe one language as intrinsically easy to learn and another as difficult. Whether it is easy or

difficult depends on what language one speaks already. From the standpoint of English, Chinese is a difficult language. But to one who already speaks a Tibetan language, Chinese is easy. And to a speaker of Chippewa Indian language, Pequot is easy. And to those who speak English, German is easy.

The complexities of cultures maintained by supposedly “primitive” peoples are also apparent in their religious beliefs and ceremonies. The Cheyenne Indians of North America, for example, envision a universe of two poles, male spirituality at the zenith and female materiality at the nadir. The cardinal directions represent philosophical contrasts between such entities as life and death, fertility and sterility, sickness and health, energy and nothingness, good luck and bad, symbolized by various colors, animals, and astronomical features. In their ceremonies, which have been well described, they celebrate good and beneficial plants and animals, and each supporting pole of the sacred ceremonial lodge represents a human virtue. Descriptions of many other religious and ceremonial complexes of tribal peoples on every continent were published in the twentieth century, for example, descriptions of the Tukano Indians of South America, the Kachin of Burma, and the Ndembu of Africa (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1971, Leach 1970, Turner 1967). As with languages, the observation that tribal religions were in any sense “primitive” says more about the ethnocentric and often racist and intolerant attitudes of the European observers than about the condition of tribal religions.

Although anthropologists were responsible for drawing attention to the notion of *primitive* in the nineteenth century, with its ethnocentric connotations of cultural and racial inferiority, they also developed ideas of *psychic unity* and *cultural relativity*, which are opposite to the notion of ethnocentrism. The German scientist Adolf Bastian is generally credited with inventing the idea of psychic unity, which states that the brain power and sensitivities of all human beings are essentially the same, no matter where they live or who they are. He offered this idea in his 1860 book *Der Mensch in der Geschichte* (People in history). Cultural relativism is a similar idea but with many authors, gaining widespread acceptance among social scientists in the twentieth century. The earliest antecedent for these ideas is probably Charles de Montesquieu, who wrote in *The Spirit of the Laws* in 1748 that whereas Islamic laws worked very well for Arabs in North Africa, Christian laws worked just as well for European societies, because the two cultures were generally different from one another. One culture was not superior to the other, they were merely different. This idea was picked up by twentieth century scholars and elaborated as structural functionalism, making the point that each legal code, like everything else, had to be

understood in its social and historical context. All cultures had component parts that fit together to make an integrated whole.

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## ETHNOCIDE

SEE *Genocide and Ethnocide*.

## EUGENICS, HISTORY OF

Eugenics, or the selective breeding of humans with the aim of improving their hereditary quality, has been entangled with ideas about race since the modern eugenics movement was founded by the British explorer, cartographer, and statistician Francis Galton (1822–1911) in the second half of the nineteenth century. Although Galton was primarily concerned with inherited individual differences, he also provided a scientific gloss on the standard racial views of his time, place, and social class. Thus, Galton thought he had shown scientifically that not just individuals, but also nations and races (defined as broadly as blacks and whites and as narrowly as Bohemians, Prussians, Bantus, Irish Celts, and Lowland Scots) differed in their inborn mental, moral, and temperamental as well as physical characteristics. (In the nineteenth century, the categories of race and nationality were often conflated.)

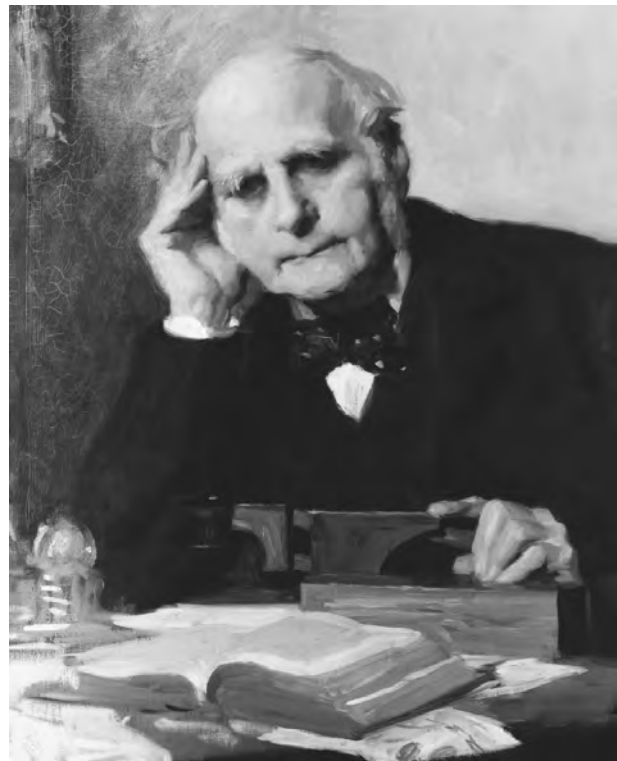
Among the “races” existing in his own time, Galton ranked Australian Aborigines at the bottom and Anglo-Saxons and Teutons at the top. Not all eugenicists, in Galton’s day or later, were as biased as he was, however, and some were concerned only with the future of the “human race” as a whole. On occasion, especially in Latin countries, race mixing was even viewed as desirable. But

eugenicists generally favored maintaining racial purity, and their concerns about foreign admixture played an important role in shaping eugenic attitudes and programs in many countries, most notably in the United States, Canada, Australia, and Germany.

#### THE IMPACT OF EVOLUTIONARY THEORY

Although the concept of eugenics extends back at least to Plato, the idea that human breeding should be consciously controlled remained largely theoretical until the late nineteenth century. An important factor in converting an abstract idea into a social movement was the newfound anxiety associated with the prospect of biological degeneration, which was prompted by the new theory of evolution by natural selection. In 1859, Galton's cousin, Charles Darwin (1809–1882), published his revolutionary treatise *On the Origin of Species*. Darwin argued that evolution occurred and that its main mechanism, natural selection, involved a fierce struggle for existence in which the fittest organisms survive to reproduce their kind, while the less fit leave few if any progeny. Both Darwin and his readers (unlike most modern biologists) conceived of natural selection as a progressive process that led inexorably to the improvement of plants and animals. Although Darwin cautiously avoided any discussion of his own species in the *Origin*, questions immediately arose about whether humans had also evolved (and if so, were they evolving still?).

Darwin himself believed that humans were indeed products of natural selection, but that this process had been largely halted in “civilized societies,” where medical care and public and private charity salvaged many of those who would in previous times or in less advanced societies have succumbed to cold, hunger, or disease. Although troubled by the implications of this relaxation of selection, Darwin kept his worries largely to himself at that point. Others were much less reticent, however. Among the first to explore the meaning of Darwin's theory for human social arrangements was Galton. In his 1869 book *Hereditary Genius*, Galton argued for intervention in human breeding based on the assumption that natural selection was no longer effective at culling the weak in mind and body, and that hereditary paupers, imbeciles, and criminals were reproducing at a dangerously rapid rate. At the same time, meanwhile, the most capable members of society married late and had few children. Thus, Galton argued, only a program of artificial selection could reverse the resulting degeneration. In 1883 he named this program *eugenics*, from the Greek word for “well-born,” and described its two dimensions: “negative eugenics” would aim at discouraging the inferior members of society from



**Sir Francis Galton.** British scientist Sir Francis Galton is credited as the founder of eugenics. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

having children, and “positive eugenics” would encourage the most capable to reproduce early and often.

#### DEBATING INNATENESS

Galton's argument rested on the assumption that mental, moral, and temperamental traits were innate and largely fixed at birth, and that when people succeeded in life it was because they had inherited the requisite traits. Likewise, when people failed it was because they lacked the requisite traits. The inferior social condition of women, the poor, Irish, Africans, and others was explained by their inborn traits. Because bad heredity was to blame for pauperism and vice, selective breeding was the only effective response.

The idea that individuals and groups differed by nature was not new, nor was its use in rationalizing social inequalities. Since the Enlightenment and the associated rise of “scientific racism,” innate differences had been invoked to explain why some people possessed social, political, and economic power while others did not. Indeed, at the time Galton wrote, the question of the relative influence of “innate character” and “institutional arrangements” in explaining human differences, especially in respect to gender, nation, and race, was being bitterly debated in Britain.

In this controversy, the philosopher and economist John Stuart Mill became the chief standard-bearer for the view that human nature is not fixed and that institutions shape character. Thus, in his influential *Principles of Political Economy* (1848), Mill wrote: "Of all the vulgar modes of escaping from the consideration of the social and moral influences on the human mind, the most vulgar is that of attributing the diversities of conduct and character to inherent natural differences" (p. 319). Indeed, Mill thought that the chief barrier to social reform was the belief that differences among individuals and groups were largely innate and fixed rather than the product of circumstances.

### IRELAND AND JAMAICA

During the Irish famine of the 1840s, Mill published a series of newspaper articles on conditions in Ireland. His portrait of the Irish was not flattering, for he viewed them as lazy and brutish. But unlike many other commentators, Mill did not attribute their degraded condition to innate racial characteristics. On the contrary, he argued that it resulted from patterns of land tenure, and he proposed that the government drain uncultivated wastelands and divide them into small farms in order to create a class of independent peasants. Mill argued that peasant proprietorship would be morally transformative, and that if peasants came to feel that they counted for something, they would not choose to live in squalor.

Many others considered the Irish to be a distinct inferior race whose condition resulted from their nature and was unalterable. For example, in his 1869 "Realities of Irish Life," the essayist William Greg wrote:

"Make them peasant-proprietors," says Mr. Mill. But Mr. Mill forgets that, til you change the character of the Irish cottier [landless agricultural laborers who sublet tiny patches of potato ground], peasant-proprietorship would work no miracles. He would fall behind the installments of his purchase-money, and would be called up to surrender his farm. He would often neglect it in idleness, ignorance, jollity and drink, get into debt, and have to sell his property to the newest owner of a great estate. . . . Mr. Mill never deigns to consider that an Irishman is an Irishman, and not an average human being. (p. 78)

The question of innate character was also central to the debate over the status of black labor in Jamaica, where 13,000 whites ruled 420,000 impoverished blacks. In his 1849 essay "Occasional Discourse on the Negro Question," the historian and essayist Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881) proposed that Jamaican blacks be returned to compulsory servitude. He argued that the emancipation of slaves in the West Indies had been a terrible failure, with the islands

reduced to a "Black Ireland." He saw the "pumpkin people" of the Caribbean as counterparts to the "potato people" of Ireland. In his view, both the Irish and blacks were naturally idle and would not work unless compelled to do so.

In response, Mill noted that Carlyle was apparently not bothered by the idleness of the white proprietors, and he suggested that what Carlyle really wanted was access to cheap spices. In this context he wrote: "But the great ethical doctrine of the discourse, that which a doctrine more damnable, I should think, never was propounded by a professed moral reformer, is, that one kind of human beings are born servants to another kind," and he charged Carlyle with "the vulgar error of imputing every difference which he finds among human beings to an original difference of nature" (Mill 1850, p. 93).

These are only two of numerous nineteenth-century voices involved in the debate about the inherited nature of human differences, but they are perhaps enough to demonstrate the importance of the colonial context for thinking about such differences, and to indicate that Galton did not initiate the "nature-nurture" debate (although, as with *eugenics*, he did name it). But Galton's intervention was nevertheless a crucial one, for he was the first to invoke *science* in support of the hereditarian position.

### GALTON'S PROJECT

To prove what others had only assumed, Galton consulted the biographical reference works of his day, such as *Dictionary of Men of the Time*. From these sources he was able to show that high achievement runs in families. He argued that scientists, statesmen, military commanders, literary figures, judges, musicians, artists, and divines who were prominent enough to be listed in such works were more likely than members of the public at large to have near male relatives who were also prominent enough to be listed. Galton was aware that this fact alone might not convince doubters that the traits important for success were inherited. After all, the training, experience, and associations of the children of poets or scientists would also differ from that of persons chosen at random. Galton dismissed the idea that social circumstances could explain achievement, at least in the fields he considered meritocracies such as science, literature, and the law. In his view, those born with natural ability would succeed no matter how unfavorable their environment, while those who lacked it would fail, however auspicious their start in life or powerful their social connections.

What was true of individuals applied equally to larger groups. In *Hereditary Genius*, Galton devoted a chapter to analyzing the comparative worth of different races. According to his calculations, which relied on estimating the proportion of eminent men in each race, black Africans, on average, ranked at least two grades below whites in

natural ability, while Australian Aborigines were three grades below whites. Galton also found considerable variation among whites, with the Lowland Scots and the North-Country English representing a higher standard than individuals from other parts of Great Britain. He thought it obvious that the ablest race in history was the ancient Greeks, especially the subrace of Athenians, who stood as far above his compatriots in their achievements, and thus in their innate abilities—just as whites stood above blacks. But he also found that the most accomplished Athenian women often failed to marry and bear children, while emigration and immigration sapped the purity of the race. Thus, to humanity's great misfortune, the "high Athenian breed decayed and disappeared" (Galton 1892, p. 331).

As historian Nancy Stepan notes in *The Idea of Race in Science* (1982), Galton did not consider African blacks, Australian Aborigines, or other "savages" a threat to the Anglo-Saxon and other "civilized" races. Rather, he believed that the stronger races would inexorably eliminate the inferior in a natural process that was already well underway. His concerns were thus focused inward, on the problematic condition of his own Anglo-Saxon race. Galton feared that even races that were superior in a global perspective would be unable to meet the mental demands of an increasingly complex modern society. As in the case of ancient Greece, degeneration would be the inevitable result of failing to breed from the best. Among his proposals to address the problem was an 1890 scheme to encourage the early marriage of female Cambridge University students who were especially superior in physique and intellect. These women would be given 50 pounds if they married before age twenty-six, and 25 pounds on the birth of each child.

#### DARWIN'S DESCENT

Galton had originally been inspired by Darwin to investigate the inheritance of talent and character, and Darwin's view of human evolution would in turn be shaped by Galton's studies. After reading the first fifty or so pages of *Hereditary Genius*, Darwin wrote that whereas he had previously been inclined to attribute differences among individuals mostly to enthusiasm and hard work, he had been largely converted to his cousin's viewpoint. Galton's influence is explicitly acknowledged in Darwin's book on human evolution, *The Descent of Man*, and in his *Autobiography* (Barlow 1958), where Darwin notes: "I am inclined to agree with Francis Galton in believing that education and environment produce only a small effect on the mind of any one, and that most of our qualities are innate" (Darwin 1879, p. 43). Of course, to agree with Galton was to dissent from Mill. Although Darwin greatly admired Mill, he thought he had a blindspot when it came to inherited mental and moral differences. In *The Descent*,

Darwin specifically criticized Mill's belief that moral feelings are not innate, and in the second edition he added: "The ignoring of all transmitted mental qualities will, as it seems to me, be hereafter judged as a most serious blemish in the works of Mr. Mill" (Darwin 2004 [1879], p. 121).

In the chapter of *The Descent* dealing with the social implications of the theory of natural selection, Darwin expressed the view that civilized societies are continually displacing savage ones in a process that is sometimes distressingly brutal but also inevitable. Thus, like Galton and many other contemporary figures, Darwin was not worried about competition from barbarous nations. Being inferior, they would eventually succumb in the struggle for existence anyway. The situation at home was more worrying, however. There, the process of natural selection had largely been checked. Vaccinations against smallpox, the establishment of asylums for the sick and insane, poor laws to support the unemployed, and other medical and charitable measures all counteracted the beneficial effect of natural selection by keeping the mentally and physically weak alive. Because their traits were inherited, the stupidity, insanity, and tendencies to laziness, intemperance, sexual promiscuity, and so forth responsible for their condition would be passed to their offspring. Darwin complained that "excepting in the case of man himself, hardly any one is so ignorant as to allow his worst animals to breed" (Darwin 2004 [1879], p. 159).

Darwin himself had mixed feelings about whether humans should inhibit breeding. After all, the social and sympathetic impulses that lead people to help others are also the products of natural selection. There were also countervailing forces—such as high mortality among the urban poor, suicides of the insane, emigration of the restless, and sterility among the sexually profligate—that limited the scope of the problem. Thus, although Darwin worried aloud about the harmful effects of relaxing selection, he did not propose any specific measures to counter the process. His book certainly reinforced the anxieties felt by many of his contemporaries. Like Galton's work, it also reinforced prevailing racial views, giving them a new scientific authority.

Darwin himself was vehemently opposed to slavery, and in 1865, when a riot in Jamaica was brutally suppressed by the island's British governor, Darwin subscribed to the committee (headed by Mill) that unsuccessfully pressed to have the governor condemned for murder and the victims compensated. He also assumed that virtually all aboriginal peoples were inferior, by nature, to Europeans. The real threat to England, however, came from a European source: the Irish. Darwin quoted Greg in support of his claim that the reckless and degraded members of society tend to increase their number at a faster rate than their prudent compatriots: "The careless, squalid, unambitious Irishman

multiplies like rabbits: the frugal, forseeing, self-respecting, ambitious Scot . . . passes his best years in struggle and celibacy, marries late, and leaves few behind him." Thus, at home, Darwin believed, it was the inferior race that was prevailing in the struggle for existence (Darwin 2004 [1879], p. 143).

#### EUGENICS IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

Galton's work received a mixed reception when it originally appeared, but by the end of his life his ideas had become quite popular, at least among middle-class citizens of predominantly Protestant nations. In the first decade of the twentieth century, eugenics societies were established in many countries, and by the 1920s the goal of improving heredity found numerous adherents, not only in the Anglo-American countries and much of Europe, but also in Latin America, Russia, China, and Japan. (In some Asian countries eugenics remains quite respectable today). Of course there also were skeptics and opponents, including the Catholic Church, which held that reproduction was not a matter for human tampering; immigrants and others who were the targets of eugenic policies; and those who continued to believe, along with Mill, that human differences were largely due to differences in education and training.

There were also important national variations because religious, scientific, political, and cultural traditions influenced the ways that eugenics was taken up in any particular setting. Latin countries were not only religiously Catholic, but scientifically they leaned toward a "neo-Lamarckian" view of heredity. From this standpoint, heredity was malleable rather than fixed, so there was no sharp distinction between nature and nurture. Social problems might be due to bad heredity, but if heredity improved with improved environments, the solution could be better nutrition and schools and other social reforms. Thus, what it meant to subscribe to eugenics tended to have a different meaning in Brazil or Mexico, for example, where many eugenicists endorsed race mixing and even a "cult of the mestizo," than it did in the United States or Germany, where race mixing was more often feared. In France and some other Latin countries, eugenics tended to be not only less racist than elsewhere, but it also implied a commitment to maternal and infant care rather than harsh policies of selection. Different perspectives existed within, as well as among, countries, with eugenicists heatedly debating such issues as whether immigration was desirable (and if so what kind), whether the distribution of birth-control information and devices would promote or retard eugenical aims, and what methods to prevent mental and moral defectives from breeding were effective and moral.

In Britain, where the Labour Party was hostile to eugenics and workers were not fractured by religious and

ethnic/racial differences, eugenics was largely restricted to propaganda. Indeed, even a campaign to legalize voluntary sterilization was unsuccessful. In the United States and many European countries, especially Germany, eugenics would take a harsher turn. In 1907, Indiana became the first state to authorize compulsory sterilization of confirmed "criminals, idiots, rapists, and imbeciles." (Sterilization was accomplished through vasectomy in men and tying of the Fallopian tubes in women.) The movement gained ground after the 1927 Supreme Court decision in *Buck v. Bell*, which upheld the Virginia sterilization statute. Speaking for the Court, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes famously wrote: "It is better for all the world if, instead of waiting to execute degenerate offspring for crime, or to let them starve for their imbecility, society can prevent those who are manifestly unfit from continuing their kind. . . . Three generations of imbeciles is enough." With the worldwide economic depression that soon followed, support for such laws increased because of the large expense required to provide institutional care for the feeble-minded, insane, and delinquent. By 1940, involuntary sterilization had been legalized in thirty-three American states, two Canadian provinces, and many countries, including Germany, all of Scandinavia, Australia, and Japan.

#### RACIAL EUGENICS

A number of countries, including the United States, adopted legislation to restrict immigration. That effort was not motivated solely or even principally by eugenic concerns, however. In the United States, immigrants from Asia and southern and eastern Europe were thought to be culturally unassimilable, and it was believed that they would drag down wages. Fears of biological degeneration were part of the mix. In the United States, which in the 1880s began to experience a large increase in the number of immigrants from Russia, Poland, Hungary, Greece, and Italy, race theorists such as Edward Ross and Madison Grant warned that the country was committing "race suicide," meaning that biologically inferior immigrants were flooding the country and, once there, multiplying their numbers.

Ross was an intellectual mentor to Theodore Roosevelt, who, both as vice president and president, did much to popularize the views of the race theorists. Claiming that Americans of Anglo-Saxon stock were engaged in a desperate "warfare of the cradle" with lesser races, Roosevelt warned both of the need to curb immigration from southern and eastern Europe (immigration from China and Japan having already been halted) and to increase the reproductive rates of old-stock families. Concern with the apparent high fertility of recent immigrants and the prospect that they would interbreed with older Americans, resulting in racial decline, was a factor in the success of



the effort to restrict immigration and make it more selective. That effort culminated in passage of the Immigration Restriction Act (or Johnson-Reed Act) of 1924, which greatly reduced the number of allowable entrants to the United States and applied a national-origins quota system that ensured that few of those allowed would come from southern and eastern Europe.

Racialist policies reached their zenith in Germany, where eugenic measures of all types were taken to their ultimate extremes. These policies were aimed at Jews, Gypsies, the offspring of German women and black French soldiers, and others. About 400,000 Germans were sterilized (compared to about 62,000 in the much larger United States) under the Law for the Prevention of Genetically Diseased Progeny enacted shortly after the National Socialists came to power in 1933. The Nazis also instituted a program to rid the country of mental patients and the physically disabled through starvation, gassing, and lethal injection. Other legal and extra-legal measures had explicit racial motivations, as in the *Lebensborn* program that operated in both Germany and occupied countries and allowed unmarried women who were considered “racially valuable” to give birth in special maternity homes run by the Schutzstaffel (SS). In addition, the Nuremberg Laws of 1935 stripped Jews of German citizenship and forbade their marriage with “Germans.” Ultimately, the campaign against the Jews led to the program of mass extermination called the Holocaust. The outcome of eugenics in Germany cast a shadow over the field of human genetics. Thus, the question of whether and in what ways developments in that field constitute a “new eugenics” still carries an emotional charge.

According to some scholars and journalists (e.g., Duster 1990), reproductive genetic services that involve the selection of gametes, fetuses, or embryos—including the use of ultrasound for sex selection, amniocentesis and embryo screening to detect abnormalities, and the procurement of eggs and sperm from carefully chosen “donors”—are a form of back-door or private eugenics. In their view, the term is appropriately applied not only to state policies such as involuntary sterilization that were clearly coercive, but also to activities that may be freely adopted or even demanded by prospective parents. Other commentators disagree, arguing that the latter practices, which are not only voluntary but based on sound science and largely devoid of race and class bias, differ so greatly from those that gave past eugenics its bad name that they should not be tagged with the same label. A few scholars concede that contemporary reprognetics constitutes eugenics but believe that there is a need to sharply distinguish the bad eugenics of the past from the benign eugenics practiced by private individuals for their own reasons in the early twenty-first century. Whether these writers believe that contemporary practices are eugenics of a good kind or bad or are not rightly considered eugenics at

all, there is close to a consensus that race has not been an important factor in their development or use.

The racial concerns that animated much past eugenics do remain evident in studies that argue for the genetic inferiority of blacks and sometimes other minorities and warn that “dysgenic” public policies discourage breeding by the intellectual elite while encouraging those of inferior ability and character to reproduce. The Pioneer Fund, a rather secretive organization founded by the eugenicist and textile magnate Wickliffe Draper in 1937, has been an important sponsor of such work. Historically, the Fund pursued an aggressively antiblack and anti-Semitic agenda, including support for a proposal to repatriate blacks to Africa and opposition to the Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* as well as civil rights legislation more generally (Kenny 2002; Tucker 2002). More recently, it has promoted research and publication in the field of behavior genetics that emphasizes the contribution of genes to both individual and group differences. *The Bell Curve* (1994) by psychologist Richard Herrnstein and political scientist Charles Murray, which argued that the gap in black-white IQ scores reflects real and for all practical purposes unalterable differences in innate ability, drew heavily on Pioneer-supported research by Arthur Jensen, Richard Lynn, and J. Philippe Rushton (the last was appointed president of the Fund in 2002). Despite its length and often dense technical content, *The Bell Curve* received many initially favorable reviews and became a best-seller. Subsequently, Rushton and Jensen published a lengthy article confirming Jensen’s original claim of a substantial genetic component to the black-white IQ score difference (Jensen 1969; Rushton and Jensen 2005; for a contrasting view see Dickens and Flynn 2006). Thus it seems that the racial views and associated policy concerns that motivated many eugenicists continue to inform at least some strands of behavior genetics research.

**SEE ALSO** *Galton, Francis; Genetics, History of; Holocaust; Human and Primate Evolution; Human Genetics.*

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**Diane B. Paul**

## EVERYDAY RACISM

The concept of "everyday racism" emerged in the United States in the 1980s and was meant to identify as theoretically relevant the lived experience of racial oppression. Everyday racism is not about racists, but about racist practice, meaning racism as common societal behavior. Racial inequality perseveres even when the dominant ideology mutes reference to color, as witnessed in the United States following the successes of the civil rights movement. Some use the term "color-blind racism" to account for racist systems without legally sanctioned race-supremacy ideology.

Racism is easily recognized in its extreme forms (e.g., white youth beating up and killing dark-skinned people), or in its overt forms (e.g., throwing bananas at black players on European soccer fields). Everyday racism can be more coded (a white teacher saying to an African-American student: "How come you write so well?"); ingrained in institutional practice (appointing friends of friends for a position, as a result of which the workplace remains white); and not consciously intended (when lunch tables in a canteen or cafeteria are informally racially segregated and the white manager "naturally" joins the table with the white workers where only they will benefit from casually shared, relevant information and networking).

Everyday racism is a process of smaller and bigger day-to-day violations of the civil rights of ethnic minorities—and of their humanity and their dignity. Sometimes the meaning of the event remains contestable: Is it or is it not racial discrimination? It may take circumstantial evidence or inference from other experiences to understand the possible racial connotations. The outcome of an event is often more telling than the reported motive. Take the following example:

A 747 aircraft to Amsterdam has a business class section in the front, separated from economy class by a blue curtain with the sign "business class only." Various passengers sneak behind the curtain to use the business class lavatories right behind the divide. They happen to be white men. But when a young woman of color does the same thing, a flight attendant blocks her way, kindly explaining that she has to use the economy-class facilities. The entrance then gets sealed off with a food trolley.

Discrimination often operates through rules being applied differently or more strictly to people of color. But does this also apply to this particular case? Imagine the reply of the flight attendant: "We treat everybody equally." When told that others did the same thing, the response is: "Oh really, I did not notice." Did the young woman get caught because her brown skin color stands out? Did the white men get through because they blend in more easily in the predominantly white (male) business class, indicative of global institutionalized racial (and gender) inequality? This surely

must have happened on other flights, and whites too must have been sent back at times. Was the limit reached when a person of color started to take the same liberties? It could be shortsighted to quickly downplay the racial dimension of put-downs and other demotions with seemingly race-neutral arguments such as “it could have happened to anyone.”

The fact of the matter is that in this particular situation the woman of color was the only one to be put in her place. Perceiving the event as racially significant in its implications reveals how one event, where the person of color is the only one to receive less favorable treatment, links to both historical and contemporary patterns of racial discrimination. Any situation with random options between better or worse treatment can be a vehicle for racial discrimination, whether it occurs in or outside institutions, in schools, at work, through the media, at a shopping mall, or in the neighborhood.

At work, the accumulation of seemingly petty experiences of disrespect, humiliations, rejections, blocked opportunities, and hostilities symbolically signifies the “glass ceiling” or “concrete wall,” where color is a determining factor for upward mobility or for moving sideways, to the center of an organization. Because human beings communicate mostly through images and words, everyday racism is often expressed visually and discursively in what is being said or portrayed and how it is being said. In addition, facial expressions or avoidance of contact can “say” a lot too. Such behavior may even feel trivial or normal.

Everyday racism means that members of the dominant racial/ethnic group automatically favor members of their own group, not simply because they want to be with those they feel are their own, but because they believe, deep down, that white lives count more, that they are more human, that theirs is a superior culture and a higher form of civilization than others. Yet it would be incorrect to see everyday racism simply as a black-versus-white phenomenon. When dominated groups internalize the belief that European-derived cultures are superior, they may themselves become agents of everyday racism.

Everyday racism may cause ethnic minorities to anticipate racism in their contacts with members of the dominant group regardless of whether they are actually discriminated against on each occasion. This is a strategy of self-protection. Counter to the common-sense belief that people of color are overly sensitive to discrimination, research has indicated that most people of color are reluctant to label a given situation as racism before carefully considering all other possible explanations to account for unfair treatment. On the contrary, the common-sense belief that racism is a problem of the past makes members of the dominant group insensitive in recognizing when and how racism permeates everyday life.

Everyday racism adapts to the culture, norms, and values of a society as it operates through the prevalent structures of power in society. The more status or authority involved, the greater the damage resulting from common-sense prejudiced statements and discriminatory behavior. When members of a parliament or legislature make discriminatory statements or sanction discriminatory policies in the course of their normal everyday duties, the safety and civil rights of ethnic minorities and refugees are at stake. When teachers underestimate, discourage, or ignore ethnic-minority children, the futures of ethnic-minority generations are at stake. When employers discriminate against people of color, jobs, incomes, and career mobility are at stake.

Everyday racism is not a singular act in itself, but the accumulation of small inequities. Expressions of racism in one particular situation are related to all other racist practices and can be reduced to three strands of everyday racism, which interlock as a triangle of mutually dependent processes: (1) The *marginalization* of those identified as racially or ethnically different; (2) the *problematization* of other cultures and identities; and (3) symbolic or physical *repression* of (potential) resistance through humiliation or violence. Accusations of oversensitivity about discrimination, continuous ethnic jokes, ridicule in front of others, patronizing behavior, rudeness, and other attempts to humiliate and intimidate can all have the effect of discouraging action against discrimination.

Although the term *everyday racism* has such an informal ring that it may sound as if it concerns relatively harmless and unproblematic events, it has been shown that the psychological distress due to racism on a day-to-day basis can have chronic adverse effects on mental and physical health. The anticipation that discrimination can happen becomes in itself a source of stress. The same holds true for fretting over how to respond, whether the response has been effective, and whether victimization will follow. Studies have demonstrated a link between exposure to everyday racism and blood pressure. This is not to say that targets of racism are only victims, powerless or passive against the forces of exclusion. Throughout history, active community resistance against racial discrimination has emerged from anger about the indignities of everyday life.

Legal battles against racial discrimination are a mixed bag, even with progressive laws in place. The European Equal Treatment Law, for instance, follows the principle of a shared burden of proof. If the party who feels discriminated against provides “facts” that give reason to believe that racial discrimination may have occurred, it is the other party’s responsibility to prove that the accusation is not true. But what the “facts” are is a tricky issue. The accused party is likely to deny that anything happened and witnesses may refuse to cooperate out of fear of retaliation. As a result,

ethnic minorities often refrain from filing complaints, feeling their stories will not be believed anyway, or because they have doubts about the gains to be made. Studies have shown that testimonies and stories can provide relevant and detailed information about *what* happens and *how* racial injustices happen. The more these stories are voiced and circulated, the more sensitivity people develop for recognizing these everyday violations as forms of everyday racism.

**SEE ALSO** *Color-Blind Racism; Critical Race Theory; Institutional Racism; Orientalism; Racial Formations; Scientific Racism, History of.*

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*Philomena Essed*

## EXPLOITATION

In the social sciences, the term *exploitation* is generally used to refer to economic relations of production or exchange in which a dominant social class or group benefits by using the labor or resources of a subordinate social class or group. The term has been used in analyses of social class, of colonialism and imperialism, and of racial and ethnic relations within nation-states.

In *Capital*, (1967 [1867]) Karl Marx defined exploitation as characterizing relations of production in which nonproducers control the access of direct producers to essential means of production (e.g., land, tools, or raw materials), thus allowing the systematic appropriation of a surplus of goods from direct producers by nonproducers. For Marx, exploitation is a feature of all class societies, and it can be measured by the difference between necessary labor (that performed to produce the laborers' own subsistence or its equivalent value) and surplus labor (that which produces the surplus appropriated by the nonproducers). Necessary labor is not defined as a minimum subsistence level required for survival.

Rather, the ratio between necessary and surplus labor, as well as the form of surplus appropriation, depends on the historically developed relations of production. The appropriation of surplus constitutes the basis for renewed exploitation because it reinforces the control of the exploiters and the dependence of the exploited.

Although Marxists have analyzed exploitation in a variety of class societies (e.g., slavery, feudalism), the concept is most fully developed in the analysis of capitalist relations of production. In capitalist societies, relations of production take on the appearance of relations of exchange. Labor power thus becomes a market commodity. Unlike other commodities, however, it has the ability to produce more value than is embodied in it. This is the surplus value appropriated by the capitalists.

The literature on colonialism and imperialism uses the concept of exploitation to define the relationships between the imperial nations (the core) and the colonized regions (the periphery). The spread of capitalist relations of production from the core to the periphery required the separation of farmers and artisans in the periphery from direct access to the means of production, thereby creating a class of laborers who must sell their labor power to survive. In *Unequal Development* (1976) Samir Amin coined the term "superexploitation" to describe how the low wages of the periphery have allowed transnational capitalists to extract a larger surplus than is possible in the core nations. A similar conception is contained in the works of Andre Gunder Frank (e.g., *Lumpenbourgeoisie, Lumpendevelopment* 1972), who saw colonial class structures as permitting "ultra-exploitation."

The role of racial or ethnic discrimination in imperialism has been explicitly addressed by several authors. Marx came to view anti-Irish sentiment as a major obstacle to working-class solidarity in England. In an 1870 letter he wrote:

The ordinary English worker hates the Irish worker as a competitor who lowers his standard of life. In relation to the Irish worker he regards himself as a member of the ruling nations and consequently he becomes a tool of the English aristocrats and capitalists against Ireland, thus strengthening their domination over himself. He cherishes religious, social, and national prejudices against the Irish worker (*Selected Correspondence* 1975).

W. E. B. Du Bois embraced a Marxist analysis of imperialism in *The World and Africa* (1947), in which he argued that the British system of colonialism, which he saw as even more murderous than slavery, was based on the exploitation of native labor in their colonized homelands. Eric Williams also addressed exploitation in *Capitalism and Slavery* (1944), arguing that many of the largest fortunes of English capitalists had their origins in the exploitation of African slave labor in the American colonies.

In *The Political Economy of Race and Class in South Africa* (1979), Bernard Magubane shows how underdevelopment and racial inequalities developed together in South Africa. The ideology of racism was born out of the socioeconomic relations of capitalist imperialism, and it resulted in the ordering of exploitative relations of production along racial lines. "The essence of modern capitalism is the ruthless transfer of wealth from the colonized to the colonizer, from black to white, from worker to capitalist" (Magubane 1979, p. 4).

In "Internal Colonialism and Ghetto Revolt" (1969), Robert Blauner compares the situation of African Americans in the United States to that of colonized peoples. In this formulation, racism is fundamental to maintaining a higher rate of exploitation for black labor than for white labor. Internal colonialism is facilitated not only by ideologies of racism, but by historical and continuing structures (such as de jure and de facto segregation) that favor white workers over nonwhites. A similar approach is taken by Mario Barrera in *Race and Class in the Southwest* (1979), in which he analyzes structures of inequality affecting people of Mexican origin in the southwestern United States.

SEE ALSO *Capitalism; Colonialism, Internal.*

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Alice Littlefield

## EYSENCK, HANS JURGEN 1916–1997

Hans Jurgen Eysenck was an influential British psychologist who became the scion of twentieth-century psychometry. Eysenck believed that intelligence was highly inheritable and that racial differences in IQ were mainly due to genetic



**Hans J. Eysenck.** British psychologist Hans J. Eysenck, seen here operating a machine that measures eye blinks, studied the relationship between heredity and intelligence. CHRIS WARE/KEYSTONE/GETTY IMAGES.

differences among races. He formulated racial arguments that would stimulate the careers of his two most famous students, Arthur Jensen and J. Philippe Rushton. Eysenck was born in Berlin, Germany, on March 4, 1916. Ironically, he left the country in 1934 in protest of the Nazi movement. His professional education occurred at London University, where he earned a Ph.D. in psychology under Cyril Burt in 1940. During World War II he was chief psychologist at the Mill Hill Emergency Hospital. After the war he founded the Psychology Department at the University of London's Institute of Psychiatry, where he worked as a professor until 1983.

Eysenck's academic and professional achievements were legion. He founded the first clinical psychology program in England, published more than 1,000 professional journal articles by the time of his death, introduced statistical analysis to a wide range of psychological data, popularized psychology by writing books for the general public, and advocated for the genetic basis of intelligence and the role of genetics in determining racial differences in IQ.

Eysenck suggested that there was an essential distinction between three classes of phenomena associated with cognitive performance. He defined *Intelligence A* as the biological substrate of mental ability resulting from the brain's neuroanatomy and physiology. *Intelligence B* is the manifestation of intelligence A and of those things that influence its expression in real life behavior. *Intelligence C* is the level of performance on psychometric tests of cognitive ability. Eysenck recognized that both genetic and environmental influences contributed to all three attributes of intelligence, but he asserted that the heritability (genetic component) of these was high (80%). In this way, he never broke with the views of his mentor Cyril Burt, who had previously asserted the overwhelming influence of genes on IQ. His lifelong views on this subject are set out in *The Intelligence Controversy*, a debate with Leo Kamin published in 1981, and in *Intelligence: A New Look*, published in 1998, after his death. He was also a signatory of "The Mainstream Science on Intelligence," a manifesto published in the *Wall Street Journal* on December 13, 1994. The document was drafted in response to criticism of Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray's *The Bell Curve*, which had been published earlier that year. *The Bell Curve* stated that general intelligence was the main factor determining one's position in society. Thus the concentration of African Americans in the lowest social positions in society was not due to historical and ongoing discrimination, it was due to their lower mean IQ. Criticisms of the book entailed its non-professional use of statistical inference and its classification of humans into discrete racial groups, matching the social conceptions of race used in America. The mainstream statement was meant to weaken these criticisms by lending the authority of the psychometricians to the core claims of *The Bell Curve*.

Eysenck's views on race, genetics, and IQ were published in *The IQ Argument: Race, Intelligence, and Education* (1971). He based his supposition that genetics is responsible for racial differences in IQ on the long-standing 15-point IQ differential between whites and blacks in America. He further noted that there was greater variability in white IQ scores than in black IQ scores. This suggested that there would be a greater percentage of whites in both the lowest and the highest IQ categories. Blacks were said to perform better on aspects of the IQ test that resulted from education as opposed to innate ability. These results, Eysenck claimed, were supported by studies of blacks around the world, including in Uganda, Jamaica, Tanzania, South Africa, and Ghana (average IQ scores between 70 and 80.) Furthermore he argued that the fact that Japanese and Chinese performed better than whites did on IQ tests that measured innate ability, as opposed to learned abilities, was evidence of the genetic superiority of these groups with regard to

intelligence. Finally, he suggested that Jews were the most genetically gifted population, with a 300 percent greater proportion of Nobel Prize winners than non-Jews.

Eysenck's career and contributions may be best understood in the context of a researcher that overstated one aspect of his problem (genetics) in response to what seemed to him an irrational denial of its role in human cognition. Modern genetic analyses have conclusively demonstrated that intelligence, broadly defined, is inherited to some extent. However, most estimates of the heritability of intelligence, however defined, range between 30 and 50 percent, as opposed to Eysenck's 80 percent. Yet it is important to understand that conceding the heritability of intelligence does not mean that it plays the roles ascribed to it by the psychometrician research program as outlined by Galton, Burt, Eysenck, Herrnstein, and Rushton. In other words, there is little evidence that intelligence determines social structure, as opposed to one's social position determining one's manifested intelligence. Furthermore, the case for genetic determination of racial IQ differentials is always weakened by the absence of shared environmental conditions between the racially oppressed and the racially dominant. Genomic research that examines quantitative trait loci is underway. This work will eventually identify loci that contribute to an individual's cognitive function and will most likely identify hundreds of loci whose influences are profoundly influenced by multiple and complex environmental influences. Such a result will demonstrate that the main point of the psychometricists is correct, that genes do influence cognitive function, but it will also demonstrate that these effects are far more complicated than they suggest.

**SEE ALSO** *Heritability; IQ and Testing; Jensen, Arthur.*

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*Joseph L. Graves Jr.*

# F

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## FACIAL ANGLE

In the eighteenth century, the increasing involvement of European nations with colonies in the tropics brought Europeans into contact not only with tropical human populations but also with tropical nonhuman animals. A major attempt to classify the creatures of the world on the basis of assumed relationships was one of the consequences of this expanded European consciousness, and the major system of classification drawn up by the Swedish naturalist Carolus Linnaeus (1707–1778) was one of the results. His *Systema Naturae* was first published in 1735, with a definitive tenth edition appearing in 1758. Linnaeus assigned human beings, whom he defined in binomial fashion as *Homo sapiens*, to the order he called “Primates,” which also includes monkeys and apes.

Later in the eighteenth century, the Dutch anatomist Petrus Camper (1722–1789), suggested a quantitative way to assess the relationships of some of the members of the order Primates. Camper developed his method in 1760 and presented it for public discussion in 1770, but it was not formally published until 1791, two years after his death. Camper took as his horizontal orientation a line on the face drawn from the ear opening to the base of the nose. Then, to generate his “facial line,” he drew a line from the forehead to the junction between the upper and the lower lips. The angle made by the horizontal line with the facial line was his “facial angle.” As he viewed it, the normal human condition was represented by facial angles between 70 and 80 degrees. Everything above 80 degrees he declared belonged to the realm of art, and everything below 70 degrees belonged to the animal kingdom.

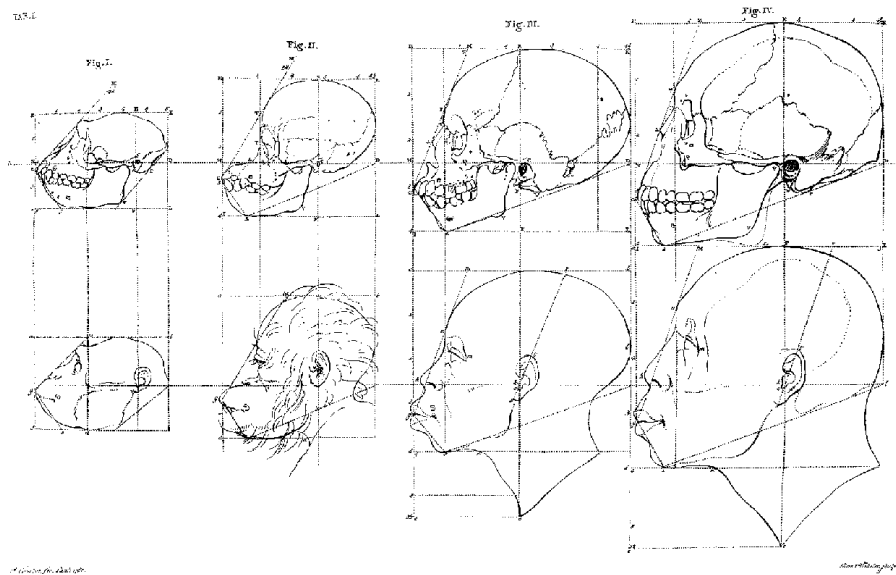
With monkeys and apes included in the same zoological order as humans, Camper constructed a diagram dis-

playing the facial angle of a monkey, an ape, and a number of human examples. The monkey has not been identified as to species, but the ape is a young orangutan. The orangutans, of course, were native to those parts of Indonesia and Borneo under Dutch control, so a Dutch anatomist would have had access to such specimens. The orang he depicted was a very immature individual, prior to the eruption of any of its permanent dentition. The first human shown was a young Negro bordering on adolescence, and the next was someone from Central Asia, although a number of observers have noted that the individual depicted is markedly different from other examples from this region. The other individuals are Europeans who display nearly vertical faces, for they lack the forward projecting dentitions that contribute to a reduction in the facial angle.

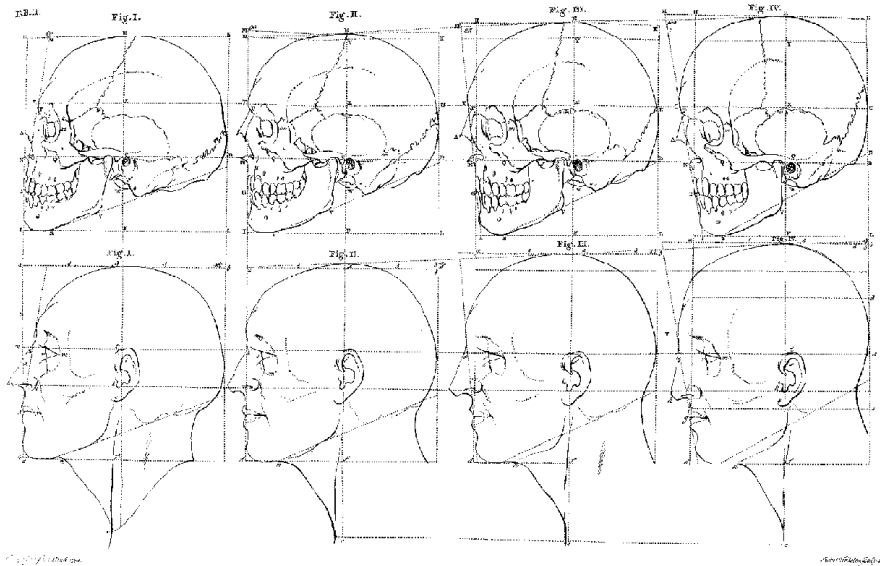
This points up the problem with the facial angle. The size of the brain case and the size of the teeth are under separate and completely unrelated selective force constraints. A single figure, then, cannot reveal anything of much biological significance concerning these two separate features. An increase in the facial angle can be produced by an increase in brain and skull size while face and tooth size remain constant, or by a decrease in tooth and face size while brain and skull size remain constant. The single figure of the facial angle cannot indicate which of these processes has produced that change in the facial angle. The difference in Camper’s illustration between monkey and ape and human being is almost certainly due solely to a relative increase in brain size, while the difference between recent human groups is almost certainly because of the relative differences in tooth size between populations.

SEE ALSO *Great Chain of Being*.

*Facial Angle*



**Figure 1.** Petrus Camper's representation of an unknown Old World monkey, a juvenile orangutan, a young male African, and a male Calmuck from Central Asia. FROM BRACE, C.L. 2005. "RACE" IS A FOUR-LETTER WORD. OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS. ORIGINALLY TAB. I IN DISSERTATION PHYSIQUE BY P. CAMPER (B. WILD AND J. ALTHEER, AUTRECHT, 1791).



**Figure 2.** Camper's representation of four European males. FROM BRACE, C.L. 2005. "RACE" IS A FOUR-LETTER WORD. OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS. ORIGINALLY TAB. II IN DISSERTATION PHYSIQUE BY P. CAMPER (B. WILD AND J. ALTHEER, AUTRECHT, 1791).

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*C. Loring Brace*

## FAMILIES

This essay focuses on the implications of race and racism for family functioning and family formation. Rather than attempting the impossible task of examining all aspects of race and racism as they apply to all racial-ethnic groups, the discussion here is limited to black families. Given both the historical significance of inequality for African Americans and the importance of research on the African American experience for the development of theory and concepts about race and racism, the focus on black families is easily justified.

*The Negro Family* (1965), often referred to as the Moynihan Report, is a foundational, if controversial, study in the modern literature on black families. The report, which emphasized high rates of teenage pregnancy, absent fathers, welfare dependency, and crime in the black community, concluded that the black family structure was weak due in large part to the disproportionate number of female-headed households, or a “matriarchal” family structure. This conclusion, not surprisingly, has stimulated an extensive body of critical research into the conditions of the black family. Two broad themes can be identified in this literature. First, without necessarily taking issue with some of the basic findings, many scholars argue that this conclusion ignores the impact of racism, classism, and segregation. That is, the black family is more fractured and less stable than the nonblack family for reasons linked to endemic structural and cultural conditions that disadvantage the black family. Second, others more directly attack the conclusion that the black family is somehow dysfunctional, and instead point to the *strength* of the black family structure, as evidenced, for example, by strong kinship networks.

This entry provides a brief historical overview of perspectives on the black family, then a brief discussion of the contemporary black family, with a special emphasis on motherhood and fatherhood. The final section focuses on differences and diversity within and among black families.

## BLACK FAMILIES IN HISTORICAL CONTEXT

A major misconception in the early literature on slavery and black families, as written by white scholars, was that slave owners understood the economic benefits of a strong nuclear black family and therefore tried to preserve the family structure of slaves. Researchers later “discovered” what the descendants of slaves already knew, that about one out of every three slave marriages ended because of partners being sold. This discovery questioned the validity of the idea that slave owners cared about the well-being of slave families and, more importantly, provides an example of how research can be seriously flawed if it is informed by racism and a worldview fostered by privilege. More recent scholarship demonstrates that slave owners often used specific strategies (i.e., labor migration, interference in marriage, and sexual exploitation) to endanger the well-being of African American families.

It is now known that some of the characteristics of the black family that have been both criticized and praised have their roots in slavery. Predominantly female-headed households were the norm during slavery primarily due to the forced migration of male slaves but also to gender-segregated slave quarters. This forced black families to rely on extended kinship and/or community networks for support. Despite these difficulties, enslaved families demonstrated remarkable resilience and worked hard to maintain a strong family unit.

Although emancipation freed slaves from bondage in a formal sense after the Civil War, it was a hollow freedom for many. Political leaders were more concerned with repairing the fractured relations with the white South than fulfilling their promises to the ex-slaves (e.g., ten acres and a mule) and making it possible for black families to thrive in freedom. Only a small portion of ex-slaves managed to reunite with their families, and conditions were such that many new families had to endure long periods of separation due to economic troubles, military service, or the demands of work.

## THE CONTEMPORARY BLACK FAMILY

A traditional Eurocentric view of the family assumes that parenting takes place in a nuclear family where the mother is responsible for child rearing and the care of the home and the father is responsible for the economic well-being of the family. This is not a representative picture of the African American family, neither historically nor contemporaneously. And it is precisely because it is measured against the normative and idealized white nuclear family that the black family has so

## Families

often been designated as dysfunctional. However, the structure of the black family not only has different historical roots but also has been persistently impacted by racism, whether overtly in policies against miscegenation or more covertly in color-blind institutional practices. As a result, the notions of motherhood and fatherhood have developed somewhat differently in the African American community than in a Euro-American context.

**Motherhood.** Mothers have long been praised and respected in the African American community. However, the idea that in order to be classified as “good mothers” women must make child rearing their full-time responsibility is traditionally much less pervasive in African American families. That is, in contrast to white women, black women’s standing as mothers is not threatened by their participation in the labor market. Moreover, strong women-centered networks have fostered an expansion of the notion of motherhood in the black community to include women who help care for the well-being of children outside the nuclear family, and others in the community as well. These networks make women less dependent upon, and concerned with, male participation, and hence strengthen their position within the family and in the community at large. Thus, the historical evolution of the black family, combining internal cultural developments with severe external constraints, has contributed to the much higher proportion of female-headed households among black families and the continued respect that women receive as mothers.

From the perspective of the white majority community, however, the strong woman who is celebrated in the African American community has often been turned into a threat. Historical images of the mammy and the matriarch and, more recently, the welfare mother are designed to oppress and control black women. Negative stereotypes such as the welfare queen are held up as examples of what is wrong with society and hence can be used as political weapons against the movement to achieve equality and eradicate racism. Moreover, because the image of the “welfare queen” designates a single mother without a husband, it can also be used to control men. That is, the continued reliance on explanations for the fractured black family that emphasize female-headed households and the absence of fathers and husbands implicates not only fathers but also black manhood.

**Fatherhood.** The celebration of motherhood does not necessarily de-emphasize fatherhood in the black community. The consistent absence of black fathers has been a major issue since slavery. More recently, high incarceration rates, the difficulties undereducated black men face in the job market, and various regulations in the welfare system that discourages marriage are among the issues

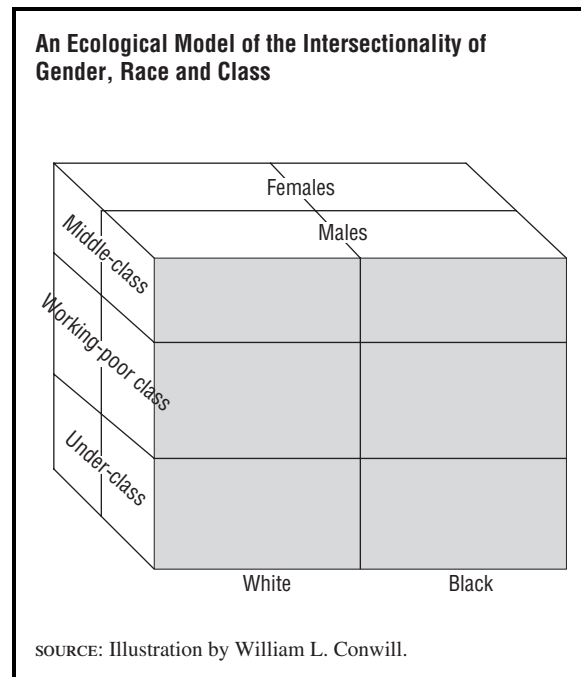


Figure 1.

debated both inside and outside the academy. For some observers, this picture constitutes a crisis in the black family, especially since absent or distant fathers are ineffective role models for African American boys and young men. The reintroduction of black fathers into the family, from this perspective, will foster a healthy and stable environment for black children.

Others suggest that although it may be unfortunate that black men play a more marginal role in family life than their white counterparts, the tradition of strong women makes the presence of husbands and fathers less critical for the stability of black families than for white families. The lesser reliance on men for economic support, however, does not necessarily mean an absence of men in the black family. On the contrary, the tradition of extended family networks makes each individual family less isolated than the ideal-typical nuclear family and hence facilitates the development of other male familial roles, such as brother, grandfather, cousin, and uncle.

## FAMILY DIVERSITY

Following the lead of E. Franklin Frazier and, later, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, much of the twentieth-century research literature has focused on the conditions that impacted the black family uniquely and pushed it in different directions than the majority white family. More recently, however, researchers have started to pay attention to family diversity within the African American community, which requires

taking into consideration the interlocking systems of oppression that impact the lives of all African Americans, albeit in different ways. Gay families, interracial families, and young families represent a growing number of families within the black community, and these new family constellations raise novel issues and bring new challenges for family members and scholars alike.

**Teenage Parenthood.** While there is a fairly extensive literature on teenage pregnancy, generally speaking this is not a literature grounded in family studies; rather, teenage parenthood is typically approached as a form of youth deviance, not as a legitimate family form. This is the case especially regarding African American teenagers, who get pregnant and have children at significantly higher rates than their white counterparts. It is this particular family form that is so often referred to as a major cause of the vicious cycle of absent fathers and economic instability. Although there can be no doubt that parenthood brings hardship to many teenagers and that, generally speaking, children who live in two-parent households do better in many ways, the placing of the explanatory focus on the family form itself—a teenage mother with children—can easily distort a deeper understanding of the social forces that privilege some family forms and bring disadvantages to others.

Moreover, the pervasive assumption that teenage childbearing is essentially accidental and a result of poor planning, lack of information, inability to negotiate sexual encounters, and any number of other unfortunate circumstances has preempted research on teenage families in their own terms. At least some evidence suggests that black teenagers do not always view having a baby as stifling and/or debilitating; instead, they view it as a “rite of passage.” Moreover, rather than viewing a pregnancy as an unfortunate accident, some teenage girls are actively looking to replace something that is missing in their lives, whether a connection to a missing father or the prospect of a successful future.

**Black LGBT Families.** Much of the literature on black families has ignored the implication of sexual orientation on the structure of the family. Feminist scholars are currently working to remove the heterosexual bias that pervades the family literature. The use of the traditional nuclear family as a model for family research contributes to the marginalization and discrimination that LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgendered) families experience in social life, especially for black families. Not only are black LGBT families stigmatized in the white community, alongside their white counterparts, they are also stigmatized in the black community. Generally speaking, social institutions are structured to benefit those who conform to the nuclear family structure, which means

that LGBT families have difficulties accessing those benefits. In addition, the traditional linkage of strong black femininity with motherhood, in conjunction with fragile but sexualized black masculinity, has placed black same-sex families in a particularly uneasy position in the African American community. And yet, while scholarship is still fairly limited, at least some evidence suggests that same-sex families are neither less functional nor weaker, despite the multiple systems of oppression they face.

**Interracial Marriage.** In the United States, interracial marriage was illegal in more than twenty states until 1967. The removal of the legal barriers against interracial families did not automatically eradicate social disapproval of such unions, however. Although the number of interracial couples has increased dramatically over the last few decades, the proportion of interracial families is still very small. People opposed to interracial marriage in the black community typically look at the union from the standpoint of the historical evolution of race and racism and conclude that interracial marriage is detrimental to the existence of the black community. In contrast, white unease with interracial unions is currently framed more in cultural rather than racial terms, even though traces of racial superiority are clearly evident. Moreover, both black and white unease is linked to concern for the children that might result from interracial unions.

Neither perceptions nor practices of interracial unions are gender neutral, which is not surprising considering the violent history of such unions (lynching for black men and forced sexual subordination of black women). Couples in which the man is black and the woman white are much more prevalent than unions with white men and black women. This is so for several different reasons. Marrying outside the race is a form of betrayal to many black women, whereas black men have more freedom in this regard. Moreover, the intersection of race and gender lessens the status differential between black men and white women, but increases it for white men and black women.

SEE ALSO *Black-White Inter marriage; Motherhood.*

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Tamika Corinne Odum

## FARMWORKERS

The history of farmworkers in the United States, as well as their current situation and their future prospects, reflects the complex ways in which labor-force dynamics interact with social classification systems to shape the intertwined and often-confused concepts of “race,” “ethnicity,” and “national origin.” In a global context, transnational migrants are almost always on the lowest tier of the economic ladder. In the United States, most farmworkers have historically been economically and politically disadvantaged, not so often as a consequence of their being racial minorities, but more because of their status as unauthorized immigrants. However, the high association between farm work and certain racial-ethnic minorities has reinforced negative racial views of these groups and often supported stereotypes about their abilities and employment preferences.

The relationship between farm-labor market dynamics and the farmworkers’ quasi-racial identity as the lowest-ranking occupational group in U.S. society is systematic, paradoxical, and in no sense accidental. Agribusiness representatives argue that immigrants are “naturally” more motivated or more productive than native-born workers. But the most recently arrived transnational migrant farmworkers are, in fact, remarkably unproductive, primarily because they have had no prior experience in contemporary labor-intensive large-scale agriculture. They are simply more easily exploitable because they will accept wages and working conditions that workers with

other options will not consider. Mexican immigrants’ experience in using extended family and social networks to secure employment in a highly unstable labor market allows them to navigate in an environment that is daunting to native-born Americans accustomed to more formal processes for securing and keeping a job.

## THE LEGAL CONTEXT OF FARMWORKERS’ EMPLOYMENT

While the ethnic composition of the U.S. farmworker population is always changing, an unchanging reality is that the agricultural workplace is largely exempt from the framework of labor laws that protect mainstream workers. Farmworkers were initially excluded from the protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act when it was passed in 1938. Subsequent legislative “fixes” intended to bring the “rule of law” to the agricultural workplace have been undermined by an immigration policy crafted to allow continued influxes of unauthorized Mexican and Guatemalan migrant farmworkers while simultaneously effectively stripping these workers of human and labor rights.

While immigration status constrains the ability of farmworkers to organize to demand improvements in wages or working conditions, progress has been made in some cases. In 2005, for example, a national campaign by a Florida farmworker group resulted in an increase of a penny per pound in piece-rate wages for harvesting tomatoes. This was a 70 percent increase over their former earnings of 50 cents per 35-pound bucket.

The heavy reliance on farm labor contractors for recruiting, supervising, and serving as the employer of record for at least one out of every five farmworkers also distances agricultural producers from accountability for substandard working conditions and the irregular supervision of their workforce. Farmworkers employed by labor contractors have lower earnings and worse working conditions than any other subgroup in the agricultural labor market.

Although most farm labor contractors are themselves former farmworkers, they reject traditional Mexican norms of mutual reciprocity and consistently emphasize the rules of a market economy in order to justify a variety of exploitative practices, including overcharging workers for food, lodging, and drink, and in extreme cases employing a form of indentured servitude to assure that immigrants are unable to pay their debts to the *coyotes* or *raiteros* (immigrant smugglers) who helped them cross the border and find employment.

## THE AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION SYSTEM CONTEXT

The rapid increase in the size of the farm labor force is closely linked to the evolution of the U.S. food production

and distribution system and the twentieth-century transformation of a rural economy of small family farms into increasingly larger agribusiness enterprises. As farm production unit size increased and as food distribution systems evolved, more and more farms turned to the fruit, vegetable, and horticultural production, which characteristically has sharp spikes in labor demand. Employers' labor recruitment strategy has always rested on attracting a surplus pool of underemployed migrant and seasonal workers. Although there have been significant technology-driven decreases in labor demand, these have been offset by rapidly increasing market demand for fresh fruit and vegetables, as well as increases in nursery and horticultural production.

### SUCCESSIVE ETHNIC WAVES OF MIGRANTS

In his classic study *Factories in the Fields* (1939), the social historian Carey McWilliams detailed the successive waves of different ethnic groups of farmworkers who worked in California fields from the late nineteenth century up until World War II, including Chinese, Indian, Filipino, and Japanese workers. Because California accounts for almost half of the nation's labor-intensive agriculture, this pattern has helped shape the composition of the entire U.S. farm labor force, though there are regional variations. In the East and the Midwest, for example, there was heavy reliance on eastern European immigrants as farm laborers, while African-American workers predominated in the Southeast. The famous Farm Security Administration photographic documentation of migrant workers in the 1940s include, in addition to Dust Bowl migrants from Oklahoma, African-American sugar cane harvesters in south Florida, Polish carrot harvesters in New Jersey, Greek farmworkers in California, and Mexicans in South Texas.

In more recent years, there have been brief influxes of refugees from other areas of the world, including Haitians who came to work in south Florida in the early 1980s. Likewise, Russian "Old Believers," who initially settled in China and Brazil, migrated to Oregon's Willamette Valley in the 1970s and 1980s. But these workers rapidly moved on to other types of employment. Mayan refugees from the genocidal civil war in Guatemala during the 1970s and early 1980s are one of the important ethnic groups who entered the U.S. farm labor force as the result of civil unrest, and many of them have continued to work in farm work. They are now an important part of the "Eastern Migrant Stream" of labor-intensive agricultural production stretching from Florida up to the Delmarva Peninsula.

### MEXICAN MIGRANTS' ENTRY INTO THE U.S. FARM LABOR MARKET

Although U.S. agriculture has always relied on immigrant workers of diverse ethnicities, Mexican immigrant workers

have, at least since the 1950s, been the most important single ethnic group in the farm labor force. As early as 1935, the famous DiGiorgio farms in southern California relied heavily on workers recruited in Mexico (although by the late 1930s there were also Yemenis, U.S.-born Dust Bowl migrants ["Okies"], and Filipinos).

In the lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas, immigrant workers from northeastern Mexico were crucial to the establishment of a huge citrus production industry. While south Texas's history as a racially diverse "borderlands" region stems from the beginning of the twentieth century, the history of racism and farmworkers is, in Texas (and elsewhere), linked to the development of large-scale agribusiness. By the 1950s, Mexican migrant farmworker crews from "the Valley" had joined the local African-American farmworkers in the labor-intensive Florida citrus harvest. The era of the long-haul Texas-based migrant crews of family workers began to draw to a close in the early 1960s, when the mechanization of cotton and sugar-beet harvesting created gaps in their follow-the-crop itinerary.

The influx of Mexican migrants into U.S. farm work was fueled by the Bracero Program, which was instituted in 1942 as a means to counter labor shortages resulting from World War II. Although the program had justified the enlistment of farm hands, and the movement of some into war production industries such as shipbuilding (which drew large numbers of African-American workers out of field work), the actual recruitment of Mexican farmworkers peaked in 1956 with 445,000 guest workers. The Bracero Program did a great deal to institutionalize Mexico-U.S. migration, especially from the "core migrant-sending region" of Jalisco, Michoacan, and Guanajuato.

Large numbers of Mexican indigenous migrants from Oaxaca, first recruited to work in labor-intensive tomato and cotton production in northwestern Mexico and Baja, California, began working in California and Oregon in the early 1980s. Most of this new wave of indigenous migrant farmworkers are of Mixtec origin, but the farmworker population has become increasingly diverse. Other important ethnic groups from the Oaxacan village migration networks working in U.S. agriculture in the early twenty-first century include Triquis, Zapotecs, Amuzgos, and Chatinos. The U.S. farmworker population also includes Purepecha from central Michoacan, Otomi from the states of Hidalgo and San Luis Potosi, and Nahuas from the state of Guerrero.

The increasing ethnic diversity of the U.S. farmworker population, and the reliance on Spanish as the lingua franca in the workplace and rural agricultural communities (set against a background of "racial" discrimination against *indios* in Mexico and Guatemala), has led to an emerging sense of pan-indigenous identity in the context of U.S.



**Farmworkers Harvest Strawberries in California, 2006.** Going back to at least the 1950s, Mexican immigrant workers have been the single most important ethnic group in the farm labor force. SANDY HUFFAKER/GETTY IMAGES.

farmworker life. This shift has increased. Traditionally, in their home villages, indigenous-origin migrants felt closely bound to members of their own family, extended family, their spouse's family, and fellow villagers. These bonding ties obligated them to help each other even when they, themselves, were in difficult straits, and facilitated collective action within their own social network. Commonalities of migration experiences have come to outweigh years of historical conflict among indigenous villages, creating "bridging" social capital, which cuts across home country networks based on a newly defined identity as indigenous peoples. Consequently, even some ethnic groups that were at odds in their home country are closely allied in the United States, and some may even think of themselves as *paisanos*.

#### THE CURRENT U.S. FARMWORKER POPULATION (2001-2002)

There are currently about 2.5 million farmworkers in the U.S. (including fruit, nut, and vegetable processing and packing but excluding meat packing and forestry workers) and perhaps 1.0 to 1.5 million non-working family members in farmworker households. The National Agricultural Worker Survey (NAWS) provides long-term trend data on the changing demographic composition of the farmworker population. The most recent tabulations are from 2001–2002. According to NAWS, two-thirds of U.S. farmworkers are Mexican or Central American immigrants (62% from Mexico and 4%

from Central America [mostly Guatemala]). The majority are limited in English, with 30 percent speaking no English and 29 percent speaking it only "a little." Most have worked in the U.S. for less than ten years.

The average farmworker is seriously underemployed, only managing to find thirty-two weeks of agricultural employment and earning about \$10,000 annually. Less than one-quarter (24%) have health insurance, and only about one-third (36%) believe they would be eligible for unemployment insurance.

Since the mid-1990s, less than one-quarter of the farm labor force have been women, but since 2001 the proportion of women working in farm work has begun to increase again as the number of family workers has grown and the proportion of young, solo, "shuttle migrant" workers has decreased, probably as a result of payments to *coyotes* for border crossing increasing to about 20 percent of a typical farmworkers' average annual earnings. The lives of women working in farm work are difficult, as most bear primary responsibility for childrearing and housekeeping, in addition to farm work. Complaints of sexual harassment are also common, and finding adequate (or any) childcare is a constant problem. Living conditions are typically very crowded and housing is substandard. While farmers used to provide migrants with free, on-farm housing, in the early twenty-first century only 22 percent receive this benefit.

**SEE ALSO** *Braceros, Repatriation, and Seasonal Workers; Day Laborers, Latino; United Farm Workers Union.*

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*Edward Kissam*

## FEDERAL RECOGNITION: WHAT IS AN INDIAN?

Three different perspectives are most common for considering the question, What is an Indian? The first perspective is from the viewpoint of Native peoples themselves, who can offer as many diverse answers to this question as there are tribal nations in the Americas—more than 1,000 cultural entities. The second perspective is from university scholars, who over the last 400 years have created a rather unified and consistent “outsider” view of Native American culture and history, presented mostly in published books and articles. Last is the perspective, in the United States and Canada, of the governments of the dominant Anglo societies—a perspective consisting largely of ethnocentric and self-serving fabrications, and full of legal myths about native peoples and their relations with colonial powers and with the Euro-American governments that succeeded them.

Perhaps no colonized group in the world has been so mislabeled by European colonists as the “American Indians.” The historians of Alexander the Great more than 2,000 years ago began the problem in nomenclature by referring to the peoples of the Indus River region of the South Asian subcontinent, conquered by Alexander and comprising most of modern Pakistan, as *Indians*, a term that later came to mean any peoples south of China and east of Africa. In ancient and medieval times, the entire South Asian subcontinent became known as “India” and the large islands of present-day Indo-

nesia were labeled “the Indies.” It was the value of trade goods from this area, procured at first by lengthy and exhaustive coastal and overland transport, that led Columbus and others to seek a direct westerly route across the Atlantic to the Indies in the fifteenth century.

After explorers and mapmakers had determined in the sixteenth century that the Caribbean islands they had found were not part of Indonesia, they differentiated the two by calling the Pacific location the “East Indies” and the Caribbean location the “West Indies,” even though they were about 10,000 miles apart. To differentiate between the respective native peoples, the inhabitants of the Caribbean islands and subsequently the adjacent continents were first referred to as “West Indians” and then simply “Indians.” After mapmaker Amerigo Vespucci formalized the nomenclature and immodestly named the two continents after himself in 1502, the inhabitants became known as “American Indians.” In Britain, to differentiate South Asian Indians from American Indians, both of whom had a place in British culture and history, the racial term “Red Indians” was used for the Americans, a term picked up by scientific racists in the nineteenth century when they characterized the skin colors of the world as fourfold—black, white, yellow, and red, making a complete chromatic set. This was perhaps aesthetically pleasing but biologically gibberish, because all human beings occur simply in various shades of brown. So the native peoples of the Americas were forced to live with a three-layered insult—named after a river in Asia they had never seen, bearing the personal name of a European who had barely set foot in “America,” and characterized as contrasting with Europeans by being “red” in color.

## NATIVE PERSPECTIVES

A standing complaint among Native Americans is being asked by tourists to “speak Indian,” as if all native people spoke the same language, presumably the abbreviated Pamunkey trade language spoken in Virginia in colonial times, used by James Fenimore Cooper in writing his *Leatherstocking Tales* and made more famous by Tonto, the Lone Ranger’s television sidekick. But in fact, the linguistic situation in aboriginal America was and is much richer and more complex than that of Europe. In all of Europe, only three language families are represented. A language family is defined as a group of languages that are historically related—all derived from a single parent language spoken perhaps thousands of years ago, but which historical linguists can reconstruct. Most Europeans speak an Indo-European language, such as those of the Romance group derived from Latin, or the Germanic languages, including English. Hungarians and Finns each speak a Finno-Ugric language, and the Basques (or more properly, Euzkadis) of Spain and France speak an “isolated” language, perhaps representing languages spoken in Europe before the Roman expansion.

But in the Americas, there are altogether about nineteen language families comprising nearly a thousand separate and mutually unintelligible languages, some of which are as different in their phonetic and grammatical structure as English and Chinese, or Bantu and Samoan. In North America alone, there are about ten language families and 216 separate languages (scholars differ in their estimates and classifications; see Ruhlen 1986, and Goddard 1996).

Native Americans are as diverse in their culture, religious beliefs, and traditional histories as they are in their languages, although tribal nations with related languages often share certain beliefs about creation and cosmology. Many of the traditionalist Native peoples of eastern North America, for example, have shared the cosmological view that the earth rests on the back of a turtle, and that the firmament was created from mud brought to the surface of the ocean by a crawfish. A few, but not all, of these groups have the traditional belief that at the time of creation humans were surrounded by a dense fog, and organized themselves with other non-human creatures as clans. They did not realize that they had become the comrades of certain non-human animals, plants, and other phenomena until the Master of Breath blew away the fog. The people of the Kiowa Nation of the Great Plains believe traditionally that they were uniquely created and placed on earth through the agency of a sacred hollow log situated in the Wichita Mountains. Their neighbors the Cheyenne believe that they too are unique, born with a layer of waxy yellow vernix from the high God, Maheo, as a symbol of their special status among humans. Similarly, some Nakota groups believe that their children uniquely bear a dark spot on their lower back, which biologists call the “Mongoloid Spot,” a characterization that the Nakota forcefully reject. Height, body build, beards, and skin color have also been used as indices of humanness among Native American peoples, as well as between natives and colonists. In addition, Native people invoke the physical characteristics of freckles and moles, body hair, pattern baldness, and eye color to differentiate themselves racially from “Whites” and from “Mixed Bloods.”

In their diverse beliefs, Native Americans have been sometimes more and sometimes less generous in bestowing human status on their neighbors, depending on history and circumstance. At the extreme, some nations did not bestow completely human status on traditional enemies, using words equivalent to *savage* or *primitive* to describe them, or insulting their enemies as cannibals, carrion-eaters, or incestuous persons. European colonists exploited this racism and chauvinism to enact a “divide and conquer” strategy against Native peoples in the New England and Virginia colonies. Later, to get the cooperation of Native people such as the Yamasees of Georgia in recovering escaped slaves, they imparted their own notions of African inferiority as well.

Soon after the European invasion, Native Americans recognized that they must eschew previous hostilities among themselves, and the accompanying racism and chauvinism, to present a united front against the European invaders. The Iroquois Indians were precocious in this regard, confronting the Europeans with the League of the Hodenosaunee or Iroquois, a confederacy of nations who spoke several different languages within the same Iroquoian language family. They invented political protocols emphasizing the political power of women that overcame parochial divisions, allowing the Iroquois League to dominate frontier politics in the eastern Great Lakes area during the eighteenth century.

Farther south, the Mvskoke Creeks went even farther in creating a pan-Indian, international confederacy, inviting the remnants and refugees of disintegrating coastal groups to join them by town as full citizens of their confederacy, which was called the Etelaketa. At first the Confederacy included only Yuchis, Hitchitis, Apalachees, and a few Cherokees and Natchez, but later it comprised larger populations of Shawnee, Alabama, and Koasati towns, representing altogether four language families and twelve distinct languages. In addition, as escaped indentured servants of European ancestry began to arrive in Creek territory in the late seventeenth century, they were assigned to three new towns, if they were not married into existing towns. A bit later, escaped African slaves were welcomed, forming five of their own towns, mostly as clients to Indian towns. An even broader confederacy was planned by the legendary Tecumseh toward the end of the eighteenth century, who proposed a grand alliance of all tribes south of the Great Lakes and north of the Ohio River. He failed, but the remainder of his movement went south to join the Seminoles in Florida at the end of the eighteenth century, forming a society that created a formal equality among its citizens of African, European, and Native American ancestry, a feat not accomplished in the American colonies or the United States until the twentieth century.

Pan-Indianism began to supercede nativism among Native Americans in North America with the emergence of the so-called Ghost Dance religion after the Civil War. Founded by the Paiute prophet Wovoka, the movement—in which nearly all Plains Indians participated—anticipated the creation of a new Earth west of the horizon, over which Jesus was sovereign, and which in the form of a hemispherical shell would move east over the globe, soon covering over a despoiled earth and the white people and their destructive and sinful ways. The buffalo would return to the new earth, dead ancestors would be resurrected, and Native people would be well fed and happy. The movement was notable not only for its Christian elements, but also its pan-Indian character. It was emphatically not a tribal religion. The Peyote religion, or Native American Church, is similar in being explicitly Christian and pan-



Indian, although it is not a mass movement but is organized into small local groups. At the turn of the twentieth century, organized pow-wows and ubiquitous sweat lodges in the United States and Canada also gained recognition as pan-Indian institutions. Intellectually, the twentieth century saw the development of pan-Indian literature and poetry, and pan-Indian political ideas from native writers such as Vine Deloria and Ward Churchill, and pan-Indian groups such as the National Congress of American Indians and the Native American Rights Fund.

### THE SCHOLARLY PERSPECTIVE

If Native American intellectuals have historically been skeptical of Anglo-American scholarship concerning Indian origins and identity, they have good reasons. The first wave of Europeans, including Anglican priests, Puritan ministers, and French Jesuits, believed that Native Americans were worshippers of Satan, if they were not indeed the actual children of the Devil. English explorer Martin Frobisher, later hero of the battle with the Spanish Armada, previously served the Crown as explorer of the North American continent. While coasting Labrador and Baffin Island in 1560 looking for a Northwest Passage to the East Indies, he took the opportunity to go ashore, seize an Indian woman and hike up her skirts to see if she had cloven hooves instead of feet, thereby marking her as one of the Devil's brood. Such early observers as John Smith and Jonathan Edwards, after questioning native people of New England and Virginia, confirmed to their British readers that they were all worshippers of the Devil (see Sayre 1997). An alternative view was that they had no religion at all, and the consensus was that they were savages who lived in "promiscuous hordes" in the forests, as described by philosopher Thomas Hobbes, thereby justifying the theft of their land.

In Central and South America, among the first philosophical and theological questions the Spanish and Portuguese colonists formally faced were whether Indians constituted any kind of human at all, and if they had souls. If they were defined as animals, then they could be killed at will, worked to death in the mines, and did not have to be converted to Christianity (the "colonialist" position). If they were humans, then they had to be converted, could not be murdered legally, and could share communion in the Church (the "indigenist" position). In an historic debate in Valladolid, Spain in 1550–1551, Juan Genés de Sepúlveda defended the colonialist position, while Bartolomé de las Casas defended the human status of Native Americans. After lengthy deliberations, the judges in the case could not reach a decision, but the indigenist position ultimately prevailed by means of a series of royal decrees leading to the Basic Law of 1573 (Hanke 1959).

Having determined in the colonial period that Indians were something less than human, or at least something less than civilized, Western scholars then had to account for the rise of the civilizations of the Aztecs and Incas, and for the magnificent mounds and pyramids that were found when colonists penetrated the interior of North America. Having already demonized, literally, the "savage" occupants of North America, they could only hypothesize that somebody else must have built these impressive monuments. The hypothesized builders included well-known figures from Classical European history and mythology—refugees from the lost continent of Atlantis, Ancient Egyptians or Phoenicians, and the lost tribes of Israel. Isolated from Spanish sources by their ignorance of the language, British prehistorians did not concern themselves very much with Latin America, but parallel theories grew in Mexico and South America that the Aztec culture was inspired by immigrants from the African medieval empires, and that the Incas were inspired by Chinese or Japanese cultures. In 1968, Erich von Daniken, in his book *Chariots of the Gods*, even hypothesized that the pyramids and other structures had been built or at least designed by space travelers from another solar system. All such theories have served to denigrate the intellect of Native Americans, while ignoring the continuity of 10,000 years of archeological evidence indicating a slow and steady development, not a sudden appearance of high cultures in the Americas.

Among the pioneers in careful description of Native American culture—scientific ethnography—are John Smith of Jamestown, who despite his racism and religious bigotry provided accurate descriptions of Pamunkey economics and politics, while John White made accompanying sketches illustrating native life in North Carolina and Virginia. Father Joseph François Lafitau, who unlike most of his Jesuit confreres understood the complex structures of Indian kinship and politics, published a two volume description of Indian cultures in 1724 criticizing the views of his ethnocentric brethren, entitled *Customs of the American Indians Compared with the Customs of Primitive Times*. The best of these early ethnographers, however, was Lewis Henry Morgan, who in the next century helped to found the science of comparative kinship, or ethnology, was adopted by the Iroquois, and visited Native peoples up and down the Missouri River from 1859 to 1862, taking notes of differences in language and culture. His 1851 book *League of the Hodenosaunee or Iroquois* was perhaps the first full ethnography of any tribal society, anywhere. His magnum opus, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family* (1871), is still consulted by ethnologists. Morgan's Iroquois friend and sponsor, Ely S. Parker, was Ulysses S. Grant's adjutant during the Civil War, and was the first Indian person appointed as head of the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), beginning his term in 1869.

In the nineteenth century, scholarly studies of Native American culture and societies were largely generated by government agencies, beginning with the publications of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, an Indian Agent for the Chipewas (or Ojibwas), who received Congressional support to publish the six volumes of his *Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the Indian Tribes of the United States*, from 1851 to 1857. Following the Civil War, the government organized its own research institution for studying Indians, the Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE), under the premise that Indian culture, and Indian people themselves, had to be studied immediately because they would soon disappear, killed by diseases and their inability to adapt to a new situation. The BAE was merged with the Smithsonian Institution in 1965. The Smithsonian preserves its special status as providing the official scholarly perspective on Indians in its new edition of the *Handbook of North American Indians*, projected to comprise twenty volumes. The authors' guide for scholars writing articles for the *Handbook* recognizes the original premise of the BAE by requiring authors to refer to Indians and their cultural activities in the past tense.

#### THE GOVERNMENT PERSPECTIVE

In the British part of colonial North America, settlement had originally proceeded on the basis of charters issued to companies or groups of settlers to enter a particular area for purposes stated in their charter. It was up to the colonists to entreat with aboriginal residents and set boundaries and terms of interaction. Later in the seventeenth century, however, the Crown began to recognize the dangers of this arrangement, and forbade colonies from signing treaties with Indian polities on their own, and insisted that all treaties must be ratified by the Crown. The form of the treaties with Indians was the same as protocols followed by the Crown with other European governments or those of Africa or the Middle East. That is, the individual Native American groups were each treated as a sovereign nation. When the Treaty of Paris was signed in 1783, ending the American Revolution, the United States promised to honor all treaties written between former British colonies and Indian nations, which had mostly been ratified by the Crown. The reservations of land made for Indians under these treaties became known as "state reservations," comprising such entities as the Mohegans, Pequot, Pamunkey, and Catawba tribes in the eastern United States. The Iroquois groups also had treaties and titles for large tracts in upstate New York.

As the American frontier moved west of the Appalachian Mountains after independence, the former method of treaty-making was maintained. Typically, a meeting was called between U.S. and Native leaders, an agreement was worked out concerning such matters as land, bound-

daries, trade, and travel, then signed and ratified by both groups *inter pares*, "between equals." As the frontier reached the Mississippi River, however, federal policy changed dramatically. Land was becoming scarce in the east, and so a policy of Indian Removal was implemented in 1828, stating that all Indians east of the Mississippi had to move to reservations in the far west, across the Mississippi. The Cherokees, with a large educated elite and many friends in Washington, refused to move and sued, so that the case, *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, was ultimately heard in the U.S. Supreme Court. The Cherokees were confident of victory. If the Court decided that they were citizens of the United States, then they could go to court and defend their rights like any other citizen. If the Court decided that they were a sovereign nation, then the United States had to respect their treaties. Either way, they figured, they had the legal power to maintain control of their lands in Tennessee, Georgia, and North Carolina. But they were wrong.

In an unprecedented and self-contradictory ruling in 1831, Chief Justice John Marshall invented the concept of the "domestic dependent nation." Even though, up to then, the word *nation* legally and semantically meant that the group was sovereign or free and independent of any other government, Marshall redefined it to mean the opposite in the case of American Indians. He rewrote the dictionary. Indians east of the Mississippi were ordered to go west, and populist President Andrew Jackson was very willing to start them moving to please his constituency. Some Indian people on state reservations pleaded exception to the decision, because they had treaties that antedated the formation of the United States, and some of them won their cases. The Iroquois pleaded a special exception—their treaty with the United States was approved in that interim period after U.S. independence but before there was a Constitution, which was not completed until 1787. Therefore, they argued, the constitutionality of their treaty was irrelevant. Caught in a legal contradiction, the U.S. side capitulated and the Iroquois stayed in New York. Elsewhere, the Indian Removal Act was enforced unevenly, depending on local situations. In one odd case, the Catholic Potawatomes of Indiana were removed to Indian Territory, while the Methodist Potawatomes were allowed to stay, reflecting the anti-Catholic sentiments of the day. Perhaps in retribution, the Catholic Potawatomes sold their land to the Catholic Church, which promptly distributed it to Irish immigrants and built Notre Dame University on the site of the former reservation.

The U.S. government continued to write treaties in the same mode as before, first with nations of the Northwest Territory, and increasingly with Plains Indians and those in California and Oregon Territory. They neglected to tell the Indian signers about the Marshall decision, which had determined that even in signing a treaty recognizing them as a sovereign nation, the government had

reduced their status to that of a *dependent* nation. These treaties were meaningless, because they could be overridden by Congress or even by an executive order of the president. Between 1831 and 1871, when treaty writing was abandoned entirely by act of Congress, Indian nations were moved around and their reservation boundaries and memberships revised and redetermined at the whim of the federal government.

#### FEDERAL ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

As Indians were pacified, missionized, and sent to prisons and boarding schools intensively after 1890, the federal government had time to organize them and their reservations as it liked. They either did not realize or did not care that their perspective on Indians was quite different from the perspectives of scholars or the Native peoples themselves, in many ways. First of all, there was the question of what to call these entities they had collected onto bounded, exclusive reservations. The government was careful to use the term *tribe* for these people, because that implied a lesser political status than *nation*. Native leaders were just as careful to use the word *nation* in their discourse with government officials, constantly reminding them of their claims to sovereignty. Then there was the question of the proper and polite names for the different “tribes.” Some of the official names selected over the years were at least informal or colloquial, some were incorrect, and some downright insulting. The “Sioux,” for example, had been given the name used by the Chippewas to degrade them as “snakes,” *Nadouessioux*. They called themselves Dakota, Nakota, or Lakota, depending on their language, history, and location. The “Delawares,” a conglomeration of Algonquian-speaking tribes living around Chesapeake Bay, had been named after an English nobleman, Thomas West, Lord de la Warr, without their knowledge or consent. They called themselves Lenape (Original people). The “Gros Ventres” (Big bellies) were burdened with a nickname bestowed by French traders; they called themselves A’ananin. In the same spirit, the Nimi’ipuu (Real People) had been labeled the Nez Percé (Pierced Noses), another French traders’ nickname. Yet another group, which will not be identified, bears a native version of the name “Those Who Drink Our Urine,” bestowed by a hostile neighboring group and transcribed by some trader or bureaucrat who did not speak the language. There are many other examples of misnaming, which are in the process of correction as traditional groups become more forceful in asserting their identity and naming themselves. They are also overcoming the objections of Anglo administrators that their names are difficult to spell or to pronounce. And so the Papago have officially become the Tohono O’odham, and the Sarcee of Canada have become the Tsuu T’ina.

Next there is the issue of whether an official tribal label applied by the government to a bounded reservation group accurately reflects the membership of the group. The Mvskoke Creeks, the officially recognized confederacy mentioned above, who were enrolled as one “tribe,” notably includes several towns of Yuchis, whose language and history are distinct from the Mvskokes. The modern Creeks of Oklahoma also include a community of Shawnees, living at the edge of their Oklahoma reservation near the official Shawnees. Other unofficial Shawnees live with the Cherokees, and others are divided between the Shawnees proper, who were present at a treaty signing, and the Absentee Shawnees, who were assigned that name because they boycotted the treaty meeting. Some Delawares reside with the Cherokees, whereas others are with the Caddoes, from Texas. Some entire ethnic Cherokee communities are enrolled as Creeks in eastern Oklahoma, and some Creek communities as Cherokees, occupying part of the Cherokee Reservation. In the last several decades, such immersed tribes have been denied the right to organize themselves as separate entities because, according to the BIA, they already have an identity. In fact, one of the present rules of federal recognition is that a group cannot be separately recognized if the members are already members of a recognized group. So the Yuchis are destined by Anglo law and policy to remain Creeks, no matter what their cultural and linguistic differences might be, and no matter what their desires might be.

The Seminoles are another striking example of the differences between a native perspective, a scholarly perspective, and the perspective of a national government. Originally, the Seminoles were a group of Hitchitis, members of the Mvskoke Creek Confederacy, who moved from Georgia into north Florida to avoid hostilities with Anglo settlers. They were soon joined by the militants of Tecumseh’s time and moved farther into Florida, accompanied by Black Seminoles, who formed their own towns. Other Hitchitis went to Indian Territory with the Creeks between 1830 and 1835. The Seminole Hitchitis began to call themselves Mikasukis. So there were and remain two groups of Seminoles in Florida, the Hitchiti-speakers in the Everglades, and the Mvskoke-speakers near Lake Okechobee. The so-called Creeks of Indian Territory have comprised a multitude of language and cultural groupings—Mvskokes, Hitchitis, Shawnees, Alabamas, Koasatis, Cherokees, Yuchis, and Natchez—as well as comprising three towns descended from white indentured servants and five more comprising the descendants of escaped black slaves. As in other venues, the BIA has continued to use ethnic and “racial” differences to promote dissension and thus control tribal politics, especially between people characterized in racial terms as red, white, and black, the title of an influential book on the subject by Gary B. Nash (2000). Oddly, in view of its policy with its own citizens, the federal

government did not discriminate legally among different kinds of Indians. Whether red, white, or black, they were all enrolled as Indians and given a tribal label.

In sum, the BIA created its “standard brands” of Indians by ignoring the real social, cultural, historical, and even “racial” differences among them, which were well known to scholars and of course to Indian people themselves. The existence of these standard brands was reinforced by treaties, confinement to reservations, enrollment procedures, and the organization of “tribal” governments after the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934. But during the twentieth century, demographic forces were developing that would make the BIA’s job of accounting for Indians much more difficult. First of all, the process of tribal intermarriage continued apace despite the segregation of Indians on reservations and their removal to isolated places, as attested by data collected by anthropologist Franz Boas from the 1900 U.S. Census (see Moore and Campbell 1995). Roughly 15 percent of tribal members were found to be marrying outside their ethnic group every generation. Secondly, as the different entities intermarried, their portion of blood in their natal tribe constantly diminished, confounding the racist system of “blood quantum” invented by the BIA. In this system, Indian people could apply for enrollment as a tribal member only by submitting documents to an enrollment office that certified their extent of “Indian blood” by tribe. If their documents were approved, they were issued a Certificate of Degree of Indian Blood (CDIB), which allowed them to enroll in a tribe if they had the required fraction of ancestry there. People with CDIBs fulfill one requirement of being a “legal Indian.”

Intermarriage among Indians progressed until, by 1980, some people with ancestry in several tribes found that they did not have enough blood quantum in any one tribe to be accepted for enrollment. Even some “full blood” Indians could not enroll anywhere. The system was further confounded by the practice within many tribes of considering ancestry to be only through the male line or the female line. Therefore, if one had a father from a matrilineal tribe and a mother from a patrilineal tribe, one could not enroll in either tribe. Scholars since the days of Lafitau and Morgan had recognized this situation, as of course had Indians since time immemorial, but the Bureau had made no accommodation to this cultural convention. In the 1880s, the BIA did not expect that there would be any Indians at all by 1980, and they frequently said so. But when it appeared by 1928 that Indians were here to stay, and in fact increasing in population, the BIA accommodated some of their own rules of citizenship in tribal nations under the Indian Reorganization Act.

A new problem in recognizing Indians and placing them in a tribe occurred with the reappearance in the

twentieth century of tribes that had been neglected, or who were thought to be extinct. As early as colonial times, some Indian people had fled to the hinterlands to escape the genocidal attacks of the whites; William Christie McLeod (1928) and Helen Hunt Jackson (1881) catalogued some of these cases. To avoid hostilities, some groups denied their Indianness and called themselves names like “Portuguese Colored” or “Jackson Whites.” When Indian Removal was enacted in the 1830s, large numbers of Cherokees and Choctaws especially, but also other smaller tribes, found refuge in mountain valleys, swamps, or on land that whites did not covet, while their brethren were being forcibly marched to Indian Territory. Some Indian people, even whole communities, had “opted out” of being official Indians, and diffused into their home communities among whites and blacks, and made their own way. Prominent among these were the Lumbees of North and South Carolina and the Keetowah Cherokees. Others used their own resources to emigrate independently to Indian Territory, refusing to be enrolled as Indians, and refusing to take land when it was offered under allotment in severalty, most notably some Cherokees, as well as some groups of Choctaws, Delawares, and Mvskoke Creeks.

By the 1970s, the political climate had changed to the extent that many submerged groups wanted to come out of hiding. Spurred by the example of Black Power among African Americans, Indian people began talking about Red Power. This was the period when the American Indian Movement (AIM), the International Indian Treaty Council, and many similar groups were founded. In the 1970s and 1980s, many previously little-known or unknown Indian communities began to identify themselves and seek some kind of recognition as Native people. They were encouraged in these efforts by a series of federal judicial decisions that emphasized that as the federal government had encroached on Indian lands and resources through the assignment of people to reservations and allotment in severalty in 1888, they had thereby accumulated an increasing fiduciary responsibility to uphold the interests of these tribes. In fact, the federal government was forced to take the Indian side in disputes concerning state reservations.

More importantly, it became clear that the federal government had to create a mechanism to officially recognize newly emerging groupings of Indian people. Many of them merely wanted to be admitted as a group to an existing tribe, some wanted federal recognition for tribes recognized only by states, perhaps living on state reservations, while others wanted an entirely new reservation established for them by federal authority. The most dramatic of these groups was a band of Shoshones who had somehow been overlooked in their homeland in the Great Basin of Utah and Nevada. Never enrolled, they wandered

into Las Vegas during a drought in the 1960s, asking for help. To accommodate such demands, the U.S. Congress, through the BIA, established a new procedure for recognizing previously unrecognized groups in 1978. The criteria for recognition changed over the following three decades, but the criteria in the early twenty-first century emphasize the documentation of continuity of a petitioning group with an historically known Indian entity, the continued existence of the group as a community, and the genealogical connections and Indian blood quanta of the petitioners. In 2007 more than 300 petitioning groups were at some stage in the process of petitioning for federal recognition. The criteria are available at the website of the Federal Register and the BIA, as well as several other locations as 25 CFR Part 83, Procedures for Establishing that an American Indian Group Exists as an Indian Tribe.

The criteria for federal recognition of a tribe are distinct from the criteria used for recognition as an individual Indian. For personal recognition, as opposed to group recognition, several levels of Indian identity have been defined. In the last several decades of the twentieth century, softer or looser criteria were developed for the private sector as well as government institutions, to fulfill the requirements of affirmative action. Currently, many different standards are applied to determine “what is an Indian?” At the bottom of the identity hierarchy are self-identified Indians. They rank among other levels of identity as follows, from least rigid to most rigid:

1. Self-Identified Indian. This is merely a person who claims to have Indian ancestry.
2. Documented Indian. Someone who has documents tracing ancestry to someone noted in government records as an Indian, for example on a U.S. Decennial Census.
3. Legal Indian. Someone who has submitted documents resulting in the award of a Certificate of Degree of Indian Blood, issued by the federal government.
4. Enrolled Indian. Someone with a CDIB who has been accepted for membership by a federally recognized “tribe.”

Only enrolled Indians can receive federal services provided through tribes. For some purposes, for example for federal employment and education benefits, some preference is shown for legal Indians, even if they are not enrolled in a tribe, but the federal government has been tightening up these benefits for unenrolled Indians as more and more Indian groups have been granted federal recognition.

Because of these differences in status and location, the total number of “Indians” in the United States is difficult to determine. Most do not live on reservations, and many

do not bother to enroll unless they are resident on a reservation or if some special situation arises, such as a special election or the settlement of an outstanding legal claim. But according to the BIA and the Bureau of the Census, on their respective Web sites, there are about five million self-identified Indians on current U.S. censuses, about half of whom are affiliated in some manner with a particular reservation or tribal nation. There are many people of Indian ancestry who are qualified to receive a CDIB or to enroll with a tribe, who for various reasons, including their disgust at the process, have failed to do so. Those who have struggled over the years to collect documents to receive a CDIB, to be enrolled in an existing tribe, or to participate in a federal recognition petition, often become very angry and frustrated at the process. One often hears the complaint: “White people don’t have to carry an ID card proving that they’re white, so why do I have to carry a card proving that I’m an Indian?” A very good question.

The relations between the First Nations of Canada and their federal government are somewhat different from the United States. In the historically British or Anglophone area of Canada, from Ontario and the Great Lakes westward, the historical pattern of treaty writing and the establishment of reservations was similar to that of the United States, except that the areas set aside for Indians are called Reserves, and the occupants called Bands, further demoting native groups from the status of nation. In Quebec and other areas formerly under French control until the 1763 French-British treaty ended the Seven Years War, Indian claims to land and status have been complicated by the existence of prior French-Indian treaties, and British-French agreements. These treaties had provisions for Native people with consequences for Canadian law. Also, the status of some lands historically awarded by the French government to missionaries and traders seemed ambiguous under British law.

Between 1871 and 1922, the Canadian government undertook to write a series of numbered treaties (1–11) with tribal nations in the Canadian West, which was still sparsely populated and where the government could claim no “right of conquest” over native groups. In many cases, because of the complications of intermarriage and ethnic identity, people of Indian ancestry were given the choice of becoming a member of a band, a “status” or legal Indian, or a regular citizen of Canada, with consequences that are still being worked out in Canadian courts. In addition to comprising about two million Indians, Canada is also the home of about 300,000 Metis, of mixed Indian-French ancestry, many of whom speak their own original mixed language, Michif. The Canadian government regards them as an aboriginal people. In the same spirit, the United States regards native Hawaiians as Native Americans, but not as

## Felony Disenfranchisement

Indians. In Latin America, relations between Indians and Europeans have been extremely complicated and have varied dramatically from country to country. Ethnogenesis has generated hundreds of hybrid and mixed populations who have different political and cultural statuses in different countries (Hill 1996).

SEE ALSO *Blood Quantum*.

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John H. Moore

## FELONY DISENFRANCHISEMENT

The term *felony disenfranchisement* (or, more specifically, *felony voting disenfranchisement*) refers to the denial of the right to vote to incarcerated persons and released ex-offenders who were convicted of certain classified crimes, though not necessarily felonies. Since the adoption of the practice in colonial America, felony disenfranchisement has become a common practice within the United States. This practice has been particularly harmful to racial

minorities, who have had the ability to exercise their political clout compromised.

### CURRENT PRACTICE

In the late first decade of the twenty-first century, nearly 5 million Americans—or one in forty-three adults—are currently without voting rights as a result of a felony conviction. Forty-eight states and Washington, D.C., deny the right to vote to felony offenders. Only Maine and Vermont do not impose felony disenfranchisement. Although there is variety in felony disenfranchisement legislative schemes, such legislation may generally be classified under three categories: permanent, modified permanent, or restorative disenfranchisement.

In a permanent disenfranchisement jurisdiction, a felony offender is denied the right to vote for life. Three states—Florida, Kentucky, and Virginia—deny the right to vote to all ex-offenders, and can thus be classified as permanent disenfranchisement jurisdictions. In these jurisdictions, the restoration of voting rights is still possible, but only through a pardon by the governor or by the action of the probation or parole board. Twelve states are modified permanent jurisdictions. Here, permanent disability is imposed only on certain classes of ex-offenders, and restoration may be subject to a waiting period.

In a restorative felony disenfranchisement jurisdiction, restoration is either automatic after incarceration, probation, or parole, or it is available after the ex-offender completes a designated process following incarceration, probation, or parole. The restorative process varies from jurisdiction to jurisdiction, and it is often too cumbersome, and sometimes too expensive, for most ex-offenders to successfully complete.

### RACE AND DISENFRANCHISEMENT

Racial minorities are disproportionately denied the right to vote by felony disenfranchisement legislation. More than a third of those disenfranchised are African-American men. It is estimated that 1,400,000 African-American men (or about 13% of African-American men) have been denied the right to vote by felony disenfranchisement legislation. The rate of disenfranchisement of African-American men is seven times that of the national average. In at least six states, one in four African-American men is permanently disenfranchised. Further, it is projected that if current disparities in incarceration continue, 30 percent of the next generation of African-American men will be disenfranchised over the course of their lives, and that in some states nearly 40 percent of African-American men will be permanently denied the right to vote.

The disparate disenfranchisement of African Americans is the result of both intent and effect. Felony disenfranchisement was specifically and consciously co-opted during the post-Reconstruction era as a tool—along with the poll tax and literacy requirements—to prevent blacks from availing themselves of the political clout that the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments of the U.S. Constitution promised. White legislators of this era boldly asserted their racist desire and expectation that disenfranchisement would diminish the ability of African Americans to secure political power. Thus, southern states required the disenfranchisement of defendants convicted of crimes that the legislature associated with African Americans, although some of these crimes were not, in fact, felonies. These legislatures often refused to require the disenfranchisement of those crimes believed to be primarily committed by whites, such as murder, even though these crimes were much more severe than the offenses associated with African Americans, such as theft. The racially influenced categorization of offenses subject to disenfranchisement remained in place until the mid-1980s, when the U.S. Supreme Court struck down Alabama’s disenfranchisement scheme, which disenfranchised people for reasons of “moral turpitude.”

In the early twenty-first century, legislatures perpetuated and tolerated the predictable racial disparities produced by felony disenfranchisement. The disparate disenfranchisement rates were the product of the racial disparities produced by the criminal justice system. As a result of the targeting of minorities through various efforts waged in the name of the war on drugs and various wars on crime, minorities were disparately prosecuted, convicted, and incarcerated for felonies.

**POLITICAL IMPACT**

Felony disenfranchisement has had a political impact. It is generally believed that this demographic tends to lean more to the left than to the right politically. Several critical elections, including the 2000 presidential election, are believed to have been effected by the exclusion of ex-offenders from the electoral process. In each of these circumstances, it is alleged that if liberal-leaning ex-offenders had been permitted to vote, then the more conservative candidate would have lost the election. Instead, in each of these critical races, the more conservative candidate prevailed.

**THE RATIONALE**

Proponents of felony disenfranchisement justify the practice by pointing to tradition, conventional rationales for criminal punishment, and crime prevention. In medieval



***Promoting Felon Voting.** Artist and ex-felon Steve Nighthawk, holding his niece, stands underneath a billboard he designed as part of a Nevada campaign to encourage voter registration among ex-felons. AP IMAGES.*

England, felony disenfranchisement existed as part of the panoply of disabilities imposed on convicted felons. Felons typically suffered both physical death (incarceration until the imposition of capital punishment) and civil death (the inability to perform civil functions, including the right to vote). Some U.S. states appear to continue felony disenfranchisement merely as a historic practice, although disenfranchisement in early England was of little consequence because most felons were subject to the death penalty. In the United States, however, only murder and treason are subject to the death penalty.

Other proponents of felony disenfranchisement argue that, independent of the legislation’s lineage, disenfranchisement is a justified form of punishment based on either a utilitarian or retributive theory of punishment. Thus, proponents argue that disenfranchisement will deter future criminality and represents the felon’s just deserts for the breach of societal norms. Finally, felony disenfranchisement is supported as a means to

protect “ballot purity.” Proponents argue that felony disenfranchisement prevents felons from promoting corrupt agendas through the vote, and that it limits the threat of voter fraud.

### CRITICISM

Critics of felony disenfranchisement complain that the practice violates traditional penological objectives and the democratic ideal. They maintain that it violates the goals of rehabilitation and the reintegration of ex-offenders into the community and the body politic. In addition, disenfranchisement schemes are not proportional, thereby violating another goal of criminal sentencing schemes. Critics also question whether felony disenfranchisement can be reconciled with the goals of widespread democratic participation and a commitment to universal suffrage.

### INTERNATIONAL COMPARISON AND REFORM

The breadth and extent of felony disenfranchisement legislation in the United States is out of step with the practices of other civilized countries and international law. Most civilized countries have limited or abolished voting restrictions imposed on ex-offenders. Moreover, international human rights organizations argue that disenfranchisement policies within the United States violate international law. In particular, they insist that the imposition of permanent disability and blanket disability on all incarcerated persons violates Article 25 of the International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights, which requires that restrictions on the right to vote be based on grounds that are “objective and reasonable.” These organizations argue that disenfranchisement within the United States—which denies all incarcerated persons the right to vote, regardless of offense, and denies to some the right to vote for life—is neither objective nor reasonable.

These organizations also urge that disenfranchisement legislation in the United States violates the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD), which has been ratified by the United States. They insist that the scope and the increasing racial impact of this legislation violates CERD’s command that states eliminate legislation that restricts the right to vote in a racially disparate manner, regardless of the intention of the legislature.

Legal challenges to disenfranchisement legislation premised on race have generally not been successful. Students of the legislation, therefore, advocate the abandonment of such approaches and the adoption of strategies that target legislative action rather than seek judicial invalidation.

SEE ALSO *Black Reconstruction; Criminal Justice System; Voting Rights Act of 1965.*

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*Robin K. Magee*

## FEMINISM AND RACE

The term *feminism* means advocacy for the well-being of women in both theoretical and practical ways. In the United States, feminist scholarship and practice in the nineteenth century was dominated by white middle- and upper-class heterosexual Anglo-American women, and the same was true in the twentieth century up until the 1960s. But from about 1970 onward, the concerns of women of color, poor women, and lesbians have become more prominent in feminist discourse, and they have also been explicitly recognized by traditional white feminists, both in the academy and in mainstream organizations such as the National Organization for Women (NOW). Among the women at the forefront of this movement, bell hooks has insisted on a distinct identity for black women, Patricia Hill Collins has argued that black women need to bring their own life knowledge into the field of sociology, and Paula Gunn Allen has shown that women were respected leaders in many indigenous societies before European contact.

Still, at the turn of the twenty-first century, establishment American feminism continued to be mostly white and middle class, although not exclusively heterosexual. However, lesbian feminism has certainly grown as a field of inquiry, particularly through the work of Adrienne Rich, Audre Lorde, Marilyn Frye, Mary Daly, Sheila Jeffreys, and Monique Wittig. Also, some academic feminist scholars during the late twentieth century took up the postmodern theories of French feminists, such as Julia Kristeva and Luce



Irigaray, who provided literary critiques of male-dominated Western culture by criticizing its canonical texts. As Cynthia Willett indicates in *The Soul of Justice* (2001), however, addressing women's problems via such criticism is usually restricted to privileged educated women.

At the same time, women's studies scholars have increased their recognition of feminism and women's problems and social movements in Europe, Latin America, Africa, and Asia. The twenty-first century challenge for feminism is to include all women's voices, and to support and generate social movements that do not divide women by race. When feminism, in both theory and practice, does not include the concerns of women of color, then women of color may view feminism itself as one of the causes of their social disadvantages.

### THE HISTORY OF FEMINISM AND RACE

American feminists often refer to their history as comprising three "waves." The first wave occurred between 1790 and 1920. During this period, feminism overtly excluded women of color and was, at times, explicitly racist. The second wave took place between 1950 and 1980, and it began to address social divisions among women based on race. Unfortunately, these attempts at inclusion resulted in a fragmentation of feminism itself. The third wave began after 1980, and it will need to be inclusive across race if feminism is to remain credible as a movement for all women, even though scholarly work by feminists has historically supported a diversity of feminisms.

The first wave began with Mary Wollstonecraft's 1790 publication in England of *Vindication of the Rights of Women*. Wollstonecraft was inspired by the promise of universal human equality in the philosophies that motivated the French Revolution. She argued for the education of girls and the entry of wives and mothers into public life, with full rights as citizens. The philosopher and English political activist John Stuart Mill published *The Subjection of Women* in 1869. Both Wollstonecraft and Mill argued for child custody rights for divorced women, independent property ownership for married women, and suffrage for all women, precisely so that they could better serve their families and contribute to society as wives and mothers. However, those advocating for such rights were focused solely on white middle-class women, who had become overly domesticated and confined to their households after the Industrial Revolution. Wollstonecraft and Mills did not apply their arguments to poor women or women of color, who had always worked outside their homes in fields or factories, or in the homes of white women. For most of these women, such work was necessary to help support their families.

Women did achieve the right to vote in both the United States and Great Britain by 1920. According to

the historian Eleanor Flexner, in *Century of Struggle* (1974), as a social and political movement, the achievement of suffrage developed by fits and starts, in ways that were closely related to the abolitionist movement to free the American slaves. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott emerged as the leaders of the suffrage movement after the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention in upstate New York. Susan B. Anthony was the great organizer of this movement, while Stanton supplied much of its rhetoric. The Seneca Falls Convention had occurred, at least in part, because female abolitionists were frustrated at not being able to speak publicly against slavery. (Public speaking was generally a privilege reserved for men.) The suffragists were bitterly disappointed that the rights of women were not recognized when slavery was abolished, and some veered toward racist comparisons between themselves and uneducated blacks after blacks were granted suffrage.

As the first wave grew on a state by state basis in the second half of the nineteenth century, a strong women's club movement took shape, especially when temperance, or the outlaw of alcoholic beverages, became a women's issue (many women saw men's drunkenness as a problem for their families). These clubs were mainly restricted to white women. African American women formed their own clubs and civic organizations to secure education in their communities, protest against lynching, and create social standards for new generations (see Hine 1993).

Despite the racism within the first wave of the women's movement, the second wave, as a political movement that brought American women into the workforce and secured entry into higher education, was inspired and assisted by the civil rights movements of the 1960s. The Civil Rights Act of 1964, for example, outlawed discrimination "because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin." On the theoretical and ideological side, the second wave was inaugurated in the early 1950s through the publications of Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* and Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex*. Friedan proclaimed that the domestic lives of middle class women obstructed human fulfillment and de Beauvoir argued that women's social differences from men, which were based on ideas about their biological differences, resulted in a second-class status compared to men.

### THEORETICAL ISSUES IN FEMINISM AFTER 1970

Throughout the second wave, American women gained unprecedented access to employment and higher education. Colleges and universities supported programs in women's studies, ethnic studies, and Afro-American studies. As a result, feminism developed a theoretical foundation across the humanities, with a strong focus on issues of racial and cultural difference. Supporting such diversity in feminism

was an implicit and explicit realization that the capabilities of women and the social roles they occupied were not determined by their female biology, but by historical events, cultural circumstances, and male rule. Indeed, it was on the issue of patriarchy that women of color began to protest that the concerns of white women did not mirror their own. They argued that for women of color, racism was as much or more of a problem than sexism. The questioning of the ability of white feminists to speak for women of color raised wider questions about whether there was one essence that all women shared, which made them *women*. Elizabeth Spelman, in her 1988 book *Inessential Woman*, brought the question of women's commonality to the forefront of feminist theory. However, as Linda Alcoff pointed out in 1989, both the lack of a biological essence and the emphasis on culture could also lead to new oppressive assumptions that the lives of women of color were completely defined and shaped by their cultures. From the perspective of women of color, a new branch of feminism, known as *intersectionality*, developed. Proponents of intersectionality—such as Kimberle Crenshaw, in legal studies, and Irene Browne and Joya Misra, writing about labor markets in 2003—have held that women's "genders," or their social and economic roles and experiences, are a result of both racism and economic factors. Out of this perspective came the well-known equation, "race + class = gender." This means that women of color have different "genders" than white women. Insofar as theorists such as Judith Butler have viewed biological sex as an effect of social factors and beliefs, or as a social construction, feminism itself has become very divided according to racial divisions. It would likely be further divided according to class, except that poor women rarely have a direct voice in theoretical discourse.

#### FEMINISM AND WOMEN'S PROBLEMS IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, there was wide recognition among U.S. feminists that the women's movement is global, and that much can be learned from feminisms in less affluent and more traditional cultures, and from those societies that are more proactive about women's rights and concerns. Women's groups in India, Latin America and Russia, for example, have often gained political support, not through advocacy of equality between women and men, but through demands for governmental and social support for women as wives and mothers. Throughout Africa and Southeast Asia, the practice of microfinance (usually taking the form of loans to women of several hundred dollars or less) and outright gifts of domestic animals have been important contributions to the family well-being of poor women responsible for providing food to their children and relatives. In Latin America and Russia, mothers' groups have effectively prevailed on government and military authorities to furnish information about missing husbands, sons, and brothers who have died or suffered in military service. In

Norway after the 1970s, it became a legal requirement that 40 percent of all members of parliament be female, with the understanding among political elites that women in government have stronger interests in family welfare and social well-being issues than do men. Moreover, Norway's "Credo on Difference" recognizes that the political inclusion of "women's issues," such as education, pensions, and welfare, on the top tier of the national agenda benefits all members of society, and not just women.

As Gayle Rubin has pointed out, and as feminist followers of Karl Marx have stressed, women perform work in agricultural and industrial societies, which enables male heads of household to do their paid labor. Mothers are still not paid for child rearing, housework, social tasks, and other parts of "women's work," so that many women who work outside of their homes must also perform a "second shift" without compensation. While women have secured the vote, child custody rights after divorce, and reproductive autonomy, they are still not fully the political equals of men, in even the most affluent Western countries. Those women who do participate in political leadership, even women of color (e.g., Condoleezza Rice, who became the U.S. secretary of state in 2005), often do so without special attention to the concerns of women or people of color.

Intersectionality and the "second shift" problem present a challenge to feminism: Is it possible for feminism to be both a system of belief and a source of change in the world that furthers the interests of all women? For this to occur, it is necessary to recognize the historical disadvantages of women and their future potential, and to acknowledge both what women have in common and the ways in which they are different. One way that feminist theorists could do this would be to abandon attempts to posit a common essence in all women, and instead view women as human beings who have been assigned to, or identify with, a group that makes up at least half of humankind. To be assigned to this group or identify with it would not mean that one had to be a mother, a man's heterosexual choice, or a female at birth, but only that this was one's social identity. Surely it is as mothers, men's heterosexual choices, and human females that women have suffered the problems that first led to feminism and women's movements in many different social, national, cultural, and racial/ethnic contexts. Such a common basis for women's social identity would not negate the real-life differences, demands, and expectations of justice experienced by women on account of their racial diversity. It would allow women to come together across their racial differences to address common problems, such as the second shift, while they continue to think about and act against specific race-based problems.

**SEE ALSO** *Antiracist Social Movements; Asian-American Feminism; Black Feminism in Brazil; Black Feminism in the United Kingdom; Black Feminism in the United States; Chicana Feminism; Sexism.*

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Naomi Zack

**FILM**

SEE *Filmography* in the Appendix at the end of Volume 3.

**FILM AND ASIAN AMERICANS**

Cinema representations of Asians and Asian Americans are rooted in the history of Euro-American colonial occupation and military struggles with China, the Philippines, Korea, Japan, and Vietnam. Euro-American, or "white,"

racial identity was used as a form of ideological control that helped to sustain the political subordination of colonial subjects. Asian Americans are the heirs of these images, which take on additional colorations when extended to the U.S. setting, because of the supposed competitive threat Asian Americans pose to white power and native-born nonwhites, African Americans in particular. Further, Asians and Asian Americans often function as totems that help forge and maintain white racial identity. Michael Rogin (1998) has observed that the immigrant Jews (and Greeks) who commercialized the movie industry staked their claim to white racial membership by producing films that reinforced the social subordination of native peoples, Latinos, Blacks, and Asian Americans.

**EARLY MOTION PICTURES**

The stock characterizations of Asians and Asian Americans (predominantly Chinese) found in early cinema are a legacy of a vital and robust vaudeville tradition, through which ideas on race-power, ethnic politics, and white racial nationalism were articulated on stage. Through music, song, and dance, vaudeville served as a key institution in the formation of white racial identity among mid-to late nineteenth-century European immigrant groups such as the Irish, who won white racial privilege by lampooning Negroes and Orientals, especially the Chinese (Roediger 1999). By the 1880s, leading into the age of cinema, Chinese and Chinese Americans had been racialized in vaudeville performance in a manner that clearly marked them as socially subordinate to white people of all social classes (Moon 2005).

The exterminationist military campaigns against Native Americans, known as the "Indian Wars"; the holocaust of African slavery; the annexation of what was once northern Mexico in 1848; and the exploitation and subsequent ban in 1882 on Chinese "coolie" labor all occurred before the commercial motion picture began to take form during the last decade of the nineteenth century. It is no coincidence that Edison kinetoscopes dating from the mid- to late-1890s featured Indian performers in Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, the black male dancers of Lucy Daly's Pickaninnies, knife-dueling and lasso-throwing Mexicans, and genre scenes of Chinese laundries (Musser 1991). Whether immigrant, native-born working class, or bourgeois, the diverse white audience could share equally in celebrating the consolidation of the U.S. racial republic via the moving image.

**THE CINEMA OF RACE-WAR**

In the same way that the nascent art of early motion pictures assisted in the ideological strengthening of white privilege and power, the industry was put to the service of the state by glorifying the bloody military campaigns of early



**Charlie Chan.** A scene from *Charlie Chan in Panama*. The *Charlie Chan* films were an extremely popular series in the 1930s and 1940s that featured a non-Asian actor starring as a Chinese private detective © JOHN SPRINGER COLLECTION/CORBIS.

imperial America. Victorious in the Spanish-American War (1898), the United States ceded the Philippines by the tottering empire that had once controlled much of the New World. When Filipino nationalists during the Philippine-American War (1899-1902) resisted the colonial ambitions of the United States, the Kinetograph Department of the Edison Manufacturing Company helped feed American jingoist fervor by staging re-enactments of military clashes between the contending armies, offering such titles as *Advance of Kansas Volunteers at Caloocan* (1899) and *Filipinos Retreat from Trenches* (1899). Thus began one hundred years of documentary and narrative race-war movies pitting the United States against the Asian enemy of the moment. Anti-Asian American racism within the U.S. homeland, simmering since the mid-nineteenth century, could rapidly be brought to a boil against foreign enemies during times of war. It was through the Philippine-American War that the term *gook* entered the American lexicon, courtesy of U.S. military personnel who used the epithet to disparage the

natives. The “mere gook rule,” whereby the life of an Asian was worth substantially less than that of a white American, was subsequently applied to a succession of militarist movies, including countless World War II patriotic epics, Korean War action films such as *Fixed Bayonets* (1951) and *Pork Chop Hill* (1957), and post-Vietnam War victory fantasies such as *Missing in Action* (1984) and *Rambo: First Blood, Part II* (1985) (Hamamoto 1994).

At the midpoint of the Vietnam War, films such as *55 Days at Peking* (1963) and *The Sand Pebbles* (1966)—both set in China as it was being carved up by the Western imperial powers—gave dramatic legitimacy to the history of U.S. military intervention in Asia. Only during the latter stages of the Vietnam War did select movies begin to diverge from the propagandistic function of earlier features such as John Wayne’s celebratory *The Green Berets* (1968). Although set in the Korean War, *M\*A\*S\*H* (1970) stood as a perversely comedic gloss on the U.S. military presence in Vietnam. Despite the liberal humanism conveyed in

antiwar narrative films, they persisted in placing white Americans in the foreground while relegating Asians to roles that functioned primarily as local color. Although overtly antimilitarist in its burlesque of the Vietnam War, even *Full Metal Jacket* (1987) failed to rise above predictable scenes such as that featuring an exchange between a Vietnamese streetwalker (“Me so horny. Me love you long time.”) and two white servicemen. As an American colonel expresses it in this classic Stanley Kubrick film, “We are here to help the Vietnamese, because inside every gook, there is an American trying to get out.”

In the cinema of empire, Asian racial identity serves only a totemic function for the white American protagonist struggling to think through existential dilemmas. The bedrock reality of white-dominant race-power, however, goes unquestioned even in seemingly “progressive” antiwar movies such as *The Killing Fields* (1984), based on the real-life experiences of the American journalist Sydney Shanberg and the Cambodian photojournalist Dith Pran.

#### NATIONALISM AND ECONOMIC CRISIS

During the post-Vietnam War period, the historically rooted battle against Asians moved from jungle warfare to open competition in the economic arena. East Asian nations such as Japan and South Korea benefited from the erosion of U.S. economic dominance, which was partly due to the enormous fiscal resources expended in maintaining its global military presence. As crises began to mount among an American public being squeezed by mass job loss attended by fundamental economic restructuring, Asians and Asian Americans once more were put into service as racial scapegoats by the corporate movie-making industry. In *Rising Sun* (1993)—adapted from the best-seller by Michael Crichton—police detective Capt. John Connor (Sean Connery) teamed with Lt. Web Smith (Wesley Snipes) to unravel a murder mystery involving a Japanese corporation. The film is noteworthy for its enlisting of African Americans by the white power structure to fight a common Asian enemy.

The social drama *Falling Down* (1993) captured the mounting anxieties of the violently reactionary “angry white male” in the character of William “D-Fens” Foster (Michael Douglas). An early scene has D-Fens brutalizing a Korean American shopkeeper whom he berates for speaking nonstandard English in “his” country. He angrily asks, “You have any idea how much money *my* country has given *your* country?” before trashing the store with a sawed-off baseball bat.

#### INTERRACIAL TENSIONS

Through the 1990s and into the early years of the 2000s, the further contraction of the U.S. economy, the massive

export of jobs overseas, record levels of immigration, and the economic challenge represented by East Asian nations led to an intensification of racial conflict. Spike Lee’s *Do the Right Thing* (1989), anticipating the Los Angeles Riot of 1991, dramatized the tensions that had developed among blacks, Latinos, and Asian Americans during the post-civil rights era, as each group contended for diminishing economic resources. Predating the Spike Lee film by several years, the futuristic *Blade Runner* (1982) offered the spectacle of Latinos, Asians, and Blacks slithering among each other in a dark, dystopian vision of the future.

Through the 1990s, African Americans were deployed more directly against Asians and Asian Americans. In *Lethal Weapon 4* (1998), blacks, white ethnics, and a white feminist are aligned with white power (as personified by Mel Gibson) against the yellow enemy, personified by the character Wah Sing Ku (played by respected *Wushu* master and international film star Jet Li). In *The Art of War* (2000), Neil Shaw (Wesley Snipes) is an operative with a covert diplomacy program sponsored unofficially by the United Nations. Here, a black man, wielding appropriated martial arts skills, vanquishes a slew of Asian villains and ends up with the prized yellow woman (Julia Fang, played by Marie Matiko) thus recapitulating the history of African Americans being recruited by white power to fight the Asian enemy.

*Rush Hour* (1998) featured Jackie Chan and Chris Tucker in a yellow-black buddy film, while *Romeo Must Die* (2000) paired Jet Li with the pop singer Aaliyah. The conflicts driving these movies were rooted in tense interracial relations caused by jobs lost to low-wage Asian nations and the perceived threat posed by the rapid rise in Asian immigration to the United States. The comedy *Next Friday* (2000) offered a parable of post-Los Angeles Riot race relations, bringing together a troublesome Latino household, a Korean-American woman, and an African-American family, all of whom have fled the central city for the relative security of the suburban cul-de-sac they share.

#### ALTERNATIVES

The recruitment by Hollywood of successful Asian directors such as John Woo might appear to present opportunities for bringing about more equitable representations of Asian Americans in cinema. Such hopes are misplaced, however, because the net effect of U.S.-based companies in hiring foreign-born directors has been to stave-off competition from overseas film production, while also raising the quality of domestic product through the innovations of artists such as Woo (Miller et al. 2005). In any case, Woo himself seems content to put his stylistic imprint on conventional U.S. action movies featuring white actors (Fang 2004). The Taiwan-born director Ang Lee fared well in documenting the rich lives of transnational Asian Americans in his earlier films, such as

*Pushing Hands* (1992) and *The Wedding Banquet* (1993). But once having established his credentials, Lee was enlisted to direct a succession of films with the white world as their focus. Even the glorious *wuxia* pastiche *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* (2000) was primarily intended for a non-Asian mainstream audience. Lee's winning of the Academy Award for Best Director in 2006 for *Brokeback Mountain* (2005) caps his passage into the white cinema establishment.

*Better Luck Tomorrow* (2002), directed by Justin Lin, features an all-Asian American cast and explores dark themes that go far beyond those of most of the other narrative films coming out of the vital Asian-American independent media movement that began during the late 1960s (Hamamoto and Liu 2000). Despite the critical acclaim enjoyed by this distinctively Asian-American film, Lin was lured by Hollywood to direct *Annapolis* (2006) and *The Fast and the Furious: Tokyo Drift* (2006), and will be remaking a Korean drama, with white people occupying the central roles. As talented Asian and Asian-American filmmakers are brought into the corporate moviemaking fold, there is little expectation that Asian Americans themselves will benefit substantively from having a co-ethnic in the director's chair. Rather, the primary challenge to white dominance in commercial filmmaking will continue to spring from the Asian-American independent media arts movement.

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Darrell Y. Hamamoto

## FIRMIN, ANTÉNOR 1850–1911

Anténor Firmin was the author of a pioneering work in race and anthropology, *De l'égalité des races humaines: Anthropologie positive* (1885). He was perhaps the first anthropologist of African descent. Firmin was born into a working class family on October 18, 1850, in Cap-Haitien in northern Haiti. His formal education was entirely in Haiti and included the study of the classics and exposure to the anthropological writings of European scholars. After studying law in Haiti, he became a successful advocate in Cap-Haitien; he later became a diplomat.

Firmin was a product of the third generation of post-independence Haitians who took justified pride in the heroic achievement of the world's first black republic (Haiti became independent on January 1, 1804). While serving as a diplomat in Paris from 1884 to 1888, he was admitted to the Paris Anthropological Society, where he was one of three Haitians to observe their proceedings (though he was not encouraged to participate). In those years the Anthropology Society of Paris was dedicated primarily to racialist anthropometry and craniometry, and to racist interpretations of human physical data. In the preface to his book, Firmin wrote that he considered requesting a debate within the society on the issue of the division of the human species into superior and inferior races, "but I risked being perceived as an intruder and, being ill-disposed against me, my colleagues might have rejected my request without further thought. Common sense told me I was right to hesitate so it was then that I conceived the idea of writing this book" (2000, p. liv).

Anténor Firmin's *De l'égalité des races humaines* was a general response to European racialist and racist thought in the nineteenth century. However, the title suggests that his scientific rebuttal was especially directed at the work of Arthur de Gobineau, whose four-volume work *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines* (Essay on the inequality of the human race) (1853–1855) asserted a hierarchical ranking of races from white to yellow to Negro, as well as the racial superiority of Aryan peoples. Now available in English, *The Equality of the Human Races* (2000) can be studied by a wider audience as a remarkable yet obscure work of anthropology and early critical-race thinking. This nineteenth-century work anticipated the eventual scope and breadth of anthropology beyond the narrow, racialist physical "science" that it critiqued.

Contrary to de Gobineau's ideas of racial hierarchy and Negro inferiority, Firmin's work affirmed the opposite, that "All men are endowed with the same qualities and the same faults, without distinction of color or anatomical form. The races are equal" (2000, p. 450). As Ashley Montagu noted, "It is a fact worth remarking that throughout the nineteenth century hardly more than

a handful of scientific voices were raised against the notion of a hierarchy of races" (1997, p. 80). Subtitled *Anthropologie Positive*, Firmin was a committed positivist, and he argued that the empirical study of humanity would disprove speculative theories about the inequality of races.

*De l'égalité des races humaines* contained 662 pages of text with twenty chapter headings, some of which are "Anthropology as a Discipline"; "Monogenism and Polygenism"; "Criteria for Classifying the Human Races"; "Artificial Ranking of the Human Races"; "Comparison of the Human Races Based on their Physical Constitution"; "*Métissage* and Equality of the Races"; "Egypt and Civilization"; "The Hindus and the Arya"; "European Solidarity"; "The Role of the Black Race in the History of Civilization"; "Religious Myths and Words of the Ancients"; and "Theories and their Logical Consequences."

Firmin criticized the prevailing polygenist use of craniology and anthropometry espoused by Paul Broca and others (which came to be referred to as "scientific racism"). In fact, he used the craniometric tables devised by these scholars as a basis for their refutation. He critiqued their numeric tables of differential measures of cranial capacity, brain weight, nasal index, and stature, and he showed that the claims of European superiority based on these measures were arbitrary and lacking in logical consistency and scientific rigor. With his attack on the scientific misuse of racial craniometry, Firmin challenged anthropometry, which was the hallmark of nineteenth-century anthropology.

Firmin's introductory chapter "Anthropology as a Discipline" may be one of the earliest statements outlining the new comprehensive science of anthropology, which he defined as "the study of Man in his physical, intellectual, and moral dimensions as he is found in any of the different races which constitute the human species" (2000, p. 10). He thus envisioned anthropology as an integrated study of humanity.

Although the concept of race had already shaped nineteenth-century scholarship, Firmin questioned the underlying biological premise of race. He critiqued the racial mythology of his day, and he was one of only a few black scholars addressing the subject. "Observing that human beings have always interbred whenever they have come in contact with one another," he maintained, "the very notion of pure races becomes questionable" (p. 64). Firmin noted that classification by race led to theories of difference that ultimately led science away from the unitary view of the human species and spawned ideas of separate evolution and development of the races. Firmin was among the first to insist that racial typologies are not only flawed as individual isolates—Ethiopian/black or Caucasian/white—but that these "inclusive" types fail

to acknowledge or account for the vigor and achievements of New World hybrid populations. The failure of the racial classifiers to include in their typologies the mixed races (*métis*)—not only in the New World, but in other parts of the globe as well—made him even more skeptical about any "science" of racial types.

Firmin stressed the scientific basis for the constitutional unity of the human species arguing that all groups retain the primordial constitutional imprint of the species, bearing the same intellectual and moral traits inscribed in the original common human blueprint. He discussed the multiple factors of climate and geography that affect skin color (as well as physical form), and he was among the first scholars to state the scientific basis for skin pigmentation—the substance melanin in the epithelial cells of the dermis. Responding to the claim of the French naturalist Jean Louis Armand de Quatrefages that black people sweat less than whites, Firmin responded with the voice of authority of a black man: "I am Black and nothing distinguishes me anatomically from the purest Sudanese. However, I transpire abundantly enough to be able to have some idea of the facts. My congeners are not beyond the laws of nature" (2000, p. 60). Firmin also dismissed the racist myth about black odor: "I shall not bother to discuss the issue of a putative *sui generis* odor that is supposedly a particular characteristic of the Negro race. The idea is more comical than scientific" (p. 62–63).

As a student of African antiquity, Firmin read and cited the leading Egyptologists of the day, including the Egyptologist Jean-Francois Champollion, from whom he took the Egyptian hieroglyphic word *Retous*, meaning "real humans," which he adopted as a general term for the original African people. He recognized the historical ties in the Nile Valley between Nubia and Egypt as distinctive African civilizations. He saluted African history in the Nile Valley from "Memphis to Meroë," thus including the Sudanese civilizations of Kush-Meroë, referred to as "Ethiopia" in Greek texts. This stands in sharp contrast to Samuel Morton's "Caucasoid Egyptians" and the "Hamitic Myth," which denied the ability of black Africans to create civilizations. His analysis of the nonracist images of blacks in the classical European civilizations of Greece and Rome presaged comparable findings in the latter half of the twentieth century. His critique about skin color and myth—including the biblical myth of the "Curse of Ham"; the plethora of associations of blackness with evil and the devil in Europe; and Shakespeare's choice of a dark Moor for Othello—all have a thoroughly modern resonance with postcolonial literary criticism.

Among the early writers to view Egyptian civilization as the fountainhead from which sprang the Greek and Roman cultures, he saw the development of their culture as resting upon an African foundation. Not only was the

ancient past an affirmation of the equality of the black race, but the modern example of Haiti proved the essential thesis once again. As a symbol of black regeneration, it was not surprising that Haitians would play a role in the Pan-African movement that began in the closing years of the nineteenth century. Firmin attended the First Pan-African Conference in London in 1900, along with W.E.B. Du Bois of the United States, Henry Sylvester Williams of Trinidad, and delegates from Abyssinia, Liberia, South Africa, Sierre Leone, Gold Coast, and Canada.

While critical of race classifications and racial hierarchies, Firmin did not reject the concept of race. Too much was vested in the concept by late nineteenth-century scholars for him to dismiss race, and he made liberal use of the proclamation of black racial pride. Pan-Africanism and the link between Haiti, black people in the diaspora, and the greatness of African antiquity depended upon the race concept, as is still largely true in the early twenty-first century.

Firmin believed that positivist science would lead to an acceptance of the doctrine of the equality of the human races. But he was also a humanist. He believed this doctrine to be a regenerative force for the harmonious development of humankind. The last words of his 1885 tome invoke Victor Hugo's famous quote—"Every man is man"—and implore every human simply to "Love one another" (2000, p. 451).

**SEE ALSO** *Anthropometry; Haitian Racial Formations; Racial Hierarchy; Scientific Racism, History of.*

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## **FOLK CLASSIFICATION**

Scientists believe that folk classifications of human groups, or "races," are distinct from, and must have preceded, those the scientific community began devising in the eighteenth

century. Such classifications (usually ethnocentric) were part of the written record centuries before the birth of Christ. Early travelers distinguished foreign groups according to their obvious physical traits, such as skin color or hair form, but more subtle distinctions were made at home, between "Ourselves" and those "Others" who lived nearby. Folk taxonomies categorized "Us," with flattering and exaggerated claims of superior intelligence, greater sexual prowess, or cleanliness (e.g., "'We' understand at a much deeper level than other societies the way God meant the world to operate"), "Them," with their inferior understandings of human civility, failure to observe incest prohibitions or food taboos (e.g., "'They' are cannibals, fond of rude practices and marrying their sisters").

A fifth-century BCE example comes from the writings of Aristotle, who characterized his northern (European) neighbors as hotheaded and difficult, while his southern (Eastern Mediterranean) neighbors were lazy and careless. In between, his own people (those now called Greeks) were blessed with what Aristotle believed was just the right mixture of intelligence and industry. A more recent example from anthropological investigations: often the tribal name given to one's own group meant "human beings," while the name for a neighboring group, e.g., Navajo, meant something like "those sub-human thieves over there." The Navajo call themselves *Dinee*, which in their language means "humans."

The ethnocentric biases that accompanied Us-Them distinctions were carried over into what were considered "scientific" studies of human differences. In 1735 Carl Linnaeus published the first edition of his *Systema Natura*, in which he included humans as one species, undivided into races (a designation contemporary biologists would agree with). In subsequent editions, however, Linnaeus included four human "varieties," mainly based on geography: Asian, African, European, and North American. These included physical characteristics such as skin color as well as "temperamental" or psychological characteristics. Europeans were characterized as "light and lively," while Africans were "choleric" and lazy, Asians were "crafty," and North Americans were "impotent." These fanciful imputations were to increase greatly in later classificatory schemes, such as that of the German anthropologist Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752–1840). Scientific racism, or the linking of learned or cultural traits to real or imagined physical characteristics, may have been born in Linnaeus's writings, but its subsequent growth and development owed more to Blumenbach and his colleagues, who never hesitated to include traits from highly biased folk classifications in their scientific categories.

Definitional debates about what constituted a human "race" continued over the next centuries, and by the 1940s as many as two hundred "races" had been defined. In the minds of many social scientists, the question of whether



human races even existed was moot by the time most of these discussions ceased, soon after the extent of Hitler's atrocities in the name of "racial purity" became known. In the 1930s, Hitler had declared that although he did not believe in it, the idea of race was one that served his purposes: "I know perfectly well that in a scientific sense there is no such thing as race . . . but I as a politician need a conception which enables the order which has hitherto existed on historic bases to be abolished and an entirely new and antihistoric order enforced and given an intellectual basis. . . . And for this purpose the conception of races serves me well" (quoted in Shanklin 1994, p. 10).

Since the 1940s, there has been a debate in anthropology about the wisdom or necessity of discarding the term "race," and an increasing number of pro-race debaters have come to concede the point (Lieberman and Jackson 1995). Thus, as a scientific concept, race has lost its salience, despite occasional misplaced attempts at rekindling stereotypes, as in the insouciant use of the term by Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray in their book *The Bell Curve* (1994), or misguided usages, such as those retained in forensic anthropology and displayed at length in the unfortunate debate over Kennewick Man's "status" as Caucasian (Brace 1995a and 1995b). Once race was discarded as a biological concept in the late twentieth century, scientists adopted and continue to use evolutionary systematics to distinguish species, especially cladistics, which distinguishes features of common descent from those that are derived.

There is hope in this change in the discourse of both social and biological sciences, though it should not be taken as evidence that "racial" categories arising from folk classifications of hereditary and learned characteristics have lost their venomous power. The scientific rejection of the idea of human "races" has not resolved the problems of the persistence of racism, prejudice, stereotyping, and ethnocentrism. To the extent that this kind of discriminatory thinking has its origins in the human socialization process and in folk classifications biased in favor of membership in a particular in-group, it remains for social scientists to find ways of countering the biases against "others" that may have been part of the socialization process since time immemorial.

SEE ALSO *Human and Primate Evolution; Kennewick Man.*

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## FOOTBALL (U.S.)

Institutional racism and individual racism have been fundamental components of sports in America. The playing fields of America were slowly integrated in the twentieth century, and in the twenty-first century the struggle has shifted to equity in off-the-field opportunities.

### EARLY ORGANIZED SPORTS

The growth of the American sporting scene began during the mid-nineteenth century and then accelerated after the Civil War, primarily as a result of urbanization and industrialization. Sadly, participation in this growing sporting experience was greatly affected by race and racism. As America embraced formal legal segregation toward the end of the century, the eviction of African Americans from many professional sports was already underway. African Americans were involved in all of the major popular sports of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, ranging from horse racing, baseball, and bicycling to boxing and football. Black athletes were systematically removed from all professional sports with the creation of formal color barriers by the early twentieth century. Professional football was one of the last sports to force black athletes out of its ranks by the 1930s, but one of the first to reintegrate beginning in 1946.

The sport of football has intersected with notions of race in a number of ways. It has been a stage on which ideas about racial superiority and inferiority have played out, and it has been a means for promoting social mobility. In exploring the social history of race and football, one sees the development of "racial" integration, racial separateness by position, the rise of black coaches, racial epithets about football players, and finally the internationalization of the sport.

### THE BEGINNING OF ORGANIZED FOOTBALL

The National Football League (NFL) included black players from its inception in 1920, but a color barrier was created after the 1933 season; there was then a reintegration of pro football beginning in 1946. Professional football evolved from local athletic clubs, and these clubs traced their beginnings to college football. In 1869

Princeton and Rutgers played the first intercollegiate football game in the United States. By the 1880s and 1890s football was a central feature of all college social life, including that of African Americans. In 1892 Biddle College (now Johnson C. Smith College in Charlotte, NC) took on and defeated Livingstone College, 4-0, in Salisbury, North Carolina, marking the first intercollegiate football game between historically black schools.

The first black player to play at a white college was William Henry Lewis, who played center for both Amherst College and Harvard beginning in 1888. Lewis also became the first black player to be selected as an All-American when he was placed on Walter Camp's prestigious 1892 and 1893 teams. Several other black players followed Lewis: William Tecumseh Sherman Jackson was a halfback and teammate of Lewis at Amherst in 1890; George Jewett was a punter, field-goal kicker, and halfback at the University of Michigan in 1890. William Arthur Johnson played halfback at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology that same year; George A. Flippin started at halfback from 1892 to 1894 at the University of Nebraska; and William Lee Washington lettered at Oberlin as a halfback from 1895 to 1897.

More than fifty black players played on white college teams from 1889 through 1920. However, there were seldom more than two blacks on one team, and most white schools had no black players at all. Likewise, professional football was not about to embrace African-American athletes during this golden age of legal segregation, and, as in college football, only a few opportunities were extended to black players, beginning with the first black professional, Charles Follis. In 1904 the Shelby Athletic Club signed Follis to a contract to play halfback. Follis's professional career only lasted three seasons, because white players went out of their way to hurt him. Leg and shoulder injuries eventually forced him from the game. While helping the Shelby team to several wins with his dazzling runs, Follis was the frequent victim of opposing players' knuckles and knees, and fans subjected him to constant taunts and racial epithets. Nevertheless, he laid the foundation for other black players to follow during this period of limited integration.

Following in the shadow of Follis were three other black professionals who played prior to the 1920 formation of the American Professional Football Association, which changed its name to the National Football League in 1922. In 1906 Charles "Doc" Baker played halfback for the Akron Indians. He was followed by Henry McDonald, a running back for the Oxford (NY) Pros in 1911 and the Rochester Jeffersons in 1912. The last African American to play during this pre-NFL era was Gideon E. Smith, who played for the Canton Bulldogs in 1915. Smith played only once during the 1915 season, at

tackle, making him the last black to play professional football before the formation of the APFA. During its first three decades of existence, the newly formed NFL desperately competed with college football for attention. Ivy League teams and college teams in the Midwest and on the West Coast drew fans in numbers that NFL owners could only envy. But this did allow several black stars from the college ranks to be extended opportunities in hopes of drawing fans. The Akron Pros brought on Fritz Pollard from Brown University in 1919 and one year later Akron signed the Rutgers player Paul Robeson, who would later achieve fame as a singer, actor, and civil rights activist. Joe Lillard left Oregon and played for the Chicago Cardinals during the 1932 and 1933 seasons.

It appears that by this time black players had fulfilled their roles as curiosity objects for white fans, and that the NFL had established itself as a legitimate sport. The black player, therefore, was no longer needed to help in this process. No black players played on NFL teams after the 1933 season, until Kenny Washington and Woody Strode were added to roster of the Los Angeles Rams during the 1946 season. Bill Willis and Marion Motley played with the Cleveland Browns during the 1946 season as well, in the newly formed All-American Football Conference.

## FOOTBALL AFTER WORLD WAR II

Arguably, sports was the first arena in American society to undergo postwar integration, and football led the way. One full year before Jackie Robinson took the field with the Brooklyn Dodgers in 1947, Washington, Strode, Willis, and Motley were playing a contact sport with white players. These four pioneers laid the foundation for the reintegration of pro football, which was finally completed during the 1962 season when the Washington Redskins desegregated by adding Bobby Mitchell, Leroy Jackson, John Nisby, and Ron Hatcher. The Redskins were led by a stubborn owner, George Preston Marshall, who finally relented under pressure from the Kennedy administration. Marshall portrayed the Redskins as a team of the South, with southern traditions such as playing "Dixie" at games, which facilitated "rebel" yells from fans.

**Postwar College Football.** Without question, southern college teams put up the greatest resistance to black participation. Several African Americans were members of squads that played against white teams in the south. In 1951 Johnny Bright, running back for Drake University in Iowa, played in a game against Oklahoma A&M, during which he was intentionally punched in the face and subsequently suffered a broken jaw. In 1955 Marvin Griffin, the governor of Georgia, banned Georgia Tech from playing in the Sugar Bowl against the University of

Pittsburgh, which had a black player, Bobby Grier. Interestingly, students from Georgia Tech marched on the Capital and forced the governor to relent. Grier thus became the first African American to play in the Sugar Bowl. Two years later in 1958, Prentiss Gault became the first black player at a major southern white school when he signed to play at the University of Oklahoma. Gault led the way for other black players at white universities; among those who followed Gault was Jerry LeVias, who played with Southern Methodist University in 1966 as a receiver and was the first African American in the Southwest Athletic Conference (SAC).

In the Atlantic Coast Conference (ACC), Freddie Summers became the first African-American player in 1967 when he played quarterback for Wake Forest University. Two African-American players integrated the Southeastern Conference (SEC) when the University of Kentucky signed Nat Northington and Greg Page in 1966. However, only Northington is credited with breaking the color barrier, for he played against the University of Mississippi as a receiver in 1967. Page had been injured the day before during a drill and was paralyzed; he died from his injuries thirty-eight days later. Northington appeared in three more games before leaving the team.

Kentucky may have initiated the integration of college football in the Deep South, but a game played by the University of Alabama made it acceptable. On September 12, 1970, the University of Southern California, led by Sam "Bam" Cunningham, defeated Alabama in Birmingham, 42 to 21 in a much anticipated matchup that forced many white fans to reevaluate the merits of the black player. Although Alabama coach Paul "Bear" Bryant had a signed black player (who was sitting in the stands), Cunningham's performance validated extending opportunities to African Americans all over the South.

#### INTEGRATION, POSITION BY POSITION

While the process of integrating both college and professional teams was slow and arduous, black players also faced similar resistance integrating various positions. The unwritten policy of "stacking," or confining black players to specific positions, was embraced by many white coaches, particularly at the professional level. In 1957, when Jim Brown entered the NFL as a running back with the Cleveland Browns, he noticed that black players tended to play running back, receiver, corner back, and on the defensive line. Brown also felt that teams typically carried an even number of black players to avoid having a black player possibly room with a white player on the road. The policy of stacking arguably existed in the NFL until the late 1960s

and early 1970s, when positions such as middle linebacker, offensive lineman, and safety began to be integrated.

Ernie Davis, a halfback from Syracuse University was the first African American to be selected first overall in the 1962 NFL draft. The Washington Redskins picked him then traded his rights to the Cleveland Browns for Bobby Mitchell and Leroy Jackson.

The position of quarterback was the last opened to black players. Fritz Pollard, Joe Lillard, and George Taliaferro, an otherwise outstanding halfback, had played quarterback during games only out of necessity. In 1953 the Chicago Bears drafted the black quarterback Willie Thrower out of Michigan State, but they released him before the season ended without giving him any legitimate playing time. In 1955 the Green Bay Packers drafted Charlie Brackins out of Prairie View A&M, but he only played in one game before being released. The first black quarterback to play regularly was Marlin Briscoe, who set records at the University of Omaha before he joined the Denver Broncos of the American Football League in 1968. James Harris, who played at Grambling College, had a twelve-year career, from 1969 to 1981, and played for the Buffalo Bills, Los Angeles Rams, and San Diego Chargers. Arguably, Doug Williams, who played for Grambling before turning professional, helped change forever the perception of the black quarterback in the NFL. In 1987 Williams became the first African American to lead his team (the Washington Redskins) to the Super Bowl. His dominating performance led the Redskins to victory over the Denver Broncos, and Williams shattered the myths of intellectual and athletic shortcomings that had been used to keep black players out of the most important position on the field.

In 2001 Michael Vick became the first African American to be selected as the number one overall draft pick as a quarterback when he was chosen by the Atlanta Falcons. In some ways this represented the crowning achievement for black players in their struggle to integrate football fields across America. It also caused many to change the focus to challenges that African Americans faced off the field.

#### INTEGRATION OFF THE FIELD

The integration of coaching ranks and administrative positions, both in college and the NFL, has been an ongoing process. In 1981 Dennis Green became the first black college football coach at a predominantly white school when he was hired by Northwestern University. Fritz Pollard co-coached the Akron Pros in the APFA, thus making him the first black coach in professional football. Art Shell was hired by the Oakland Raiders in 1989, which made him the first black coach in the NFL's modern era. In 2007 there were six black head coaches among the thirty-two NFL teams: Marvin Lewis of the Cincinnati Bengals,



**Colts Coach Tony Dungy.** Indianapolis Colts head coach Tony Dungy confers with players during their training camp in 2006. Dungy, along with Chicago Bears head coach Lovie Smith, made history in 2007 as the first two black coaches to lead their teams to the Super Bowl. AP IMAGES.

Herman Edwards of the Kansas City Chiefs, Tony Dungy of the Indianapolis Colts, Romeo Crennel of the Cleveland Browns, Lovie Smith of the Chicago Bears, and Mike Tomlin of the Pittsburgh Steelers. Tony Dungy and Lovie Smith made history in February 2007 as the first two black coaches to face each other in the Super Bowl, which was won by Dungy's Colts, 29 to 17.

In 2007 there were three African Americans serving as general managers in the NFL: Ozzie Newsome of the Baltimore Ravens, Rick Smith of the Houston Texans, and Jerry Reese of the New York Giants. But there are no African-American majority owners in the NFL, where black players constitute 67 percent of the league. Clearly, more opportunities must be extended off the field by a league that is largely reliant on the physical skills of black players. The same is virtually true in college football, though the number of off-the-field opportunities are far fewer. In 2007 there were only six African American head

coaches of the 119 Division I schools: Randy Shannon of the University of Miami, Sylvester Croom of Mississippi State University, Karl Dorrell of UCLA, Turner Gill of the University of Buffalo, Ron Prince of Kansas State, and Tyrone Willingham of the University of Washington. Interestingly, there were twelve African-American athletic directors at the Division I level at this time. Black players, meanwhile, made up 50 percent of the student athletes in Division I college football in 2007. The NFL has attempted to open its ranks to African-American head coaches by requiring teams to include a minority in the respective pools of candidates during their hiring process. The National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) has not instituted such a policy, however, and indeed it has been openly resistant to such a policy.

The lack of opportunities beyond the football field is a by-product of institutional racism. Many NFL owners, college athletic directors, and university presidents

apparently do not think African Americans deserve the same chance as whites to be head coaches. In January of 1988 Jimmy “the Greek” Snyder, who provided betting odds for NFL games, was fired by CBS after comments made to a reporter that indicated he felt blacks were “naturally superior athletes” because of slavery. Snyder’s remarks followed those of Al Campanis, a former baseball player who had played with Jackie Robinson. One year earlier, during a live television interview, Campanis addressed the issue of why there were few black managers and no black general managers in Major League Baseball. He stated that he felt African Americans “may not have some of the necessities to be, let’s say, a field manager, or, perhaps, a general manager.” Many characterized the comments of Snyder and Campanis as individual, isolated views that were not indicative of the larger culture in which they worked.

The reality of the NFL and college football being fueled by the labor of a black majority but not coached by one is, at the very least, extremely contradictory. The NFL has been gradually attempting to broaden its fan base internationally, while at the same time allowing teams to develop players with potential. Many of the players who participate in what is now called NFL Europa are African American. Founded in 1991 as the World League of American Football, the current league has six teams and has been very successful in generating fan enthusiasm and support. The opening weekend of the 2007 season witnessed a record attendance of 89,367 fans. Black players are instrumental to the success of this league, but of the six teams only one has an African-American head coach—the Frankfurt Galaxy, coached by Mike Jones. The international marketability of pro football has made it one of the most supported and economically viable sports in the world. Close to one billion people watched the Super Bowl on February 4, 2007, with about nineteen television and radio stations from fourteen countries broadcasting from Miami’s Dolphin Stadium. The game was televised in 232 countries and territories in thirty-four languages.

Both the NFL and college football have experienced unprecedented financial success, and increases in average attendance, the building of new stadiums, the expansion of existing stadiums, the rise in coaching salaries, and increases in the cost of television contracts are all testaments to this success. Black players are certainly responsible for at least part of the financial windfall that this sport is experiencing. In Division I sports, college football is the leading revenue-generating sport on most campuses, whereas most other sports on major college campuses do not turn a profit. Without college football, many institutions would not be able to comply with the U.S. law known as Title IX, which requires equal opportunity for female athletic participation. Sports such as women’s

swimming, rowing, gymnastics, volleyball, rifle, and softball, which are overwhelmingly white, could not exist without the funds generated by football.

The salaries of head coaches have reached new zeniths in college football, led by the 2007 contract signed between Nick Saban and the University of Alabama for 32 million dollars over eight years. The top twenty highest-paid coaches in college football are all white, and the only African American in the top twenty-five is Tyrone Willingham at the University of Washington. These coaches lead teams that perennially play in bowl games, which generate added income for the coach, conference, and team. But when the black player’s eligibility is up, his chances of becoming a part of the coaching fraternity is very limited. To many observers, this situation is untenable and needs to change.

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Charles K. Ross

## FORCED STERILIZATION

Historically, the practice of forced sterilization has varied according to time and place. Nevertheless, in every case, the practice has been implemented to serve the interests of the ruling elite. Right into the early twenty-first century, the forces of colonialism, capitalism, and patriarchy have kept the practice alive in order to diminish the power of those deemed “inferior” or “unfit.” In particular, poor women of color have borne the brunt of this practice.

#### EUGENICS IDEOLOGY

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, Sir Francis Galton (1822–1911), a proponent of eugenics theory,

argued that eugenics should be used to ensure the survival of the fittest. The pseudoscience of eugenics is based on the belief that “defects” in the species are passed on from generation to generation through defective genes. Just as the quality of the species can be improved in animal and plant species by selective breeding, it was thought by some that similar principles could be applied to maintain the quality of the human species. Thus, drawing upon the principals of social Darwinism, hereditary factors were privileged while environmental factors were ignored. It was believed that the “unfit” were reproducing at a faster rate than the fit, and that this would lead to a degeneration of racial stock. Some believed that intellectual imbecility would have the consequence of contaminating the race, and that if those with mental defects are allowed to reproduce it would lower the quality of the racial stock. In addition to mental defectiveness, it was believed that “moral” imbecility would lead to a similar outcome.

Eugenics laws were in force in several Western and North American countries in the early part of the twentieth century. These laws gave governments the authority to prevent those deemed “unfit” from reproducing, and eugenics boards were set up to determine who would be deemed unfit. Experts in the field of eugenics, as well as those considered to be the custodians of moral standards in society, served as members of these boards. Eugenics was taught in almost all of the prominent institutions of higher learning during this period, thereby establishing its professional credibility. Those who got degrees in medicine, social work, and law, among other fields, were taught courses on this subject, and universities took an active part in nominating professionals to sit on the eugenics boards. These experts exuded a stance of objectivity and value neutrality in the true tradition of scientific positivism. The boards passed judgment on the fitness of individuals to reproduce, based on their judgment as to whether or not the individuals concerned were intellectual or moral imbeciles. The media gave ample exposure to the tenets of the “science,” making it popular among the public.

Eugenics was well received at a time when the conviction that the “white race” is superior to all other races was accepted without question. Emerging from an era of successful colonization, the belief in the divine mission of white people in saving humanity through their superior accomplishments was taken for granted. The fear that white race is in danger of being polluted and marginalized by nonwhite races was one of the major motivating factors that made this theory popular at the time. These fears were intensified by studies showing that the unfit were somehow more fecund than the fit. It was believed that, unless one stemmed the tide by preventing the unfit from reproducing, there was a real danger of a degeneration of white racial stock. Professionals in medicine and social work lent their expertise to implement this project,

with the firm conviction that they were contributing to the establishment of a qualitatively superior society.

Racism, sexism, and classism intersected to produce the kinds of eugenics laws that were enacted and implemented at this time. Eugenics discourse was so popular that those who participated in the enactment of these laws and the implementation of policies derived from these laws acted with the conviction that it was a necessary and desirable project, fully justified on moral grounds. Many progressive thinkers, including well-known feminists, participated enthusiastically in the implementation of this project.

#### FORCED STERILIZATION IN NORTH AMERICA

Thirty states in the United States passed eugenics laws between 1907 and 1931, and these laws were upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1916 and 1927. By the end of the World War II, it was estimated that 40,000 sterilizations had taken place, mostly on poor white women. Because of racial segregation, it was not deemed necessary to sterilize black people at this time. This situation was to change, however. Between 1949 and 1960, for example, of the 104 surgical sterilizations performed in South Carolina mental hospitals, all but two were performed on blacks. All these sterilizations were done on women. Cox (1997) writes that these federally funded practices were prevalent in Alabama and North Carolina also in the 1970s.

The Native American population has also been subjected to forced sterilization. From 1973 to 1976, for example, 3,406 American Indian women were sterilized, many of whom were under twenty-one years old. For many decades, disdain towards American Indians as a people was pervasive among health professionals and social workers, and the eugenics boards were quick to characterize women of Indian origin as mentally defective, and therefore as unfit to reproduce. The Native American Women’s Health Education Resource Center, which reports abuses by the Indian Health Services (IHS), reports that sterilization abuse is found to be still going on as late as the 1990s and Depo-Provera and Norplant are routinely used as birth control methods. Paternalistic policies toward American Indians allow the federal government to make decisions on their behalf without their full consent or participation. Sterilization abuse has been going on for quite some time but they were investigated only since the 1970s. Carpio (2004) writes that even though some reforms have taken place with regard to conditions of sterilization, imposition of mainstream social standards and the inability of women to challenge professional health workers from the mainstream who have stereotyped beliefs about American Indians leads to continuation of these practices. Grekul et al. (2004) state that in Alberta, Canada, aboriginal people



**One-Child Policy.** *A Chinese man lifts his child onto his shoulders in front of a portrait of Mao Zedong in Beijing, China, 2005. In 1979, China adopted a one-child-per-family policy. Since then, sterilization and abortion have been routinely used.* AP IMAGES.

were the main targets of Eugenic boards in the years 1929 to 1972. They were overrepresented among the cases presented for sterilization and overrepresented among those who were sterilized without consent. In the latter part of the twentieth century some of these women in Alberta sued the provincial government for damages and were compensated for this injustice.

In the neoliberal environment of the late twentieth century poor people have often been denied access to government and social support. They have been persuaded to undergo sterilization because they cannot afford to support large families. In the United States, individuals are expected to be self-reliant and to not expect social support, even when social conditions are not conducive for them to be self-reliant. Social assistance is available for sterilization purposes, however. Under these circumstances, those who suffer from poverty and destitution may be forced to “choose” sterilization to control their reproduction. People in this situation, who are mostly women of color, have been denied economic support but encouraged to use government subsidies to use sterilization or pharmaceutical methods such as Norplant for birth control. Writing in 1996, Broomfield stated that the bundle of so-called welfare reform measures with their family caps and

Norplant provisions in place in the United States are essentially punitive. Instead of helping those in need to become able to take care of their children with provisions of education and skills training, they blame the victims and punish them. She argued that one theory behind the reform package is based on eugenic premise that certain people in society do not deserve to procreate. The often incorrect public perception of welfare recipient is based on stereotypes grounded in racism, sexism, and classism.

#### FORCED STERILIZATION AND POPULATION CONTROL

Forced sterilization as a method of population control is evident in the neoliberal climate of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. In China, in the context of the “one-child policy,” sterilization and abortion are routinely used to slow population growth. Neo-Malthusian arguments are used to justify these policies. Linking economic development and population control in the so-called Third World has also become common practice. Very often, foreign aid is contingent upon the implementation of population-control policies, either through sterilization or the use of pharmaceuticals provided by Western

corporations. United Nations agencies for population control have been closely involved with these projects. In these discourses on overpopulation, one often finds that it is not just the numbers that matter, but the kind of people. The targets of these programs are often those marginalized due to poverty or racial background. Poor women from Bangladesh and India and Indian women in Peru are important examples. The International Monetary Fund and World Bank have made population control a part of their structural adjustment policies (SAPs).

Under the presidency of Alberto Fujimori, during the period 1996 to 2000 at least 200,000 sterilizations took place in Peru. Poor and often illiterate women from the Quechua and Aymara indigenous ethnic groups were the majority of the victims (Robbins 2004). *60 Minutes* aired a television program in October 1998 on American medical establishment, showing how Quinacrine, a drug that sterilizes women permanently, was planted in the uteri of more than 100,000 women through the initiative of two U.S. doctors without testing for their side effects. The doctors claimed that they were doing their country a social service by addressing the epidemic of population explosion in the Third World. State intervention for fertility control in India began under the pressure of aid-giving agencies such as the World Bank in the 1970s, which linked economic development to population control. Women were the main targets in the 1970s and 1980s even though vasectomies were performed in the mid- and late-1970s. Women were also the main targets in Bangladesh where food subsidies under the group feeding program (VGF) were given to only those with certificates showing that they had tubectomies (Miles and Shiva 1993).

Fortunately, there is a growing awareness around the world that it is not the overpopulation of the Third World but the unbridled consumerism and misuse of the Earth's resources through poor management in the industrialized nations that are causing serious problems. But there is a long way to go before changes in policies and practices that have a negative impact on marginalized people are reversed.

Thus, racism in biological and cultural forms has led to policies and practices that are detrimental to the health and well-being of marginalized people everywhere. This is particularly true for nonwhite women in the lower echelons of the socioeconomic ladder. And more often than not, it is these marginalized women who are the targets of forced sterilization.

**SEE ALSO** *Eugenics, History of; Feminism and Race; Forced Sterilization of Native Americans; Galton, Francis; Genocide and Ethnocide; Reproductive Rights.*

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## FORCED STERILIZATION OF NATIVE AMERICANS

During the late 1960s and the early 1970s, a policy of involuntary surgical sterilization was imposed upon Native American women in the United States, usually without their knowledge or consent, by the federally funded Indian Health Service (IHS), then run by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). It is alleged that the existence of the sterilization program was discovered by members of the American Indian Movement (AIM) during its occupation of the BIA headquarters in 1972. A 1974 study by Women of All Red Nations (WARN), concluded that as many as 42 percent of all American Indian women of childbearing age had, by that point, been sterilized without their consent. A subsequent investigation was conducted by the U.S. General Accounting Office (GAO), though it was restricted to only four of the many IHS facilities nationwide and examined only the years 1973 to 1976. The GAO study showed that 3,406 involuntary sterilizations were performed in these four IHS hospitals during this three-year period. Consequently, the IHS was transferred to the Department of Health and Human Services in 1978.

During this and earlier periods, similar involuntary sterilization programs were being performed on other women of color, among them Chicanas of the Los Angeles area (Acuña 2004). It is estimated that by 1966, one-third of the women of childbearing age on the island of Puerto Rico had been sterilized without their “informed consent.” In addition, MULANEH (Mujeres Latioamericanas de New Haven), a mainland Puerto Rican women’s organization, discovered that 44 percent of Puertorriqueñas in New Haven, Connecticut, had been sterilized by 1979. In Hartford, Connecticut, the figure stood at 51 percent. Women in Puerto Rico were also part of experimentation studies of the early birth control pill before it was released on the U.S. mainland.

Such sterilization practices are clearly a blatant breach of the United Nations Genocide Convention, which declares it an international crime to impose “measures intended to prevent births within [a national, ethnical, racial or religious] group.” Andrea Smith, in her book *Conquest* (2005), connects this use of “sexual violence as a tool of genocide” with early boarding school abuse, medical experimentation in native communities, and “the (U.S.) colonization of Native Women’s reproductive health.” According to Smith, “communities of color, including Native communities, . . . continue to inform the contemporary population control movement.” Native women are targeted because their “ability to reproduce continues to stand in the way of the continuing conquest of Native lands” (p. 79). She found that the “Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) accelerated programs in 1970 that paid for the majority of costs to sterilize Medic-

aid recipients,” and that the HIS “initiated a fully federally funded sterilization campaign in 1970.” Dr. Connie Uri, a Cherokee/Choctaw medical doctor, was one of the first to uncover this mass sterilization, after a young Indian woman entered her office in Los Angeles in 1972 to request a “womb transplant” (p. 81).

Eventually, Senator James Abourezk, a Democrat from South Dakota, requested a study of IHS sterilization policies, which resulted in the GAO study. Smith notes, however, that “Native activists have argued that the percentage of Native women sterilized is much higher” than the 5 percent reported by the GAO. “Dr. Uri conducted an investigation of sterilization policies in Claremore, Oklahoma, and charged that the Claremore facility was sterilizing one woman for every seven births” (Smith 2005, p. 82). Smith illustrates how these abuses were carried on through experimentation with birth control methods, such as Depo-Provera and Norplant, which targeted Native American women and other women of color communities (p. 88).

There is also evidence that indigenous peoples of the Americas, and elsewhere, are being targeted for genetic engineering, particularly in the harvesting of their DNA genomes by geneticists who are in collaboration with corporate pharmaceutical interests. The indigenous women targeted are especially coveted human subjects in the genome research of ancient human origins. This is because it is possible to trace *mitochondria DNA* through the matrilineal descendency lines, from mothers to daughters (Jaimes-Guerrero 2003, 2004).

Native women are also finding that by organizing with other women of color communities around these issues they can be more effective. The book *Undivided Rights: Women of Color Organized for Reproductive Justice* (2004) helps to link women from communities that have been targeted for sterilization campaigns and other medical experimentations. The book highlights women-of-color organizations that are making a difference in raising awareness of these issues, particularly in “ethnic minority” communities and populations. All of these organizations are working towards better health conditions for women of color, and they are challenging what they perceive as the racist, sexist, and class structures of U.S. society. U.S. history is viewed by many as being built on a legacy of “patriarchal colonization.” This stands in contrast to the traditional “matrilineal kinship” indigenous societies that gave women respect and authority as “clan mothers” in “pre-patriarchal and pre-colonialist times prior to the conquest of the Americas” (Jaimes-Guerrero 2004).

The authors of *Undivided Rights* take a strong view on identity politics. They assert:

Contrary to broadly based critiques, which argue that identity politics fracture movements, we found that women of color organizations, by defining

themselves through race and ethnicity, created spaces that nurtured their activism. . . . Whereas the larger society and the pro-choice movement marginalize women of color perspectives and concerns, these identity-based organizations validated their particular perceptions of reality. . . . Through this process, they developed culturally based styles of organizing and communicating and created focal points for action. Though not utopian, these spaces facilitated the imagining of alternative paths to achieve reproductive freedom. (Silliman et al., 1996)

This bridge between theory and activist practice exemplifies what can be called “activist scholarship.”

For Native American women and other women of color, the primary question is how one negotiates power on an unequal playing field. In continuing to dismantle the U.S. legacy of “patriarchal colonialism” put upon all women, women-of-color organizations are leading the charge for a bigger piece of the pie. By connecting their histories with the present, they seek a more egalitarian society and greater openness and freedom in the areas of gender-based reproduction, health, and well-being.

**SEE ALSO** *American Indian Movement (AIM); Forced Sterilization; Genocide and Ethnocide.*

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## **FORENSIC ANTHROPOLOGY AND RACE**

Forensic anthropology is the application of the scientific study of the human skeleton within the context of medical and legal problems, usually in cases involving personal identification and evidence of foul play. Accountability of the dead involves a legal procedure in the United States that requires investigations by the police, a medical examiner (M.D.) who may perform an autopsy, a coroner who provides the death certificate, and in cases with skeletal remains a forensic anthropologist (usually a biological anthropologist holding a Ph.D. degree).

Training in archaeological field techniques (forensic archaeology) allows the forensic anthropologist to understand better the nature of the environmental context of a buried skeleton, and by visiting the burial deposit he/she will ensure that all bones and teeth are collected. Methods of the forensic anthropologist may be used in studies of the “eminent dead” when there is uncertainty about the true identity of an interred individual and the name on the grave marker, and when information is sought about the manner of death of known deceased persons whose bodies may be exhumed. With archaeologically recovered remains, the forensic goals are also problem oriented. Discoveries of prehistoric skeletons are not considered forensic cases, although some of the same descriptive procedures used in the study of decomposed bodies and skeletal remains reveal aspects of the lifeways of extinct populations that could not be deduced from artifacts, cemeteries, or other aspects of ancient cultural-behavioral patterns.

### **CATEGORIES OF INVESTIGATION**

Determination of ancestral background (race) of a human skeletal or decomposed body is one essential element in the protocol of a forensic anthropologist’s laboratory examination. Other categories of investigation are the following:

1. Are the remains human? Bones and teeth of non-human animal species and inorganic materials may be present in a burial deposit.

2. Do the skeletal remains indicate presence of a single individual? More than one skeleton may be encountered in burials, as in cases of mass genocide, battlefield disposal of the dead, common graves for victims of epidemics, and other situations where commingling of human remains is encountered.
3. The sex of the decedent.
4. The individual's age at time of death.
5. The stature of a subject may be estimated if bones of the upper and lower extremities are present and sufficiently complete for measurement and the use of regression formulas appropriate for different human populations.
6. Some diseases leave markers on bones and teeth. If a diagnosis is accurate, this may assist the forensic anthropologist in personal identification.
7. Evidence of past or recent traumatic assaults to the body, such as bullet holes, infliction of blunt- or sharpforce agents and strangulation, may provide some information about the life history of the decedent.
8. Time elapsed since death may be estimated on the basis of degree of body tissue degeneration, microenvironment, and insect activity at a burial deposit.
9. Markers of occupational stress (MOS) are bone or dental modifications resulting from habitual activities continued over relatively long periods of time.
10. DNA analysis is possible if there is no contamination of the tissues being tested. It may reveal degrees of genetic affinities between individuals and populations.
11. Cultural practices, such as capping the front teeth with gold for a more sparkling smile, tooth filing, cranial deformation introduced in childhood, and foot binding, may lead to personal identification. These physical characteristics and customs for disposing of the dead may shed light on the lifeways of the deceased.
12. The manner of death involves determination of evidence of natural causes, accidents, homicides, and suicides, although how the decedent died may be uncertain. Cause of death is determined by a medical examiner.
13. Determination of ancestry (race).

#### THE CONCEPT OF RACE

With respect to this last focus of an investigation, the present-day forensic anthropologist acknowledges the existence of two very different concepts of human biological diversity: (1) a traditional race theory perpetuated

in the United States today in census data, applications to schools and universities, and in media sources where it is assumed that humankind is classifiable into natural entities called "races," for example, blacks, whites, Asians, Native Americans, and so on; (2) recognition that "races," so defined, do not exist in humans or other organisms as classifiable subspecies (or varieties, breeds, stocks). This conviction is held for the reason that those physical and behavioral criteria (traits) that had been used in naming and classifying populations adapted to natural and cultural conditions in geographically separate regions had been arbitrarily selected by systemic biologists, anthropologists, and historians. Phenotypic traits (detectable manifestations of genotypes) are now understood to be gradients that may occur in high frequencies in some populations, less so in others, or even absent. Thus, it is understood today that while human populations may exhibit relatively high or low phenotypic appearances of given physical traits, such as skin pigmentation, hair form, eye color, and cranial shape, they are not naturally divisible into groupings formerly identified as markers of discrete "races." The traditional concept of "race" is not predicated on a biological reality (Kennedy 1976; Livingstone 1962; Molnar 2006).

However, the traditional concept that humans, ancient and modern, are divisible into discrete categories based upon physical and behavioral characters continues today as a popular way of referring to an individual's ancestry. It serves as a social construct of human biological diversity expressed by commonly held images of our species' physical diversity. When the forensic anthropologist submits his/her written examination and research report to a medical examiner or legal representative, the old terminology is conjured up. The point of this inconsistency is that the common "racial" names may assist in giving one's client an understandable label to define the ancestry of an unidentified body or skeleton. (A historical account of the fall of the traditional race concept in science would not be helpful to the work of legal and medical practitioners for example.) If the forensic anthropologist receives a subpoena to appear in court to answer questions about a report, both judge and jury will gain a clearer comprehension of the identity of the decedent when the labels "Caucasian" or "white," "black" or "Negroid," "Mongoloid," "American Indian" and "Malaysian" are used.

Forensic anthropologists are well aware of this contradictory mind-set. Norman Sauer (1992) titled one of his papers "If Races Don't Exist, Why Are We So Good at Identifying Them?," and one of his forensic anthropology colleagues published an article with the title "But Professor, Why Teach Race Identification if Races Don't Exist?" (Kennedy 1995). In short, in the United States, Canada, and most of Western Europe this conflict is recognized by



**Forensic Anthropology.** In order to identify a murder victim, a forensic anthropologist attempts to recreate his facial features in a three-dimensional model. She will also examine a variety of traits that may help determine the victim's race. AP IMAGES.

anthropologists: They maintain a social view of human biological diversity, sometimes called “ethnicity,” and a scientific perspective that does not support the traditional race concept. The consequences of assuming there is a natural classification of humans into races, as understood in its social context among most North American citizens, is a reasonable reaction of confusion when one is informed by biological science that “races” do not exist. This is because phenotypic diversity in ancient and modern humans is misunderstood as classifiable into natural subspecies or natural entities.

Forensic anthropologists have replaced the earlier appellations assigned to physically and culturally diverse human populations by identifying them by the names of their geographical habitats, for example, peoples of south-central Europe (not “Alpinoids”), northern Europeans including Scandinavians (not “Nordics”), peoples of China (not “Mongoloids”), and so on. An elaborate nomenclature had developed by the early half of the last century, for example, “Indo-Afghans,” “Pre-Dravidians,” “Melanides,” and “Proto-Australoids.” These specific “racial divisions” were imagined by anthropologists to be present in a single landmass—the Indian subcontinent. Other terms flourished for prehistoric and living populations of the Asian landmass, Africa, Europe, Oceania, and the Americas.

No single physical or genetic trait provides an answer to the question of ancestry of a skeletalized or decomposed individual. The forensic anthropologist examines a number of bone and dental features known from other research sources to appear in highest frequencies among inhabitants of different geographical regions. Most of the traits are nonconcordant. That is, darkly pigmented skin and black hair, both resulting from a high amount of the substance melanin, may not always appear together in an endogamous population, nor are these variables genetically linked with blood groups. Blood group B of the ABO system appears very often in people of Near Eastern and Asian descent, but B blood is present also in human inhabitants of other continents. Blue eyes are frequent in northern Europe, but they appear as well in people of the Hindu Kush Mountains of northern Pakistan. In short, these and other phenotypic traits of interest to the forensic anthropologist have their separate patterns of geographical distribution within our species because each trait selected for observation has its own independent “history” of diffusion over the earth in space and time. Some traits are subject to the forces of natural selection, but if these have an adaptive value and are therefore an advantage to the reproductive success of a population, then they may endure over many generations. New features appear as a result of genetic mutation and interbreeding of neighboring or foreign peoples, but no individual contains all of the genetic materials in his/her population.

#### ANCESTRY AND FORENSIC ANTHROPOLOGY

But how does the forensic anthropologist determine ancestry? No single methodological approach provides an answer; rather, several kinds of data acquisition are required. One of these involves the examination of the form and structure of the skeleton as a whole and of each of its bony components and teeth. This is called “morphological analysis.” Examples are the configuration of the nasal aperture (is it long and narrow? short and broad?), presence or absence of “shovel-shaped” incisor teeth, straightness or projection of the lower portion of the face, heavy or small brow ridges, degree of curvature of one or more bones of the lower extremities, and literally scores of other physical features.

“Metric analysis” refers to measurement of bones and teeth with precision instruments, such as calipers, head spanners, and osteometric boards for measuring the lengths of bones of the upper and lower extremities. Since the end of the eighteenth century hundreds of different “anthropometric” instruments have been invented and patented with the goal of achieving very accurate size values, and today an instrument employed in dental measurements is graduated to one-tenth of a millimeter. The metric system is used in

taking anthropometric measurements. From these numerical data, a ratio of length-breadth measurements is called the "index" (plural "indices" when references are made to multiple ratios). Commonly known indices include the relationship of maximum cranial length to maximum cranial breadth, the so-called "Cranial Index" (with its classifications into "dolichocrany," or long-headedness, and "brachycrany," or broad-headedness). Measuring instruments are set in place on standard "landmarks," which may be anatomical points or regions of bones and teeth.

Metrical data are quantified for statistical analyses that may reveal degrees of biological relationships between modern human populations as well as between prehistoric peoples when their skeletal remains have been preserved. Today a host of multivariate statistical procedures shed light on population affinities. Metric data are added to molecular biological-genetic studies, which are also useful in estimations of the degree to which populations are genetically related. However, molecular biologists would not be able to account for age at the time of death of adult subjects, markers of trauma or MOS, and other aspects of the life history and lifeways of a skeletal subject.

Accurate determination of an individual's ancestry from skeletal remains rests upon the analyses of the data from a forensic anthropological investigation acquired by some of the instruments listed above, comparative studies of skeletons of known ancestry, and the level of training achieved by the forensic anthropologist.

## THE PROFESSION

Prior to World War II in the United States, individuals practicing forensic anthropology were men with medical backgrounds and anatomists. An American anthropologist, W. M. Krogman (1939), published his "A Guide to the Identification of Human Skeletal Material" in the *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin* in 1939. This marks a turning point in the development of the forensic sciences, as skeletal biologists were needed by U.S. military forces for identification of war dead at the end of World War II, the Korean War, and the Vietnam conflict. The Pentagon and FBI were interested in Krogman's description of the kinds of information that could be used for personal identification. By 1972 a new section of the American Academy of Forensic Sciences (AAFS), founded in 1948, was organized. Beginning with fourteen practicing forensic anthropologists, the Section of Physical Anthropology had a 2005 membership of over 275 forensic anthropologists. The latter fall into rankings of fellow, member, associate member, honorary member, trainee affiliate, and student affiliate within a total membership of over 5,152 forensic science experts. The AAFS official organ of publication is the *Journal of Forensic Sciences* to which forensic anthropologists and other members of the association's

ten sections may submit research articles for publication. These other sections include Criminalistics, Engineering Sciences, General, Jurisprudence, Odontology, Pathology-Biology, Psychiatry and Behavioral Science, Questioned Documents, and Toxicology.

Independent of the AAFS is the American Board of Forensic Anthropology (ABFA), established five years after the Physical Anthropology Section was formed. At present there are nearly seventy Diplomates. This title (Diplomate of the American Board of Forensic Anthropology, or D.A.B.F.A.) is awarded to practicing forensic anthropologists who take written and practical board examinations for certification. This process offers a credential that guarantees that the title's holders are considered by their peers to be among the finest and most experienced professionals in forensic anthropology. It is an advantageous award for establishing one's qualifications when examined in court as an expert witness.

Forensic anthropologists conduct their research with colleagues in other disciplines. Radiologists can provide X-ray plates that can reveal the nature of a bone fracture or the age of a young individual by the state of dental eruption and the growth and development of cranial and postcranial bones. Molecular biology and DNA analyses may assist in estimating degrees of genetic relationships between individuals and the ancient populations from which their ancestry may be traced. Photography is an essential step in any case because it serves as a visual record of a decedent's subjection to trauma and disease. Forensic odontologists cooperate with anthropologists with respect to comparisons of dental records, recognizing irregularities in enamel development and confirming data about sex and age at time of death.

The forensic sciences in general have gained great popular interest through television programs, novels in which the forensic anthropologist is the key figure, and in magazine and newspaper articles. Unfortunately, few of these media sources accurately represent the real world of any of the forensic sciences. Efficient training in its anthropological side involves an undergraduate background in the biological sciences, mathematics, and anthropology; a graduate program leading to the doctoral degree (Ph.D.) at a college or university where field and laboratory training is available (at present about a dozen institutions of higher education in the United States and Canada); personal attributes that allow for working well with others, facing the challenges of examining decomposed bodies as well as skeletal remains; commitment to assisting the M.D. or professor; and acquiring a sound background in statistics. After a few years of field and laboratory experience, the junior forensic anthropologist begins attendance at AAFS meetings and may study for certification according to the directives of the ABFA.

At present no academic departments in anthropology and the biological sciences in North America are staffed entirely by forensic anthropologists. Rather, the expert in this field is usually hired by a college or university depending upon his/her qualifications as a biological anthropologist capable of teaching courses about human palaeontology and evolution, biological variables of living human populations and genetics, nutritional anthropology, and other specialties within the broad spectrum of anthropology. However, for the applicant who is able to command these subjects and is trained in forensic anthropology, a position may open up at a research institution, college or university, or the offices of the FBI and other government agencies. Certainly all of the forensic sciences are expanding, and anthropologists with research interests in estimating the ancestry of modern and prehistoric humans will discover a vast literature on the subject and opportunities for refinement of present methods in morphology, anthropometry, human genetics, and the history of how the traditional race concept has been modified in the twentieth-first century.

Forensic anthropologists have written several books that go into detail about their cases and provide both overviews of the state of the discipline and depictions of methods for ancestry determination. These resources provide easy-to-read sources for those interested in the subject (Byers 2002; Thomas 1995; Molnar 2006; Rhine 1998; Ubelaker and Scammell 1992).

**SEE ALSO** *Eugenics, History of; Genetics, History of; Human and Primate Evolution; Human Genetics.*

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Kenneth A. R. Kennedy

## FORTEN, JAMES 1766–1842

The abolitionist and civil rights advocate James Forten was born in Philadelphia on September 2, 1766, to Thomas and Margaret Forten. James Forten was born free. His father, Thomas Forten, was born also free. James Forten's grandfather was born into slavery and gained his freedom. James Forten's great-grandfather was born in Africa, enslaved, brought to Pennsylvania, and he lived the rest of his life as a slave. Almost nothing is known about his mother. Thomas Forten was a journeyman sail maker in the sail loft of a white craftsman, Robert Bridges. As a child, James learned the rudiments of the sail maker's trade, and he also spent two years at the Quaker-sponsored African School.

The Fortens remained in Philadelphia during the American War for Independence. In 1781 a mix of patriotic fervor and the need for money induced James Forten to join the crew of an American privateer. His ship was captured on its second cruise and he was taken prisoner. While being held on board a British warship, he was assigned to watch over the captain's son. The two youths became friends, and the captain offered to take Forten to England and educate him with his son. Attractive though the offer was, Forten rejected it, insisting he could not desert the cause of independence. He was sent with the rest of the American captives to a British prison ship in New York harbor. After a harrowing seven months of incarceration he was released and returned to Philadelphia. Fighting and suffering alongside white men in the same cause shaped Forten's views about American society. In later years he alluded repeatedly to what he saw as the Revolution's promise of equality without regard to race.

After the war ended, Forten shipped out aboard an American merchant ship bound for London. Once there, he requested to be paid off, and he remained in the British capital for a year, most likely working in a sail loft. When he returned home he was offered an apprenticeship by Robert Bridges. The relationship between Bridges, a white slave-owner, and Forten, a free man of color, proved mutually beneficial. Bridges recognized Forten's ability and promoted him to foreman, a position in which he oversaw a largely white workforce. In return, Bridges gained a conscientious junior partner who helped him

expand his business. In 1798 Bridges retired and Forten took over the sail loft.

Race relations in Philadelphia at this time were not as tense as they would later become, and the quality of Forten's work induced many white ship-owners to hire him. He proved a resourceful businessman, investing the profits from his sail-loft in real estate and bank and canal stock. As an employer he insisted on maintaining a racially integrated workforce, and his sail-loft, one of the largest in Philadelphia, was renowned for its harmony and good order.

By the time he was in his early thirties, James Forten had emerged as a vocal champion of African-American rights. In 1799 some seventy black Philadelphians petitioned Congress for action to prevent the kidnapping of free people of color. Congress refused even to consider their petition, however. In his widely reprinted letter of thanks to the lone congressman who had supported the petition, Forten spoke of his fear that the nation was violating its founding principles. He developed this theme in *Letters from a Man of Colour*. Written in 1813 in response to moves in the Pennsylvania Senate to curtail the rights of black citizens, Forten's pamphlet eloquently expressed his belief that all Americans were entitled to equal treatment under the law.

The issue that brought Forten to national prominence was African colonization. He was initially optimistic about prospects in Sierra Leone, believing Britain's West African colony would help stimulate trade in commodities other than human beings, as well as offer a refuge to emancipated slaves from the United States and the Caribbean. He welcomed the formation of the American Colonization Society (ACS) in 1816 and endorsed the idea of an American colony for former slaves in Africa. Others in his community voiced their fear that the ACS's real aim was to deport free blacks. In a matter of months Forten swung from support to outright opposition. The founding of Liberia, the sufferings of the colonists, and the statements of some ACS leaders that their goal was most definitely not to abolish slavery convinced him that the organization was fundamentally proslavery. When prominent ACS members told him it was his duty to lead an exodus of free blacks to Africa, it only intensified his hostility.

Although freeborn, James Forten was a tireless opponent of slavery. He worked in the African-American community to aid the hundreds of fugitives who flocked to Philadelphia each year, and he collaborated with white abolitionists. In 1830, when he was contemplating founding an antislavery newspaper, the white abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison contacted Forten, who responded with money and advice. Garrison's paper, the *Liberator*, gave Forten the chance to reach a wider audience than he could with his speeches and letters, and in his writings for

the paper he spoke of the perniciousness of slavery and the evils of racial oppression.

During the last decade of his life, James Forten confronted many challenges. Philadelphia was rocked by repeated outbreaks of racial violence. In an 1834 riot, one of his sons was attacked, and he himself received death threats. He also witnessed a concerted effort to erode the rights of black people. In 1838, Pennsylvania voters ratified a new constitution that disfranchised African Americans. In the face of so much hostility, Forten helped found a new organization, the American Moral Reform Society. The goal of its members was to work for a sweeping restructuring of American society. They rejected racial distinctions and pledged to address the needs of the entire nation. Its critics, however, condemned the AMRS as hopelessly impractical, reasoning that black people were in greater need of aid than the population as a whole. Forten's reply was that all racial divisions were indefensible.

In 1841 deteriorating health forced Forten to relinquish control of his business to his two eldest sons. Even when he became too weak to speak in public, he continued to write in support of the causes he championed. He died on March 4, 1842, at the age of seventy-five. Despite the tense racial climate in Philadelphia, some five thousand citizens, black and white, lined the route of his funeral procession to pay tribute to him.

SEE ALSO *American Colonization Society and the Founding of Liberia*; Garrison, William Lloyd.

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Julie Winch

## FORTUNE, TIMOTHY THOMAS 1856–1928

Timothy Thomas Fortune is one of the earliest black journalists and civil rights activists whose career was devoted entirely to the advocacy of laws that would grant equal political rights to blacks as equals in the United

States. He was the founder of the first major all-black civil rights organization, the Afro-American League.

Timothy Thomas Fortune was born into a slave family in Marianna, Florida, on October 3, 1856. He was freed from slavery with the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863. He attended a school established by the Freedmen's Bureau after the Civil War and eventually moved to Washington, D.C., where he worked as a compositor for a black newspaper. While in Washington, Fortune attended Howard University from 1876 to 1877. Throughout his life, Fortune was an advocate for the rights of blacks and a fighter against racial discrimination and segregation.

In 1880, he moved to New York City, where he established himself as a leading journalist, editor, and publisher. He was the editor and publisher of the *New York Globe* and the *New York Freeman*, which later became the *New York Age*. Fortune's publications were the most consulted among blacks for information on racial discrimination, lynching, mob violence, and disenfranchisement.

What set Fortune apart from others was his work in the broad area of civil rights for blacks. Fortune dedicated himself to what he called "Problems Peculiar to the Negro" through the National Afro-American League, which he founded. It took three years, from 1887 to 1890, to organize the National Afro-American League. At its first convention in Chicago in 1890, the league outlined a six-point program:

1. securing voting rights;
2. passing legislation to combat lynching;
3. abolishing inequities in state funding of public education for blacks and whites;
4. reforming the southern penitentiary system—particularly its chain gang and convict release practices;
5. combating discrimination in railroad and public-travel conveyances;
6. and eliminating discrimination in public places, hotels, and theaters.

Fortune's organization, established ten years after the period of Reconstruction, focused on issues particular to the South, which at the time was moving swiftly to erode the rights blacks had won through the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and the Civil Rights Acts of 1866 and 1875. The intent of the southern states was to disenfranchise and completely remove blacks from participation in the region's politics. By 1890, all the southern states had rewritten their constitutions to reestablish white supremacy and legal segregation based on race and color in all facets of life. Not a single point outlined by the league found backing or public support at the local, state, or national level.

Though Fortune was not able to secure support or funding for any of his six points, he found a way to be useful by agitating for the passage of the Blair Education bill, which had been introduced in Congress in 1881. The bill aimed at providing public funding of education for blacks and whites, especially in the South. Fortune's organization joined the fight to pass the measure in 1888, but it was eventually killed in 1890.

The National Afro-American League struggled to establish itself as a legitimate civil rights organization from 1890 to 1908. A part of the problem of the league finding its niche was the coming to prominence of Booker T. Washington in 1895. Washington's speech in Atlanta in 1895 endeared him to influential whites in the North and South. He essentially assured whites that blacks would stay in their places and work on improving themselves rather than agitate for integration and equality.

Through his league, however, Fortune was able to provide a debating platform not only for his ideals but for the views of such notables as W. E. B. Du Bois, William Monroe Trotter, Booker T. Washington, Bishop Alexander Walters, Ida B. Wells, and several others. In 1898, Fortune changed the name of his organization to the Afro-American Council. Whether this had an impact on the work of the organization has never been clearly established.

The task before the Afro-American Council was impossible to achieve. It attempted to forge a consensus among a cadre of black leaders so that they could work together on such issues as funding of public schools for blacks throughout America. The council could not agree on a leadership style, ideology, or a philosophy, nor agree on methods to be used to achieve goals that would benefit blacks. Ultimately, the Afro-American Council failed to achieve its goal of being an organization of blacks, by blacks, and for blacks. The failure of the Afro-American Council was not the failure of Fortune. His efforts exposed the weaknesses of the people he fought for: They were disunited and could not trust each other, put aside their egos, face their fears and insecurities, or contain their anger and follow other blacks in the interests of their community. This experience was an invaluable lesson on black leadership, a critical issue that continues to be a serious problem for black America.

The failure of the Afro-American Council led directly to the founding of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). It is not lost on astute observers that where an organization composed entirely of blacks was not able to survive, a reformed civil rights organization composed of New York socialites, blacks, and Jews could survive and has continued to do so.

W. E. B. Du Bois was the most prominent member of the Afro-American Council to become a member of the NAACP. For a time, he attempted to have the Blair



Education bill revived, but it was doomed because by the late nineteenth century, northern white liberals and other constituencies had decided to leave blacks to the vagaries of the white South. It is worth noting that the Blair Education bill was aimed as much at illiterate whites as illiterate blacks. In essence, if it meant educating blacks as well, the South refused federal assistance and support for publicly funded education for its own people. It did not matter even if blacks would be educated in separate schools, showing the level of hatred southern whites in charge of the governments in the several states had for blacks.

Fortune remained a firebrand for justice for blacks throughout his life. He never thought it was right to have separate classrooms for blacks and whites. He always thought blacks should enjoy the rights and benefits of full citizenship in American society. When he died in Philadelphia in 1928 at age seventy-two, the words he uttered at the first convention of the National Afro-American League in Chicago in 1890 still had the ring of truth:

As the agitation, which culminated in the abolition of African slavery in this country, covered a period of fifty years, so may we expect that before the rights conferred upon us by the war amendments are fully conceded, a full century will have passed away. We have undertaken no child's play. We have undertaken a serious work which will tax and exhaust the best intelligence of the race for the next century.

SEE ALSO *Du Bois, W. E. B.; Freedmen's Bureau; NAACP; Washington, Booker T.*

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## FOURTH WORLD

The term *Fourth World* traditionally refers to marginalized and oppressed groups such as the indigenous peoples living either in Third World (relatively undeveloped) or First World (developed and capitalist) countries. (The term *Second World* is used to designate developed and

predominantly socialist countries.) Specific definitions for these terms are provided by documents and conventions of the United Nations (UN), the International Labour Organization, and the World Bank. According to the Draft United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (adopted without a vote on August 26, 1994, by the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities) and the International Labour Organization Convention concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries (adopted in 1989; came into force in 1991), the contemporary working definition of *Fourth World* includes cultural groups and their descendants who can claim a historical continuity or association with a given region, or parts of a region. These groups must currently inhabit or have formerly inhabited the region before its subsequent colonization and annexation. Alternatively, they must have inhabited the region alongside other cultural groups during the formation of a nation-state, and yet done so independently or largely isolated from the influence of governance practiced by this state. Furthermore, groups and communities constitutive of the Fourth World are distinguished from other minorities based on having maintained, at least in part, their distinct linguistic, cultural, or sociological characteristics, and in doing so have remained separate from the surrounding populations and the dominant culture. In related debates on the status of indigenous peoples, it is also expected that peoples of the Fourth World are self-identified as indigenous as well as being recognized by others as such.

Other related terms for the Fourth World include *Native Peoples*, *First Peoples*, and *First Nations*. Fourth World has become the preferred term due to its relatively neutral perspective on the history of such minority groups, particularly in contrast to the negative connotations associated with terms such as *aborigines*. However, the term also suffers from historical ambiguities. Indigenous societies cover a wide range of peoples. The Fourth World includes those who have suffered tremendously following colonization by European societies, sometimes to the point of total disappearance (including many native tribes of eastern North America, such as the Beothuk), and those who remain in comparative isolation from external influence, such as those in the Andaman Islands in the Bay of Bengal. Consequently, estimates for the total population of the world's indigenous, or Fourth World, peoples are difficult to determine, both because of the difficulties in the identification of these groups and the lack of available census data. Most nation-states refuse to mark indigenous populations as a separate category, fearing subsequent claims that could be made on land and resources or for the settlement of historical injustices. Taking these factors into account, according to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner

for Human Rights at the United Nations and the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA), conservative estimates of the population of the peoples of the Fourth World range from 300 million to 370 million persons, including at least 5,000 distinct peoples in more than 72 countries.

Most often, contemporary indigenous communities and societies live amid and among populations that have historically been engaged in practices of grave injustice toward them. Their rights have generally been negotiated as part of the scheme of minority rights to be guaranteed and protected by the state. In select instances such as in Australia and Canada, compensation has also been sought and received for the forcible loss of land and resources and the eradication of cultural livelihood. Despite these developments, the majority of the world's indigenous peoples continue to see a decline in population. It is only in very few cases that indigenous populations are undergoing a recovery or expansion in numbers, such as in Canada's Northern Territories.

The majority of indigenous societies no longer inhabit their traditional lands, owing to migration, relocation, forced resettlement, or having become a minority among other groups that arrived in the territory. As a result, the lands-claim issue constitutes the major bone of contention between the Fourth World and other municipalities, provinces, and national governments. An exemplary case for the examination of these conflicts is Canada. There is a specifically Canadian term of ethnicity referring to the indigenous peoples and their descendants in Canada who are neither Inuit nor Métis: the First Nations. Collectively, First Nations, Inuits, and Métis (the descendants of Indian and French ancestors) are known as Aboriginal Peoples, First Peoples, or Indigenous Peoples. The national representative body of the First Nations in Canada is the Assembly of First Nations. Other terms used in the Canadian context include "Status Indian" and "non-Status Indian," the latter designating a member of an indigenous community who is not entitled to benefits from the Canadian state.

Indigenous peoples are officially recognized by the Government of Canada as a separate group of citizenry. They are entitled to benefits as well as distinct communal legal rights under the Indian Act administered by the Ministry of Indian and Northern Affairs. Created in 1966, the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) is a decentralized organization established to respond to the changing needs of culturally, economically, and geographically diverse peoples. The legislation establishing the department, as amended in 1970, made its minister responsible for Indian and Inuit affairs, as well as the residents of the Yukon and Northwest Territories and their resources. The rights exclusive to indigenous peoples defined by the Indian Act are beyond legal challenge and

are protected by the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Meanwhile, according to international law covenants, *First Nations* or *First Peoples* are terms that have no distinct standing. Thus, what worked for the Canadian society internally does not necessarily find direct translation in other societies with indigenous populations.

At the level of international politics, indigenous peoples were able to represent their interests more directly to a major body of the United Nations following the establishment of the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues in 2002. The UN uses the term indigenous despite its earlier "negative connotations" due to a mixture of institutional clemence and legal precedents in addressing the relevant issues. The aforementioned UN Permanent Forum is an advisory body to the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), with a mandate to discuss indigenous issues related to economic and social development, culture, the environment, education, health and human rights. In 1982 the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations (WGIP) of the Sub-Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights (then called Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities) was established by a decision of the ECOSOC. The Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples is a result of the work of this UN Working Group between 1985 and 1993. Following the WGIP, the new Permanent Forum reports and makes recommendations to ECOSOC. Its mandate includes raising awareness, promoting the integration and coordination of activities relating to indigenous issues within the UN system, and, preparation and dissemination of information on indigenous issues.

Organizations of indigenous peoples that have consultative status with the ECOSOC include the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission, Asociación Kunas Unidos por Nabguana, the Four Directions Council, the Grand Council of the Crees (Quebec), the Indian Council of South America, the Indian Law Resource Center, the Indigenous World Association, the International Indian Treaty Council, the International Organization of Indigenous Resource Development, the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, the National Aboriginal and Islander Legal Services Secretariat, the National Indian Youth Council, the Saami Council, the Sejekto Cultural Association of Costa Rica, Yachay Wasi, and the World Council of Indigenous Peoples.

**SEE ALSO** *Indigenous*.

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*Nergis Canefe*

## FREEDMEN'S BUREAU

The U.S. Congress established the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands on March 3, 1865, as part of its plans for reconstructing the post-Civil War South. Better known as the Freedmen's Bureau, this temporary federal agency undertook the formidable and unprecedented responsibility of safeguarding the general welfare of both recently liberated slaves and white refugees in the former Confederacy. In all of its activities, the Bureau sought to teach black and white southerners the meaning of freedom and how to negotiate their seemingly incompatible visions of life and labor in the new order.

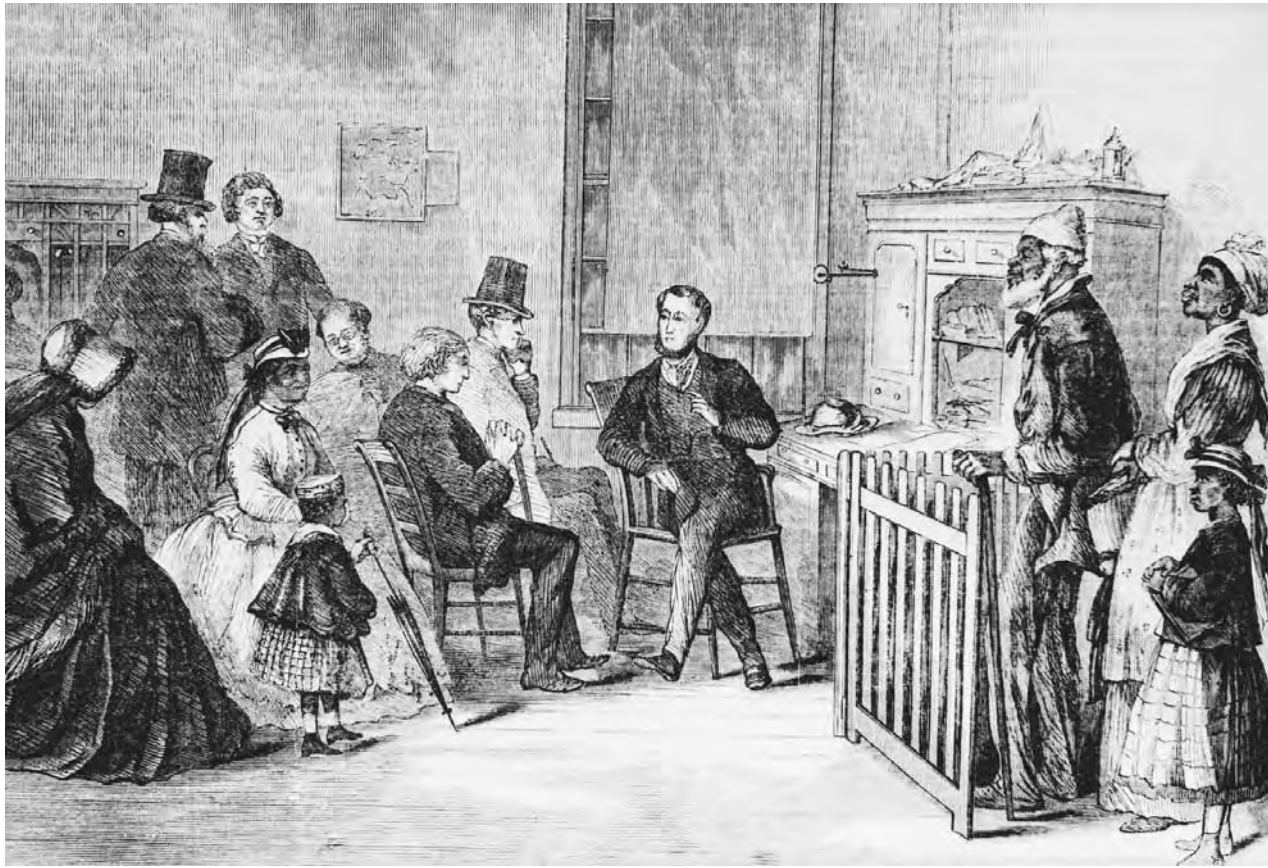
In overseeing the transition from slavery to freedom, the Freedmen's Bureau became "the principal expression and extension of federal authority in the defeated South" (Cimbala and Miller 1999, p. ix). Despite a short existence, the bureau played a critical role in defining the meaning of freedom for some four million former slaves. Charged with exercising "control of all subjects relating to refugees and freedmen from the rebel states," its activities were myriad. It provided "issues of provisions, clothing and fuel" to refugees, freedmen, "and their wives and children"; it assisted in reuniting black families; it supervised labor agreements between blacks and their former masters; it monitored state and local officials' treatment of the former slaves; it established informal tribunals to settle disputes between whites and blacks and among African Americans themselves; it instituted clinics and hospitals for the former slaves; and it aided efforts to provide freed people education in the Civil War's immediate aftermath (*U.S. Statutes at Large* 13: 507–509).

Major General Oliver Otis Howard was appointed as commissioner of the Bureau in May 1865, and he served as the agency's only commissioner until Congress formally dismantled it in 1872. This thirty-four-year-old "Christian Soldier" from Maine was a former commander of the Army of the Tennessee, and he gave the agency its character and

course. A wartime convert to emancipation and a firm believer in the ability of humanitarian assistance to uplift the former slaves, he provided a moral purpose, an ideological framework, and a vision for the bureau. The task ahead of him was formidable. Indeed, upon hearing of his friend's appointment, General William Tecumseh Sherman confided to Howard, "I hardly know whether to congratulate you or not." He cautioned Howard of the inevitable difficulties that lay ahead. "So far as man can do, I believe you will," he told the new commissioner, but "though in the kindness of your heart you would alleviate all the ills of humanity it is not in your power, nor is it in your power to fulfill one tenth of the expectations of those who formed the Bureau." "I fear," Sherman confessed, "you have Hercules' task" (Howard 1907, vol. 2, pp. 209–210).

Howard undertook his new commission with great limitations. Congress initially limited the federal agency's existence to one year following the end of hostilities, and it appropriated no funds for the bureau's efforts in the postwar South. Given a home in the War Department, the bureau was left to survive off of army funds and personnel, in addition to the resources and compassion of various private relief, missionary, and educational associations of the North. The official statute creating the Bureau permitted, although it did not require, the secretary of war to provide the agency personnel for its staff, as well as surplus food, clothing, and fuel to aid former slaves and refugees. It also gave the agency control of abandoned and confiscated lands held by the government. The Bureau had the authority to divide this land into forty-acre plots to be sold or rented to former slaves and loyal refugees. (In September 1865, President Andrew Johnson effectively ended bureau efforts to distribute lands to black southerners by commanding Howard to issue Circular No. 15, which rescinded earlier land circulars and ordered that the land be returned to its former owners, who were pardoned by the president.) Beyond these provisions, the statute provided little guidance to Howard as to his agency's role and powers. Thus, while granting the bureau authority over "all subjects relating to refugees and freedmen," Congress offered little support, direction, or authority for doing so. In 1866, over a presidential veto, and again in 1868, Congress would extend the life and powers of the federal agency. But the bureau was always viewed as a temporary agency, and Congress ended all but its educational activities on January 1, 1869.

In its efforts to reconstruct the South, the Freedmen's Bureau established a multitude of policies to transform the former Confederacy from a slave society into one in which free labor reigned. Stationed in Washington, D.C., Howard provided the shape and direction for these policies. But it was his assistant commissioners at the state



***The Freedman's Bureau at Richmond, Virginia (1867).*** *The Freedman's Bureau was established to safeguard the general welfare of both recently liberated slaves and white refugees in the former Confederacy.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

level, and their appointees at the district and county or parish levels, who would be most influential in carrying out the agency's goals. The assistant commissioners exercised considerable authority. These men determined how Howard's orders, general as they were, would be applied in individual states, and they issued additional orders and directives applicable to "freedmen's affairs" there. By 1872, fifty-five men had served the agency as assistant commissioners. Whatever policies and directives were issued, the effectiveness of the bureau rested on some 900 officials who implemented them at the local level. Any achievement of the bureau was measured by the actions of agents in the field. With varying degrees of success and commitment, these men—known in the agency's bureaucratic language as superintendents, assistant superintendents, subcommissioners, or assistant sub-assistant commissioners—endeavored to aid, advise, promote, and protect the freedpeople's general welfare on a day-to-day basis. Upon acceptance of a post in the bureau, Commissioner Howard commented, the local agent became at once "a magistrate with extraordinary judicial power—overseer of the poor of all classes in his

district, agent to take charge of abandoned lands, and required to settle, in a few days, [the] most intricate questions with reference to labor, political economy, &c., that have puzzled the world for ages" (*Washington Chronicle*, August 13, 1866). The local agent was, as Eric Foner notes in *Reconstruction*, a "diplomat, marriage counselor, educator, supervisor of labor contracts, sheriff, judge, and jury" (1988, p. 143).

In attending to the daily business of the bureau, local agents faced formidable obstacles. Their caseloads were staggering, and there never seemed to be enough agents. Historians estimate that 2,441 different men served the bureau throughout its lifetime, but at the height of its strength the agency employed only 900 men, with more than 300 of them serving as clerks rather than agents. By 1869 the bureau's manpower withered to a mere 158 men across the entire South. If they were lucky, local field agents had a horse and a clerk to help with the responsibilities of the office. And if they were truly fortunate, Union troops were nearby, willing to enforce their orders and dictates and ready to provide protection. More often, however, local agents found themselves

unaided in a hostile environment and responsible for several counties or parishes encompassing hundreds of miles and thousands of people. "My satrapy," complained a South Carolina agent named John William De Forest, "contained two state districts or counties, and eventually three, with a population of about eighty thousand souls and an area at least two thirds as large as the state of Connecticut." "Consider the absurdity of expecting one man," he continued, "to patrol three thousand miles and make personal visitations to thirty thousand Negroes" (De Forest 1948, p. 39).

Both the competence and level of dedication varied greatly among bureau officials, for they came to their positions with diverse motives and disparate ideologies. Seemingly fearless and faithful to the old abolitionist quest, some agents braved the opposition, hostilities, and outright violence of white Southerners in an effort to protect the former slaves from fraud and violence. Some even sacrificed their lives. Others were not so noble, however. Desiring acceptance from white Southerners, and possessing similar racist views about former slaves, some agents blatantly chose to become instruments of the planter class and aid in the effort to restore slavery in all but name. More often, however, agents fell somewhere in between. Many operated with a pragmatism that showed an understanding that the bureau was a fleeting agency. Most simply tried to do a job that presented fierce obstacles. At times they came to the aid of freedmen and women, while at other times they supported the defeated rebels. Declaring that bureau agents "varied all the way from unselfish philanthropists to narrow-minded busybodies and thieves," W.E.B. Du Bois offered a balanced judgment, ultimately concluding that the "average was far better than the worst" (1901, p. 360).

Whatever their level of preparedness or dedication, much was expected of bureau officials. According to Foner, their duties included "introducing a workable system of free labor in the South, establishing schools for freedmen, providing aid to the destitute, aged, ill, and insane, adjudicating disputes among blacks and between the races, and attempting to secure for blacks and white Unionists equal justice from state and local governments" (1988, p. 142). Guiding each of these activities was the desire to "teach" southerners what freedom meant by establishing a free labor society in the South. Thus, enforcing the obligation of contracts was at the heart of all bureau activities. The agency readily supported the cause of free labor and viewed the contract as the governing model for all social relations, including both labor and domestic relations. At every turn, therefore, agency officials underscored the relationship between freedom and contract. "While the freedmen must and will be protected in their rights," Virginia Assistant Commissioner Orlando Brown exhorted in his November 4, 1865, circular, "they must be required to meet these first and most essential conditions of a state of freedom, *a visible*

*means of support, and a fidelity to contracts.*" Commissioner Howard certainly agreed. If the freedpeople recognized the sanctity of the contract—whether a labor agreement or the covenant of marriage—they would benefit from both the responsibilities and the privileges of freedom. Freed from the clutches of slavery, Howard trusted that former slaves would achieve independence by becoming self-reliant men and women who could provide for and protect themselves and their families.

In a time of social and political upheaval however, Southerners, both black and white, encountered profound difficulties providing for themselves. Without question, the administration and disbursement of relief was central to every local agent's job. By August 1865 the bureau was aiding 148,120 people daily. Despite the very real need for relief, Howard nonetheless sought to cut these numbers from his first days in office. His relief policies stressed the importance of labor, self-reliance, and independence, and they provided relief to the "deserving" poor while compelling others to enter the labor market. Met with petitions of every kind, distinguishing between the worthy and unworthy poor was no simple task. Local agents refused assistance only to able-bodied freedmen, however, and continued to support some able-bodied freedwomen and other "deserving" poor, including orphans, the sick and disabled, and the elderly. Due to increasingly restrictive policies and limited resources, the number of people supported by the Bureau shrank to 74,951 in September 1865. Whether viewed as heroic in its compassion and humanity, a movement ahead of its time, or a failure for what it did not accomplish, Bureau relief efforts provided real assistance to Southerners, black and white. By the fall of 1868, the Bureau had furnished more than 20 million rations of food—almost 15 million of which directly aided former slaves—through its "war on dependency" (Foner, p. 152).

With this "war," the Freedmen's Bureau became the mediator between former-slaves-turned-laborers and former-masters-turned-employers as they negotiated a new labor system. In the process, the two contending races encountered, turned to, trusted, challenged, and used the bureau in an effort to control one another. White planters sought to regain power and restore slavery in all but name. Freedpeople wanted economic independence and freedom from white supervision. The bureau desired a free labor system in which blacks freely consented to work and whites granted them the benefits possessed by laborers in the North. In so many ways, as in the case of its relief efforts, the Bureau regarded employment as a cure-all for Southern ills. If sufficient work could be provided to former slaves, officials reasoned, the best interests of blacks themselves, their former owners, the South, and the nation as a whole would be served. To the Bureau, unforced labor promised the return of stability and prosperity to the South. As it undertook the task of

laying a foundation for a free labor society, it endorsed labor policies aimed at forming labor contracts between former masters and former slaves.

Bureau labor policies were far from perfect, however. Despite stipulations that blacks were now free to choose their own employers, what developed was a seemingly inherent contradiction—a “compulsory” system of “free” labor. At the heart of this labor program were provisions guarding against vagrancy. Bureau labor policies ordered, first, that all freedpeople be urged to find work and make contracts, and second, that those who rejected labor or violated contracts be considered vagrants who would be fined, imprisoned, and hired out to employers until, as Commissioner Howard insisted, they understood the virtue of “honest toil.”

Until Southern courts recognized and protected the rights of freedpeople—most notably, the right to testify in court—informal tribunals operated by the bureau acted as a conduit of justice for Southern blacks. In addition to complaints against employers regarding wages, abuse, and property, freedpeople filed grievances arising from domestic clashes, demands for their children, and violence. The “freedmen’s courts,” as they soon came to be known, sought to ensure, in Howard’s words, “the protection of negroes against small personal persecutions and the hostility of white juries” (Howard 1901, vol. 2, p. 253). Ideally, these courts included three officials—a Bureau agent and two representatives, one chosen by local freedpeople and the other by area whites—and settled only minor cases. The meaning of “minor” varied greatly from state to state and agent to agent, however. More serious offenses, such as felonies or capital crimes, were referred to federal, provost, or—if they assured blacks’ rights—state courts. As Donald Nieman notes in *To Set the Law in Motion*, federal authorities “were unwilling to permit individual officers and agents, most of whom had no legal training, to try such serious matters as grand larceny, burglary, arson, rape, assault with intent to kill, and murder” (Nieman 1979, p. 9). In the end, bureau officials believed that ensuring equal justice under the law to Southern blacks would, in turn, allow them to protect themselves from unscrupulous whites, and thus end the need for the Freedmen’s Bureau. With or without the bureau’s assistance, however, former slave men and women found justice elusive during and after Reconstruction.

Given its emphasis on instructing southerners as to the meaning of freedom, it is not surprising that perhaps the most lasting legacy of the Freedmen’s Bureau resulted from its efforts to promote education. Although it did not open schools itself, the Bureau remained dedicated to systematizing and facilitating education for former slaves throughout its brief life. Under the direction of Reverend John W. Alvord, the Bureau’s Superintendent of Education, the agency provided rations and transportation for teachers, supplies, buildings, encouragement, and over-

sight to northern benevolent societies and freedpeople themselves, who provided and paid teachers. By July 1870, more than 3,000 schools, with some 3,300 teachers and 149,581 students, reported to the bureau. Moreover, with bureau support, northern benevolent associations established the first black colleges in the South, including Berea in Kentucky, Fisk in Tennessee, Hampton in Virginia, and Tougaloo in Mississippi. Bureau support for education, as Eric Foner points out, “helped lay the foundation for Southern public education.” Indeed, he concludes, it “probably represented the agency’s greatest success in the postwar South” (1988, p. 144).

In the end, it cannot be questioned that the Freedmen’s Bureau fell short in accomplishing all that it promised. The Bureau and its role in the failure of Reconstruction in the South have generated much debate. Historians, as well as the federal agency’s contemporaries, have not been kind, damning the bureau for doing both too little and too much. With the notable exception of W. E. B. Du Bois—who noted more than a century ago that the agency had “accomplished a great deal”—early scholarly works flatly condemned the Bureau. Arguing that the Bureau failed to push hard enough for African Americans, more recent Reconstruction scholarship has denounced the agency for failing to challenge the racial assumptions and racial hostility of the postwar South. The Bureau has also been accused of exercising a racist paternalism that forced former slaves into labor agreements clearly more advantageous to white employers. Since the 1980s, however, historians have offered significant challenges to such interpretations. Presenting a more even-handed interpretation, these historians view the Freedmen’s Bureau as a limited protector, guardian, and even ally of the freedpeople. Recognizing the complicated landscape in which the Bureau operated, their scholarship goes beyond the agency’s limitations, weaknesses, and failures to underscore the significant role the agency played in former slaves’ lives, particularly at the community level, and what it did for freedpeople. Most historians in the early twenty-first century would agree with Du Bois, who concluded that whatever work the bureau “did not do” was “because it could not” (1901, pp. 364–365).

**SEE ALSO** *Black Reconstruction*.

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*Mary Farmer-Kaiser*

*Encyclopedia of Race and Racism*



# *Encyclopedia of Race and Racism*

VOLUME 2

**g-r**

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## **GALARZA, ERNESTO** *1905–1984*

Ernesto Galarza was born August 15, 1905, in Jalcoacán, Nayarit, a small state on the central Pacific coast of Mexico. When he was eight years old, his family migrated to the United States. His family, like thousands of others, was motivated to migrate because of the social and economic instability brought about by the Mexican Revolution (1910–1917). These migrants were drawn to the United States by the need for cheap labor in agriculture and other U.S. industries. In his autobiography, *Barrio Boy* (1971), Galarza describes the difficulties on the trek north to California, his cultural assimilation, and his early experiences working in the fields. Despite these difficulties, however, Galarza excelled in school and eventually earned a Ph.D. in history at Columbia University in 1944.

Galarza distinguished himself as an activist and scholar in the areas of labor, community development, and education. Before becoming a labor organizer, he served for eight years as director of the Office of Labor and Education at the Pan American Union (PAU) in Washington, D.C. During that time, he wrote about a dozen short studies on topics ranging from educational conditions to militarism in Latin America. In 1948 he left the PAU to become an organizer in California for the National Farm Labor Union (NFLU), which was later renamed the National Agricultural Workers Union (NAWU). He focused his efforts on organizing agricultural workers and defending their civil rights. After participating in more than a dozen strikes, he came to realize that one of the major obstacles to unionizing farmworkers was the 1942 Mexican Farm Labor Program Agreement.

Known as the Bracero Program, this agreement granted Mexican laborers (*braceros*) temporary work contracts in U.S. agriculture. In 1956, after conducting meticulous research on the living and working conditions of braceros, he published *Strangers in Our Fields*, which turned public opinion against the Bracero Program and led to its eventual termination in 1964. His book *Merchants of Labor*, published in 1964, is a seminal study of the bracero labor system; it exposed the collusion between growers and the government in exploiting braceros.

After withdrawing from labor organizing in 1960, Galarza shifted his attention to urban issues confronting the Mexican community. In doing so, he devoted himself to defending the civil rights of Mexicans and played a key role in creating community organizations. He was also involved in a very important mobilization to prevent the destruction of Alviso, a barrio north of San Jose, California. However, although the community struggled to prevent the city of San Jose from annexing Alviso, the city prevailed. In 1968 Galarza established the Southwest Council of La Raza, which he initially envisioned as a grassroots organization for community development. Eventually, it evolved into the National Council of La Raza (NCLR), which in the early twenty-first century is the most important organization advocating civil rights and socioeconomic advancement for Latinos.

In the early 1970s, Galarza founded and directed the Studio Laboratory, a resource center for bilingual education teachers in San Jose. The goals of the center were to change the curriculum, train teachers, and encourage parent involvement. He organized parents to demand quality bilingual education for their children and was a pioneer in the development of bilingual/bicultural materials. He

## Galton, Francis

wrote more than a dozen books for bilingual children, emphasizing Mexican cultural values and nature. In 1971, for example, he published *Historia Verdadera de una Gota de Miel (The True Story of a Drop of Honey)*. Galarza died in San Jose in 1984.

**SEE ALSO** *Braceros, Repatriation, and Seasonal Workers; Chávez, César Estrada; Day Laborers, Latino; Farmworkers; United Farm Workers Union.*

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Roberto M. De Anda

## GALTON, FRANCIS 1822–1911

Francis Galton was born in Birmingham, England, on February 16, 1822 and he died in Surrey, England, on January 17, 1911. He was a founding figure in the field of mental testing and intelligence and in the pseudoscience of "proving" class and racial inferiorities. He also helped develop the racist theories of social Darwinism that led to nineteenth and twentieth century eugenics programs in Europe and North America. He is recognized in the discipline of psychology as a pioneer of standardized intelligence testing and of original anthropometric and sociological methods used to demonstrate the importance of heredity in human differences. In this area, he also helped develop an experimental research laboratory that led to the development of the subfield of experimental psychology.

Sir Francis Galton was influenced by his cousin Charles Darwin's evolutionary theories, which led him to explore the relationship between intelligence and the evolution of humans. Following Darwin's ideas about biological evolution of species, he added the social to

the biological and developed a hierarchy of ranked races, nations, and classes. Through a simple rendering of evolutionary ideas into a social theory—known as "social Darwinism"—Galton held that biological differences were predestined by genetics, with limited effects possible from environmental influence. Individual differences, he argued, are the result of two principle factors, environment and heredity, with heredity being by far the more important. It was a simple step from Galton's social Darwinist theories to the eugenics movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that advocated the unnatural selection of the "fittest" individuals and groups to reproduce, while social engineering programs were established to discourage or prohibit "inferior" individuals from reproducing. It is an irony of history that Francis Galton—whose racist analysis has since been discredited—was knighted by the English crown in 1909 for his contributions, while Charles Darwin—whose works remain influential in the early twenty-first century—was not.

Galton's *Hereditary Genius* (1869) is his classic work and represents a milestone in the history of racialist scholarship. Like Arthur Gobineau, whose *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines (Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races)* was published in four volumes from 1853 to 1855, Galton used racism as a major framework in asserting that there are higher and lower races. Galton graded men on a scale of genius from "A" to "G", with "G" being the highest grade. He found the greatest majority of humans were in the "mediocre classes"—represented by the bulge in the "bell curve" he developed in relation to intelligence testing—while there were only a small number of men of great ability and an equally small number of mental defectives. Thus, he posited that the rarity of genius and the vast abundance of mediocrity was no accident, but due to natural, hereditary forces. Further, those at the "genius" level were not found randomly among all humans, but instead concentrated in the upper classes of northern Europeans.

According to Galton, classical Greece and the England of his day possessed the highest percentage of per capita geniuses of the first class, while the Negro race had failed to produce any man of genius in all of history (1869, pp. 325–337). For Galton, genius clustered in families, and no matter how rich the social and cultural environment, a genius could never be created out of a mediocre man. Indeed, he held that the success of some English families over generations proved his hypothesis that intelligence is inherited. Although *Hereditary Genius* represented unsound science with an *a priori* bias that intelligence is hereditary, it was a useful political tool for many, and the book was reprinted many times and was an inspiration to proponents of eugenics and social Darwinism well into the twentieth century.

Added to Galton's testing and analysis of hereditary difference was his fear that the lower races and poorer classes were breeding at a faster rate than the upper classes and higher races. Fearing a "dysgenic" trend of future genetic inferiority, he coined the term *eugenics*, meaning "science of the well-born," and advocated eugenic programs that would limit the number of individuals from "defective," and "inferior" races and classes. Galton's ideas are linked to the origins of the eugenics movement, which sought to improve the racial stock of humans through selective mating. Indeed, some eugenics groups called themselves "Galton Societies." Thus, Galton's *Hereditary Genius* lies at the base of much of the literature that makes a false correlation among race, class, and intelligence.

Galton introduced to science the idea of the "bell curve," around which human intelligence can be measured and interpreted along a "normal distribution." For Galton, human intelligence varied by individuals (from geniuses to the "feebleminded" and retarded) and by groups (from the highest genius [English noblemen] to the dullest [Negroes]) along a predictable bell curve of frequency distribution. It is noteworthy that the controversial 1994 work *The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life*, by Richard J. Herrnstein and Charles Murray, was a revival of the theories of Galton. The book opens with a reverent bow to Galton, and the authors restate Galton's idea that some people are smarter, positing the novel racist idea that East Asians (Japanese and Chinese) are more intelligent than whites.

Galton made a number of methodological contributions to the discipline of psychology, including pioneering the development, application, and analysis of tests demonstrating hereditary differences in ability. He assumed that human intelligence is innate and can be objectively measured through the administration of tests. His intelligence tests were mainly devoted to measurement of the acuity of the senses, and they were developed and administered at the anthropometric laboratory at his South Kensington Museum, where he tested his hypotheses regarding the influence of heredity on the characteristics of related persons, particularly parents and children, twins, and brothers and sisters. From his results, he persuaded a number of educational institutions in England to keep systematic anthropometric records on their students, thus establishing the precedent for the public application of racialist data in education. By these methods, Galton created the first systematic body of data on individual differences.

Galton devised simple tests for his anthropometric lab, many of which are still in use, some in their original forms. Examples include the "Galton bar" for measuring visual discrimination of length, the "Galton whistle" for deter-

mining the ability to hear the highest audible pitch, and a test measuring muscular strength using graduated weights in order to determine kinesthetic ability. Galton believed that sensory skill is a measure of intellect. He noted, for example, that extreme mental retardates tend to be defective in their ability to discriminate cold, heat, and pain. His association of reaction time with intelligence was established with the g-factor in IQ tests. In the 1890s, Galton's reaction-time test was applied by R. Meade Bache to three groups by race: Caucasians, American Indians, and Negroes. Bache found that Caucasians had the slowest reaction times, American Indians had the fastest, and that Negroes were in between the two. However, with science having become thoroughly racialized, Bache's analysis interpreted that rapid reaction time is inversely related to intelligence, so the slower Caucasians were actually deemed to be smarter.

Galton innovated the study of twins, believing that observing differences between fraternal and identical twins demonstrates the significance of heredity. Biologically identical twins are destined to be alike, even if they are reared apart, whereas fraternal twins are not necessarily similar even if they are reared together. The conclusion from twins and other Galtonian studies was that heredity is more important than environment. In this respect, he influenced the racialist work of Sir Cyril Burt (1883–1971) and Edward Lee Thorndike (1874–1949), both of whom have since been discredited. Challengers of Galton, including Franz Boas (1858–1942), have emphasized the role of environmental factors, focusing the debate about race and intelligence around the relative importance of heredity and environment.

The mental tests that succeeded Galton's reaction-time tests were originally developed by the French psychologist Alfred Binet (1857–1911), whose nonracialist interest in ability testing represented a stark contrast to Galton. Binet was unable to define or accurately measure what he called "general intelligence." His more complex view of intelligence was more in tune with modern psychology, but he died before his view prevailed. His tests were grossly oversimplified by others and made into the first standardized intelligence tests, which were then graded according to an "intelligence quotient," or "IQ." "Mental age" was divided by the chronological age and multiplied by 100, with the net result being the intelligence quotient. This type of testing rested upon two basic premises: (1) intelligence can be measured objectively by tests yielding an Intelligence Quotient, or "IQ," and (2) IQ is largely inherited, (Galton asserted that heredity accounted for 80% of performance; 60% has been alleged by Herrnstein and Murray in *The Bell Curve*).

Galton pioneered the application of the rating-scale and questionnaire methods, as well as "free association

tests.” He developed statistical methods for the analysis of individual differences, adapting techniques previously used only by mathematicians (such as the correlation coefficient analyzing the relationship between two variables). Thus, Galton was a founder of quantitative methods in psychology. The chair in eugenics at the University of London was first held by his protégé Karl Pearson (1857–1936), who also founded the university’s Department of Applied Statistics, reflecting the influence of his mentor.

Galton’s role in pioneering tests of ability and intelligence is still highly regarded in the field of educational and psychological testing, while his class-biased and racially motivated interpretations have yet to be thoroughly critiqued. Since the beginning of intelligence testing, calculating and ranking differences by race has been a key feature of this enterprise. It remains so to this day, along with other measures of academic potential, such as the common measure of scholastic achievement in the United States, the SATs.

SEE ALSO *Eugenics, History of.*

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*Carolyn Fluehr-Lobban*

## GANDHI, MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND 1869–1948

Born on October 2, 1869, in the coastal town of Porbandar in the Gujarati-speaking Kathiawar region of western India, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi died in 1948, five and a half months after achieving his goal of India’s free-

dom from British rule. Though less successful in attaining two other aims of his, Hindu-Muslim amity and justice for India’s “untouchables,” Gandhi (a Hindu, like a majority of his compatriots) saw to it that independent India assured equal rights to its Muslim and other religious minorities, and to “untouchables.” He claimed that his efforts in India were relevant for “an aching, storm-tossed and hungry world” (*Collected Works*, vol. 98, pp. 218–220), and the participation of thousands of men and women in the nonviolent campaigns he led, first in South Africa and then in India, inspired nonviolent struggles on different continents.

In the 1960s, Martin Luther King Jr. would acknowledge the debt he and the American civil rights movement owed to Gandhi, and there have been similar expressions from Cesar Chavez (1927–1993), the North American farmworkers’ leader; from Abdul Ghaffar Khan (1890–1988), who in the 1930s raised a nonviolent army of Pashtuns not far from the Afghan–Pakistan border; from Benigno Aquino (1932–1983), the chief opponent of Marcos’s military regime in the Philippines; from His Holiness the Dalai Lama of Tibet (1935–); and from Aung San Suu Kyi (1945–), the leading fighter for democratic rights in her country of Burma (Myanmar); and others.

Though the Gandhis belonged to the “bania,” or trader, caste (third in the hierarchy of Hindu castes, but a “high” caste still), Mohandas’s father, Karamchand, was not a trader or businessman. He was a public official, the “first minister” to the ruler of Porbandar state, which included the town of Porbandar. The British governed much of India directly and the rest indirectly, through chieftains or princes. Porbandar was one of over 500 princely states in India. Karamchand’s father, Ota Gandhi, had also been Porbandar’s “first minister,” as were Ota’s father and grandfather.

When Mohandas was seven, Karamchand moved to Rajkot, another princely state in Kathiawar, serving there also as first minister. He and his wife, Putlibai, were liberal by the standards of their time, but their children were enjoined not to touch “untouchables” or Muslims or to eat meat. At thirteen Mohandas was married to Kasturbai Kapadia, who was a few months older and from the same bania caste—virtually all marriages occurred within a caste and when the bride and groom were thirteen or younger.

The boy Mohandas had a rebellious side (he secretly ate meat) and also a prickly conscience (he confessed petty thefts in a note he handed to his ailing father). After Karamchand’s death, Mohandas persuaded his mother and other relatives to send him to London to study law, but he was required before departure to promise that he would avoid liquor, meat, and women in England.

## IDENTITY IN LONDON

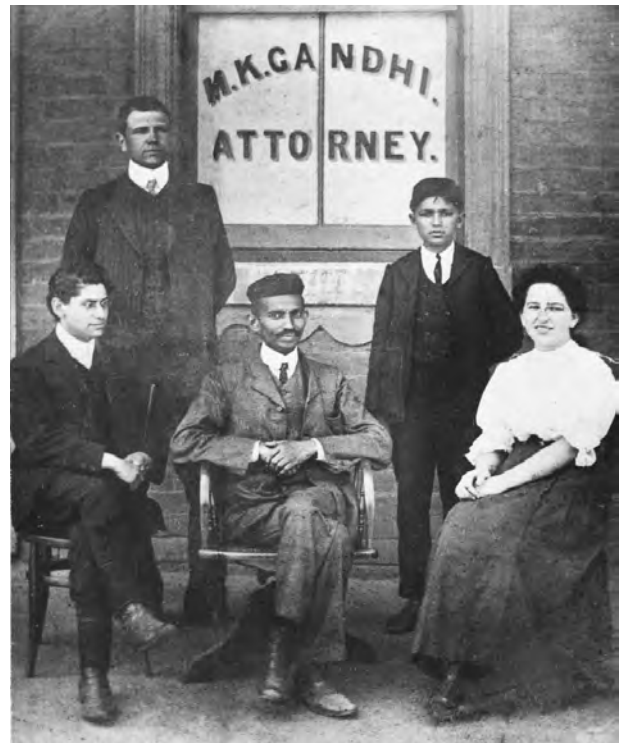
Leaving behind his wife and a newborn son, Mohandas arrived in England in the summer of 1888, enrolled at the Inner Temple (one of London's Inns of Court, a law school), and sought to fashion himself as an "English gentleman," wearing "proper" clothes and learning ball-room dancing, elocution, and the violin. But his bid to find a British identity lasted only a few months. Engaged in London with political and religious questions, and evidently keeping to his three pledges, Gandhi learned public campaigning from England's vegetarian movement, of which he became an active member. In 1891 he returned to India as a barrister who sought Indians' equality with whites but not secession from the British Empire, and he believed that all souls had equal worth, irrespective of skin color or religious views.

In Bombay, western India's biggest city, Gandhi formed a friendship with Rajchandra, a jeweler who was also a scholar of the Hindu, Jaina, and Buddhist religions. Success in the law seemed to elude him, however, and in early 1893 he collided in Rajkot against colonial arrogance. Charles Ollivant, the British officer supervising all princely states in Kathiawar and someone Gandhi had met in England, was examining a charge of impropriety against Gandhi's brother Laxmidas, who pressed his younger brother to intercede. Against his better judgment Gandhi called on his acquaintance, who ordered a servant to remove the young barrister from his office. When the ejected Gandhi threatened a lawsuit, Ollivant dared him to do his worst. Told by India's leading lawyer of the day, Pherozechah Mehta, that he would invite ruin by suing Ollivant, Gandhi pocketed the affront. But the descendant of "first ministers" fumed and looked for a life outside Kathiawar.

## FINDING A PURPOSE

Gandhi did not have to wait for long: A South Africa-based firm with origins in Porbandar asked him if he would assist for a year with a legal case in Pretoria, and Gandhi grabbed the opening. He was twenty-three when, in May 1893, he landed in Port Durban. The three weeks that followed saw more incidents of ejection or attempts at ejection: from a courtroom in Durban, from a train at Pietermaritzburg station, from a stagecoach in Pardekoph in the Transvaal, and from a hotel in Johannesburg. During the Pardekoph incident he was soundly thrashed as well. By the time he reached Pretoria in the first week of June, he was a different man: resolute, realistic, and ready to fight for South Africa's persecuted Indian minority, which had come from all parts of India. He had found a purpose, and now realized how India's "untouchables" felt.

In Pretoria he read Leo Tolstoy's *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* and six volumes on an 1857 revolt in



**Gandhi, 1903.** Mohandas Gandhi spent twenty years working as an attorney in South Africa and developing his strategy of nonviolent fighting. KEYSTONE/GETTY IMAGES.

India crushed by the British. He conversed with Christians keen to convert him and exchanged letters with Rajchandra. Christianity was not embraced but thoughts of hate and violence were yielded, as well as "pride of birth and education" (Doke 1909, p. 45). The following year (1894), Gandhi founded a political party, the Natal Indian Congress, and in 1906 he felt he had found a special way to fight. Coining a phrase, he called it *satyagraha*, which combined two Indian words, *satya* (truth) and *agraha* (firmness). Gandhi translated the phrase variously as "truth-force," "soul-force," or "love-force," and he insisted on nonviolent fighting. When people opposing an unjust law refuse to kill but are ready to be killed, their *satyagraha* could win, claimed Gandhi.

One year in South Africa turned out to be a period of twenty years, during which Gandhi made money as a lawyer, gave large sums to South Africa's Indian community, simplified his life and the lives of his wife and four sons, took vows of celibacy and poverty for the rest of his life, launched a journal, *Indian Opinion*, and started two centers for community living and training in *satyagraha*, one in Phoenix near Durban in Natal and the other in Lawley near Johannesburg in the Transvaal.

Several whites backed Gandhi in South Africa and worked at his side, including Christians and Jews,

clergymen, journalists, secretaries, and housewives. Henry Polak (a Jewish journalist born in Britain), Hermann Kallenbach (a German Jew trained in architecture), and Joseph Doke (a Baptist minister) were among them. While Polak edited *Indian Opinion* for several years, Kallenbach placed at Gandhi's disposal the 1,000 acres that housed the Lawley center, which was named Tolstoy Farm in honor of the Russian novelist and thinker whose views had influenced Gandhi, and who, shortly before dying, expressed great satisfaction at Gandhi's battles in South Africa. In 1909 Joseph Doke published (in England) the first Gandhi biography. Scores of others would follow.

### GANDHI AND AFRICANS

Gandhi's interaction with Africans was more limited. His aim of Indian equality with whites in South Africa was different from a fight for African rights. Moreover, for some time Gandhi seemed to share a general Indian sense of superiority vis-à-vis Africans. In 1908, however, he envisioned a day when "all the different races [of South Africa] commingle and produce a civilization that perhaps the world has not yet seen" (*Collected Works*, vol. 8, p. 323). That year Jan Smuts, a future prime minister of South Africa, warned that the Indian defiance initiated by Gandhi could lead one day to African defiance (Nayar 1989, vol. 4, p. 168), a possibility Gandhi recognized and welcomed.

Later, after returning to India, Gandhi would speak in his weekly, *Young India*, of political conversations with Africans in South Africa (March 28, 1929), but the discussions are not recorded. John Dube, a founder of the African National Congress, was one of the leaders Gandhi had met; Dube's Ohlange center in Phoenix predated Gandhi's center in the same place. In 1914 Dube spoke of the impact made on him by the bravery of nonviolent Indians whom Gandhi had inspired but added that he could not see Africans fighting that way; they were likely, Dube thought, to invite a massacre by hitting back at whites (Patel 1990, pp. 216–217). While not joining the Indian defiance, Africans silently applauded and blessed it.

Led by Gandhi, hundreds of Indians of different religions and castes, mostly from the Transvaal, peacefully broke discriminatory laws from 1908 to 1910 and incurred imprisonment; and in 1913 thousands of Indians working in Natal's coal mines, sugar plantations, the railways, hotels, and restaurants disobeyed laws and marched for rights. Many women joined the disobedience. Repression from the South African government was brutal, and over two dozen Indians were killed, but strong reactions in India, Britain, and South Africa forced the government to modify its laws. Claiming victory, a

forty-five-year-old Gandhi returned in January 1915 to India, where people called him "Mahatma" (great soul).

### STRATEGY FOR INDIA

British control over India seemed permanent in 1915. Peasants, the bulk of the population, appeared grateful for stability; the British policy of divide and rule had separated Hindus from Muslims; leaders of the "untouchables" preferred alien rule to an independence dominated by "high" castes; and India's princes relied on British officials to prevent uprisings by subjects. These facts shaped Gandhi's strategy: He would aim to enlist the peasants, unite Hindus and Muslims, convince caste Hindus of the folly of untouchability, and ask the princes to find safety in their subjects' goodwill. And he would present the weapon of *satyagraha* to his people.

His years in South Africa had familiarized Gandhi with Indians of all kinds and from all regions. Although establishing a base in Ahmedabad, the largest city in Gujarati-speaking India, he traveled to almost every part of the land, sharing his vision, challenging and encouraging his audiences, recruiting allies, and probing issues where *satyagraha* could be employed. In 1917 *satyagraha* was successfully used in defense of indigo-raising peasants in Bihar in eastern India; in 1918 it was conducted on behalf of peasants in rural Gujarat and textile workers in Ahmedabad; and April 1919 saw the first all-India demonstration in the country's entire history, when place after place responded to Gandhi's call for a nonviolent protest against new curbs on free speech.

A massacre occurred on April 13, 1919, in Amritsar, the Sikhs' holy city: At least 389 Indians—Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs—were gunned down in less than ten minutes by troops commanded by a British general, Reginald Dyer. The following year Gandhi launched a joint Hindu-Muslim struggle for Indian independence and in support of Muslim control over Islam's holy places in the Middle East.

In this program of "nonviolent noncooperation," tens of thousands were arrested, including some women; lawyers quit British-run courtrooms, students left British-run colleges, and a host of distinguished Indians returned British honors and titles. Muslims were invited to Hindu homes, and vice versa; and the removal of untouchability was made a central plank of the Indian National Congress (INC), the country's principal political organization (founded in 1885), which accepted Gandhi as its guide. India was experiencing both a new spirit and a new unity.

Fearing uncontrollable unrest, and also acknowledging his commitment to nonviolence, the British refrained from arresting Gandhi. In February 1922, however, after a demonstrating mob killed twenty-two policemen in

Chauri Chaura in northern India, Gandhi called off the movement, saying he did not want a foundation of murder for a free India. The suspension demoralized the public, and the British felt they could safely arrest Gandhi. He was taken prisoner in March 1922, the first of his six incarcerations in India. In South Africa he had been jailed three times; altogether he spent ten years in prison.

### SALT MARCHES

Hindu-Muslim recrimination followed the 1922 suspension. Released after two years, Gandhi gradually rebuilt his nonviolent forces, but it was not until 1930 that he launched another all-India struggle. The issue he chose this time was the British monopoly of the salt trade and the tax on salt. Collecting the salt left by the sea was illegal, as was selling or buying untaxed salt. Gandhi asked Indians on the coast to scoop up their own salt, and Indians elsewhere to buy or sell contraband salt. Since the salt tax hurt every Indian, and the poorest the most, a *satyagraha* against it was an issue on which all united: Hindus and Muslims, caste Hindus, and “untouchables.”

Spectacular salt marches made news worldwide, American reporters sent home accounts of police brutalities on violators of salt laws who remained nonviolent, and tens of thousands filled India’s jails. A year later, the British viceroy, Lord Irwin, admitted that underestimating a national movement’s power was a profound mistake and released Gandhi and his political colleagues of the Indian National Congress. A Gandhi-Irwin accord that followed made coastal salt collection legal, and Gandhi agreed to attend a political conference in London in the fall of 1931, though he did not expect much from it.

Also invited to the London conference, Gandhi’s political opponents in India claimed that he did not speak for India’s princes, Muslims, or “untouchables.” Saying that Indians had to agree among themselves before demanding self-government, British leaders announced the conference’s failure, but outside the conference Gandhi made friends with the British people. Based in London’s downscale East End, he traveled widely, including to Manchester, where he met textile workers hurt by boycotts in India. The suffering of India’s poor was even worse than theirs, Gandhi told them. He was given a warm, understanding response. At England’s elite school, Eton, Gandhi told its students: “It can be no pride to you that your nation is ruling over ours. No one chained a slave without chaining himself” (*Collected Works*, vol. 54, p. 82).

### AFRICAN AMERICANS

Two years earlier, invited by W. E. B. Du Bois to send a message for African Americans through Du Bois’s jour-



**Gandhi, 1930.** Mohandas Gandhi leads a Salt March in protest of the British monopoly of the salt trade and tax on salt. The spectacular marches made news worldwide. CENTRAL PRESS/GETTY IMAGES.

nal, *The Crisis*, Gandhi had expressed a similar thought: “Let not the twelve million Negroes be ashamed of the fact that they are the grandchildren of slaves. There is no dishonor in being slaves. There is dishonor in being slave-owners.” In a note printed next to Gandhi’s message, the journal called him “the greatest colored man in the world, and perhaps the greatest man in the world” (*The Crisis*, July 1929).

In 1936, two African American couples visiting India, Howard and Sue Bailey Thurman and Edward and Phenola Carroll, asked Gandhi why he did not speak of “love” instead of “nonviolence.” Admitting his attraction to “love in the Pauline sense,” Gandhi added that “love” did not always connote struggle, whereas “nonviolence” did. Mahadev Desai, Gandhi’s secretary from 1917, told the Thurmans and the Carrolls that the warmth in Gandhi’s welcome to them was unprecedented (Kapur 1992, p. 88). It derived from Gandhi’s view that untouchability and slavery were similar evils and that India’s fight against imperialism paralleled black America’s struggle against racism.

Gandhi asked his visitors “persistent, pragmatic questions about American Negroes, about the course of slavery, and how we had survived it” (Kapur 1992, p. 88). Was color prejudice growing or dying? Did American law recognize marriages between blacks and whites? And so forth. It was during this 1936 conversation (in Bardoli, Gujarat) that Gandhi made the prophetic remark: “Well, if it comes true it may be through the



Negroes that the unadulterated message of non-violence will be delivered to the world” (*Collected Works*, vol. 68, pp. 237–238).

South Africa remained on Gandhi’s mind. In 1926 he said in *Young India* (July 22) that he could not imagine “justice being rendered to [South Africa’s] Indians, if none is rendered to the natives of the soil.” Two years later he reiterated the necessity of African-Indian cooperation: “[Indians] cannot exist in South Africa for any length of time without the active sympathy and friendship of the Africans” (*Young India*, April 5, 1928).

India’s natives gained a slice of power in 1937. While the center remained firmly under British control, elected legislatures could form governments in provinces. Following Gandhi’s advice, the INC contested elections and formed ministries in a majority of the provinces. But in 1939, when World War II started, the British clipped provincial powers, citing the war’s requirements. When London refused to assure Indian independence at the end of the war, the INC broke with the British, its sympathy for the Allied cause notwithstanding, and its ministries resigned.

#### QUIT INDIA

With popular opinion turning increasingly anti-British, the British encouraging anti-INC elements, especially the Muslim League (ML), which in 1940 demanded secession from India of Muslim-majority areas, and other separatist movements gaining strength, Gandhi asked the INC, in August 1942, to issue a call to the British to quit India. There was a nationwide eruption, which in some places took a violent form. It was the greatest defiance the British had faced in India. It was eventually suppressed, and Gandhi and all INC leaders and tens of thousands of others were quickly put behind bars, yet two outcomes now became certain: India would be free after the war, and the INC would inherit the power left by the departing British.

The INC’s leaders—Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964), who would be India’s prime minister from 1947 to 1964, Vallabhbhai Patel (1875–1950), Abul Kalam Azad (1890–1958), Chakravarti Rajagopalachari (1878–1972), and Rajendra Prasad (1883–1962), among others—were more than political colleagues to Gandhi, and he more than a mentor to them. They had struggled and suffered together.

Released in the summer of 1944, and striving again for a Hindu-Muslim alliance through an agreement between the INC and the ML, Gandhi held fourteen talks in September 1944 with the ML’s president, Muhammad Ali Jinnah. But the talks failed. In the summer of 1945 the INC leaders were released. The two years that followed saw intense negotiations involving the British, the INC, and the Muslim League; they also saw the INC leaders separating from Gandhi.

#### ISOLATION

These leaders felt that agreeing to the division demanded by the ML and Jinnah would put an end to Hindu-Muslim violence. Gandhi thought it would increase the violence. They envisioned India as a militarized, industrial power; Gandhi saw India as a land of peace and he championed rural India. An increasingly isolated Gandhi spent much of 1946 and 1947 in areas that had seen Hindu-Muslim violence, restoring peace and instilling courage in victims.

A London announcement in February 1947 that within months the British would definitely leave India, transferring power to one or more governments, produced a scramble for leverage that heightened the Hindu-Muslim tension, especially in northern India’s large Punjab province, which contained areas passionately claimed by both Muslims and non-Muslims (Hindus and Sikhs). As a possible solution, Gandhi asked the INC leaders and Lord Mountbatten, the last British viceroy, to invite Jinnah to head a new government, but the viceroy as well as the INC leaders rejected the proposal.

Gandhi was excluded from the negotiations of April, May, and June 1947 that led to an agreement on independence and India’s division into a Hindu-majority India and a Muslim-majority Pakistan. On August 14 Pakistan came into being. The next day independent India emerged. But violence exploded. About half a million were killed, mostly in the Punjab, in August and September 1947. Almost twelve million moved. Half of them, Muslims, trudged westward to Pakistan, and the other half, Hindus and Sikhs, in the opposite direction. On the other hand, Gandhi’s 1946–1947 interventions in eastern India probably saved many lives.

#### EMPOWERING THE WEAK

Close to the day of Indian independence, Gandhi answered, in the city of Calcutta (now Kolkata), a question on coping with doubts:

I will give you a talisman. Whenever you are in doubt, or when the self becomes too much with you, apply the following test. Recall the face of the poorest and the weakest man whom you may have seen, and ask yourself if the step you contemplate is going to be of any use to him. Will he gain anything by it? Will it restore him to a control over his own life and destiny? . . . Then you will find your doubts and yourself melting away. (Tendulkar 1951–1958, vol. 8, facsimile facing p. 89)

Though INC leaders turned down several of Gandhi’s proposals, he supported India’s new government led by Nehru and Patel (who became deputy prime minister). Gandhi’s view that an “untouchable” should become India’s first head of state, occupying the mansion where

the British Empire's viceroys had lived, was not endorsed, but, following Gandhi's advice, Nehru and Patel embraced Bhimraro Ramji Ambedkar (1891–1956), the brilliant leader of the “untouchables” who for years had criticized Gandhi and the INC as not being radical enough over caste. Chairing the committee that drafted the Indian constitution, Ambedkar played a crucial role in independent India's evolution.

On January 30, 1948, while walking to a prayer meeting in New Delhi, Gandhi was killed by Nathuram Godse, who planted himself about four feet in front of Gandhi and fired three bullets into his chest and stomach. Godse was part of a group of high-caste Hindus who alleged that Gandhi had emasculated India's Hindus with his nonviolence and friendship with Muslims. Gandhi's wife, Kasturbai, had died four years earlier while the two were prisoners of the British. The Gandhis had four sons, Harilal, Manilal, Ramdas, and Devadas, and fifteen grandchildren.

Gandhi wrote two books (both in the mid-1920s), an autobiography entitled *The Story of My Experiments with Truth*, and *A History of Satyagraha in South Africa*; a tract called *Hind Swaraj* (Indian Home Rule), published in 1910; a translation (in the 1920s) of the Hindu religious text, the *Bhagavad Gita*; and innumerable articles in his journals, *Indian Opinion*, *Young India*, and *Harijan*. The 100 volumes of the *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* contain almost all that he wrote, including letters, and most of his speeches.

**SEE ALSO** *Anti-Apartheid Movement; Muslims.*

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**Rajmohan Gandhi**

## GANGS AND YOUTH VIOLENCE

Gangs are primarily made up of groups of male adolescents and youths who have grown up together as children, usually as cohorts in a low-income neighborhood of a city. Oftentimes, the gang is a multiple-aged peer group, with older members in their late teens or early twenties acting as role models for younger members. According to several researchers (Morales 1982, Short 1996, Vigil 2002), only about 10 percent of the youths in most low-income neighborhoods join gangs. Further, gangs are an outgrowth of the strains and stresses that immigrant and historically marginalized populations experience in urban settings, a phenomenon that can be traced back to the nineteenth century. These populations typically face problems with jobs, living conditions, isolation and segregation from mainstream society, and abrasive interactions with public institutions. These situations and conditions tend to be especially persistent when the immigrants are defined as a distinct race from the dominant society based on physical rather than simply behavioral differences.

### THE ROOTS OF URBAN GANGS

There are various factors involved in understanding gangs, such as racism and its repercussions in other realms, including socioeconomic segregation, breakdowns in social control, education difficulties, and antagonistic interactions with law enforcement. Los Angeles is a major city marked by these dynamics, and it will serve as the major multi-ethnic focus here to highlight broader gang issues. Toward this end, long-term racism and persistent poverty have lingering effects on how life is structured and organized, including basic family dynamics. For example, schooling

for minority youth and relations with law enforcement both affect family life, particularly because poor people often receive short shrift from authorities in these major public institutions. Schooling problems, in particular, have plagued the lives and careers of blacks and Latinos (and in some cases, Asians) in the United States. These groups have a long and well-documented history of exclusion from or isolation within public schools, along with other forms of unfair and unequal scholastic treatment, such as the racism that affects testing and “tracked” learning programs. In tandem with institutional racist barriers, this has worked to historically establish an oppositional attitude and lackadaisical approach to the dominant culture’s education routines. Remarkably, most families in these communities have been able to weather these conditions and maintain a semblance of stability.

Most of the ethnic (i.e., Chicano, African American, Vietnamese, Puerto Rican, and Salvadoran) communities examined here are made up of members who are, for the most part, physically distinguishable from dominant whites. They have all also faced race-based discrimination, though the impact of race and racism on each group varies. Race, racism, and the attitudes of prejudice that have devalued and disparaged each group, and the groups’ subsequent segregation and isolation into ethnic enclaves, are central to understanding the emergence and perpetuation of gangs. Race and class are both heavily implicated in the marginalization of each of these ethnic groups, and in the resultant social and cultural repercussions that have led to street socialization. Nevertheless, each group has unique aspects. Race has been a more overtly dominant issue for African Americans, among whom it is more pervasive and salient in all aspects of life. The dual nature of Chicanos’ relationship with dominant society—as natives and immigrants—is similarly distinctive, as is the dual relationship of Puerto Rico’s status vis-à-vis the United States.

The entry into the United States of both Salvadorans and Vietnamese entailed global, cold-war political ramifications. Marginalization for many in these communities began before they entered the country. Importantly, similar processes are unfolding in other regions of the globe, as witnessed by the appearance of transnational gangs in places such as Europe and Latin America, where immigration has brought different peoples to urban settings. (In the U.S. context, transnational gangs typically refer to organized networks of peer groups that are connected to one another and operate across national borders.) In addition, the processes of globalization have led to human migration and the marginalization of many families and children.

The street gang dominates the lives of untethered youth in these minority communities because other institutions have become undermined, fragmented, fragile,

and largely ineffective. Some of the Los Angeles gangs can be traced as far back as the 1930s, and social neglect, ostracism, economic marginalization, and cultural repression are largely responsible for the endurance of the subculture. Members of these communities have often faced inadequate living conditions, stressful personal and family changes, and racism and cultural repression in schools.

#### FAMILY LIFE AND GANG MEMBERSHIP

Families do not exist in a vacuum. Even in the oppressive environment generated by the combination of racial prejudice and economic marginalization, most families succeed in raising socially productive children, but a significant number of families cannot. These stressed and overwhelmed families, stripped of their coping skills, often end up in attenuated family arrangements that can include separation, divorce, and single-parent households—which also tend to be low-income households. Home life in poor households or in households undergoing change can be stressful, with parents less able to adequately care for and supervise their children. Street socialization of children emerges in the context of such strained family situations and conditions. Significantly, many of the male children in these situations are raised in a female-centered household, and when they reach adolescence they must learn to contend with the male-dominated street culture. Much of the homophobic nature and organization of the gang stems from the adjustment males make in reconciling these ambivalent experiences and feelings. Most often, they emphasize a hyper-masculinity to compensate for this emotional strain, wiping out any vestige of femininity.

#### THE GHETTOIZATION OF CHICANO AND AFRICAN-AMERICAN POPULATIONS

Chicanos were initially spread all over the Southwest in little *colonias* (Mexican housing projects or neighborhoods) near where they labored in mining, ranching, and agriculture. In the early twenty-first century they are predominantly found in urban areas, where many work in the low-paid service economy. Historically, their children have been compelled to attend schools where instruction was only in English and where speaking Spanish was punished. While children from the more stable households managed to acquire English and a modicum of the “three R’s,” despite the handicaps they faced, others could cope only by sitting in the back of the classroom, ignoring their books, ditching school in a show of resistance, and sometimes joining other similarly harassed Chicanos and Chicanas in “race riots” at Anglo-majority schools. Dropping out is the ultimate show of defiance, nurtured by school officials’ practice of encouraging their

departure or expelling students. Early on, education for Mexicans was referred to as an “Americanization” program—with the aim of providing the children with a more “appropriate culture”—but schools were typically kept separate and unequal.

In the case of African Americans, despite the prevalent racism of the 1920s, the black community in Los Angeles displayed unity and relative economic prosperity—more than one-third of the families owned their own homes. The proliferation of neighborhoods with housing covenants and restrictions, however, was an even more extreme attempt at “keeping them in their place.” For this community the problem of street gangs surfaced during the Great Depression and accelerated in the aftermath of World War II, when there was a high rate of immigration from the South. As a result, the problem of ghettoization—of poverty and neighborhood deterioration—soon worsened. Children in overcrowded neighborhoods without sufficient public recreation facilities had no place to play safely. Indeed, only limited opportunities existed for African American youth in organizations such as the Boy Scouts or the YMCA. In the summer, the municipal swimming pools only admitted African Americans and Latinos on special days, after which the pools were drained and then refilled. Knowledge of this historical racism goes a long way in understanding the emergence of gang activity and the state of the African American community in the early 2000s.

Ironically, public housing was introduced to counter the effects of racism by providing decent, affordable housing, but the results only complicated the initial difficulties associated with racism. Living in the “projects” has become a synonym for living in the most destitute, underserved neighborhoods in the city. Most residents are people of color, with only a few public developments of mixed racial groups.

Along with family life being undermined by these patterns of exclusion and isolation, the schools, by incorporating racist assumptions into their teaching and testing procedures, have continually failed to accommodate black and brown youth. The criminal justice system has been an even worse offender, ensuring continued stresses and strains on these communities. Police, courts, and prisons have historically practiced an unofficial type of racism when dealing with racial minority communities, who have harsher treatment, an uneven application of the law, and higher incarceration rates. Los Angeles has been one of the leading centers of this institutionalized legal inequality. This is evident from a recitation of only the best-publicized outbreaks of police-community hostility: the Zoot Suit Riots in 1943, the Watts revolt of 1965, the Black Panther shoot-out in 1968, the Eula Love killing in 1979, and the Rodney King riots of 1992. Statistical data also reveal the

disparately high proportion of ethnic minorities arrested, convicted, and imprisoned. Gang members similarly make up a disproportionate number of the imprisoned population. Rather than addressing the roots of gang life, American society has instead attempted to resolve problems associated with gangs by suppression alone. In sum, racism and prejudice in the pre-civil rights decades segregated and isolated most blacks in overcrowded areas of the city, and Mexicans and the new migrants in their neighborhoods all underwent a marginalization process that is still playing out.

#### NEWER IMMIGRANT POPULATIONS

In contrast, the Salvadoran and Vietnamese populations in Los Angeles (and in the United States) share a more recent migratory background, in both cases from homelands wracked by civil war. Most of the Vietnamese immigrants and a large proportion of those from El Salvador arrived in the United States as political refugees, beginning in the 1970s. The unraveling of social control actually began for both groups in their home countries, where the United States played a prominent role in volatile military situations. Thus, geopolitical considerations are paramount for both groups.

The Central American populations in Los Angeles are relatively new. These groups had to find their way to the United States during a time of economic instability and an intense anti-immigrant social and political climate. The Salvadorans carry the burden of having had to leave their homeland in the midst of a highly charged civil war, with death threats propelling hundreds of thousands out of the country. In Los Angeles, they settled into neighborhoods with high concentrations of Latinos—mostly Chicanos—and pre-existing neighborhood gangs.

Along similar lines, the Vietnamese are best examined within the context of a war-torn homeland and an especially strife-ridden journey to the United States. Most found their way to the United States as members of a second wave of refugees known as the “boat people.” What they encountered in the United States was racism from both the white population and racial-ethnic minorities. While many entrepreneurial families prospered in their new community, despite the ethnic hostility that greeted them, many of the youth were drawn into loose-knit gangs formed at school to offer mutual support in the face of racial-ethnic hostility. Like the Chicanos before them, they often encountered language difficulties and racist assumptions in school.

Investigations conducted over several years by graduate students at the University of California, Irvine have shown that relations with police were also difficult. Gang members noted that they received high levels of attention from police. In a recent study of Little Saigon, many

informants complained that they have been unjustifiably harassed and even beaten by police on several occasions (Vigil, Yun, and Chang 2004). One twenty-year-old explained: “Sometimes when I drive a fixed-up car, they stop us for nothing. Just because we’re young and Vietnamese. We’re driving normally, like everybody else is, but they just pull us over. They be searching us, search the car, and we don’t have anything. They treated us like shit” (p. 212). African Americans and Chicanos understand this experience all too well, often referring to it as being stopped for DWB, or “driving while black (or brown).”

#### GANGS AS SOCIAL SUPPORT

Racism and other adjustment issues in the educational context have only fueled the sense of hopelessness and alienation that many children in these minority communities have already experienced. In the face of unpredictable forces and inadequate support structures, the gang comes to be perceived as a bastion of dependability for children with inadequate nurturing in the home and an inability to overcome the barriers they encounter in school. In the eyes of similarly situated children facing an incredible array of challenges, the gang comes to hold appeal as a provider of affiliation, material well-being, protection, and guidance. For many, it is an all-too-scarce source of security and comfort.

The costs that the gang imposes for providing a secure self-identity and sense of belonging, however, can be very high, not only for the individual youth but also for the entire community. While many activities that gang youth engage in together are no different than those pursued by others their age, the alienation to society engendered and nurtured by street socialization also provokes gang activity that has violent consequences for gang members and others. No matter how understandable the motivation for engaging in such “gangbanging” is, the collateral costs to neighborhoods and families are lost on these tough, young gang members. In this self-centered scenario, communities are decaying from the inside out. While larger forces of racism and poverty provide the impetus for such transformations, the gang members themselves unleash great damage on the community, and their violence exacerbates the other problems the community faces.

SEE ALSO *Central Americans; Criminal Justice System; Cultural Deficiency; Latinos.*

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James Diego Vigil

## GARNET, HENRY HIGHLAND 1815–1882

Henry Highland Garnet was an orator, preacher, educator, nationalist, and abolitionist. Believed to be a descendant of the Mandingo kings of West Africa, Garnet began life in a slave cabin, and by the time he died in 1882, he had become one of the most significant African American leaders of the nineteenth century. Known for his radical abolitionism, Garnet urged African Americans to resort to militant means to secure their rights.

Garnet was born into slavery in 1815 on the William Spencer plantation near New Market, Maryland. In 1824, Garnet’s parents, George and Henrietta Trusty, took their children, escaped through Delaware, and arrived in New York City the following year. Once in New York, George changed the family’s surname—a common practice among fugitives—to Garnet. In 1827, when legal slavery ended in New York State, the fugitive Garnets no longer had to fear slave catchers.

Garnet’s father believed in education and instilled that value into his son. Shortly after escape from slavery, Garnet

immersed himself in schooling. In 1826, he entered New York African Free School. It was here that he began to sharpen the focus of his antislavery struggle. His heart “ached for the children of Africa,” he confided, adding that he had nightmares over the “clanking of the chains” and “the voices of the groans.” At the school he had the opportunity to reflect on the deeper meaning of freedom. But after graduation, there was little improvement in his life. Racism excluded him from many job opportunities. In 1831, he entered the High School for Colored Youth in New York City. There he studied poetry, Latin, and Greek philosophers. He also met and cultivated lifetime friendships with people such as Alexander Crummell, who was to become famous in his own right as a minister and black leader. In 1835 Garnet enrolled at the Noyes Academy in Canaan, New Hampshire. The Noyes Academy was an awakening for him. Three hundred racists destroyed the school rather than have blacks study there. Even though his stay at the Noyes Academy was short-lived, the impact of Noyes on him was unmistakable. He began to see that violence was needed to fend off racist attacks.

In 1836, Garnet entered Oneida Theological Institute near Utica, New York, a seminary where he studied theology for three years. It was an important move for him, for the seminary had a symbolic significance: It is generally believed that here students had formed the first antislavery society in New York. Garnet studied hard. He graduated in 1840, settled in Troy, New York, married in 1842, and was ordained in 1843 as a Presbyterian minister.

By 1840 Garnet was ready to take the public stage with his abolitionist message. Speaking during the anniversary meeting of the American Anti-slavery Society, Garnet implored Christians to eradicate slavery. He questioned America’s commitment to democratic practices, referring to American democracy as a sham. The nation suffered from a deeply rooted moral failure, Garnet intoned. His speech was praised by many, including William Lloyd Garrison, and became a dress rehearsal for the one he gave three years later.

In 1843, speaking at the National Negro Convention in Buffalo, New York, Garnet broke from the tactic of moral suasion to end slavery. Slavery was a cruel and vicious system, he said. Tracing the origins of slavery from Africa, Garnet called on blacks to secure their own freedom. Repeatedly, he invoked the names of nationalists such as Toussaint-Louverture, Nat Turner, and Denmark Vesey to illustrate his point. “Rather die freemen than live life as a slave. Remember that you are FOUR million,” he thundered. “Heaven, as with a voice of thunder, calls on you to arise from the dust. Let your motto be RESISTANCE! RESISTANCE! RESISTANCE! No oppressed people have ever secured their Liberty without resistance,”

he added (Garnet 1848, p. 96). Garnet’s speech was in support of a motion that the convention published in David Walker’s 1829 *Appeal* calling on slaves physically to revolt. Garnet had made his most important point, but the convention delegates voted 19 to 18 against publishing this document, which had caused consternation throughout the South fourteen years earlier.

In 1850 Garnet was a delegate to the World Peace Congress in Frankfurt, Germany. In 1851 he gave several antislavery speeches in Europe. Between 1853 and 1856, he served as a pastor in Jamaica. Following his return to the United States, he became pastor of the Shiloh Presbyterian Church in New York City.

After the passage of the Fugitive Act in 1850, which placed the nation off limits for runaway slaves, and the announcement of the *Dred Scott* decision declaring that blacks, slave or free, had no legal rights in America, Garnet concluded that racial equality in the United States was never to be. With the silent assistance of the white New York Colonization Society, he cofounded the new African Civilization Society to support black emigration to Africa and other parts of the world. However, colonization did not gain much support among African Americans.

In 1861, when the Civil War broke out, Garnet joined Frederick Douglass and other blacks in actively encouraging black enlistment. In 1864 Garnet moved his ministry to Washington, D.C. On February 12, 1865, he became the first African American to preach in the House of Representatives, encouraging congressional representatives to “to Emancipate, Enfranchise, Educate and give the blessings of the Gospel to every American citizen.” On December 18, 1865, the Thirteenth Amendment became part of the U.S. Constitution. While delighted to see slavery outlawed, Garnet was disappointed by the government’s failure to redistribute abandoned plantations to ex-slaves whose work made them possible.

Late in life Garnet remained prominent in religious circles. In 1881 President Garfield appointed him as minister to Liberia, but his stay in Africa was short-lived: In February 1882 he died and was buried in Liberia.

**SEE ALSO** *Abolition Movement*.

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Julius Amin

## GARRISON, WILLIAM LLOYD 1805–1879

Born in Newburyport, Massachusetts, on December 12, 1805, William Lloyd Garrison would eventually become the leading white radical abolitionist and critic of racial prejudice of the antebellum era. Garrison was the founder and editor of the *Liberator*, an abolitionist newspaper that he published weekly, without fail, from 1831 until the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment in 1865, which abolished slavery. Garrison also co-founded the American Anti-Slavery Society (AAS) in 1833, which he led for many years. Both the *Liberator* and the AAS were dedicated to the eradication of racial prejudice and the immediate emancipation of slaves.

### THE MAKING OF A RADICAL ABOLITIONIST

Born the third and youngest child of a devout evangelical Baptist mother and mariner father, the young Garrison grew up in a region economically devastated by the 1807 Jeffersonian Embargo against trade with Europe. Unable to find work and ultimately turning to drink, Garrison's father abandoned his wife and children, and the family struggled to make ends meet. After receiving a common school education, the young Garrison struggled unsuccessfully with a series of apprenticeships and clerkships in both Massachusetts and Maryland when the editor of the Federalist *Newburyport Herald*, Ephraim Allen, agreed to take him under his wing at the age of thirteen. Garrison discovered that he possessed an insatiable appetite for the books on hand at Allen's press, from the Bible to the works of William Shakespeare, John Milton, Hannah More, Sir Walter Scott, and Lord Byron. Possessed of his mother's evangelical piety,

his era's Romantic sensibility, and his newfound skills as a printer, Garrison set out to make his mark.

In 1826 Garrison moved to Boston where he fell in with a group of young evangelical reformers who found meaning above the muck and mire of partisan politics by endeavoring to remake the world through their benevolent and philanthropic enterprises. Steering clear of drink, which had enslaved both his father and elder brother, Garrison began editing the *National Philanthropist*, a temperance newspaper that he infused with the sort of intemperate language and sense of urgency that raised hackles among an older generation of genteel reformers. It was at this point that Garrison met a tireless and unassuming Quaker saddlemaker by the name of Benjamin Lundy who was in Boston to raise money for his Baltimore-based newspaper, the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, a one-man outfit dedicated to the gradual abolition of slavery. In 1829, upon Lundy's invitation, Garrison left Boston for Baltimore to help edit the Quaker's antislavery paper.

As the new co-editor of the *Genius*, Garrison pushed the newspaper in a more radical direction. While Lundy's editorials continued to endorse the notion of gradual emancipation and financial compensation for slaveholders, Garrison increasingly promoted the "immediatism" most fully articulated by the English Quaker abolitionist Elizabeth Heyrick and shared by many of the young printer's free African American neighbors in Baltimore. Garrison and other radicals demanded an immediate end to slavery and refused to make any deals with slaveholders, whom they considered both unjust and sinful.

In 1830 Garrison's uncompromising stance and unrelenting critique both landed him in prison for libel and threatened the financial stability of the *Genius*, but the month and a half he spent in jail only steeled his resolve and during this time he began to style himself a prophet and martyr for the emerging radical abolitionist cause. While the relationship between Lundy and his younger partner remained cordial, Garrison returned to Boston where he founded his own antislavery newspaper, the *Liberator*, which was dedicated to attacking slavery and racial prejudice, and whose principal financial backer at the time was James Forten, a successful black sailmaker and civic leader in Philadelphia. In his inaugural issue on January 1, 1831, Garrison audaciously proclaimed: "I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—AND I WILL BE HEARD." Most of his subscribers were blacks, but copies were passed from hand to hand among both races throughout the East Coast. True to his word, Garrison never ceased issuing the weekly newspaper until he witnessed the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment abolishing slavery on December 18, 1865. Eleven days later, Garrison published the final issue of the *Liberator*, number 1820.

## CONDEMNING THE RACIAL POLITICS OF COLONIZATION

In order to unleash the transforming power of radical abolitionism, Garrison believed that he first needed to debunk the dominant but misguided black “colonization” program that had won the support of many of the nation’s leading politicians, ministers, and philanthropists. Deportation of free blacks was promoted through the American Colonization Society (ACS) with chapters in the North and South. Blacks in Baltimore, the erudite William Watkins among them, convinced Garrison of the impracticality, the immorality, and most significantly, the racial prejudice of colonization. Garrison pointed out that free black emigration would leave the remaining slave population bereft of their closest allies. Most importantly, colonization plans rested upon the premise that America could not absorb free blacks. In short, despite the antislavery motives of some colonizationists, Garrison argued that their program was functionally proslavery. In his lengthy pamphlet, *Thoughts on African Colonization* (1832), Garrison also reprinted the speeches and resolutions of free blacks who had condemned the racial prejudice implicit in the ACS program, thereby providing blacks with a larger audience for their views.

## AN ABOLITIONIST CAREER

As a founder of the New England Anti-Slavery Society in 1832, and the larger American Anti-Slavery Society (AAS) the following year, Garrison embraced what might be called a politics of moral suasion. He believed that a radical transformation in public opinion regarding slavery and racial prejudice was necessary before politicians and their parties could be convinced to act justly. Garrison lambasted not only the rabidly anti-black prejudice of most working-class Democrats, but also the racial politics of the members of the Free Soil and Republican Parties, who not only sought to keep the Western territories free of slavery, but of blacks as well.

Garrison advocated not only for equality among the races, but for equality among the sexes as well, a position that ultimately led to a split in the abolitionist movement. Garrison’s support of women’s rights prompted more cautious abolitionists, including the evangelical New York philanthropists Arthur and Lewis Tappan and the antislavery presidential aspirant James G. Birney, to organize a breakaway organization called the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society (AFAS) in 1840.

In the 1840s and 1850s Garrison came to see the U.S. Constitution as profoundly proslavery, going so far as to call it a “covenant with death,” and burning the document before a large crowd. Thinking of government as inherently authoritarian, he publicly advocated a philosophy of “non-

resistance,” or non-participation in the institutional aspects of politics, which also meant a rejection of voting. He also preferred disunion to a continued union with slaveholding Southerners. But as the Civil War came, he worked to transform the bloody conflict between the states into a struggle for the liberation of enslaved African Americans.

## POST-EMANCIPATION CAREER

In 1865 Garrison resigned from the presidency of the AAS, and called for the dissolution of the antislavery organization. He parted company with the organization, but continued to devote himself to the promotion of black civil rights, women’s suffrage, and temperance. Garrison died in 1879, three years after the death of his wife, and was survived by his five children.

SEE ALSO *Abolition Movement*.

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## GARVEY, MARCUS 1887–1940

Marcus Mosiah Garvey was born on August 17, 1887 in St. Ann’s Bay, Jamaica. He founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in Jamaica in 1914, after four years of travel in Latin America, the Caribbean, and Europe. In 1916 Garvey immigrated to the United States, where he quickly reconstituted the UNIA, with new headquarters in Harlem, New York. By the mid-1920s the UNIA had expanded to more than forty countries and almost forty U.S. states, making it the largest Pan-African movement of all time.

As a youth, Garvey excelled in the printing trade and became Jamaica’s youngest foreman printer. He studied oratory, became a pioneer trade-union leader, dabbled in journalism, and served on the executive committee of the



National Club, an early Jamaican anticolonial organization. He also became an avid reader, with a special interest in Pan-African history. His travels, beginning in 1910, brought him face to face with the universal suffering of Africans. He published newspapers and became a community agitator in Costa Rica and Panama. In London he worked and wrote for the *Africa Times and Orient Review*, the leading Pan-African journal of the period.

His decision to found a race-uplift organization received its final impetus after he read Booker T. Washington's autobiography, *Up From Slavery*, in 1914. Washington was the principal of the most African-American educational institution, Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. He was politically conservative but a strong advocate of racial uplift and self-reliance, both of which appealed to Garvey. Inspired by the harsh observations of his travels and the promise inherent in Washington's success, Garvey famously asked, in his *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*, "Where is the black man's Government? Where is his King and his Kingdom? Where is his President, his country, and his ambassador, his army, his navy, his men of big affairs?" "I could not find them," Garvey said, "and then I declared, 'I will help to make them.'"

The question of race dominated the UNIA from its beginnings. The initial objects sought "To establish a Universal Confraternity among the race; To promote the spirit of race pride and love; To reclaim the fallen of the race" [and] "To establish Commissionaries or Agencies in the principal countries of the world for the protection of all Negroes, irrespective of nationality." The centrality of race was reflected in the UNIA's slogan, "Africa for the Africans, those at home and those abroad," and in its motto, "One God, One Aim, One Destiny." Its main guiding principles were "race first," self-reliance, and nationhood (political self-determination). Only people of African descent could join the organization, and it mostly eschewed financial help from outside the race. The UNIA was organized around branches called "divisions" and "chapters." There were around 1,200 branches worldwide with more than 700 of them in the United States. Branches existed in Central America and the Caribbean, Canada, South America, Africa, Europe and Australia. The New York City branch had an estimated 35,000 to 40,000 members. Louisiana, with more than seventy (possibly more than eighty) branches, had a heavier UNIA presence than anywhere else in the world. Estimates of world membership range from one million to more than ten million. Financing came mostly from members and the UNIA's business ventures.

By 1918 Garvey had made his decision to remain in the United States, and the UNIA thereafter underwent a rapid expansion. It spawned the *Negro World* (1918), the most widely circulated African newspaper in the world, the

Black Star Line Shipping Corporation, and the Negro Factories Corporation, which owned a number of small businesses. It also acquired schools and bought huge amounts of real estate. The *Negro World* employed some of the best journalistic talent in African America, including Thomas Fortune, John Edward Bruce, and Amy Jacques Garvey, Garvey's second wife. It provided wide coverage of African American and Pan-African affairs and doubled as a major literary journal in the era of the cultural movement known as the Harlem Renaissance.

In 1920 Garvey attracted 25,000 people to his First International Convention of the Negro Peoples of the World. Success, however, brought entanglements with a variety of adversaries, including European governments, integrationist organizations such as the NAACP (which was largely led and financed by whites), the Communist International (which espoused "class first" over "race first") and dishonest or disaffected elements within the UNIA. The U.S. government, ever protective of its status quo against any manifestations of radicalism, began plotting his deportation from at least 1919. They infiltrated the UNIA and brought Garvey into court on a variety of charges, culminating in a conviction for alleged mail fraud in connection with the eventual failure of the Black Star Line. Garvey served almost three years of a five-year sentence until President Calvin Coolidge commuted his sentence late in 1927. Immediate deportation to Jamaica followed.

After returning to Jamaica, Garvey published newspapers, founded the Peoples Political Party, was elected to the principal local government body (the Kingston and St. Andrew Corporation Council), and was imprisoned by the British authorities. Garvey spent his last five years (1935–1940) in London, where he continued to lead his now-reduced organization.

Garvey's emphasis on race was due to a careful analysis of the situation around him. "The world has made being black a crime," he said, "and I have felt it in common with men who suffer like me, and instead of making it a crime I hope to make it a virtue" (Martin 1986 [1976]). He was born into a world of pseudo-scientific racism. Nineteenth-century thinkers such as American Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826), American German Georg Hegel (1770–1831) and Englishman James Anthony Froude (1818–1894) all espoused notions of African inferiority, and they were all challenged by Pan-African intellectuals. As early as 1829 African-American David Walker (1785–1830) lambasted Jefferson's allegations of African genetic inferiority in the seminal *David Walker's Appeal*. In 1889, two years after Garvey's birth, his Trinidadian compatriot John Jacob Thomas (1841–1889) challenged Froude's views in his polemic *Froudacity*. Haitian Anténor Firmin (1850–1911) challenged Frenchman Joseph Arthur Comte de Gobineau's (1816–1882) white supremacist treatise *Essai sur*

*l'inégalité des races humaines* (Essay on the inequality of the human race) in his 1885 response *On the Equality of Human Races*.

Garvey was aware of the widely disseminated pseudo-scientific racist ideas. He read such Pan-African challengers to these views as Edward Blyden (1832–1912) of Liberia and W. E. B. Du Bois (1868–1963) of the United States. He said in 1923, “White philosophers, Darwin, Locke, Newton and the rest . . . forgot that the monkey would change to a man, his tail would drop off and he would demand his share.”

Every aspect of the UNIA was therefore ultimately designed to demonstrate that Africans could—self-reliantly and through the power of organization—help themselves to a position of equality with other races. Garveyites sought to uplift the race through an activist literature and through revisionist historical writing. In the process, they helped usher in the period of literary and cultural flowering known as the Harlem Renaissance. Garvey personally took issue with American anthropologists Franz Boas (1858–1942) and Clark Wissler (1870–1947) for their inconsistent definitions of race. “The custom of these anthropologists,” Garvey lamented in *The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*, is “whenever a black man . . . accomplishes anything of importance, he is no longer a negro.”

Garveyites portrayed God as black, even while acknowledging that God was a spirit without color. They tried to employ their own and to provide insurance against sickness and death. They hoped to establish a beachhead in Liberia, from where the task of rehabilitating the race might be expedited. Garveyites accepted past miscegenation as an unfortunate *fait accompli* induced by slavery, and they welcomed racially mixed persons who acknowledged their African ancestry. They nevertheless frowned on new miscegenation, which they saw as an acknowledgement of inferiority.

Garvey’s ideology of “race first” was, in essence, a reformulation of the perennial ideas of black nationalism that have infused other Pan-African mass movements. His influence was transmitted directly to Malcolm X, Elijah Muhammad of the Nation of Islam, the Rastafarian movement, and nationalist movements of the African diaspora. He died on June 10, 1940, in London.

**SEE ALSO** *African Diaspora; American Colonization Society and the Founding of Liberia; Boas, Franz; Firmin, Anténor; Pan-Africanism; Walker, David; Washington, Booker T.*

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## GAY MEN

The images, experiences, and histories of gay men are multifaceted. Social-science research has shown that gay men come from all racial and ethnic experiences and include men from all socioeconomic backgrounds. Still, some of the most persistent and dominant conceptions of gay men describe them as being white, middle-class, and well-educated. While these characteristics may very well apply to some gay men, there are others, particularly of different racial and ethnic backgrounds, who continue to challenge these stereotypical constructs. Other social forces besides race also shape our understandings of gay men. These include heterosexism and homophobia, which, in and of themselves, can be detrimental to the existence of gay men in general, but when viewed in conjunction with racial and ethnic stereotyping can also limit the ways in which people come to know and understand gay men.

Because the term *gay* does not always resonate with some racial or ethnic groups, different names have been used to describe same-sex sexual contact between men, reflecting linguistic conventions and offering oppositional, or alternative, forms of self-identification. For instance, in many Latino cultures, men who have sex with men often describe themselves as either *activo* (active) or *pasivo* (passive), highlighting the behavioral aspects of homosexuality. For many blacks, meanwhile, the term *same gender loving* is employed in order to denote same-sex sexuality. Such terms do not necessarily exclude lesbians, bisexuals, or transgender people. For example, the term *two-spirit* is often used in Native American populations to refer to homosexual people in general. This is similar to the use of *queer* for many white and Asian groups.

The study of gay men has a long and vast history, yet its links to other social forces, such as nationality, religion, popular culture, and race, has only recently been explored by researchers, theorists, and others. Twentieth-century investigations of the intersections of race and homosexuality have been fueled by numerous forces, such as feminist inquiry, the U.S. Civil Rights struggles of the 1950s and 1960s, identity politics, and research on HIV and AIDS. Still, forces such as homophobia (the fear of homosexuals and homosexuality, often accompanied by negative thoughts, feelings, and actions against this group) and heterosexism (the belief that heterosexuality is the basis of all social interaction, and that same-sex families, unions, and interactions should not be allowed) continue to shape the ways in which gay men live their lives and are represented by others.

Embedded in discussions and examinations of homosexuality are the arguments that link it to nature and to various social forces. Does nature dictate beliefs about homosexuality (the essentialist view), or is homosexuality a product of socially constructed norms and behaviors (the social constructivist view)? This is one of the most salient dichotomies present in the study of sexuality in general. Throughout history, attempts have been made to link homosexuality to nature, to the environment, to the psyche, to race, and to policy.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Karl Heinrich Ulrichs (1825–1895), Magnus Hirschfeld (1868–1935), and Havelock Ellis (1859–1939) were all influential pioneers in sexology—the scientific study of sexuality—and they argued for the decriminalization of homosexuality by using a nature-based argument. In fact, Ellis defined homosexuals as “inverts”—people who had the body of one sex and the soul of the other sex. One of the main goals for these early sexologists was to document the various kinds of sexualities present in their time.

More recently, social scientists in the United States have attempted to continue the work of early sexologists, but these researchers also acknowledge that sexuality reveals as much about social forces as it does about nature. Two works by researcher Alfred Kinsey (1894–1956) and his research team—*Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (1948) and the subsequent *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (1953)—were influential because they showed how sexuality was fluid. This development was important because it destabilized the categories of “heterosexual” and “homosexual” and introduced fluidity to the understanding of sexuality in general. Similarly, in *The Social Organization of Sexuality: Sexual Practices in the United States* (1994), the sociologist Edward O. Laumann (b. 1938) and his colleagues emphasized that sexuality is largely organized by other social forces, such as the state, gender, race, and place of birth.

In addition, in *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction* (Vol. 1, 1978), the philosopher Michel Foucault (1926–1984) directly challenged the belief that contem-

porary societies are plagued by the silences of sexuality that dominated the Victorian era. Further, Foucault argued that sexuality has been regulated by the power-knowledge effect—the extent to which those in power and those who possess (or have access to) knowledge use these forces to either reproduce inequality or to sustain the status quo. Clearly, Foucault’s theory of sexuality is located in the social constructivist camp, and his work continues to influence much of the research on homosexuality today.

According to historical and personal accounts around the world, gay men have developed various strategies in order to develop a community of like-minded men and in order to combat the stigma attached to being gay or homosexual. Such strategies include specific dress codes and linguistic references, ultimately resulting in the establishment of safe spaces in which to congregate. Many gay men have also achieved worldwide recognition for various successes in the arts, politics, sports, and entertainment. Some examples of these include, but are in no way limited to, the writers Reinaldo Arenas (1943–1990) and James Baldwin (1924–1987); the French politician Bertrand Delanoë (b. 1950), the German politician Klaus Wowereit (b. 1953), and the U.S. politician Barney Frank (b. 1940); the athletes Bill Tilden (1893–1953) and Greg Louganis (b. 1960); and the entertainers Elton John (b. 1947) and Nathan Lane (b. 1956). Still, state-sponsored homophobia and heterosexism—which often take the form of legally sanctioned vice patrols, as well as other forms of legislation that overtly targets gay men specifically and homosexuality in general—often contribute to the ways in which gay men have been oppressed and continue to be punished on the basis of their sexual identities and desires. Globally, gay men have been the targets of legal and extralegal stoning, imprisonment, castration, honor killing, disenfranchisement, and other forms of execution and discrimination.

The work of scholars in the field of sexuality studies has also accounted for the ways in which race continues to be an important factor in the lives of people of color. In fact, intersectionality—a framework used to understand the ways in which multiple forms of oppression affect people differently—has become an important feature in the broad fields of race and sexuality studies. Noted feminist scholars such as Audre Lorde (1934–1992), Kimberle Crenshaw (b. 1959), and Patricia Hill Collins (b. 1948) all helped to develop the concept of intersectionality, which attempts to analyze individual- and group-level dynamics where there is more than one oppressed identity present. Ostensibly, gay men of color often face discrimination based on their sexual and racial identities. This is complicated by other social forces they may face, such as unemployment or insufficient health care. Similarly, researchers interested in racial stigma have called attention to a phenomenon known as secondary



**Black Gay Pride Parade, 2002.** Two men participate in Atlanta's second annual Stand Up and Represent National Black Gay Pride march. Gay men of color often face discrimination based on their sexual and racial identities. AP IMAGES.

marginalization, the process through which a marginalized group is regulated by more privileged members within their very group. Within the larger population of gay men, stereotypical racial hierarchies and dynamics exist, mimicking the presence of racism that many continue to document within the larger society.

In an essay titled "How Gay Stays White and What Kind of White It Stays" (2001), Allan Berube documents how the category *gay* is often assumed to be white, and how this in turn voids all other kinds of racialized, gay existences. Such work is important because it demonstrates how racism and homophobia, while different, coexist and reinforce each other. An examination of one without the other, therefore, would result in lopsided analyses. This is similar to what many feminists of color have written about in terms of employing an intersectionist perspective—which would account for the ways in which multiple forms of oppression affect people differently. Berube's work also underscores how whiteness becomes the default for many socially constructed categories, including *gay*. This becomes complicated when one considers the various political strategies that gay men have employed in order to advocate for rights. For instance, early gay male liberationist battles in the United States rested on a mostly white agenda that included fighting for the end of vice patrols in the bars and clubs where homosexual men came together. On the other hand, race-specific research on gay men in the United States has

revealed at least three layers of racism and homophobia: in the general population, in homosexual communities, and in their own respective racial or ethnic communities. Awareness of these levels of discrimination and oppression, coupled with an understanding that same-sex sexuality is present in all racial or ethnic communities, makes for a more accurate picture of gay men.

SEE ALSO *Baldwin, James; Heterosexism and Homophobia; Lesbians; Sexuality.*

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## GENDER IDEOLOGY

Like race, masculinity and femininity are socially constructed concepts that convey values and social status. Gender ideology works in two ways. First, it prescribes proper behavior and demeanor for boys and girls, men and women. There are different prescriptions for masculinity and femininity in societies that are racially and ethnically diverse, and the gendered behavior and demeanor of some of the members of less valued groups may violate the dominant group's ideas of what is proper. Thus, boys and girls and women and men who adopt different ideas of how

to behave, look, walk, dress, and relate to others may be doing what is tabooed by the dominant group's gender ideology, justifying their devaluation and discrimination against them. Second, these negative responses are reinforced by demeaning stereotypes about women and men of different racial and ethnic groups, which usually do not represent the behavior of most of the members of these groups.

The mixture of stereotypes and behavior often produces contradictory racial imagery of masculinity and femininity. In the United States in the nineteenth century, African-American enslaved men were considered sexually dangerous for Southern white women, who were supposedly sexually pure and physically vulnerable. Yet the enslaved men had no status as full-fledged men; they were "boys" and were expected to be deferential to any white person. Enslaved African-American women were all "body"—sexually vulnerable breeders and wet nurses in service of their white masters or physically strong field hands—not "women." The racial and gender contradictions of the time were aptly summed up in Sojourner Truth's famous speech, "Ain't I a Woman?" She was an African-American former slave and preacher who made the speech at a women's rights convention in Akron, Ohio, in 1851. Challenging the stereotypical view of women as helpless and dependent, which was proper behavior for upper- and middle-class white women, she said:

That man over there says that women need to be helped into carriages, and lifted over ditches, and to have the best place everywhere. Nobody ever helps me into carriages, or over mud-puddles, or gives me any best place! And ain't I a woman? Look at me! Look at my arm! I have ploughed and planted, and gathered into barns, and no man could head me! And ain't I a woman? I could work as much and eat as much as a man—when I could get it—and bear the lash as well! And ain't I a woman? I have borne thirteen children, and seen most all sold off to slavery, and when I cried out with my mother's grief, none but Jesus heard me! And ain't I a woman? (Internet Modern History Sourcebook)

Late twentieth and twenty-first century views of masculinity and femininity in the United States are equally complicated by racial differences and produce similar contradictions of what it is to be a man or woman. In popular views and the mass media, diversity of behavior within the group is often ignored, and a stereotypical imagery of masculinity and femininity predominates. The stereotypes reflect beliefs about the group and justify their oppression and subordinate status, even when only a small percentage of the group has gendered cultural patterns that differ from middle-class whites, the dominant group in the United States. In addition to

African Americans, gender ideologies reinforce racial stereotypes for Latinos, Asians, Arabs, and other nondominant groups. The bulk of the research on institutionalized racism, however, is on black-white relations.

## BLACK MASCULINITY

*Machismo*, first used to describe the masculinity of Latinos, has become a generalized term for "doing masculinity." *Black macho* is a phrase that is the essence of the gender ideology surrounding black masculinity. It depicts a young, swaggering, defiant, bold, cool competitor for physical space and the upper hand—for respect, most of all. He is sexually attractive and physically adept, but there is an undertone of repressed violence that can emerge in fights, rapes, and homicides. He is street-smart rather than book-learned, and somewhat contemptuous of black college graduates working in corporations or professions, whose demeanor is likely to mirror white middle-class manners. The physical strengths and aggressive competitiveness are valued by sports recruiters and team owners, especially for football, basketball, and boxing, and may lead to upward mobility and even great wealth and adulation for a few successful professional athletes.

Aspects of the gender ideology of black masculinity include sexual prowess with many women and fathering several children, but not long-term relationships or emotional closeness with children. In actuality, many black men are hard-working, responsible fathers. Leonard Pitts Jr., a *Miami Herald* journalist who interviewed African-American men about their troubled relationships with their fathers, says that for him and others there were always role models: "fathers, black men, *family* men who came up on hard streets, sired by disappointing dads, yet get up every morning and do the hard work of raising and supporting their children" (1999, p. 198).

The machismo or cool pose of young African-American men is a form of defiance against their subordinate position in the U.S. stratification system, which disadvantages them economically and educationally. The pose enables them to establish a confident masculine identity but may also prevent them from full participation in a racist society that sees their swaggering as hostile and dangerous. White boys may admire and adopt their style of dress, music, walk, and attitude, but to adult white men they defy proper middle-class demeanor. Thus the masculinity that may command respect on the street limits the chances for upward mobility in the white-controlled work world, except through the venues of sports and music. Movements such as the Promise Keepers have tried to shift the ideology of black masculine identity from personal aggrandizement to valorizing the husbands and fathers who take on the commitment of life-long emotional and financial support of their children and their children's

mothers. Even under slavery, black family life was strong; but gender ideology has not been supportive of family men as an image of black masculinity.

### BLACK FEMININITY

Gender ideology depicts black women through a variety of contradictory femininities—sexy Jezebels, nurturant mothers, domestics, welfare recipients, and domineering matriarchs. Each of these is one-dimensional and objectifies and demeans black women who, like black men, are diverse in social class, education, family status, and occupation.

The imagery of the sexually available black woman and the loving mammy, nursemaid, nurse, and general caregiver is both positive and negative. Stereotypes of black beauty place value on elements of sexual attractiveness, especially large breasts and buttocks, but devalue black facial features and hair. The conventional ideal of black feminine beauty is lush curves, thin lips and noses, light skin, and straightened hair or elaborate cornrows. For black women, achieving these standards may mean intensive dieting, cosmetic surgery, and long, painful hours at the beauty salon.

The imagery of sexual attractiveness and availability, with early pregnancy or sex work as a possible outcome, has been countered by black parents who urge daughters to put off sexual activity and concentrate on their schoolwork. Like adolescent girls in many other racial ethnic groups, young black women face an either-or dilemma: either to remain aloof or to seek emotional relationships that will render them vulnerable to sexual pressure. The conventional gender ideology does not offer positive images of educated black women in prestigious occupations and professions; rather, such women are accused of emasculating black men.

The most contradictory racialized gender ideology surrounds motherhood. Under slavery, black women with qualities valued by masters—good health and strength—were encouraged to breed with black men; they were also raped by white owners and their sons and overseers. None of the children they bore belonged to them. After slavery, many black mothers left their children with kin to obtain work in white homes as maids and nannies for white children. Poverty and men's relocation for jobs made it difficult to keep families intact, and many mothers cared for their own and others' children. After a fight to obtain welfare benefits, black women who used that means of support to stay home with their children were condemned as lazy and shiftless, and welfare reforms have mandated work requirements to keep receiving benefits. Black mothers who work and those on welfare are both blamed for sons not doing well in school and getting in trouble with drugs and crime, daughters getting pregnant, and black men's low self-esteem. Yet many of these same

mothers join together in grassroots fights for better local social conditions for their families.

The conventional gender ideology of black femininity is blind to black women's successful efforts at raising daughters and sons who stay in school, go on to college, and are upwardly mobile. It does not acknowledge black women who have stable marriages, raise well-adjusted children, and hold middle-class jobs throughout their lives, or competent single mothers who are heads of households for extended families and often are grassroots activists. Yet these women are the Sojourner Truths of the early twenty-first century—strong, self-reliant, political, and assertive role models for their sons and daughters.

**SEE ALSO** *Feminism and Race; Sexuality.*

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## GENE POOL

The division of the human species into races implies that there are separate breeding populations that are genetically differentiated from each other in many inherited traits. It is assumed that while there may be some matings between individuals belonging to different races, the small amount of such cross-racial interbreeding has been insufficient to

eliminate the group differences that are said to characterize the races. This view of well-defined separate breeding populations of individuals with an occasional migrant between them is typical of the extremely simplified models of population structure that characterized population genetics in the early and mid-twentieth-century. An element in these models is a metaphor for the collection of genes in a population, the gene pool.

Since the early 1900s, scientists have known that there is a great deal of genetic variation in any assemblage of individuals in any species. More recent work characterizing proteins and DNA from many individuals has shown that essentially every gene has some variation within a population. For some genes, nearly every individual in any species, including humans, is genetically identical, though there are rare variant forms of these genes. For about one-third of the genes in a sexually reproducing population, however, there is considerable variation, with two or more relatively common alternative forms (*alleles*). The “gene pool” of a population is a metaphor for the collection of all the different variants of all the genes in proportion to the relative frequencies of the alleles. Imagine that all the females in a population deposited their eggs in one container and all the males deposited their sperm in another. If the males and females in the population mate with each other at random, the offspring generation that results is equivalent to producing the offspring by drawing, over and over again, one sperm and one egg from the containers. The contents of the containers together constitute the gene pool of the population, from which offspring are said to be drawn. The complete specification of the makeup of that gene pool is then taken as the genetic description of the population.

No description of the complete gene pool of any real population has ever been attempted, but a sample of different genes in a reasonably large sample of individuals from different populations in a variety of species has provided a fairly accurate characterization of the genetic variation within and between populations. In humans, for example, about 85 percent of the genetic variation in the species as a whole can be found within the gene pool of a local population, defined geographically and linguistically.

The concept of a gene pool from which individuals in a population are drawn and which distinguishes one population from another depends on an idealized and simplified model of populations. The model is that of a *Mendelian population*, a collection of individuals clearly bounded off from other such populations, within which offspring are produced by the random pairing of males and females. Matings with individuals from other populations are either nonexistent or sufficiently rare that their effect can be modeled as the introduction into the population of an occasional genetic variant, equivalent to the occurrence of a mutation. The pool, then, is a well-defined collection

of genes into which an occasional gene is imported from other pools. The consequence is that different gene pools will be distinguishable by the frequency and kind of genetic variants they contain, and despite an occasional imported variant, each will maintain a genetic distance from other such gene pools.

The reality is more complex, however, making the metaphor of the “pool” inappropriate. First, individuals belonging to a species are not generally broken up into separate geographical populations with clear boundaries between them and random mating within them. The probabilities of an individual mating with other individuals varies continuously with geographical distance, even within a region that is separated from other regions by uninhabited territory. Isolated islands are periodically invaded. In seasonal environments, populations that are more or less continuous during the favorable part of the year (when population densities are high) break up into isolated discontinuous pockets during the unfavorable season. Thus, the history of human populations has been marked by massive migrations and invasions followed by interbreeding.

Second, the probabilities of mating within well-defined geographical limits vary continuously with the characteristics of individuals. In human populations, variables such as social class, religion, and socially defined race and ethnicity do not act as absolute population boundaries, but rather as probabilistic determinants of mating (with historical changes in the probabilities). The realization of these complexities has led to an abandonment of the concept of gene pool as an analytic device in the literature of population genetics.

**SEE ALSO** *Genetic Variation among Populations*.

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## **GENES AND GENEALOGIES**

When the “one drop rule” was implemented in the United States during the period of slavery to designate all people with African ancestry as “Negroes,” the question of descent

often became a matter of life or death. People with even one African ancestor and no documents of “manumission,” which freed an ancestor from slavery, could be returned to slave status, frequently by means of a public auction. Before the Civil War, free blacks were in constant danger of being kidnapped, deprived of their documents, carried to another city, and sold back into slavery. On one notorious occasion, Black Seminoles on their way to Indian Territory under protection of a treaty were lined up in New Orleans and inspected, with darker-skinned people sold into slavery and the profits going to the U.S. government. Even after the war, the “one drop rule” was directed against people of color—blacks, Native Americans, and Asians—most notably in the 1924 Virginia Racial Integrity Act, the most vicious of the “Jim Crow” laws.

Another aspect of this genealogical approach to ancestry is represented in the idea of blood fraction. As the African slave trade developed in the seventeenth century, there was increased mating between black and white, and one’s worth as a slave depended on the fraction of white as opposed to black ancestry. A vocabulary was developed to describe ancestry in a genealogical manner. One could be half white (mulatto), one-fourth white (quadroon), or one-eighth white (octoroon), and other terms were invented to describe a nearly white appearance such as “High Yellow,” a designation applied especially to the mistresses of white aristocrats in southern cities, including the Texas woman memorialized in the song “The Yellow Rose of Texas.” One’s role in slave society, then, depended largely on color, so that lighter-colored slaves were expected to perform household work and skilled trades, while darker-colored slaves were field hands and manual laborers who performed more exhausting and dangerous work.

The genealogical idiom, then, incorporates at least two mistaken ideas: (1) that each person is equally descended from each parent and (2) that a person can retain an indelible marker of racial origin, characterized in this context as “one drop of blood.” This idiom becomes even more complicated, and more mistaken, in the calculation of “blood quantum” among Native Americans.

#### HISTORY OF THE GENEALOGICAL METHOD

Genealogy has been the most traditional method of describing ancestry, with people recounting the identity of their parents, their parents’ parents, and so on back in time as far as they could go. Before writing was invented, about 3000 BCE, people had to rely on memory to recall their ancestors, often appointing special persons to remember everyone’s ancestry. Native Hawaiian society, for example, is notable for maintaining a class of historians who could recite genealogies reaching hundreds of

years into the past. Many societies in Africa and South America supported similar specialists. Without some special effort of this kind, “genealogical amnesia” usually sets in, so that most people even now cannot recall the names of all eight of their great-grandparents without help—and those ancestors are only three generations back.

Within “clan” or “unilineal” societies, which preceded complex societies around the world and are still maintained by hundreds of “tribal” or small-scale societies, these genealogies have been crucial in determining access to property, political office, and religious roles. In some “unilineal” societies, it was necessary to remember only the male or the female line, since property or privileges only passed through one line or the other. But in “bilateral” societies such as existed in Europe, tracing ancestry through both males and females was more common, and much more difficult, since in every ascending generation there were twice as many ancestors to remember. This takes the form of a geometric progression so that in a bilateral society, after five generations there are  $2 + 4 + 8 + 16 + 32 = 62$  ancestors in the family tree to be remembered. But after 300 years, or twelve generations, a person has an estimated 8,190 ancestors. Inverting the genealogy, and estimating that each person has two children, a single person emigrating to America in 1700, black or white, would have had an estimated 8,190 descendants by the year 2000.

While many people’s ancestors have been completely forgotten by history, the descendants of celebrated people often have their names recorded, or they constitute special clubs or societies of some sort, providing some notion of how extensive a person’s genealogy might be. For example, the names of Pocahontas’s descendants, since about 1614, are presently exhibited in three official volumes, comprising more than 30,000 people. At a more serious, religious level, the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad are said to constitute more than 30 million people, often designated by distinctive dress or title, although these figures are disputed among the various sects of Islam. King Edward of England is said to be the ancestor of 80 percent of living English people, while 90 percent of the people who lived before 1100 are said to be the ancestors of everyone now living, while the other 10 percent have died without issue (Olson 2002).

In the large genealogical picture, then, everyone is descended from everyone in the past thousand years, and applying the “one drop rule” to the human species means that everyone belongs to all races. Everyone has at least one ancestor among every “race” that has ever existed. If all humans are not literally brothers and sisters to one another, they are at least cousins—at least fortieth cousins to be exact. The genealogical method, then, does not provide a very good tool for differentiating among human beings or for tracing their migrations and histories.



## GENES

The discovery of genes in the early twentieth century dramatically contradicted these notions of fractional ancestry and what was called at the time “descent by blood.” But to consider the advantages of genetic theory, we need to begin with a consideration of the difference between genes and alleles, a distinction that is frequently lost in popular and journalistic descriptions of modern genetics. Simply put, a gene is a location on a chromosome whose DNA transcribes the sequence of amino acids to build proteins that may, for example, relate to eye shape or color. An allele is one of the alternative sequences of DNA that then codes for a different color. That is, to simplify an example, the gene is for eye color, but the allele might be for black, brown, green, or blue eyes. Gene refers to the location; allele refers to the color. One cannot have a gene for blue eyes, but one might have an allele for blue eyes.

All humans have the same set of chromosomes and genes. Surprisingly, most of the alleles (the form of the genes) are also identical. However, each person is slightly unique in his or her alleles. Cavalli-Sforza, Menozzi, and Piazza’s (1994) massive survey of research in human genetics shows the worldwide distribution of alleles as known to him and his associates in 1994. Many more examples have been examined since then, but the general conclusion is the same—that all human societies on every continent comprise essentially the same genes, although the alleles of a gene might have a slightly different frequency in different populations.

From the fractional, genealogical perspective, biological information is in different packages, corresponding to one’s ancestors. If one is one-fourth from a grandmother, then one should have one-fourth of her biological characteristics. But genetic studies show that this is not the way it works. Although the genes are in different “packages,” the packages are chromosomes, each of which contains a string of thousands of genes. All of the genes on one chromosome are inherited together from parent to child, but the number of packages inherited from a single ancestor can be highly variant, beginning in the second generation. In the first generation a child inherits twenty-three chromosomes from each parent. But in the next generation it is possible, although only slightly, that a grandchild could inherit no chromosomes at all from a grandparent, receiving all its chromosomes from the other three grandparents. Although the genealogical method would designate all four grandparents as providing one-quarter ancestry, in fact one grandparent could provide from zero to twenty-three chromosomes. That is, a grandparent could provide from none to half the genetic material represented in a grandchild.

Concerning the “one drop rule,” a particular person’s genetic contribution to a lineage might be wiped out after only two generations, in defiance of the assertion that a particular ancestor has a permanent biological effect on all descendants. In sum, the one drop rule and the notion of fractional ancestry were both invented for social, economic, and political purposes and are only approximately related to human biology.

SEE ALSO *Blood Quantum*.

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## GENESIS AND POLYGENESIS

For those Europeans who wanted to justify slavery and the colonial system in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, nothing was sacred, not even the Bible. Christian ideas about equality under God and the brotherhood of man had to be abandoned, or at least modified, if slavery was to be accommodated to Christian ideology. To accomplish this, leading clerics and other intellectuals selected and distorted particular passages in the Old Testament, and they took an arithmetic approach to Biblical chronology to develop four arguments for racism that were widely disseminated by the end of the eighteenth century.

## REVISING BIBLICAL HISTORY

The new, pseudoscientific chronology of Bible history was created by applying the Julian Calendar to the sacred events of the Book of Genesis, so that according to the Venerable Bede, a British cleric of the 8th century AD, the world was created in 710 (by the Julian calendar), or 3952 BC (according to the BC/AD notation invented by Bede himself). In 1650, Bishop James Ussher, another British cleric, revised Bede’s date for creation to 4004 BC, adding that it occurred on Sunday, October 23. He also

gave the date for the end of the Biblical Flood as Wednesday, May 5, 2348 BC. Both Bede and Ussher used some very questionable demographic assumptions about life span and the age of reproduction to do their calculations, but their opinions soon began to carry the weight of legal authority within the Church.

Bede, Ussher, and their followers went far beyond the actual facts as stated in the Bible, and their elaborations of scriptural accounts at first created significant problems for their colleagues in theology and history who were trying to justify slavery, racism, and even genocide. First of all, their version of creation did not leave much time for the development of diverse languages, tribes, and races for the peopling of the Earth, as described in scripture, and their date of creation was quite close to the beginnings of secular Mediterranean history, which at that time was thought to be about 500 BCE (or BC), the time of Herodotus. Worse than that, as far as the slavery of Africans and American Indians was concerned, their theory of monogenesis—that all humans were descended from Adam and Eve, and descended again from Noah and his sons following the Flood—implied that all humans were kin to one another. Consequently, the slavery of humans by humans was the enslavement of cousins by cousins, a moral dilemma for Christians.

#### JUSTIFYING SLAVERY

To overcome this dilemma, four solutions were proposed that had the power to excuse the practice of slavery, upon which an increasing portion of the European economy depended in the so-called Age of Discovery.

One solution was to argue that American Indians and Africans were not humans at all, and that they had no souls. Thus, enslaving or killing them was not a mortal sin as far as Christians were concerned. Two other solutions were polygenetic in nature and alleged that although the “primitive races” or “savages” of the Earth were human, they were either “pre-Adamites,” meaning they were created long before Adam and Eve, or “post-Adamites,” created after Adam and Eve were driven from the Garden of Eden. In either case these were people engendered by “separate creations,” and thus were not proper objects for the application of Christian morality.

Another powerful theory offered by Christian apologists for slavery concerned the unequal distribution of sinfulness among the sons of Noah. This involved an ingenious reading of the story of the aftermath of the Flood, during which it was said that Ham, the alleged ancestor of Africans, had abused his drunken father (some interpreters said he raped him, others that he castrated him), while Shem, the ancestor of Asians and American Indians, had watched but did not interfere, and it was only Japheth, the ancestor of Europeans (including

Jews), who had the decency to “cover his father’s nakedness.” According to Genesis 9:24–25 (in the King James version): “Noah awoke from his wine and knew what his younger son had done unto him. And he said, Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.” That is, he cursed Ham’s son, whose name was Canaan. According to this interpretation (known as the curse of Ham, or the curse of Canaan), Ham and his descendants, exiled to Africa, were to be servants for the descendants of Noah’s other sons; that is, they were to be slaves. The various allegations of heinous sexual violations attributed to Ham in the most sacred literature of Christianity thus supplied a convenient rationale for European slave raiders, slave traders, and slave owners even though Genesis says nothing about the pigmentation of Africans.

A subsequent verse of Genesis, which addressed the situations of both Africans and Native Americans (the sons of Shem) seemed exactly appropriate for English colonists in New England and Virginia in the early seventeenth century. Genesis 9:27 states: “God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant.” Colonial Virginians took this to mean that God knew they would some day outgrow their homeland (the British Isles), and that they would at that point have divine approval to come to Virginia and take the houses and farmlands of local Indians (“the tents of Shem”), whom they were at liberty to massacre, after which they could import African slaves to do the work. Their importation of Africans came after a period in which they experimented unsuccessfully with Indian slavery. In New England, the preference was to sell Indian captives to Jamaica or exchange them for African slaves.

A bizarre footnote was added to the racist account of the origins of “Hamites” by J. B. Stoner, the editor in the 1960s of the *Thunderbolt*, a publication of the National States’ Rights Party, and the man convicted of bombing a black church in Alabama in 1958. Inspired by the French racist Jean-Joseph Virey, Stoner asserted that not only were modern Africans the descendants of Ham’s accursed son Canaan, but they were also the result of unions between “Hamites and Great Apes,” thereby making them only half human. This assertion served to justify the next episode of moral atrocities against the Bible, the Trial in Valladolid, in Spain, which in the sixteenth century was part of the Holy Roman Empire.

#### THE DEBATE IN VALLADOLID

For the first twenty years in their “New World” of the Americas, Spanish conquistadores could kill or enslave Indians with impunity, because they were regarded as “black dogs” without souls. But in 1512 the Laws of

Burgos were promulgated, stating that Indians were humans, had souls, and could be converted to Christianity. The Catholic world then became divided on the issue of whether Indians were “natural slaves,” born into a naturally servile condition, or whether they had the same rights as other citizens. To settle this issue, Emperor Charles V convened a panel of distinguished scholars in 1550–1551, for the trial in Valladolid. Arguing for the status of Indians as “natural slaves” was Juan Sepúlveda, who took the “colonialist” position, while Bartolomé de Las Casas took the “indigenist” position, defending the Indians. Both sides drew heavily on the writings of Aristotle and St. Thomas Aquinas concerning natural slavery and the notion of the “just war,” whereby captured enemies could be enslaved.

Although no “winner” of the debate was ever announced, it resulted in an improvement for the situation of Indians, especially with the General Ordinance of 1573, which specified that before the population of an Indian pueblo could be enslaved, someone had to announce to them that the village was about to be attacked, and that the consequences would be death or enslavement. In practice, this might mean that a soldier could sneak up to the outskirts of a village at night and yell out (or whisper) the prescribed warning in Spanish or Latin, followed quickly by the attack.

The situation of Indians in North America, under assault by French and English colonial forces, was no better, and perhaps worse. The English goal was not so much to enslave Indians, but to kill or expel them and take their land. Both the French and English considered Indians to be cannibals and Satanists who could be killed at will by Europeans. During his 1577 search for a Northwest Passage around North America, Martin Frobisher hiked up the skirts of an Indian woman to see if she had cloven hooves. After the Pequot Massacre of hundreds of Indian women and children in Massachusetts in 1637, the English leader John Underhill announced: “Sometimes the Scripture declareth women and children must perish with their parents. . . . We had sufficient light from the word of God for our proceedings.” The writings of John Smith and other Virginia colonists express the same sentiments, as did some Canadian priests, such as Paul Le Jeune in his contributions to the *Jesuit Relations*.

#### POLYGENETIC JUSTIFICATION

Two of the four theories listed above are “polygenetic” in nature, arguing that the “lower races” were created separately, either before or after the creation of white people during the events recounted in the Book of Genesis. Both theories were based on anthropological evidence that had been accumulating in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In Europe, primitive tools called “thunderstones”

and ape-like human skulls had begun to accumulate in museums, which indicated that some kind of “ape-man” or “cave-man” had existed in Europe for hundreds of thousands, or perhaps millions, of years. In the meantime, geologists such as Charles Lyell, a Southern Confederacy sympathizer, were arguing persuasively that the Earth was millions of years old.

Proponents of polygenesis accommodated this new evidence by explaining that these bones and tools represented some early experiments in human creation, before God “got it right” with the creation of white people in the events described in Genesis. It was argued further that these early fossils were the ancestors of the “primitive people” discovered around the world by European explorers. That is, modern “primitives” or “savages” were supposed to be the descendants of God’s “failed attempts” to create perfect humans “in his own image.”

Those polygeneticists who argued that Africans and others were post-Adamites, created after rather than before the events of Genesis, relied more on Biblical texts than on anthropological evidence. They argued that, in the Bible, husbands and wives of the descendants of Adam and Eve came from foreign countries unaccounted for in Biblical narrative. Therefore, there must have been other creations, which they say included those of the “inferior races.”

A more modern advocate of polygenesis was Carleton Coon, a Harvard-trained anthropologist who hypothesized in the 1950s that there were five separate lines of human ancestry, corresponding to the five races of humankind, each of which crossed the human “threshold” separately. Thus, European people had been human longer than Africans, and thus were more “advanced.” Although Coon admitted that Africa was the “cradle of mankind,” he wrote in *The Origin of Races* (1962) that the continent was “only an indifferent kindergarten,” as compared to Europe, the “cradle of civilization” (p. 656).

Even in the early twenty-first century, the theory of creation as an instantaneous event leaves the door open for theories of polygenesis, theories that have always operated to the detriment of nonwhites. Darwinian theories, like the fundamentalist monogenetic theories celebrated by most Christians, argue for a common ancestry for all humans, and thus for the “brotherhood of man.” All present evidence indicates, contrary to what Carleton Coon argued, that human beings have developed and evolved through history not as separate races, but as a single species, constantly sharing their genes, languages, and cultures as they developed and migrated around the world.

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*John H. Moore*

## GENETIC DISTANCE

*Genetic distance* refers to the mathematical reduction of multidimensional genetic differences to one-dimensional lengths, which can then be easily compared. While mathematical precedents existed, the use of genetic distance flowered in the 1960s with the conjunction of two biological programs: (1) racial serology, which had been amassing genetic data on differences across populations but was quantitatively unsophisticated; and (2) numerical taxonomy, which was developing a radical post-Linnaean approach to biological systematics and was mathematically sophisticated but philosophically unpersuasive.

Racial serology, the study of human diversity using immunological reactions of the blood, began during World War I. As the collection and analysis expanded, it became clear that different blood markers showed different patterns of diversity across the human gene pool. For example, diverse populations, such as Navajos and Estonians, might have very different allele frequencies for the ABO blood group, but very similar allele frequencies for the MN blood group. With many populations and many blood group markers, these data quickly become unwieldy.

Numerical taxonomy sought to replace the verbal impressionistic taxonomy of earlier generations with a rigorous, mathematical approach to scientific classification. Its focus was on establishing patterns of relationships, based on quantifiable similarity, among groups of objects, which came to be called *operational taxonomic units*, or OTUs. The goal of numerical taxonomy was to create a tree-like structure, or *dendrogram*, a statistical digestion summarizing the similarities of OTUs.

The techniques of numerical taxonomy lent themselves well to the analysis of data from many genetic loci across many human populations. Unfortunately, their formalism tended to obscure layers of subjectivity. At the most fundamental level, different statistical algorithms can produce different trees from the same data. Moreover, the trees are generated regardless of whether or not the OTUs are comparable. Thus, if the African gene pool subsumes the European gene pool, then they cannot be intelligibly contrasted against one another (although the computer programs will mindlessly do so). Likewise, the computer will produce relationships among groups defined geographically, linguistically, politically, ethnically, and racially in the same study, in spite of the fact that such comparisons may be largely meaningless.

Further, the meaning of a relatively small genetic difference may be problematic. Above the species level, it likely indicates a close phylogenetic relationship (a recent divergence time between the species being compared). Below the species level, however, it may indicate both phylogenetic proximity and complex patterns of genetic contact (gene flow).

Consequently, the greatest success of genetic distance studies has come above the species level. In 1967, Vincent Sarich and Allan Wilson were able to show that (1) measurable rates of genetic change appear to be roughly constant; (2) the genetic distance between human and chimpanzee seem to correspond to a divergence time of 3 to 5 million years; and therefore (3) the fossils called *Ramapithecus*, dated to 14 million years ago, could not be on the uniquely human evolutionary line, because that line was not established for nearly another 10 million years.

Meanwhile, direct DNA sequence comparisons were facilitated technologically in the 1980s and 1990s. The most fundamental problem faced by these comparisons is the relationship between the amount of difference observed and the amount of evolution inferred. Where DNA sequence changes are rare, the number of differences observed between two species will approximate the number of evolutionary changes that actually occurred to the DNA. The sample size of those changes is small, however. In contrast, where DNA sequence differences between two species are copious, the sample of evolutionary changes is high. Regardless, the number of observed differences will *underestimate* the actual number of mutations that have occurred, because a single observed difference may represent multiple changes (“hits”) at the same nucleotide site.

Thus, rapidly evolving mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA) may be valuable for estimating reliable and precise genetic distances among human populations over a span of thousands of years. It is less valuable for the distances among ape species over millions of years, where unacceptably high levels of homoplasy (parallel mutations in different lineages)

may create a disjuncture between the genetic distances measured and the evolutionary patterns inferred from them.

Mitochondrial DNA comparisons do suggest that human beings are about forty to fifty times more similar to each another than any human is to a chimpanzee. The detectable mtDNA distance between human and Neanderthal appears to be comparable to that between chimpanzee subspecies.

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*Jonathan Marks*

## **GENETIC MARKER**

A genetic marker is a trait transmitted from parent to child, thus potentially permitting the reconstruction of patterns of descent on the basis of its distribution among population members. Genetic markers are thus estimators of biological relatedness, and when they are shared by individuals they are interpreted as evidence of a "natural" link between them. Genetic markers have been used to establish paternity, to identify the origin of a biological sample at a crime scene, to create maps of disease-causing genes, and to link people who have never met one another into new networks of kinship relations. The reliability of the inferences derived from any genetic marker is a function of three properties: (1) mode of inheritance, (2) stability, and (3) rarity.

The mode of inheritance of a genetic marker may be quite variable. Surnames in many societies are inherited in a fashion that mimics a Y chromosome (that is, a father and son are very highly correlated), and thus can serve as a noninvasive estimator of relatedness. (The method of tracking genetic inbreeding in a population through surname distribution is called isonymy.) By contrast, chromosomes from the cell's nucleus are transmitted to offspring biologically. However, because each parent passes on only one member of each pair of chromosomes, a child ordinarily has only a 50 percent chance of matching a parent's (or sibling's) corresponding genetic marker. There are exceptions to this rule: Most of the Y chromosome is transmitted intact from father to son, so that the Y chromosomes of a father and son should be nearly identical.

Likewise, the DNA of the mitochondria, which exist in the cell but outside the nucleus, is transmitted intact from mother to offspring, so that there should be a perfect match between a mother and child (and the father is paradoxically unrelated to the child with this marker).

Stable genetic markers are preferred for comparisons because they enable tracking over many generations. Physical features with multifactorial or polygenic causes, such as features of the bones and teeth, may appear to blend away over generations from intermarriage, or they may have their expression altered by the environmental conditions in which the organism grows and develops. Very rapidly mutating segments of DNA may be just as compromised for use as genetic markers, if their rate and mode of change preclude a secure match between related individuals.

A common genetic marker is less valuable than a rare one, for the simple reason that a match between two samples is more likely to be due to chance, rather than to familial descent, if the genetic marker is a common one. Because type O blood is the most ubiquitous blood type among all human populations, two people who are not close relatives are nevertheless very likely to exhibit this genetic marker. It would consequently be a genetic match, but not a very informative one.

Even before the development of the science of genetics, however, similarities of the language, skeleton, and teeth were being understood as crude genetic markers. Certain traits (ranging from diseases or deformities to simple quirks) were recognized to run in families, and thus to attest to close kinship among the bearers of such traits. In the early part of the twentieth century, serologists developed blood tests to detect biochemical differences among people, which were very close to direct products of the genes, if not the genes themselves. The most immediate value of these differences was in paternity exclusion, but they were also quickly adopted to study racial relationships. This proved to be a very frustrating exercise because groups of humans identified serologically corresponded very poorly to common concepts of "races" (see Marks 1995).

In modern forensic contexts, in order to connect a suspect to a sample (and to rule out the possibility of such a match coming at random), genetic markers need to be both highly variable and individually uncommon. Short, localized repetitive DNA sequences, in which the number of tandem repetitions of the specific DNA sequence varies strikingly from person to person, have proven to be most effective for this purpose. In gene-mapping studies, DNA markers are commonly differences of a single base among individuals in a population (such differences are called single nucleotide polymorphisms, or SNPs). A linear series of these genetic markers, usually transmitted as a single block of DNA, is called a haplotype.

Genetic ancestry services principally use markers derived from Y chromosome DNA and mitochondrial DNA to establish matches between samples of presumptive relatives. Others use nuclear DNA markers from small samples of diverse peoples as a baseline to establish a customer's "racial" affiliation, which simply expresses an overall pattern of similarity to one or more of these standard samples.

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## GENETIC VARIATION AMONG POPULATIONS

Questions regarding the usefulness of the concept of "race" to the study of human genetic diversity must ultimately be answered with reference to the degree and patterning of genetic variation. Specifically, three questions must be addressed. First, how much variation exists among populations, relative to the amount of variation within populations? Second, what is the pattern of genetic variation among populations? That is, are all populations equally related—and if not, what are the geographic and historical factors that have influenced the genetic relationship among populations? Third, do studies of the degree and pattern of human genetic variation provide any answers to questions regarding the utility of the "race" concept?

#### THE APPORTIONMENT OF VARIATION

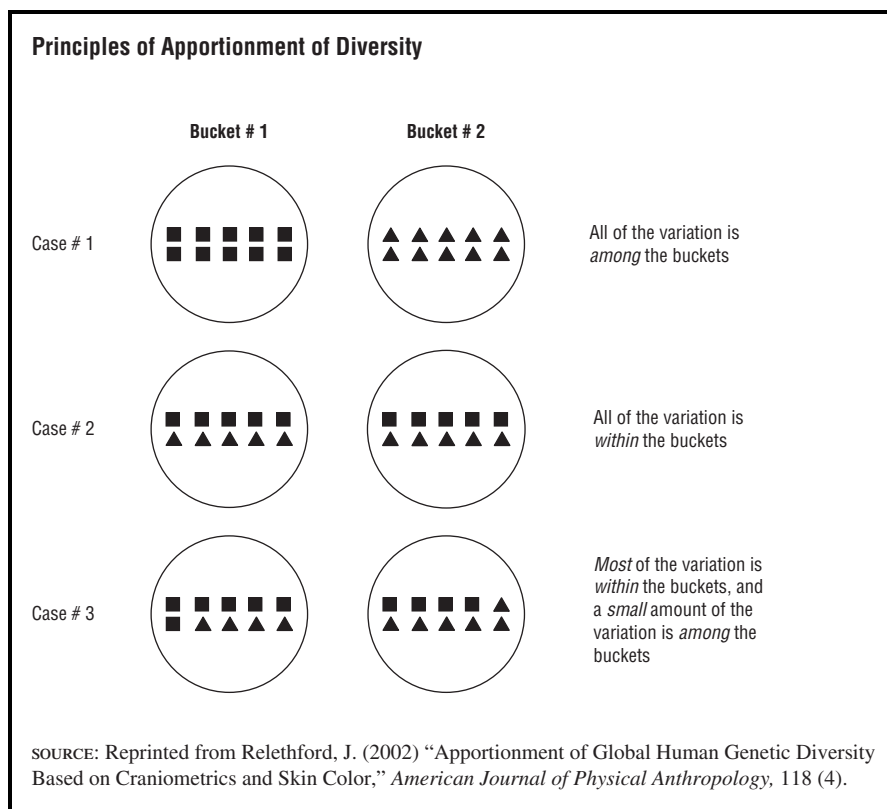
One of the main interests in studies of genetic variation is the question of how variation is apportioned both within and among populations. In other words, if a species is considered as made up of a number of different populations, how much of the total variation in the species exists within each population, and how much variation exists among all the populations? Although it is most convenient to define and discuss these concepts in mathematical terms, an intuitive approach is taken here in order to provide an understanding of the basic principles behind the apportionment of diversity.

The amount of variation within a population refers to the differences that exist between the members of that

population. If, for example, a population consisted entirely of clones, then everyone in the population would be genetically the same, and there would be no variation within the population. The more different the individuals are from each other genetically, the greater the level of variation within the population. The exact level of this variation can be measured in different ways, depending on the specific measure or estimate of genetic variation at which one is looking. Variation among populations refers to the level of differences between two or more populations. If two populations were genetically the same, then there would be no variation among the populations. The more different the populations are from each other, the greater the level of variation among the populations.

A simple example of how these concepts work uses an analogy based on sorting out shapes. So, if one has ten squares and ten triangles, what are the different ways these twenty objects can be placed into two buckets, with each containing half of the objects? Three different cases are illustrated in Figure 1. In case number one, the first bucket contains ten squares and the second bucket contains ten triangles. Because all of the objects in the first bucket are squares, they are by definition all the same, so there is no variation within that bucket. The same result applies to the second bucket: each of the ten objects is a triangle, so there is no variation within that bucket. In both cases, the amount of variation within buckets is zero. Now, consider the amount of variation that exists among the buckets. This is by considering the frequency of squares and triangles in each bucket. The first bucket is made up of 100 percent squares and 0 percent triangles, whereas the second bucket has 0 percent squares and 100 percent triangles. In other words, the composition of the two buckets is completely different. When apportioning diversity, the amount of within-group variation plus the amount of among-group variation adds up to 100 percent. In this example, all of the variation exists among the two buckets, so that we could state that the amount of variation among groups is 100 percent and the amount of variation within groups is 0 percent.

The second case in Figure 1 shows the opposite pattern. There are still ten squares and ten triangles, but they are apportioned differently between the two buckets. Each bucket contains five squares and five triangles. Thus, there is variation within each bucket, because there are the two different shapes in each. However, there is no difference in the relative frequency of squares and triangles among the two buckets, as each bucket consists of 50 percent squares and 50 percent triangles. Because the two frequencies are the same, there is no difference among the buckets, and therefore the level of among-group variation is zero. In this case, all of the variation is within the buckets, meaning that the among-group variation is 0 percent and the within-group variation is 100 percent.



**Figure 1.** An example of the principles of apportionment of diversity. The three cases represent three different ways in which twenty objects (ten squares and ten triangles) can be divided into two buckets.

The third case in Figure 1 has the first bucket containing six squares and four triangles and the second bucket containing four squares and six triangles. Thus, some variation exists within each bucket and, because the proportions of squares and triangles in the two buckets are not quite the same, some variation exists among the buckets as well.

What does all of this have to do with genetics and populations? The same principles of apportionment of variation apply to genetic data. Completing the analogy, consider the squares and triangles as equivalent to different forms of a gene and the buckets as equivalent to populations. In genetics, we refer to different forms of a gene as *alleles*. When looking at biochemical and molecular data, such as blood groups and DNA markers, there are standard methods for measuring the levels of within-group and among-group variation based on the relative frequency of alleles.

**VARIATION AMONG POPULATIONS ( $F_{ST}$ )**

In population genetics, researchers are interested in the relative amount of variation that exists among populations,

a term known by a number of symbols and names, but most often labeled  $F_{ST}$ .  $F_{ST}$  is the proportion of total variation that is due to variation among populations. The value of  $F_{ST}$  can range from 0.0 to 1.0 (or, in terms of percentages, from 0 percent to 100 percent). Considering the objects in Figure 1 as equivalent to alleles, the first case would have an  $F_{ST}$  equal to 1.0, meaning that the two populations are completely different in their allele frequencies and that everyone within the groups is genetically the same. In the second case in Figure 1,  $F_{ST}$  is equal to 0.0, meaning that the two populations have the same allele frequencies and that all of the genetic variation in the species occurs within the populations. The solution for  $F_{ST}$  in the third case is not intuitively obvious but can be computed using a standard population genetics formula, which results in  $F_{ST}$  being 0.04 in this example. This value means that 4 percent of the total variation exists among the two populations, leaving the remainder (96%) of the variation existing within the populations.

In reality, what is desired is not a reliance on only one gene for these estimates, but instead an average across as many genes as possible. There are several reasons for this. First, using numerous genes where possible minimizes

sampling error. Second, natural selection can lead to differences in  $F_{ST}$  above or below what would be expected on average. If, for example, one were looking at a gene where different alleles were selected for in different populations, then the genetic difference between the populations would be greater than expected for genes not affected by differences in adaptation (neutral genes). Overall,  $F_{ST}$  is affected by the balance between gene flow (and mutation) and genetic drift. Gene flow and mutation lower the average  $F_{ST}$  and genetic drift increases average  $F_{ST}$ .

#### ESTIMATES OF $F_{ST}$ FOR GEOGRAPHIC RACES

Given this background, the discussion can now return to the question of the amount of genetic variation that exists between races. This problem was first tackled quantitatively by Richard Lewontin in 1972 by using allele frequencies from across the world for a number of genetic markers based on red blood cells. Lewontin then subdivided the world into seven geographic “races” (although noting the difficulty in doing so): “Caucasians,” “Black Africans,” “Mongoloids,” “South Asian Aborigines,” “Amerinds,” “Oceanians,” and “Australian Aborigines.” Within each of the seven races, he collated genetic data for a number of different local populations. For example, within the “Caucasian” race, he collected data on Belgians, Greeks, Italians, Iranians, Indians, and other populations in Europe, the Middle East, and South Asia. By looking at data at the level of race and local population, Lewontin was able to extend the principle of apportionment by breaking down the “within-race” component into: (1) variation among local populations within race, and (2) variation within local populations. He found that 6.3 percent of the total variation existed among races, 8.3 percent existed among local populations within races, and 85.4 percent existed within local populations. Lewontin concluded “human races and populations are remarkably similar to each other, with the largest part by far of human variation being accounted for by the differences between individuals” (Lewontin 1972, p. 397).

Since Lewontin’s original work, additional data have been collected for red blood cell and other genetic markers for many more populations. Different researchers, realizing the arbitrary nature of enumerating and categorizing different geographic races, have tried different clusterings of local populations that make up each race. Overall, the results are consistent: approximately 10 percent of the genetic variation in the human species is among races (geographic regions), 5 percent is among local populations within races, and 85 percent is within local populations. The same pattern was also found in a comprehensive analysis of newer DNA markers by Guido Barbujani and colleagues (1997): 11 percent among geo-

graphic regions, 5 percent among local populations within geographic regions, and 84 percent within local populations. Another study by Lynn Jorde and colleagues (2000) showed that although some genetic traits, such as mitochondrial DNA, have higher levels of variation among geographic regions, the majority of variation is still within local populations (roughly 70%).

The principles of apportionment of diversity have also been extended to complex physical traits, such as cranial length. Even though such traits are affected by nongenetic as well as genetic factors, it is possible to obtain a rough estimate of the percentage of variation among and within groups. John Relethford (2002) examined a global sample of cranial measures and found results very similar to those from genetic markers: 13 percent among geographic regions, 6 percent among populations within geographic regions, and 81 percent within local populations.

The major inference from these studies is that if the world is divided into a set of races, then the overwhelming amount of human genetic diversity exists within races (and most of that further exists within the local population), and consequently that race explains a relatively small fraction of the species’ diversity. This finding runs counter to views on race that emphasize group differences while minimizing variation within races.

To put it another way, the relatively low levels of variation among geographic races means that there is a great deal of overlap in the distributions of most traits, including blood cell markers, DNA markers, and cranial measures. Thus, the idea of discrete races that are easily identifiable from one another based on allele frequencies (or measures of metric traits) does not hold up well. There is certainly variation in most traits, as well as a geographic patterning to such variation, because human populations in different parts of the world tend to differ somewhat from each other. However, the level of these differences, as estimated by  $F_{ST}$  and related statistics, is rather low.

#### SKIN COLOR, RACIAL CLASSIFICATION, AND $F_{ST}$

Not all traits, genetic or physical, show low levels of among-group variation. In some cases, there is a high level of variation among geographic races. However, these exceptions to the general rule do not provide evidence of the existence of discrete human races, but instead point to the action of natural selection operating on some traits to inflate the level of among-group variation. One example that is particularly relevant to the question of racial classification is skin color, a trait that is measured in human populations using a reflectance spectrophotometer, a device that measures the percentage of light reflected back from the skin at given wavelengths.



John Relethford examined the apportionment of diversity using a global compilation of skin reflectance data and found that skin color showed the opposite pattern from that revealed by genetic markers and cranial measures. For skin color, the vast majority of variation was found to exist among geographic races (88%), with only 3 percent among local populations within geographic races, and 9 percent within local populations. These results are expected and intuitively obvious. For example, even though there is variation in skin color among indigenous Scots or indigenous Ethiopians, it is clear that the former have very light skin and the latter have very dark skin. Indeed, the large and easily noticeable difference in skin color across the globe is a reason that skin color factors into virtually every racial classification scheme that has been proposed.

However, the finding of a large level of among-group variation for skin color does not provide support for the existence of discrete races whose very definition was linked to skin color in the first place. If such discrete groups are so readily identifiable based on one trait, they should also be found based on other traits, but this is not the case. What needs to be explained is why skin color is so atypical when compared to all of the other genetic and physical traits that show low levels of among-group variation.

The answer is that skin color is affected differentially by natural selection across geographic space. Skin color shows a very strong correlation with latitude, so that indigenous populations near or at the equator tend to be the darkest, while populations farther away from the equator (north or south) tend to be lighter. This correlation has been linked to levels of ultraviolet radiation, which also varies by latitude—ultraviolet radiation levels are highest at or near the equator and lower farther away from the equator. A traditional explanation of the evolution of human skin color differences is as follows. In human species' past, darker skin was selected for in populations that lived in areas of high ultraviolet radiation, because the darker skin is less prone to damage such as sunburn, skin cancer, and the photodestruction of folate, a needed nutrient. As human ancestors dispersed out of Africa, they moved into areas of lower ultraviolet radiation. For these groups, the problem of survival changed from danger due to too much ultraviolet radiation to danger from too little, such as lower levels of vitamin-D synthesis (ultraviolet radiation provided the major source of vitamin D in most human populations prior to modern times). It appears that, in this situation, lower levels of ultraviolet radiation selected for lighter skin in human populations. Although there is some debate over the exact factors responsible for changes in human skin color, there is little argument that natural selection has shaped the range of human skin color variation. The result has been

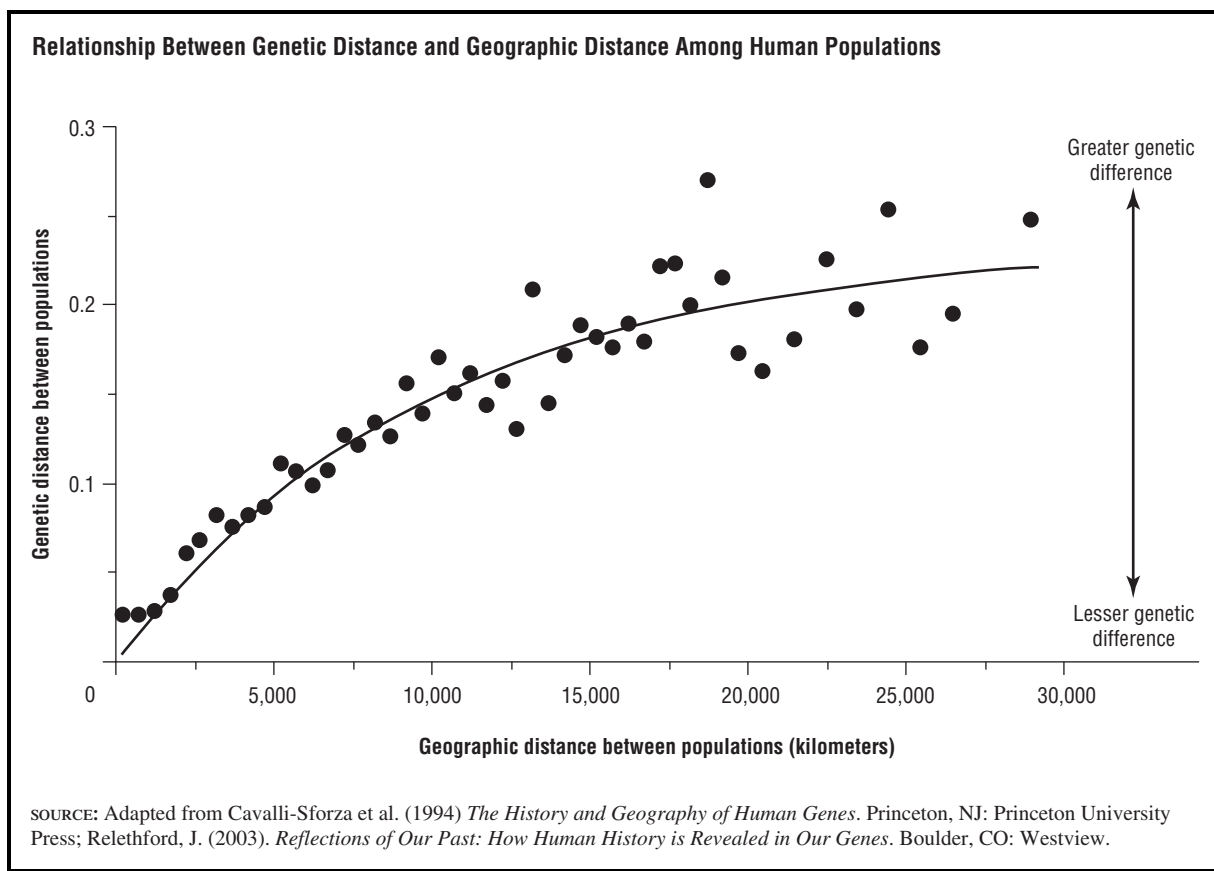
the evolution of extreme levels of pigmentation in different environments geographically far apart, thus leading to an increased level of among-group variation.

Even if one ignores data showing low levels of racial differences and focuses on skin color, a closer examination shows that the geographic pattern of human skin-color variation does not fit a model of discrete racial groupings. Quite simply, skin color does not come in a finite number of shades, despite the repeated use of classificatory words such as "black," "white," and "brown." Instead, the distribution of human skin color shows a gradient that is correlated with latitude. To put this in a nonstatistical frame of reference, imagine someone starting at the equator and walking north. As that person starts walking, the indigenous people he or she sees will tend to be very darkly pigmented. With continued walking, the average skin color will tend to become lighter and lighter. In other words, the walker will see one level of pigmentation blend into the next, with no apparent discontinuities, a pattern that is at odds with a discontinuous and discrete definition of race.

#### **GEOGRAPHIC DISTANCE AND THE PATTERN OF GENETIC VARIATION**

The majority of genetic variation in the human species exists within local populations, and a smaller fraction (typically about 10 to 15%) is found among geographic races. It is also important to consider the pattern of among-group variation as well as the magnitude. Human genetic variation typically follows a pattern known as "isolation by distance." This means that the farther two populations are from one another geographically, the more genetically different they will be from one another. To test this model, genetic data is used to derive measures of genetic distance between pairs of populations, and these values are plotted as a function of the geographic distance between each pair of populations. Figure 2 shows an example of the relationship between genetic distance and geographic distance on a global scale using the genetic distances given by L. Luca Cavalli-Sforza and colleagues (1994). The figure clearly shows how the genetic differences between human populations are smallest among those populations that live close to each other, and how they increase among populations that are located farther away from each other. Similar results have been found for a variety of genetic data and cranial measures (Relethford 2004).

This pattern of isolation by distance is frequently found among populations in a small region, such as villages within a country, and it typically reflects the limiting effect of geographic distance on the movement of people, and hence on the movement of genes. Throughout human history and prehistory, the highest frequency of mating took place close



**Figure 2.** The farther human populations are from one another geographically, the greater the genetic difference between them. Genetic distances are from Cavalli-Sforza et al. (1994) and grouped into different geographic distance classes as described by Relethford (2003). The solid line represents the best fitting curve to the observed data.

to home, such that populations close to each other in space have tended to share more genes, all other things being equal. It is easy to see how geographic distance can limit movement, and this was particularly true in earlier times. It is less clear, however, if the global pattern of isolation by distance is completely due to the limiting impact of geographic distance. It is also quite likely that the human species' origins played a role in structuring the geographic correlation of genetic diversity. Most anthropologists agree that modern human populations appeared first in sub-Saharan Africa somewhere between 130,000 and 195,000 years ago, followed by dispersion throughout the rest of the world. Although there is continuing debate over whether modern humans replaced or mixed with pre-existing humans outside of Africa (such as the Neandertals of Europe), the general finding of an African origin and dispersal is supported by both genetic and fossil evidence. Therefore, the correlation seen in the early twenty-first century between geographic distance and genetic distance may be a reflection of this dispersal.

Regardless of the relative impact of migration and population history, the important point here is that

human genetic variation is geographically structured. The genetic differences that exist among human populations in distant parts of the planet have often been considered representative of racial differences, but the actual pattern of geographic variation is continuous and does not fit a model of discrete races.

An analysis of the pattern of genetic variation among living human populations does not provide support for a rigid application of the biological race concept to the human species. First, the amount of variation that exists among geographic races is relatively low, indicating a great deal of overlap in allele frequencies and measures of physical traits. Second, those traits that do show higher levels of racial differences, such as skin color, are atypical in this respect and reflect the evolutionary history of the trait. Third, the pattern of genetic differences among human populations is a reflection of geographic distance and migration history, and thus does not conform to a model of discrete and non-overlapping races.

It is also clear, that denying an application of a strict definition of biological race does not mean that human

genetic variation is nonexistent or that all human populations are genetically the same. A refutation of the race concept does not equate to a denial of variation. It is clear that there is genetic variation in the human species and that it is geographically structured. What continues to be debated in the “race question” is the best way to describe this variation and how well the race concept, other than as a first-order approximation, serves a descriptive function. An application of the concept of race is only a crude attempt to describe continuous variation in terms of discrete clusters, much as people attempt to reduce socioeconomic variation into “classes” or political orientation into “liberals” and “conservatives.” Imposing discrete labels on continuous variation is not necessarily bad, as long as one is careful not to reify those labels, and as long as there is some justification for its use over analyses that focus on local populations as the unit of evolution and analysis. In terms of analyzing human biological variation, it has long been known that subdividing the human species into races is at best an exercise in classification, but one that obscures the fine details of variation and explains little about the underlying causes of variation.

**SEE ALSO** *Clines and Continuous Variation; Forensic Anthropology and Race; Gene Pool; Genetic Distance; Genetic Marker; Genetics, History of; Human and Primate Evolution; Human Genetics; “Out of Africa” Hypothesis; Racial Hierarchy; Skin Color; UNESCO Statements on Race.*

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## **GENETICS, HISTORY OF**

Genetics is the study of the biological process of heredity. Although human beings have been interested in heredity—of both themselves and domesticated animals and plants—for thousands of years, genetics as a science was only formally born at the beginning of the twentieth century. At this time, the breeding experiments of Gregor Mendel, an Augustinian monk in Brün, Austria, originally published in 1866, were rediscovered. The term *genetics* was introduced in 1906 by the British biologist William Bateson and was meant to distinguish Mendel’s experimental approach from older, speculative theories.

The history of genetics from 1900 onward can be divided conveniently into two periods. During the first, or “classical,” period (1900–1950), the focus was on the extension and modification of Mendel’s original hypotheses to a wide variety of animals and plants (including humans), and to establishing the physical basis for heredity in cell structures known as *chromosomes*. The second period, that of “molecular” genetics (1950–present), has been dominated by the search for the molecular and biochemical basis of gene structure and function. This period began with experiments showing that the molecule that carried information from parent to offspring is deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA). The working out of DNA’s detailed molecular structure as a double helix was accomplished by James D. Watson and Francis Crick in 1953.

A major assumption throughout both periods has been that the hereditary process is basically the same in all organisms, and genetics thus served as a major unifying principle for biology in the twentieth century. By the end of the century, with completion of the Human Genome Project (which sequenced the DNA of all the functional regions of the human chromosomes, and that of five other species for comparison) and the rise of the computer-based field of genomics (which studies DNA sequences among different individuals and groups of organisms) genetics came to dominate biology both conceptually and commercially. In both periods, genetics has also been used in attempts to elucidate human “races” and the biological basis of racial differences.

### THE PERIOD OF CLASSICAL GENETICS (1900–1950)

Mendel's hybridization experiments between 1856 and 1865 with the common garden pea, *Pisa sativum*, laid the groundwork for the development of classical genetics. Mendel had crossed pea plants that differed by one or two observable traits, such as height (either tall or dwarf), or pod color (yellow or green), which led him to put forward several hypotheses, particularly those of dominance and recessiveness. Mendel noted that when he crossed a pure-bred tall plant with a pure-bred short (dwarf) plant, all the offspring of the first generation (called the  $F_1$ ) were tall; thus he proposed that tallness was "dominant" over shortness, and, conversely, that shortness was "recessive" to tallness. However, when he crossed members of the  $F_1$  generation he found that the offspring showed a ratio of roughly three tall plants to one short, and that the one short plant was on average as short as the original short parent.

To explain these results, Mendel hypothesized that each parent contained two "factors" (the term gene was introduced in 1909 by the Danish plant breeder Wilhelm Johannsen) for any trait (in this case height), and that these factors segregated in the formation of the egg or pollen cells (the gametes, or egg and sperm in animals). Using capital letters for dominant traits, and small-case letters for recessives, Mendel represented his original, pure-bred parental plants as  $T$  (in the early twenty-first century  $TT$  is used, representing a pure or homozygous tall) and  $t$  (currently  $tt$  is used, representing a pure or homozygous dwarf). During segregation, the two  $TT$ s would be separated from each other and would end up in a separate egg or pollen cell; the same would be true of the two  $tt$ s. The offspring of the  $F_1$  would thus all be  $Tt$  and would appear tall. When these were crossed with each other, the second generation ( $F_2$ ) could have one of three possible gene combinations:  $TT$ ,  $Tt$ , and  $tt$ . Since  $T$  was dominant over  $t$ , both  $TT$  and  $Tt$  types would appear tall, and only  $tt$  would appear short. This would explain the 3:1 ratio in the  $F_2$  (one  $TT$ , two  $Tts$ , and one  $tt$ ). Furthermore, when he went on to observe two traits at a time, such as height and pod color, he got all possible combinations—tall-yellow, tall, green, short yellow and short green, and in predictable ratios (9:3:3:1, respectively). These observations suggested to Mendel that various traits in an organism were inherited independently of each other (what became known as the principle of independent assortment).

Mendel's work also showed that there was a clear-cut theoretical basis for the distinction between what came to be known as an organism's *phenotype* (its appearance, as in tall or short) and its *genotype* (what genes it can pass on to its offspring, as in  $T$  or  $t$ ). Thus Mendel's  $F_2$  tall plants all had the same phenotype, but they did not all have the

same genotype. Mendel's experimental and mathematical approach provided the basis for a new research program that included the search for the physical and chemical nature of the gene itself.

Finding a generally applicable theory of heredity was of great importance in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For centuries, agricultural breeders had been trying to develop some understanding of how to improve their stocks in an efficient and systematic way. Mendel provided some hope that the process could be made more scientific, and thus more predictable. In addition, one of the major problems Darwin had left unsolved in *The Origin of Species* and other evolutionary writings was the nature of heredity: Were the variations on which natural selection acted large and discontinuous, or small and continuous? Which variations were inherited and which were not? How could the reappearance of traits that had skipped one or more generations be explained? And finally, because Mendel's work appeared to apply to humans as well as other organisms (by 1910 a number of human traits, such as eye color, color blindness, hemophilia, the ABO blood groups, and Huntington's disease had been shown to follow basic Mendelian rules), it was hoped that knowledge of the inheritance patterns, especially of pathological traits, would provide an important way to control human reproduction and eliminate inherited diseases.

**The Chromosome Theory of Heredity.** The hypothetical nature of Mendel's "factors" were a major stumbling block in the general acceptance of Mendelian theory. It was Thomas Hunt Morgan and his group, working with fruit flies (*Drosophila melanogaster*) at Columbia University from 1910 onward, that established the physical basis for Mendelian genetics. Using a combination of breeding experiments and cytological study (microscopical examination of the chromosomes found in the cell nucleus), Morgan and his group were able to establish that genes were discrete units arranged linearly on the chromosomes. Starting from the observation that some traits do not appear to segregate randomly, but are rather inherited together (they are said to be "linked"), Morgan and his group established that in *Drosophila* there were four linkage groups, corresponding to the four sets of paired chromosomes characteristic for the species. Moreover, Morgan and his group devised a method, using the process of breakage and recombination that occasionally occurs between members of a chromosome pair, to map the position of genes on the chromosomes. It was the combination of Mendelian breeding experiments with cytological observations that led to what became known as the Mendelian chromosome theory of heredity (MCTH). For this work, Morgan received the Nobel Prize for Physiology or Medicine in 1933, the first such award to be given in genetics.

### ELABORATION OF THE MENDELIAN CHROMOSOME THEORY OF HEREDITY

Almost as soon as biologists and breeders adopted the MCTH they began to encounter exceptions to Mendel's original formulation. One was linkage, but it was accounted for by the chromosome theory. Another was incomplete dominance, in which the offspring showed a form of the trait intermediate between that of the two parents (as in pink flowers from a cross between white- and red-flowered parents). Another was epistasis, in which genes interact with each other to produce an effect that neither produced on its own. The converse of epistasis was pleiotropy, in which it came to be recognized that every gene has multiple effects, meaning each one influences more than one trait. Still another exception was what became known as quantitative inheritance, in which genes for a trait could exist in different doses, so that a continuous series of phenotypes (from light red to dark red, for example) could be generated simply by breeding for different dosages of a pigment gene. Last of all, it was observed that changes in environmental conditions during development of the organism could alter the expression of genes. *Drosophila* larvae of one genotype, when raised at a slightly higher-than-normal temperature, produced adult flies that looked like another genotype (these were called *phenocopies*). Ironically, most geneticists were so focused on the gene itself that they failed to understand the importance of phenocopies for investigating how genes might function during embryonic development. The few who tried to emphasize the plasticity of the gene, such as Richard Goldschmidt of Germany, were strongly attacked.

### EUGENICS

During the classical period, genetics was used as scientific backing for the eugenics movement in many countries of North and South America, Europe, and Asia. The term *eugenics* was coined in 1883 by Darwin's cousin, the geographer and statistician Francis Galton, to refer to the right to be "purely, or truly born" (in a biological sense). In *Inquiries into Human Faculty and Its Development*, Galton wrote that "Eugenics takes cognisance of all the influences that tend in however remote a degree to give the more suitable races or strains of blood a better chance of prevailing over the less suitable than they otherwise would have had" (pp. 24–25). Galton, along with eugenicists in the United States and Europe, thought that a large number of social and mental traits (e.g., alcoholism, feeble-mindedness, schizophrenia, criminality, "nomadism," pauperism, even a sense of fair play), were all determined by a few Mendelian genes. Especially in the United States (and later in Germany

and Scandinavia), eugenicists wanted to apply genetic theories to the guidance of social policy. Prevention of the "unfit" from reproducing was one of the major goals of the eugenics movement. Eugenicists were convinced that "defectives" had a much higher birth rate than normal or "high-grade" people, and that if various methods to reduce this rate were not undertaken, high quality human lines would be "swamped" by those of low quality, causing the population as a whole to degenerate. By appealing to these fears, eugenicists were able to influence more than thirty states to pass compulsory sterilization laws that could be applied to institutionalized individuals, such as those in prisons or state mental hospitals. The U.S. sterilization laws formed the basis for similar laws passed in the late 1920s in the Scandinavian countries, Canada, and, after the Nazis came to power, in Germany in 1933. Sweden and the United States, for example, each forcibly sterilized more than 65,000 people, while Germany, under the Nazis, sterilized 400,000.

Eugenicists were also concerned about what they considered to be the deleterious effects of race-crossing (which at the time also meant crossing between ethnic groups). It was thought that, in such mixtures, whatever good qualities existed in either group would tend to get lost. One writer, the mammalian geneticist William E. Castle at Harvard argued that crosses between a Negro and a white person could produce individuals that were out of proportion. Another, Madison Grant, a wealthy New York lawyer and self-styled anthropologist, wrote in *The Passing of the Great Race* that race-crossing always produces offspring that revert to the lower type: "Whether we like to admit it or not, the result of the mixture of the two races, in the long run, gives us a race reverting to the more ancient, generalized and lower type. . . . The cross between a white man and a negro is a negro, and a cross between any of the three European races and a Jew is a Jew" (pp. 15–16). Thus, eugenicists supported strengthening existing antimiscegenation laws.

A further area of social concern for eugenicists was immigration, particularly in the United States, where the influx from eastern and southern Europe, the Balkans, and Russia had exploded in the 1880s. Claiming that these non-Aryan groups were genetically inferior to northern and western Europeans, eugenicists lobbied successfully for immigration restriction. The Reed-Johnson Act (Immigration Restriction Act), passed in 1924, limited immigration from the regions eugenicists claimed harbored inferior genes.

### BIOCHEMICAL AND MOLECULAR GENETICS

Biochemical genetics deals with the way in which genes act to influence biochemical processes leading to one or another form of a trait, without trying to determine the

chemical structure of the gene itself. Molecular genetics, explicitly aims at elucidating the three-dimensional structure of the gene and showing how that structure relates to its function. During much of the classical phase of genetics, it was not even clear what the molecular components of the gene were. The two most likely candidates were proteins and nucleic acids, because chemical analysis of chromosomes had shown they contained both substances.

**Proteins versus Nucleic Acid as the Molecule of Heredity.** Several lines of evidence initially suggested that proteins might be the genetic material. Proteins are composed of subunits known as *amino acids*, of which there are some twenty known types. These can be strung together in any sequence, giving an infinite number of different possible protein “words.” Nucleic acids, on the other hand, are made up of only four kinds of subunits (known as nucleotides), and so they appeared to have less potential for carrying the large amount of genetic information thought to be required to “code” for all the traits in an organism. It was the work of Oswald T. Avery, Maclyn McCarty and Colin MacLeod in 1944, and of A.D. Hershey and Martha Chase in 1952, that showed decisively that nucleic acid, most notably the form known as deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA) was the “stuff” of which genes were made.

#### X-RAY CRYSTALLOGRAPHY AND THE THREE-DIMENSIONAL STRUCTURE OF DNA

In a separate line of work, the newly introduced technology of X-ray crystallography was applied to determining the three-dimensional structure of molecules such as proteins and nucleic acids. Much of this work was carried out in England by John Desmond Bernal, Max Perutz, John Kendrew, Maurice Wilkins, and Rosalind Franklin. When a beam of electrons is passed through a crystal made up of a pure sample of a given molecule, the scattered rays can be recorded on a photographic plate; the position and intensity of the dots provides the means for inferring molecular structure. Perutz and Kendrew had already used X-ray crystallography to devise models of the oxygen-carrying molecules myoglobin and hemoglobin, while Wilkins and Franklin were using it in the early 1950s to study DNA. In 1951 a young postdoctoral student, James D. Watson, from the United States, came to work in the Cambridge Laboratory where another young investigator, Francis Crick, a former physicist, was also working. They teamed up to work out a model for the structure of DNA that would account for its ability to replicate itself and to direct the development of adult phenotypes.

X-ray data suggested the DNA molecule was helical in shape (like a spiral staircase), but it was not clear



**James Watson.** Geneticists James Watson (pictured) and Francis Crick determined that the genetic structure of DNA was a double helix. ANDREAS FEININGER/TIME LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES.

whether it was one helix (as in parts of some proteins) or multiple intertwined helices. It was only after visiting Rosalind Franklin’s laboratory and seeing her outstanding x-ray diffraction photographs that Watson and Crick were able to decide on the correctness of a double-helix model. Their model showed that DNA consisted of two intertwined helices, each composed of a linear sequence of the nucleotide bases, adenine (A), thymine (T), guanine (G) and cytosine (C). Each base on one of the helices was paired by weak chemical bonds (hydrogen bonds) to a base on the other helix, such that A always paired with T, and C always paired with G (these were known as “base pairs”).

Watson and Crick recognized that this model had implications for how DNA replicated, and for how it controlled cell reactions to eventually produce the adult phenotype. To replicate, the two helices separate, each one serving as a template to make its partner. It was also clear that DNA could carry genetic information in the sequence of its nucleotides along each helix. What was less clear at first was how that information was translated into phenotypes. However, one line of evidence going back to the early decades of the twentieth century had shown that the direct product of gene action was the production of a specific protein. In 1941, George Beadle and E. L. Tatum had shown that genes produce enzymes (virtually all enzymes are proteins), which in turn catalyze steps in metabolic reactions, such as those leading to a particular

eye color. Mutations in the gene resulted in imperfect proteins, and thus altered phenotype. The Watson-Crick model suggested that the helical strands of DNA were read as a linear sequence in such a way as to determine the amino acid sequence of a specific protein. Mutations were alterations in the sequence of bases on DNA, and they could lead to altered amino acid sequences in the protein product. How all this worked was not clear at first, but it quickly became the focus of the molecular genetics research program of the 1960s and 1970s.

**The Genetic Code and Protein Synthesis.** A major problem for molecular geneticists was how the sequence of bases in DNA was organized to contain information, as well as how that information was “read.” The first question was that of the “genetic code,” and the second that of translation of that code into specific protein molecules. It was first hypothesized that the minimum number of base sequences on DNA that could code for the twenty-one known amino acids was three (with only four bases, combined into threes there could be sixty-four possible combinations, more than enough for each of the twenty amino acids to have its own code. By a variety of both genetic and biochemical experiments, Crick and his colleagues in England, and Marshall Nirenberg and Severo Ochoa in the United States, determined that the genetic code was indeed composed of three nucleotides (the code was a triplet one, such that TTT coded for the amino acid phenylalanine and AGC for serine). Thus, wherever a specific triplet appeared in the DNA molecule, the amino acid for which it coded would appear at that point in the protein chain. There was thus colinearity between the sequence of triplets in DNA and the amino acids in the corresponding protein for which it coded. Further work showed that the first step in protein synthesis involved transcription of the DNA sequence onto another kind of nucleic acid molecule, called messenger ribonucleic acid (mRNA), which was single-stranded and complementary to the DNA strand that gave rise to it. Further, mRNA met up with other kinds of RNA molecules, known as transfer RNA (tRNA) with each type specific for a given amino acid. The site of this interaction was a small cell structure, the *ribosome*, and the amino acids brought to the ribosome were joined up in the sequence specified by the mRNA to form the protein.

#### GENETIC TECHNOLOGY, RACE, AND THE HUMAN GENOME INITIATIVE

The new technology associated with molecular genetics had many applications regarding issues of human evolution and the nature of race. One of the earliest applications of the new knowledge of DNA was its use in reconstructing and verifying existing phylogenies of all sorts of organisms,

including humans. In the 1980s, DNA from cell organelles known as mitochondria (which have their own DNA inherited strictly from the mother) was used to trace human migrations. Mitochondrial DNA does not undergo a crossing-over and exchange of segments between maternal and paternal genomes (as does nuclear DNA), and it mutates slowly, making it extremely useful for reconstructing lineages and following migration patterns. Applied to human evolution, mitochondrial DNA evidence showed that the human species evolved from ancestors of the twenty-first century’s great apes somewhere between 5 and 6 million years ago in Africa, migrated to other major continents such as Europe and Asia, about 100 to 150 thousand years ago, and differentiated in these regions into separate populations.

**DNA and Racial Differences.** Biologically, the term *race* has come to be synonymous with what taxonomists call subspecies, that is, somewhat separate and distinct populations within a species that are capable of interbreeding. When applied to the human species (*Homo sapiens*), the term has a much less precise biological meaning, because human populations have been so mobile for so long a period of time, and have thus always experienced gene mixing, or gene flow. Most geneticists and anthropologists in the early twenty-first century argue that human racial groups are socially constructed, that racial divisions have been made in particular historical contexts and are based on social, rather than significant biological, distinctions. Thus, when Europeans first came into contact with the people in Africa, Asia, and the Americas, racial classifications arose to support social and political agendas (e.g., the expropriation of land or wealth, or the slave trade). By the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, most biologists and anthropologists agreed that the indigenous people of Africa or the New World were the same species as Europeans, but they divided humans into three common subspecies, or “races,” arranged in a hierarchical order: Caucasians were at the top, Asians in the middle, and Negroids (Africans) were at the bottom. These divisions, and the exploitation they justified, were based on a few superficial traits, such as skin color, hair form, shape of the nose, and body proportions. To varying degrees, these divisions have persisted in the social sphere down to the present day. Modern genetic evidence, however, does not support any such divisions as having a significant biological reality. For example, one could group fruits by color (green cucumbers and limes; yellow lemons and bananas; and red cherries and peppers), but biologically these groups would share few other common properties. Applied to the human racial groupings the few traits used to make the distinction do not necessarily predict what other genes an individual will have. This does not mean, of course, that skin color and hair

form are not genetic traits. For the classification of humans into the three traditional racial groups to be biologically significant, correlations between skin color, hair form, and a wide variety of other traits would be necessary.

There are several reasons why the concept of race in human beings is not biologically meaningful. One of the problems is that the boundaries between the various racial groupings is far more difficult to draw in humans than in many other animal species. In the twentieth century alone, the number of supposed “racial groups” has been as few as three (Caucasian, Negroid, and Asian) or as great as seventeen or eighteen, including such separate “races” as Irish, Mediterranean, Alpine, Nordic, Anglo-Saxon, and Slavic. For such classifications to be meaningful in a genetic sense, it would be necessary to assume that each group maintained a relatively closed inbreeding system, and that it had done so for hundreds or even thousands of generations. But because of extensive gene flow, few populations of humans have remained isolated for very long. This means that mixing of genes from populations of humans has occurred to such a degree over long historical periods, that there has come to be a greater range of variability within any one geographic group (e.g., Africans and Europeans) than there is between them. While some relatively isolated groups (the Australian Aborigines, for example) have maintained more of a common gene pool than others, such inbreeding is quite rare in humans. For “race,” in its usual social sense, to have any biological meaning would require that the presence of gene A in the group would also correlate with the presence of gene B, C, D, and a host of others. But such correlations do not in fact exist. For example, people often speak of “Africans” (or “African-Americans”) as if all people so identified shared one common genetic background. But North Africans are very different from sub-Saharan or southern Africans, while East Africans are very different from West Africans. For instance, the claim that an African American is more likely to have the gene for sickle-cell anemia (a severe blood disorder in the homozygous mutant state) is an overstatement. It would depend on what part of Africa the individual’s ancestry came from (the sickle-cell gene is rare in Ethiopia or southern Africa, but much more common in central and West Africa).

From a biological and genetic point of view, the only meaningful groupings of human beings are geographic populations. Thus, people who come from a given geographic locality are indeed likely to share more genes in common than those who come from more distant localities, but these differences do not make races in the common social use of the term. Genetically differentiated populations, with a profile of certain gene frequencies, can be identified and described, but they do not map onto the conventional notions of race. It has thus been argued that, biologically speaking, humans comprise one large,

global species whose local differentiations are minor compared to those found in many other animal species.

It is clear that modern genetics, especially molecular genetics, has seriously undermined the sociological notion of race as it persisted throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Human “races,” as any kind of clearly differentiated, taxonomically significant groups, simply do not exist. This does not mean that the social concept of race has therefore lost its significance. Concepts of racial differences and hierarchies do not disappear simply because biology says they have no meaning, but because people struggle in the social arena to combat the racism and ethnocentrism that has for too long been accepted because of its purported (but nonexistent) biological basis.

**SEE ALSO** *Eugenics, History of*; *Galton, Francis*; *Gene Pool*; *Genetic Distance*; *Genetic Variation among Populations*; *Human and Primate Evolution*; *Human Genetics*.

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*Garland E. Allen*

## GENETICS AND ATHLETIC PERFORMANCE

The correlation between genetics and athletic performance has long been a general topic of discussion among scientists, athletes, coaches, sports fans, and the general public, particularly in light of the success of African and African-American athletes in certain sports. The notion of racial differences in athletic performance has been connected by some scientists to the amount of fast-twitch and slow-twitch muscles possessed by different “racial” groups. This raises the question of whether a specific racial group might be inherently better at certain athletic events. To answer this question in the affirmative would mean that the members of a racial group share some genetically transmitted traits.

Many experts have come to view “race” as a socially constructed phenomenon, with racial categories often based on physical attributes, skin color, and other identifiable physical characteristics, not on genetic differences. This system of categorizing groups is not recognized by social scientists as a valid method of defining humans. Indeed, modern genetic science has found little genetic variation between the so-called races. In addition, in attempting to distinguish groups by race, many tend to ignore important socioeconomic variables, including economic, political, cultural, and social factors.

### ATHLETICS AND RACE

The analysis of race as a factor in athletic performance has launched a spate of social and biomedical studies, and several factors have been examined to see if they contribute to the making of an elite athlete. This question takes on a particular fascination when certain ethnic groups show signs of dominating in certain sports. In particular, the success of African Americans in basketball, of East Africans in middle- and long-distance running, and of individuals of West African descent in sprinting have fueled speculation about racial and genetic differences. However, some genetic research scholars have utilized genotype as a founding principle towards the inherited fundamental metabolic racial differences theory.

On one side of the debate is the author Jon Entine. In his book *Taboo* (2000), Entine states that the scientific evidence for black athletic superiority is overwhelming. His theoretical framework is based on the belief that racial

populations have evolved functional biomechanical and physiological differences that can and do determine the outcome of elite athletic competition. Likewise, John Hoberman, a professor of Germanic studies at the University of Texas at Austin, contends it is possible that there is a population of West African origin that is endowed with an unusual proportion of fast-twitch muscle fibers. He also states that it is “likely that there are East Africans whose resistance to fatigue, for both genetic and cultural reasons, exceeds that of other racial groups” (1997). Attempting to understand the biological and sociological implications associated with these notions could have a major impact on the multiple discourses concerning genetics and athletic performance.

On the other side of the debate is the sociologist Harry Edwards. According to Edwards, “The argument that blacks are physically superior to whites is merely a racist ideology camouflaged to appeal to the ignorant, the unthinking and the unaware” (Burfoot 1992). Dr. Edwards challenged the notion of racial categories by questioning what portion or percentage of being black constitutes or supports the physical superiority debate. The ideology of biological determinism contends that genetic differences can be used to explain complex linked genetic traits associated with athletic success. The publication of Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray’s *The Bell Curve* (1996) signaled an important debate regarding race and IQ and further fueled the discussion regarding race, sport and genetics. Hoberman, Burfoot, and Entine infer that research suggests that different phenotypes are encoded in the genes, conferring genotypic differences that may result in an advantage in certain sports.

### RESEARCH ON RACE AND ATHLETIC PERFORMANCE

In the 1990s, Bengt Saltin, the head of the Copenhagen Muscle Research Centre in Denmark, conducted research on the physiology of Kenyan and Swedish distance runners. His findings indicate there are differences in the cross-sectional area of the muscle of the two groups, but no significant differences in the muscle fibers or in physiological variables related to fatigue (Hoberman 1997).

In the years since the Saltin study, other scientists have ruled out most explanations for Kenyans’ dominance in long-distance running. Many had speculated that Kenya’s altitude was a factor, but no difference has been found between Kenyans and Scandinavians in their capacity to consume oxygen. The speculation that Kenyans have larger lung capacities has also been examined. The fact that many of these runners were training at higher altitude levels may have contributed to the capacity to expend as well as process oxygen. Researchers observed greater percentages of combined effects skeletal muscle oxidative



**Boston Marathon Winners, 2006.** Robert Cheruiyot and Rita Jeptoo, both of Kenya, won the 2006 Boston Marathon. Several factors have been examined in an effort to determine if race plays a role in athletic performance. AP IMAGES.

capacity and the percentage of type I fibers accounts for 72 percent of the variance in the body oxygen consumption. The final determination was that a range of factors contribute to the dominance of East African runners to include environmental, social, psychological, and physiological variables. One significant finding is that Kenyans can resist fatigue longer than athletes from other nations. Specifically, the lactate generated by tired, oxygen-deprived muscles accumulates more slowly in their blood. Comparisons of lactate levels have suggested that Kenyan runners squeeze about 10 percent more oxygen from the same intake as Europeans. J. E. Lindsay Carter, a professor emeritus in the Department of Exercise and Nutritional Sciences at San Diego State University, has conducted several studies of Olympic athletes, and he has observed that the biomechanical demands of a particular sport limit the range of physiques that can satisfy these demands. Optimal performance in certain activities involving endurance activities are partially dependent on skeletal muscle characteristics. This would include activities such as swimming, long distance running, and long distance cycling. A larger amount of type I fibers in the primary muscles of the lower limbs is directly associated with increased performance outcomes in association with aerobic energy. Thus body type and skeletal make up factors into athletic performance and type of activity.

Claude Bouchard, the director of the Pennington Biomedical Research Center at Louisiana State University, is

considered one of the world's most renowned researchers and sport geneticists. His research on human obesity shows that the degree of fat deposition in humans is largely determined by heredity. From these findings he has determined the heritability of some human traits, including some that have a direct relationship to athletic performance. For example, his findings indicate that anaerobic power is from 44 percent to 92 percent inherited. That a trait is inherited does not mean that it is inherent to a "race."

#### MUSCLE FIBER AND RACE

Bouchard has also examined physiological differences between white French Canadians and black West Africans, particularly comparing muscle-fiber percentages. He found that the West Africans had significantly more fast-twitch fibers and anaerobic enzymes than the whites. Many sport physiologists believe that fast-twitch muscle fibers create explosiveness, which can be channeled into distinct advantages during competition, specifically in sprinting and other short-duration events.

Briefly, skeletal muscles are divided into two groups based on their contractile speed: type I, or slow-twitch muscles, and type II, or fast-twitch muscles. Endurance runners, in general, have more type I fibers, which tend to have denser capillary networks and are packed with more mitochondria. Sprinters, on the other end of the spectrum, have more type II fibers, which tend to hold more significant amounts of sugar and certain enzymes that can burn fuel in lieu of oxygen. It has been suggested that there is a difference in the types of muscle fibers that predominate in certain racial groups. Bouchard's findings seem to support this view. Bouchard took biopsies from the thigh muscles of white Canadians and West African students. He concluded that Africans averaged significantly more fast twitch muscle fibers (67.5) than the Canadians (59). The study suggests that in West Africa there may be a larger pool of people with elevated levels of oxygen uptake. The challenge to this research comes in the form of many sociologists that contend the basic hypothesis of superior athleticism associated with race is fundamentally meaningless. It is the actual social values associated with the discussion of speed, strength and endurance in relationship to race that should be of concern. St. Louis (2003) argues that the appropriation of scientific method constructs racial athleticism through a naïve inductive approach. Davis (1992) contends that white male athletes that compete at elite levels in certain sports are taken as the norm and their performance is not seen as requiring an explanation as to their dominance. However, while some point to the dominance of Kenyan runners, they also question the lack of Africans in other endurance sports, such as cycling. There are certainly multiple sporting events that require very high levels of

endurance, yet only within certain sports do certain individual ethnic groups tend to dominate. If a specific group possesses exemplary fast-twitch muscles, why does that group only dominate in certain sports? The only answer seems to be that other factors play an equally important role.

Several debates have stemmed from research on race and athletic performance. The collision of scientific and cultural frameworks is sharply divided. Considering genetic linearity as an absolutism counters the notion of socialized phenotypes, characteristics, and cultures. Many scientists now isolate groups based on genotype patterns, rather than identifying races by facial characteristics or geography (Brownlee 2005).

Georgia Dunston, the founding director of Howard University's National Human Genome Center in Washington, D.C., studies how the human immune system distinguishes between a person's tissues and foreign material, such as a bacterium or transplanted organ. According to Dunston, "We have this thinking in America that there are some deep differences in biology between whites and blacks, that tissue in whites is more similar to tissues in whites than tissue in blacks, but when we look at the genetics, because of the tremendous variations in all groups, and especially in the group called black, it is not uncommon at all to find two blacks who could be very different from each other" (Brownlee 2005). Another perspective is based on research conducted by Rushton (2000). His findings were that genes play a part in IQ, personality, attitudes and other behaviors. Trans-racial adoption studies are where infants of one race are adopted and reared by parents of a different race. Regression analysis contends that genes cause races to differ in personality and that only cultural theory can not fully explain his results.

#### STEREOTYPE THREAT

The dominance of black athletes in certain sports has also been attributed to factors such as social Darwinism. In this view, black dominance is associated with slavery, genetic selection, and psychological and physiological adaptations to a person's physical and social environment. The theory of stereotype threat is based on the idea that individuals believe what is postulated about their racial and genetic makeup, and that these beliefs are more important than their actual ability. Jeff Stone, a professor of social psychology at the University of Arizona, gave black and white students a laboratory golf task intended to measure natural athletic ability, sport intelligence or sport psychology, depending on which test was given. According to Stone, nothing changed in the test itself, just the perception of what the test measured. Black and white students scored equally well on the controlled psychology test. However, blacks outperformed whites

when the test was framed as a measure of natural ability, while the whites outperformed blacks when the test was framed as a measure of sport intelligence. The concept of stereotype threat may provide additional frameworks with which to examine genetic or racial factors in relation to athletic performance as well as performance in other areas. The research suggests that beliefs about one's self-efficacy and ability can have a large impact on both individual and group performances.

Similar research has been conducted in the area of standardized testing. Minorities typically score lower on such tests than non-Hispanic whites. The social psychologist Claude Steele has examined the effect of stereotype threat on standardized intelligence scores. He found that black students scored as well as white students on standardized intelligence tests when the tests were framed as diagnostic tests that did not measure intellectual capacities. His findings concluded that psychological factors may perpetuate perceptions that impact one's self efficacy to accomplish and complete tasks. The test itself was not the variable, but the variables surrounding the test. This included resources available to students, quality of delivered learning objectives, positive reinforcement, and diagnostic tools. If one is consistently reinforced that they are capable of mastering certain skill sets, their psychological approach to the task will impact the results. This finding suggests that situational variables, including cultural, social, and environmental factors, play a role in the lower scores of some groups.

#### CHALLENGING RACIAL THEORIES OF ATHLETIC PERFORMANCE

Thus, while some research indicates there are distinct differences in the biological make-up of certain ethnic groups, other research indicates that physical superiority is not contingent on physical phenomena, but on demographic and socioeconomic variables. However, theories of racial factors determining athletic superiority have been challenged by the emergence of international athletes competing in events that have traditionally been dominated by African Americans or other groups. For example, athletes from a number of nations have begun to emerge and excel in professional basketball, a sport dominated in recent decades by African Americans. This suggests that environmental factors play a significant role in achieving success in this sport. Likewise, in the 2004 Olympics in Athens, Greece, Jeremy Wariner, a white American from Texas, won the gold medal in the 400-meter sprint, an event previously dominated by individuals of African ancestry.

Persons of color have also begun to make inroads in sports usually dominated by whites. In tennis, a sport in which wealth and class certainly convey a great advantage,



**Tiger Woods.** Tiger Woods receives the Green Jacket after winning the Masters Golf Tournament, on April 14, 2002. The performance of Tiger Woods in golf, which has been long dominated by whites, may lead to more in-depth analysis of biological versus sociocultural impacts on athletic performances. AP IMAGES.

Venus and Serena Williams have made it to the top of the professional ranks, while James Blake and others have had success in men's tennis. The performance of Tiger Woods in golf, which has also been long dominated by whites, may lead to more in-depth analysis of biological versus sociocultural impacts on athletic performances.

Tiger Woods and James Blake are also of interest here because they are both of mixed descent and ethnicity. They both compete at the elite level among their peers, but both are difficult to label or categorize in terms of racial identification. Indeed, due to the extensive interactions of various cultures, it is becoming more and more difficult to clearly define a person's true ethnicity. Thus, the notion of "race" has taken on multiple dimensions. It is, in fact, difficult to get most scientists to say the word "race" when referring to people. In traditional scientific language, races are synonymous with subspecies, or organisms within the same species that can be interbred but are nevertheless genetically distinctive.

Races are not clearly defined biological categories. Attempts to create racial categorizations tend to intersect ethnically and culturally. Human racial categorization attempts to construct and determine defined structures of racial formations. Many times individuals may be a blend of several ethnicities as well as cultures. This creates challenges to the traditional mode of categorization of race and human subjects.

There have been multiple studies conducted relating to the social, economic, and cultural factors that influence athletic performance. But regardless of the possible

existence of physiological findings, or the indications that sociological factors contribute significantly to the performance of athletes, it is likely that there will always be multiple discourses at play when discussing these issues. Research will continue to explore the subject of racial difference in athletic performance, and physiologists, sociologists, and scientists will continue to expand, investigate, and postulate theories concerning this topic.

SEE ALSO *Basketball; Track and Field.*

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Fritz G. Polite

## GENOCIDE

The United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide states that "genocide is a crime under international law," and "that at all periods of history genocide has inflicted great losses on humanity." This contradiction between a specific legal concept defined by an international convention and an eternal political and social phenomena characterizes both the global approach to genocide and the dilemmas it encounters.

#### DEFINING GENOCIDE

The concept of genocide was first voiced by a Polish Jewish lawyer, Raphael Lemkin, who worked tirelessly during World War II and in its immediate aftermath to achieve public recognition of this hideous crime. The impetus came from the wide recognition of the heinous crimes of the Nazi regime. Indeed, Lemkin quoted the British prime minister Winston Churchill, who described the killing of millions as "a crime

## Genocide

without a name.” Lemkin responded by formulating the term *genocide*. His activism facilitated not only the recognition of the new concept but also the adoption of the Genocide Convention. Since then, writing about genocide has been divided between those who view it as a new phenomenon, largely an innovation of the Nazis in their extermination of the Jews, and those who view it as permanent phenomena that describes wars of extermination and ethnic cleansing throughout history.

The Genocide Convention (approved on December 9, 1948; came into force on January 12, 1951) states that:

Genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

This is the only legal definition available, but it is inadequate. It diverges significantly from the daily use of the term, which views it as the ultimate crime and alludes to the Holocaust as the paradigmatic case and as a yardstick. The Nuremberg Trials of Nazi war criminals marked the first time the crime of genocide was introduced into an international proceeding. There was a belief that a new type of crime had been committed by the Germans, and a new term was therefore needed. This obviously contradicts Lemkin’s own view that only the term was new, not the crime. This tension remains: Does genocide refer to an exceptional crime, or to a crime that occurs all too frequently, most often during war time? The cry of “Never Again,” made in reference to the Holocaust, points in the direction of exceptionalism, but the public discourse points in the other direction.

On the other end of the spectrum, according to the Genocide Convention, genocide can take place without any killing. Indeed, it states that genocide can occur through the removal of children from a particular group, if this is done as a way of destroying the future existence of the group. In Australia, the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families issued a report in 1995 titled *Bringing Them Home* (also known as the “Stolen Children” report). This report accused the Australian government of genocide not for killing Aborigines, but for the removal of their children. While this has been a controversial political issue in



**War Crimes Trial, 1947.** Brigadier General Telford Taylor delivers opening statements during the Nuremberg Trials of Nazi war criminals. The trials marked the first time the crime of genocide was introduced into an international proceeding. AP IMAGES.

Australia, such a definition of genocide diverges from the idea of mass killing that is generally conveyed by the term.

On the other hand, the definition in the Genocide Convention can be viewed as too narrow, for it excludes political motivations as grounds for genocide. In other words, the killing of members of a political group or economic class is not defined as genocide. Both the Soviet and the Chinese regimes killed tens of millions of people as part of political campaigns. Under the Convention, however, mass murder for political reasons is not considered genocide.

This dissonance between the popular and political use of the term and the legal definition of it is important because it obfuscates the demarcation of the concept itself. As a category, genocide describes the ultimate victimization of the group “as such.” The expansion of the concepts of “holocaust” and “genocide,” together with “ethnic cleansing,” to characterize all mass violence has led certain groups of victims to feel that their suffering—both historical and contemporary—has not receive adequate attention if they are not viewed as victims of genocide. Extensive atrocities have also been characterized as “gross violations

of human rights” or “war crimes,” but these descriptions have not been embraced by the affected groups to describe their own suffering.

The list of those who argue that they are victims of genocide, and prosecutors’ efforts to indict offenders with the charge of genocide, make it all the more complicated. When a prosecutor in Mexico indicted a former president for ordering an attack on student demonstrators with charges of genocide, the inclusion in the UN definition of the phrase “intent to destroy, in whole or in part” argued against such a charge (the ex-President was cleared of the charges in 2006). There have been attempts within the United Nations (UN) (in conjunction with the claimed genocide in Darfur, Sudan) to rein in the definition by requiring that it include “the intention to destroy ‘a considerable number of individuals’ or ‘a substantial part,’” but the exact demarcation is further obscured by the introduction of the term *ethnic cleansing*, which was popularized during the 1990s, to describe the war in the former Yugoslavia,

The difficulty with such expansive usage is that it hinders the significance of the concept—intellectually, politically, morally, and in every other way. The force of naming particular crimes and violence as genocide, and its attractiveness to victims as a designation of their own case, is that genocide is perceived as the “crime of crimes.” But if the concept comes to designate every case of group violence, is it then cheapened or minimized? And should it therefore carry less severe consequences? In 2004 the UN Secretary General created the office of Special Advisor on Genocide Prevention. There is little doubt that the international community shares a consensus that genocide is a horrific crime that deserves special attention. The world is not as unified, however, on what should be included under the designation of “genocide.” In the spirit of Lemkin’s definition, which he illustrated by referring to occurrences throughout history, modern writers have listed numerous cases as genocide. Mindful of these extensive claims, and without attempting to arbitrate an agreed definition, several controversial aspects of the use of the term will be discussed here.

## THE HOLOCAUST

The Holocaust was the momentous event during World War II when the Nazis almost succeeded in exterminating European Jewry and gypsies. The shock of the extermination and the concentration camps, and the view that the Nazis constituted the ultimate evil, enabled the post-war international community to agree on the Genocide Convention. As such, the Holocaust became the ultimate unique example of this crime. Uniqueness does not work as a comparative tool, and it is difficult to designate an event as both unique and a yardstick. And while there was an agreement that, in principle, there were other

genocides, the debate over the uniqueness of the Holocaust and of evilness of the Nazis coincided with the cold war, which meant that no mass murders, whether in a war or otherwise, were designated as genocides over the next four decades. Under the banner of “Never Again,” the international community was steadfast in refusing to label the killings in Bangladesh, Biafra, Cambodia, and other places as genocide, and they did little to stop the mass murder itself. Only in the aftermath of the cold war, when the bipolar international community became both plural and unipolar, and in the face of the killings in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda, did the debate over the designation of genocide become integral to the international discourse.

The uniqueness of the Holocaust stemmed from the German goal of annihilating all Jewish persons because of their race. Because Jewishness was deemed to be a racial category, a Jew could not convert to be saved, and even those with only Jewish grandparents (and whose parents converted) were subject to annihilation. Furthermore, Germany directed significant resources to the destruction, which involved a vast system of government agencies and personnel, all conducted by a modern state. This was done in spite of the fact that the Jews did not present any concrete danger to Germany, even from a German perspective. The struggle was cosmic and mythological, aimed at ruling the world. It was fought between the Nazis and their imagined enemies constructed from anti-Semitic propaganda. But real Jews were killed. The Holocaust shocked the world in part because of these bureaucratic and modern characteristics, but more so because it was directed at those who were, essentially, “people like us.” Europeans and Americans were used to stories of mass killings of “inferior” races and to mass murder during war, but the gassing of millions in cold blood was a novelty. The combination of ferocious racism and atrocities perpetrated by the common German created an incomprehensible aura.

In the early twenty-first century, the Holocaust is both unique and more integrated in world history. It is unique as the epitome of evil, and all other catastrophes and mass murders are measured against it. The Holocaust is comparable to other cases, because perpetrators of other genocides also tried to kill all the members of a specific group. That such a mass killing is irrational (e.g., in taking away resources from other goals) is the nature of genocide, not the exception. But more importantly, the growing number of studies comparing genocides teaches that each is different in its own way, and the question of uniqueness creates the appearance of ranking, which is bound to ruffle other groups. So the dilemma remains: While ranking is impossible, the politics of classifying genocide is crucial for the identity of victims.

#### OTHER INSTANCES OF GENOCIDE

The vast destruction of lives of indigenous peoples around the world as a result of the encounter with modernity is one of the most vexing in the dilemmas of designating a mass killing as genocide. On one side is the incontrovertible fact of the extensive destruction and death that befell the indigenous peoples. Furthermore, there is no doubt that racism motivated many of the policies that led to the devastation, and that the colonists in many places expected and hoped for the disappearance of the indigenous peoples. The “vanishing” indigenous group was a constant trope in descriptions of the frontier on every continent. However, the question remains whether the colonists acted “with intent to destroy,” or whether the violence and racism were separate from the expectations that the indigenous peoples would die, as a people, in the future, but not as a result of particular acts. The question becomes more complicated because of the tendency to discuss the destruction of indigenous peoples as a single event, rather than as widely spread phenomena that might have involved numerous genocides. In addition, perhaps the worst demographic destruction of indigenous peoples resulted from epidemics that nobody controlled. Here the tension between activist-historians and the legal definition of genocide is wide. This is an active field of scholarship, and much is changing in evaluating its history.

**Armenia.** Hitler famously said “Who remembers the Armenians?” when he contemplated the extermination of the Jews. The statement is repeatedly quoted to signal the crucial role of deterrence in avoiding future genocides, but it is also quoted as proof that the genocide of the Armenians in Turkey in 1915 was widely seen as the precedent for (and the first instance of) genocide in the twentieth century. In order to forget, one has to have knowledge that can be forgotten. But if the Armenian massacres were largely forgotten by the 1930s, an even earlier twentieth-century genocide also went unnoticed by the world, and it remained so until recently. This was the genocide perpetrated by German colonialists against the Herero, of South-West Africa (later known as Namibia). In an effort to capture the Herero’s land, the German army tried to annihilate the Herero, killing tens of thousands and expelling many others to the desert between 1904 and 1907.

The massacres of Armenians under the Ottoman Empire go back to the second half of the nineteenth century. But it was during World War I, against the background of a disintegrating empire with many Muslim refugees fleeing to Anatolia (the Asian portion of Turkey), primarily from the Balkans, that the massacre of a million Armenians throughout Asia Minor occurred (as well as that of other Christian minorities, such as the Assyrians

and Chaldeans, who are rarely mentioned at all). In the days before the word *genocide* was invented, the world press wrote about the massacres, the expulsion, the long marches through the desert, and even the carnage of the war, all of which were singled out as constituting horrific crimes. The survivors attempted to rebuild their lives, many in the United States and France, but after the war, with the new Turkish republic flexing its political muscles, attempted trials of the leaders responsible for the crime were aborted. Mass ethnic cleansing (or “population exchange” between Greece and Turkey) overshadowed any active involvement with the Armenian suffering; the Armenian suffering was set aside and ceased to be a burning issue. Only in the last generation has the memory of the Armenian genocide resurfaced and become a defining political issue for Turkey. Amid the nation’s efforts to legitimize itself in Europe as an European Union (EU) member, the killing of the Armenians has become a symbol of the difficulties of domestic democratization. In the early twenty-first century, many around the world accept the designation of the events as genocide, while official Turkey sees this as a manifestation of anti-Turkish policies. The civil society in Turkey, meanwhile, views reconciliation with Armenia and the recognition of historical responsibility for the destruction of the Armenian community as an essential step in the democratization of Turkey.

**Rwanda and the Former Yugoslavia.** During the 1990s, the genocide in Rwanda and the ethnic cleansing in the former Yugoslavia gripped public attention. The failure of the international community to intervene in a timely fashion enabled the Serbs to perpetrate the first genocide in postwar Europe when seven thousand Muslim males were murdered in July 1995 in Srebrenica. In this case, the International Tribunal designated the murder as genocide, though the war in its totality was not so designated. In Rwanda, the mass killing of the Tutsis by the Hutus was stopped only when the Tutsis defeated the Hutus. The response of the UN was to authorize a tribunal post facto. Both of these cases were fresh on politicians’ minds when the Serb expulsion of Kosovars in 1999 was met with a NATO military response that may well have stopped genocidal acts. These precedents had little effect in Africa, and particularly in Sudan’s Darfur region, where in 2004 the United States determined that genocide was taking place. The United States did not intervene, however, and a UN investigation avoided the use of the term *genocide* because no “intent” on the part of the perpetrators could be established. The report was very specific in clarifying international law with regard to genocide, and it expanded the groups subject to the Genocide Convention beyond named groups to those with “the self-perception of the members of each group.” The report attempted to skirt the primacy of genocide as the “crime of crimes” because, as the Rwanda



**Armenian Genocide.** In 2006 French lawmakers debated a proposal that would make the denial of the Armenian Genocide a crime. In this photograph, an Armenian expresses his support of the proposal. AP IMAGES.

tribunal determined, “there is no such hierarchical gradation of crimes.” The report argued that “some categories of crimes against humanity may be similarly heinous [to genocide] and carry a similarly grave stigma.” This form of normalization of genocide, making it comparable to other grave crimes, may be the wave of the future. This would be a shift from the special status accorded to genocide by the UN in the Genocide Convention.

The tribunals for Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia and the new International Criminal Court are all addressing the crime of genocide, and their determinations will define the nature of genocide in international law in the future. The political nature of responding to genocides, and the failure of the international community to address the crisis in Darfur, or even to agree upon whether it is genocide or not, has placed the Genocide Convention under great stress. While the punishment of genocide through the tribunals has been extremely expensive and inefficient—few were brought to justice and a sense of impunity is widespread—the capacity to prevent genocide is even weaker. Not only is the Con-

vention vague about prevention (Article VIII enables any party to bring a case before the UN), the lack of prevention is viewed as indirectly encouraging more atrocities.

Genocide has become a fixture of modernity, both as the ultimate crime against a group and as the identity marker of a group’s victimization. One would like to imagine that “Never Again” will someday be transformed from a slogan to a policy. But skepticism is justified. Can memory of genocide lead to reconciliation? The recounting of history has been exploited to provoke conflict, incite war, and inflame genocides, particularly since the end of the Cold War. Can it also be drawn upon to facilitate reconciliation? The narration of genocide may be as important as the policies that governments pursue in determining whether this will be the case.

**SEE ALSO** *Ethnic Cleansing; Genocide and Ethnocide; Genocide in Rwanda; Genocide in Sudan; Holocaust; Mayan Genocide in Guatemala.*

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**Elazar Barkan**



## GENOCIDE AND ETHNOCIDE

In its darkest, most virulent form, racism can spark acts of genocide and ethnocide. The colonization of the Americas was accompanied by widespread acts of genocide and ethnocide, creating a holocaust on an unprecedented scale. Such acts persist in Latin America, where the extinction of tribes and disappearance of cultures occurred throughout the twentieth century and continue into the present. In North America, it is primarily ethnocide that stalks surviving Native American communities and endangers their remaining cultures.

### GENOCIDE AND ETHNOCIDE IN NATIVE NORTH AMERICA

As used here, the term *Native American* refers to members of the American Indian tribes, nations, and groups who inhabited North America before Europeans arrived. They are part of the world's *indigenous peoples*, who are defined as the non-European populations who resided in lands colonized by Europeans before the colonists arrived. In 1992, Senator Daniel K. Inouye, chairman of the Senate Indian Affairs Committee, observed that "in many newly-established nations that were formerly colonies, while freedom for the majority was achieved, the indigenous population was excluded from the body politic. Widespread cultural and racial genocide was the consequence" (Inouye 1992, p. 6). It is important to confront and better understand acts of genocide and ethnocide, so that these forms of racism can be recognized and arrested.

When Columbus arrived in the New World, North America teemed with diverse native civilizations. The anthropologist Russell Thornton estimates that more than 72 million indigenous people inhabited the Western Hemisphere in 1492. This population declined to only about four million within a few centuries, however, making it one of the largest population collapses ever recorded. In North America, more than five million American Indians inhabited the area now occupied by the continental United States in 1492; by 1900, however, only 250,000 remained, indicating a decline in excess of one million persons per century.

### DEFINITIONS OF GENOCIDE AND ETHNOCIDE

*Genocide* is narrowly defined in the United Nation's Convention on the Prevention of and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948) as the deliberate destruction of members of a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group. Genocidal acts include: (1) killing members of the group; (2) causing serious bodily or mental harm to them; (3) inflicting conditions of life calculated to bring about a group's destruction in whole or part; (4) impos-

ing measures intended to prevent births within the group; and (5) forcibly transferring children of one group to another. In *Century of Genocide* (1997), Robert Hitchcock and Tara Twedt explain that genocidal acts do not usually succeed in killing all members of the targeted group. However, the survivors are sometimes "raped, enslaved, deprived of their property, and forcibly moved to new places" (p. 379). Where indigenous peoples are concerned, some researchers would add to the definition of such acts as the "intentional prevention of ethnic groups from practicing their traditional customs; forced resettlement; denial of access to food relief, health assurance, and development funds; and destruction of the habitats utilized by indigenous peoples" (p. 378). Major causes of genocide among indigenous peoples have been the conquest and colonization of their lands and, more recently, the extraction of their natural resources.

*Ethnocide* (or cultural genocide) is a related concept that refers to acts that contribute to the disappearance of a culture, even though its bearers are not physically destroyed. Acts of ethnocide include denying a group its right to speak its language, practice its religion, teach its traditions and customs, create art, maintain social institutions, or preserve its memories and histories. "Indigenous populations frequently have been denied the right to practice their own religions and customs and to speak their own languages by nation-states, a process described as 'cultural genocide' or 'ethnocide'" (Hitchcock and Twedt 1997, p. 373).

Genocide and ethnocide against indigenous peoples arise for many reasons, including colonization; greed for gold or other natural resources; nation-building efforts in countries containing a diverse populace; and religious, racial, tribal, or ideological differences. In each case, these crimes against humanity are justified and fueled by racism. Indigenous peoples are victimized by such crimes partly because they have been viewed "as 'primitives,' 'subhuman,' 'savages,' 'vermin,' or 'nuisances' . . . and other negative stereotypes for generations." These stereotypes "reinforce the tendencies of governments to establish destructive and oppressive racial policies" (Hitchcock and Twedt 1997, p. 382).

Governmental efforts "to vilify indigenous groups are frequently preconditions for genocidal action" (Hitchcock and Twedt 1997). Indeed, racial slurs do accompany acts of genocide and ethnocide against Native Americans. For example, in U.S. Supreme Court decisions between 1823 and 1903 that curtailed native rights, the Court commonly describes American Indians as "inferior," "ignorant," "savages," "heathens," and "uncivilized." In *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock* (1903), for example, the Court ruled that Congress could abrogate an Indian treaty partly because Indians are "an ignorant and dependent race." Likewise, in *Johnson v. M'Intosh* (1823) the Court ruled that Indian

tribes do not own legal title to their land partly because Indians are “heathens” and “fierce savages.”

Ethnocide is a central feature of Indian–white race relations in the United States, and the government has at times resorted to genocidal acts. The threat and reality of ethnocide continue to cloud the lives of contemporary Native Americans.

#### SPANISH GENOCIDE IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES

Colonialism in the New World was filled with acts of genocide. More than 12 million Indians died during the first forty years, as Spaniards killed, tortured, terrorized, and destroyed each group of native people they encountered. The depopulation of the Americas was witnessed by Bartolome de Las Casas (c. 1474–1566), who arrived in Hispaniola in 1502 and spent more than forty years in American colonies. He chronicled the death of millions of Indians killed by the Spaniards and claimed that more than forty million were killed by 1560. In 1542, Las Casas reported to King Charles of Spain that mass murder was being committed throughout the Americas. The report provides horrifying firsthand details, but cautions that “no tongue would suffice, nor word nor human efforts, to narrate the frightful deeds by the Spaniards” (Las Casas 1974, p. 69). The death toll reported by Las Casas is staggering.

In Hispaniola, almost two million Indians were killed. In Puerto Rico and Jamaica, Las Casas reported that more than 600,000 Indians were killed. Between four and five million people were killed in Guatemala. In Venezuela, the Spanish sold one million Indians into slavery. In Nicaragua, they killed between 500,000 and 600,000 Indians and sold more than 500,000 survivors into slavery. In Honduras and the Yucatan, more than 200,000 were killed. In Peru, the Spaniards “wiped out a great portion of the human family” by 1542, killing “more than ten million souls” (Las Casas 1974, p. 129). At least four million were killed in Mexico, not counting victims who died from mistreatment under servitude.

In other places, almost all of the Indians were killed. For example, Cuba was almost “completely depopulated,” and in the few months Las Casas was there “more than seventy thousand children, whose fathers and mothers had been sent to the mines, died of hunger” (Las Casas 1974, pp. 39, 53). Las Casas warned that “unless the King orders remedial measures to be taken soon, there will be no Indians left” in Columbia. No one was spared in the Bahama Islands. There, more than 500,000 inhabitants died leaving sixty islands “inhabited by not a single living creature” (p. 40). Similarly, by 1542, thirty islands surrounding Puerto Rico were largely “depopulated.”

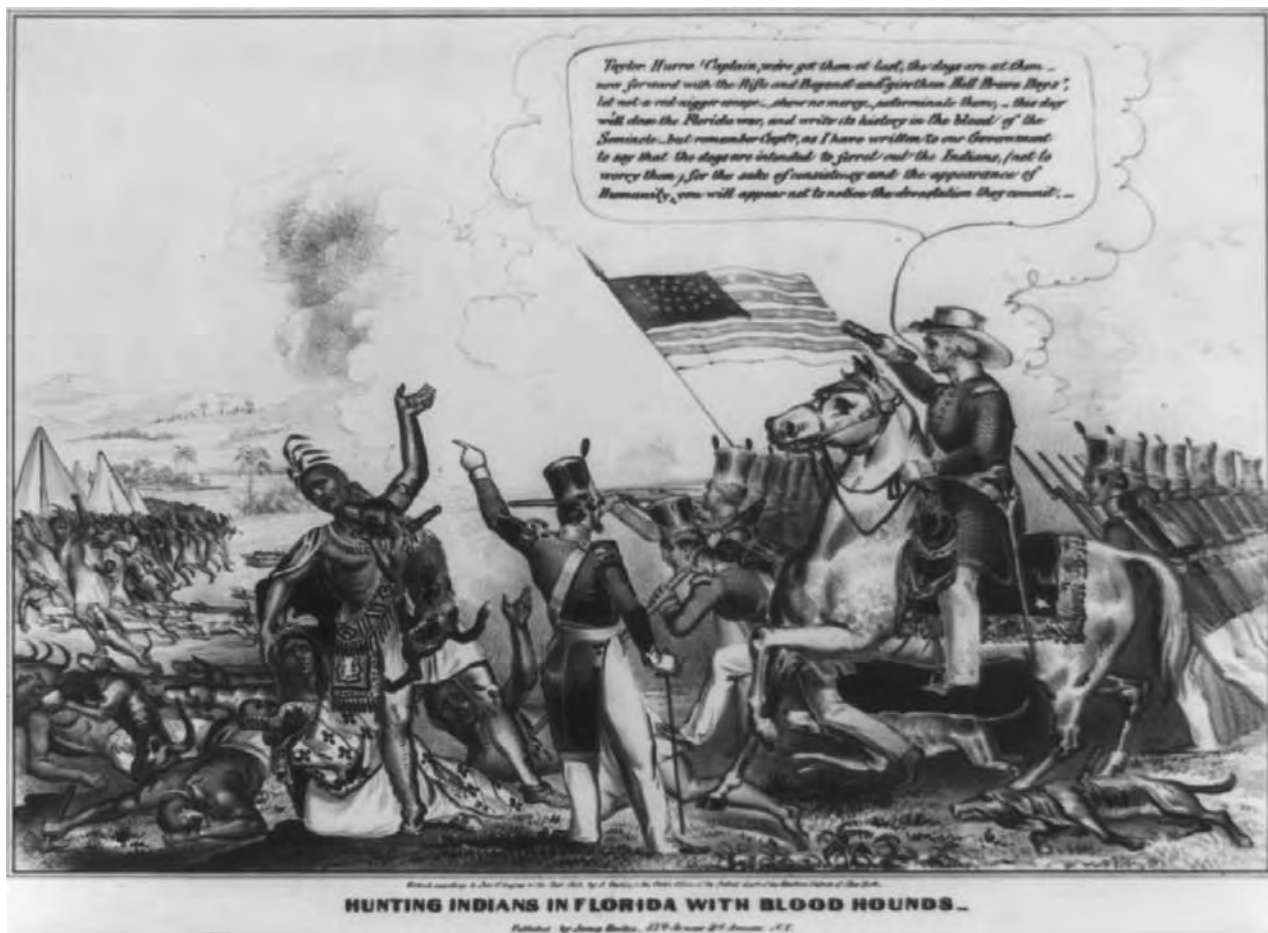
The extermination of Indians was justified by leading Spanish thinkers. Most notably, the theologian Juan de Sepulveda (1494–1573) argued that killing Indians was “just” because they are inferior. He divided humanity into two groups: (1) civilized men with intelligence, sentiments, emotions, beliefs, and values; and (2) primitive brutes who lacked these essential human and Christian qualities, and who by their inherent nature would find it difficult, if not impossible, to acquire them. Sepulveda reasoned that civilized men were naturally the masters who could conduct “just” wars against non-Christian primitive brutes that were, by their very nature, nothing more than slaves. Las Casas, on the other hand, asked the King to curb the genocide. Unfortunately, the seeds of genocide were too firmly planted in the New World, and the laws that were promulgated in 1542 proved ineffectual.

Spain’s legacy continues in Latin America. In Brazil, more than eighty tribes were destroyed between 1900 and 1957. The Indian population dropped from a million to less than 200,000. Spain was not alone. According to the historian Kirkpatrick Sale, “there is not a single European nation which, when the opportunity came, did not engage in practices as vicious and cruel as those of Spain—and in the case of England, worse—with very much the same sort of demographic consequences” (Sale 1990, p. 161).

#### GENOCIDE AND ETHNOCIDE IN THE UNITED STATES

Scholars have identified various interrelated factors that led to the depopulation of American Indians in the United States and the destruction of their cultures. “All of the reasons stemmed from European contact and colonization: introduced disease, including alcoholism; warfare and genocide; geographical removal and relocation; and destruction of ways of life” (Thornton 1987, pp. 43–44). These factors fall squarely within definitions of genocide and ethnocide.

**Warfare.** Between 150,000 and 500,000 Native Americans died in forty wars with Americans and Europeans between 1775 and 1894; in intertribal wars prompted by European or American involvement in tribal relations; in warfare between 1492 and 1775; and in conflicts between Indians and settlers (Thornton 1987, pp. 48–49). Colonial governments encouraged colonists to kill Indians by paying bounties. In 1735, for example, the governor of Massachusetts called upon citizens to kill or capture all Penobscot Indians. He proclaimed a bounty of fifty pounds for every male above age twelve (or forty pounds for their scalps) and twenty-five pounds for every female or youth under age twelve (or twenty pounds for their scalps). Blatant acts of genocide occurred in Texas, where Indians were almost completely exterminated by



**Zachary Taylor's Tactics Against Seminole Indians.** The indigenous people of America faced extensive destruction and death at the hands of whites. As early Americans began to move west, Native Americans were pushed out of their home territories and resistance was harshly put down by the military. Some of the brutal tactics used in the face of Native resistance are seen in this illustration originally published in 1848. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

whites, and in California, where miners and early settlers killed 230,000. Thousands more died in places such as Sand Creek, Wounded Knee, Washita River, and Fort Robinson.

**Disease.** The germ, however, was the primary agent of destruction. Virtually every tribe was decimated by Old World diseases to which Indians had no immunity. Europeans and Africans introduced these diseases, sometimes intentionally through smallpox-infected blankets and other means. The diseases include smallpox, measles, bubonic plague, cholera, typhoid, scarlet fever, diphtheria and whooping cough. From 1520 to 1900, as many as ninety-three epidemics and pandemics spread among the Indians. Thornton states that the destruction of American Indians was initially “a medical conquest, one that paved the way for the more well-known and glorified military conquests and colonizations” (Thornton 1987, p. 47).

**Dispossession, Resettlement and Destruction of Indigenous Habitat.** From time immemorial, Native Americans developed land-based religions, cultures, economies, and ways of life based upon close relationships with diverse indigenous habitats. Forced removal under President Andrew Jackson began in 1828, when numerous eastern tribes were marched to reservations located west of the Mississippi River. Many died on forced marches or from starvation, disease, and harsh conditions on new reservations. Indians were forced to leave behind holy places, burial grounds, and indigenous habitats where they had developed their ways of life and special relationships with particular plants and animals.

In the 1880s, laws were enacted to break up reservation land owned by tribes, allot it to individual Indians, and allow white settlement on land promised to the tribes. Millions of acres were lost during this process, and some tribes became landless. These laws were justified in the

name of assimilation by proponents who “maintained that if Indians adopted the habits of civilized life they would need less land” (Cohen 1982, p. 128).

The appropriation of land was a primary purpose of colonialism in the New World. As early as 1493, Pope Alexander VI conferred upon explorers the inherent power to claim land discovered by them on behalf of their countries of origin. He issued a Papal Bull declaring, “whereas Columbus had come upon lands and peoples undiscovered by others . . . all the lands discovered or to be discovered in the name of the Spanish Crown in the region legally belonged to Ferdinand and Isabella.” This doctrine became the legal basis for acquiring all of the land that is now the United States. In *Johnson v. M’Intosh* (1823), the Supreme Court legalized the appropriation of America under the doctrine of discovery and justified it as follows:

However extravagant the pretension of converting discovery of an inhabited country into conquest may appear, if the principle has been asserted in the first instance, and afterwards sustained; if a country has been acquired and held under it; if the property of a great mass of the community originates under it, it becomes the law of the land and cannot be questioned.

The destruction of American Indians was also furthered through the deliberate destruction of their indigenous habitats, as graphically seen in the near extermination of the immense herds of buffalo upon which the Plains Indian Tribes depended. It also occurred through widespread destruction of native plant life and its replacement with foreign vegetation imported from other places. The ethnobotanist Melvin Gilmore has documented an amazing number of plant uses among Plains Indians and decried their replacement by alien plant life more familiar to American settlers. In addition, the destruction of indigenous habitats occurred during the twentieth century through deforestation in the Pacific Northwest and the destruction of salmon runs upon which the tribes of that region depend for their ways of life.

**Prohibition of Religion and Language, Assimilation, and the Taking of Children.** In the 1880s, the government turned in earnest to the task of assimilating Indians. Assimilation was a deliberate program to strip Indians of their religions, cultures, languages, ways of life, and identities as native people and turn them into white farmers with Christian values.

The outright government prohibition of tribal religions began in the 1890s. “Federal troops slaughtered Indian practitioners of the Ghost Dance religion at Wounded Knee, and systematically suppressed this tribal religion on other Indian reservations” and in 1892 and 1904, “federal regulations outlawed the practice of tribal

religions entirely” (Inouye 1992, pp. 13–14). The government furthered its program by conveying Indian land to Christian groups to establish religious schools and by placing missionaries as federal Indian agents in charge of reservations.

Indian children were taken, sometimes forcibly, and placed into government boarding schools. Separated from their parents, families, and communities, they received haircuts and uniforms and were, in effect, incarcerated for years at a time in authoritarian institutions that systematically stripped their identities. Teachers strictly prohibited native students from speaking their language and taught them to be ashamed of their parents and cultures. For almost one hundred years the government sought to “kill the Indian, and save the man.” Several generations of institutionalized youth lost their language, culture, and religion, and hundreds of native languages were lost.

Congress continued its assimilation policy long after Indian citizenship was granted in 1924. Termination laws in the 1950s ended federal relationships with many Indian tribes, sold remaining land on many reservations, and subjected Indians to state jurisdiction.

**The Legacy of Genocide and Ethnocide** Professor Charles Wilkinson has observed that American Indians hit rock bottom during the 1950s. They lived in abject poverty in a segregated, racist society intent upon terminating their rights as native people and stamping out their cultural identity. The human spirit, however, cannot easily be stamped out. Wilkinson chronicles the rise from that nadir by modern Indian Nations, as Native Americans waged a historic movement over the next fifty years to reclaim their sovereignty, lands, and cultural heritage.

By 2005, the Native American population had recovered to more than two million people. A growing appreciation of their contributions to American heritage and their inherent worth has emerged, as seen in the opening of the National Museum of the American Indian in Washington, D.C., in 2004. Genocide is a sleeping evil, rarely mentioned in schoolbooks. Ethnocide, however, continues to haunt Native Americans. This is seen in the English-only laws of twenty-one states; the ongoing destruction of tribal holy places unprotected by American law; and the derogatory racial stereotypes used in Hollywood and the mass media, or in the sporting world by teams with names such as “Redskins.” Native Americans fear the federal court system, which has grown increasingly hostile to protecting their legal rights. In 1992, Senator Inouye warned that as a result of recent Supreme Court decisions denying Native Americans religious freedom, “it appears that we are regressing to a dark period where once again our government is allowing religious discrimination against our indigenous people to

## Genocide in Rwanda

go unchecked” (Inouye 1992, p. 14–15). History counsels that society must remain vigilant to safeguard Native Americans against racism, particularly the destructive and harmful acts of genocide and ethnocide.

SEE ALSO *American Indian Movement (AIM); Forced Sterilization of Native Americans; Holocaust.*

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Walter R. Echo-Hawk

## GENOCIDE IN RWANDA

The African nation of Rwanda has become a metaphor for political violence, and more particularly for senseless violence. Two kinds of writings have come to dominate the literature on the Rwandan genocide. The first is preponderant in the academy, the second in the world of journalism.

Academic writing on Rwanda is dominated by authors whose intellectual perspective was shaped by sympathy with the Rwandan Revolution of 1959. They saw the revolution and the political violence that affected it as progressive, as ushering in a more popular political and social order. Unable to see the dark underbelly of the revolution, and thus to grasp the link between it and the 1994 genocide, these authors portray the genocide as exclusively or mainly a state project, engineered and executed by a narrow ruling elite. In doing so, they avoid the question of popular violence in the genocide. The singular failing of this view is its inability to come to terms with the genocide as a social project.

The massacres in the Rwandan genocide were carried out in the open—roughly 800,000 Tutsi were killed in a hundred days. The state organized the killings, but the killers were, by and large, ordinary people. The killing was done mainly by machete-wielding mobs. People were killed by their neighbors and workmates, and even by human rights advocates and spouses.

Unlike Nazi Germany, where the authorities made every attempt to isolate victims from the general population, the Rwandan genocide was both a more public and a more intimate affair. Street corners, living rooms, and churches became places of death. It was carried out by hundreds of thousands of people, and witnessed by millions. In a private conversation with the author in 1997, a Rwandan government minister contrasted the two horrors. “In Germany,” he said, “the Jews were taken out of their residences, moved to distant far away locations, and killed there, almost anonymously. In Rwanda, the government did not kill. It prepared the population, enraged it and enticed it. Your neighbors killed you” (Mamdani 2001, p. 6). A few years ago, four Rwandan civilians stood trial for crimes against humanity in Belgium. Among the four were two nuns and a physicist. The challenge for academic writing is to explain the perversely “popular” character of the violence.

In contrast, journalistic writing focuses precisely on this aspect of the genocide. Its peculiar characteristic is a pornography of violence. As in pornography, the nakedness is of others, not us. The exposure of the other goes alongside the unstated claim that we are not like them. This is pornography in which senseless violence is a feature of other people’s cultures: they are violent, but we are pacific, and a focus on their debasedness easily turns into another way of celebrating and confirming our exalted status.

The journalistic writing gives a simple moral world, where a group of perpetrators face another group of victims, but where neither history nor motivation are thinkable because both stand outside history and context. Though these writers highlight the genocide as a social project, they fail to understand the forces that shaped the

agency of the perpetrator. Instead, they looked for a clear and uncomplicated moral in the story, where the victim was untainted and the perpetrator evil. In a context where victims and perpetrators have traded places, they look to distinguish victim from perpetrator for all times. But because victims have turned into perpetrators, this attempt to find an African replay of the Nazi Holocaust has not worked.

How many perpetrators were victims of yesteryear? What happens when yesterday's victims act out of a determination that they must never again be victimized, and therefore embrace the conviction that power is the only guarantee against victimhood, and that the only dignified alternative to power is death? What happens when they are convinced that the taking of life is really noble because it signifies the willingness to risk one's own life and is thus, in the final analysis, proof of one's own humanity? The German philosopher G. W. F. Hegel (1770–1831) once said that the difference between humans and animals is that humans are willing to give life for a reason considered higher than life. He should have added that humans are also willing to take life for a reason considered higher than life.

To address these questions, it is important to understand the humanity of the perpetrator. This is not to excuse the perpetrator, or the killing, but to make the act thinkable: so that we can learn something about ourselves as humans. Which history framed the agency of the perpetrator, and which institutions reproduced that agency? Who did the Hutu who did the killing think they were? And whom did they think they were killing in the person of the Tutsi?

#### THE RWANDA GENOCIDE AND THE HOLOCAUST

Before placing the Rwandan genocide in the context of Rwandan history, it is helpful to locate it in the history of modern genocides. In the corpus of Holocaust-writing, Hannah Arendt stood apart in her insistence on locating the Holocaust in the history of genocide. The history she sketched was that of the genocide of native populations by settler colonial nations. It was the history of imperialism, and specifically of racism in South Africa and bureaucracy in India and Algeria.

The Germans first attempted mass extermination in Africa. In 1904, German Southwest Africa—the territory that would ultimately become Namibia—faced a deepening political crisis. The future of the colony seemed suddenly precarious; the Herero, an agricultural people numbering some 80,000, had taken up arms to defend their land and cattle from German settlers. General Lothar von Trotha, the local German military commander, later wrote in stark terms of the options he faced:

Now I have to ask myself how to end the war with the Herero. The views of the Governor and also a few old Africa hands on the one hand, and my views on the other, differ completely. The first wanted to negotiate for some time already and regard the Herero nation as necessary labour material for the future development of the country. I believe that the nation as such should be annihilated, or, if this was not possible by tactical measures, expelled from the country by operative means and further detailed treatment. This will be possible if the water-holes . . . are occupied. The constant movement of our troops will enable us to find the small groups of the nation who have moved back westwards and destroy them gradually. (Gewald, p. 173)

Trotha's arguments carried the day, over the objections of the "Africa hands" who saw the Herero as necessary labor and the missionaries who viewed them as potential converts. As the Herero fled the German assault, every avenue of escape was blocked, save one: the southeast route, through the Kalahari Desert. Denied access to water, their journey across the desert was a death march, and almost 80 percent of the Herero perished. This was not an accident, as a gleeful notice in *Die Kampf*, the official publication of the German General Staff, attested:

No efforts, no hardships were spared in order to deprive the enemy of his last reserves of resistance; like a half-dead animal he was hunted from water-hole to water-hole until he became a lethargic victim of the nature of his own country. The waterless Omaheke [desert] was to complete the work of the German arms: the annihilation of the Herero people. (Dedering 1999).

General Lothar von Trotha had a distinguished record in the German army and was a veteran of colonial warfare. Involved in suppressing the Boxer Rebellion in China in 1900, he was also a veteran of "pacification campaigns" throughout the colonies that would later become Rwanda, Burundi, and Tanzania.

The surviving Herero were rounded up and placed in camps run by missionaries, in conjunction with the German army. Overworked and hungry, susceptible to diseases such as typhoid and smallpox, many more Herero perished in the camps, and Herero women were taken as sex slaves by German soldiers. When the camps were closed in 1908, the remaining Herero were distributed among settlers as laborers. Henceforth, every Herero over the age of seven was required to wear a metal disc around the neck, bearing his or her labor registration number.

The extermination of the Herero was the first genocide of the twentieth century, and its connection to the

Jewish holocaust is difficult to ignore. When von Trotha sought to diffuse responsibility for the genocide, he accused the missions of inciting the Herero with images “of the bloodcurdling Jewish history of the Old Testament.” And it was in the Herero concentration camps that the German geneticist Eugene Fischer first investigated the “science” of race-mixing, experimenting on both the Herero and the half-German children born to Herero women. Fischer deduced that the Herero “mulattos” were physically and mentally inferior to their German parents. Later, Hitler read his book, *The Principle of Human Heredity and Race Hygiene* (1921), while in prison, and he eventually made Fischer rector of the University of Berlin, where he taught medicine. One of Fischer’s prominent students was Josef Mengele, who went on to run the gas chambers at Auschwitz.

Hannah Arendt was right to establish a link between the genocide of the Herero and the Nazi Holocaust. That link was “race branding,” whereby it is possible not only to set a group apart as an enemy, but also to annihilate it with an easy conscience. To understand the mindset that conceived the Holocaust, one must remember the political identities crafted by modern imperialism, those of the “settler” and the “native.” Hannah Arendt focused on the agency of the settler, but not on the agency of the native. The point is that it is not just the settler, but the native, too, who is a product of the imperial imagination. Both identities are framed by a common history. Both remain postcolonial identities, and unless they are sublated together, they will be reproduced together.

Hannah Arendt sketched half a history: that of settler annihilation of the native. To glimpse how this could trigger a countertendency leading to the native annihilating the settler, one has to turn to Frantz Fanon (1925–1961). It is in Fanon that one finds the premonition of the native turned perpetrator, of the native who kills not just to extinguish the humanity of the Other, but to defend his or her own—and of the moral ambivalence this must provoke in other human beings. Although the extermination of colonizers by natives never came to pass, it hovered on the horizon as a historical possibility. No one understood the genocidal impulse better than Frantz Fanon, a Martinican-born psychoanalyst and Algerian freedom fighter. Native violence, he insisted, was the violence of yesterday’s victims, the violence of those who had cast aside their victimhood to become masters of their own lives: “He of whom they have never stopped saying that the only language he understands is that of force, decides to give utterance by force. . . . The argument the native chooses has been furnished by the settler, and by an ironic turning of the tables it is the native who now affirms that the colonialist understands nothing but force” (Fanon 1967, p. 66).

For Fanon, the proof of the native’s humanity consisted not in the willingness to kill settlers, but in the willingness to risk his or her own life. “The colonized man,” he wrote, “finds his freedom in and through violence.” If the outcome was death—natives killing settlers—that was still a derivative outcome. “The settler’s work is to make even dreams of liberty impossible for the native. The native’s work is to imagine all possible methods for destroying the settler. . . . For the native, life can only spring up again out of the rotting corpse of the settler. . . . For the colonized people, this violence, because it constitutes their only work, invests their character with positive and creative qualities” (Fanon 1967, p. 73).

#### THE HISTORY OF VIOLENCE BETWEEN HUTU AND TUTSI

The significance of “native” and “settler” as political identities, embedded in the history of colonialism, becomes clear in the light of the history of political violence in Rwanda. The most striking fact about this history is that there is no significant violent episode before the 1959 revolution, when battle lines were drawn sharply between Hutu and Tutsi. That year marked the first significant episode where the Hutu were pitted against the Tutsi in a political struggle, so that Hutu and Tutsi became names identifying political adversaries locked in a violent contest for power.

This becomes clearer if one contrasts 1959 with the Nyabingi anticolonial resistance that marked the beginning of the colonial period. *Nyabingi* was the name of a spiritual cult, as well as a political movement, in what became northern Rwanda, a region incorporated into the expanding Kingdom of Rwanda at the beginning of the twentieth century. Two facts about this movement are relevant. First, when the Bakiga fought the alliance of German imperial power and the Tutsi aristocracy of the Rwandan Kingdom, they did not fight as Hutu against Tutsi. They fought the Tutsi who were in power, but in alliance with the Tutsi who were out of power, under the leadership of Muhumuza, a former Tutsi queen.

Second, these mountain people did not call themselves Hutu, but Bakiga (the people of the mountains). Only when they were defeated and incorporated into the Rwanda Kingdom did they cease to be Bakiga and become Hutu. For “Hutu” was not the identity of a discrete ethnic group, but the political identity of all those subjugated to the power of the Rwandan state.

In Rwanda before colonialism, prosperous Hutu became Tutsi over a period of generations. Even if the numbers involved were too few to be statistically significant, this was a process of great social and ideological significance. This process of ritual ennoblement, whereby a Hutu shed his Hutuness, even had a name: *Kwihutura*.



**Belgian Congo Soldiers Guard Rwandan Prisoners, 1959.** Conflict between the Tutsis and Hutus goes back many years before the genocide that took place in the 1990s. In this 1959 photo, Belgian Congo soldiers guard a group of prisoners after intervening in a fight between the Tutsis and Hutus. AP IMAGES.

Its counterpart, whereby an impoverished Tutsi family lost its status, also had a name: *Gucupira*.

Belgian colonialism did not invent Tutsi privilege. What was new with Belgian colonialism was the justification for it. For the first time in the history of Rwanda, the terms “Hutu” and “Tutsi” came to identify two groups, one branded indigenous, the other exalted as alien. For the first time, Tutsi privilege claimed to be the privilege of a group identified as Hamitic, as racially alien. Only with Belgian colonialism did the degradation of the Hutu turn into a native degradation, and Tutsi privilege became a racially alien privilege. As Belgian authorities issued identity cards to Hutu and Tutsi, the Tutsi became sealed off from the Hutu. Legally identified as two biologically distinct races—Tutsi as Hamites and Hutu as Bantu—Hutu and Tutsi became distinct legal identities. The language of race functioned to underline this difference between indigenous and alien groups.

This point becomes clear upon return to the difference between race and ethnicity in twentieth-century colonial thought. Only natives were classified as “tribes” in colonial

Africa, and as “ethnic groups” in postcolonial Africa. Non-natives, those not considered African, were tagged as “races.” Tribes were neighbors, but races were aliens. This contrast underlined the difference between ethnic and racial violence. Ethnic violence is between neighbors. It is about transgression across borders, about excess. In the conflict between neighbors, what is at issue is not the legitimacy of the presence of others. At issue is an overflow, a transgression. It is only with “race” that the very presence of a group can come to be considered illegitimate, with its claim for power considered an outright usurpation. Thus, when political violence takes the form of a genocide, it is more likely between races, not between ethnic groups.

Alongside the master race, the law constituted subject races. While full citizenship in the colony was reserved for members of the master race, the subject races were virtual or partial citizens. Though subject to discrimination, they were still considered part of the world of rights, of civil law, and they were integrated into the machinery of colonial rule as agents and administrators in both the public and the private sector. As such, they



came to be seen as both instruments and beneficiaries of colonialism, even as civil law codified their second-class citizenship.

The so-called subject races of colonial Africa were many. Besides the Asians of East Africa, there were the Colored of South Africa, the Arabs of Zanzibar, and the Tutsi of Rwanda and Burundi. Historically and culturally, these groups had little in common. The Asians obviously had their origins elsewhere, but the question of what distinguished other subject races from indigenous people was more complex. In Zanzibar, “Arab” was a kind of catchall identity, denoting both those with Arab ancestry and those with ties to Arab culture. South Africa’s Coloreds were identified by their mixture, by their ancestral links to Asia, Africa, and Europe. The Tutsi, on the other hand, were wholly indigenous to Africa. So the colonial designation “nonindigenous” needs to be understood as a legal and political fiction, not a historical or cultural reality.

The racialization of the Tutsi, and of the difference between Hutu and Tutsi, is key to understanding the political violence between Hutu and Tutsi. It was the language of race that defined insiders and outsiders, distinguishing “indigenous” from “alien.” It set apart neighbors from outsiders and, ultimately, friends from enemies.

Colonial Rwanda was a halfway house, stuck between direct and indirect rule, with features of both in effect. “Customary laws” and “native authorities” were established alongside civic law and civic authorities. But the Hutu were ruled by Tutsi rather than Hutu chiefs. The same reforms established the Tutsi as a distinct race. Unlike indirect rule elsewhere, the colonial state in Rwanda engendered polarized racial identities among indigenous people, rather than plural ethnic identities. The colonized population was split in two, with the majority, the Hutu, opposed to both Belgian and Tutsi.

Why was Rwanda different? The answers lie buried in the recesses of the racist mind. “Africa proper,” Hegel said, “has remained—for all purposes of connection with the rest of the world, shut up; it is the gold-land compressed within itself—the land of childhood, which lying beyond the day of conscious history is enveloped in the dark mantle of Night” (Hegel 1966, p. 91).

But the more Europeans got to know Africa, the less tenable was the notion that the Sahara divided barbarism and civilization. Europeans were increasingly confronted with—and had to explain—evidence of organized life on the continent before their arrival. This sometimes came in the form of ruins, such as the Sudanese pyramids or the ruin at Great Zimbabwe. It also came in the form of highly developed African societies such as the Kingdom of Rwanda, whose political history stretched back several hundred years. Rwanda belied the racist conviction that the natives had no civilization of their own.

The colonialists’ explanation—the “Hamitic hypothesis”—was ingenious: Every sign of “progress” on the Dark Continent was taken as proof of the civilizing influence of an alien race. Ancient Egypt, Ethiopia, Rwanda—all these were the work of an ancient European race, the children of Ham (Noah’s son in the Hebrew Bible). The Hamites were taken to be black-skinned Caucasians who had wandered across the African continent and ruled over their racial inferiors, the black-skinned blacks. In Rwanda, the Europeans identified the ruling Tutsi as Hamitic and the Hutu as Bantu—or “real Africans” who served the Tutsi. In 1870, at the Vatican I council, a group of cardinals called for a mission to Central Africa in order to rescue “hapless Hamites caught amidst Negroes,” to alleviate “the antique malediction weighing on the shoulders of the unfortunate Hamites inhabiting the hopeless Nigrity.”

Of course, the Hamitic hypothesis failed to resolve some glaring contradictions. While the term was introduced by linguists to describe the languages of the Hamitic peoples, the Tutsi spoke Kinyarwanda, a Bantu language. And although the notion of a Hamitic race implied a shared phenotype—tall, thin, with aquiline noses and coppery skin—most Rwandans were born of mixed Hutu-Tutsi unions and could not be told apart as distinct phenotypes. The greatest difficulty, perhaps, was that the Hamites were supposed to be cattle-herding pastoralists, unlike the agriculturalist Bantu. But by the second half of the nineteenth century, many Tutsi lived just like their Hutu neighbors, without cattle and working the land under feudal overlords, who were also Tutsi. No wonder that official identification of Hutu from Tutsi relied on identity cards that spelled out the racial identity of the holder. It is also why without the involvement of neighbors and intimates, it would have been difficult to tell Tutsi apart from Hutu during the genocide.

While numerous African peoples were identified as Hamites—indeed, three of the precolonial political entities that became part of Uganda were considered Hamitic kingdoms—Rwanda was the only colony where Hamitic ideology came to be the law of the land. The “foreignness” of the Tutsi was institutionalized by a series of reforms that embedded the Hamitic hypothesis in the Belgian colonial state. This set the Tutsi apart from other so-called Hamites in Africa; it also ruptured the link between race and color in Rwanda.

Between 1926 and 1937, the Belgian authorities made Tutsi superiority the basis of changes in political, social, and cultural relations. Key institutions of feudal Rwanda were dismantled; power was centralized; and Western-style schools were opened, with admission largely limited to Tutsi. Tutsis received an assimilationist education: they were taught in French, in preparation for

administrative positions in the colonial government. When Hutu were admitted, they received a separate curriculum, taught in Kiswahili. (The graduates of the French language curriculum were called “Hamites.”) The underlying message was that Hutu were not destined for citizenship.

In the 1950s, as the struggle for decolonization raged across the African continent, Rwandan society began to splinter. While the Tutsi agitated for independence—and a Tutsi state without Belgian masters—the Hutu made increasingly strident demands for social reform. Having been branded with a subject identity, a new political elite emerged from the ranks of the socially oppressed and made it a badge of pride expressed in the slogan “Hutu Power.” The revolution of 1959 was ushered in by violence that targeted Tutsi and dissolved the middle ground between Hutu and Tutsi. When Rwanda became independent in 1960, it was the self-consciously Hutu counter-elite that came to power.

#### POLITICAL IDENTITIES AND THE NATIONALIST REVOLUTION

Thus, colonialism is the genesis of Hutu-Tutsi violence in Rwanda. But colonialism does not explain why this violence continued after the revolution. If the origin of the Hutu-Tutsi problem lies in the racialized political identities forged by colonialism, then nationalism reproduced that problem. Here is the dilemma that must be confronted: Race-branding was not simply a state ideology, it also became a social ideology, reproduced by some of the same Hutu and Tutsi that had been branded as “native” and “alien.”

The Rwandan Revolution of 1959 was heralded as the “Hutu Revolution.” As the revolutionaries built Rwanda into a “Hutu nation,” they embarked on a program of justice—that is, justice for Hutu, and a reckoning for Tutsi. In so doing, they confirmed Hutu and Tutsi as political identities: Hutu as native, Tutsi as alien.

The irony is that instead of transforming the political world created by colonialism, the world of natives and settlers, the revolutionaries confirmed it. Postcolonial nationalism in Rwanda raises two important questions: (1) In what ways did nationalism build on the colonial political edifice, instead of transforming it? (2) When does the pursuit of justice turn into revenge?

For a political analysis of the genocide in Rwanda, there are three pivotal moments. The first moment is that of colonization and the racialization of the state apparatus by Belgians in the 1920s. The second is that of nationalism and the revolution of 1959, a turning of tables that entrenched colonial political identities in the name of justice. The third moment is that of the civil war of 1990. The civil war was not borne of a strictly internal

process; it was an outcome of a regional development, one that joined the crisis in Rwanda with that in Uganda.

The Tutsi exiles of 1959 found refuge in many countries, including Uganda. Living on the margins of society, many joined the guerrilla struggle against the regime of the Ugandan leader Milton Obote from 1981 to 1985. When the victorious National Resistance Army (NRA) entered the capital city of Kampala in January 1986, roughly a quarter of the 16,000 guerrillas were Banyarwanda. (Banyarwanda refers to the people of Rwanda, those who speak Kinyarwanda, whether they be Hutu or Tutsi.) Banyarwanda had immigrated to Uganda throughout the colonial period. In the Luwero Triangle (the theater of the guerrilla struggle) migrants were nearly half the population, and the largest group of migrants was from Rwanda.

Every time the NRA guerrillas liberated a village and organized an assembly, they confronted a challenge: Who could participate in an assembly? Who could vote? Who could run for office? The dilemma sprang from the colonial political legacy, which linked rights to ancestry. By defining migrants as not indigenous, it deprived them of political rights. The NRA’s answer was to redefine the basis of rights, from ancestry to residence. Simply put, every adult resident of a village was considered to have the right of participation in the village assembly. This new notion of rights was translated into a nationality law after 1986, so that anyone with a ten-year residence in the country had the right to be a citizen. The big change was that the 1959 refugees of the Rwandan Revolution were now considered Ugandans.

This political inheritance was called into question with the NRA’s first major political crisis in 1990, which was triggered by an attempt to honor one of the ten points in the guerrilla program: the pledge to redistribute absentee land to pastoralist squatters. When it came to distributing the land among a population of mobile pastoralists, the question of who should get the land naturally arose. Who, in fact, was a citizen?

The opposition mobilized around this question, aiming to exclude Banyarwanda as noncitizens. The magnitude of the resulting crisis was signified by an extraordinary session of parliament that lasted three days. At the end of its deliberation, parliament changed the citizenship law from a ten-year residence to a requirement that to be recognized as a citizen a person must show an ancestral connection with the land; that is, one had to show that at least one grandparent was born in the territory later demarcated as Uganda. In another month, the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), comprising mainly of Tutsi refugees seeking to overthrow the Hutu government of Rwanda, crossed the border. Thus, 1990 was not



**Mass Grave of Rwandans, 1994.** *The bodies of Rwandan genocide victims are buried in a mass grave near Goma, Zaire. Over a period of only 100 days, roughly 800,000 people lost their lives in the genocide and war. AP IMAGES.*

simply an armed return to Rwanda; it was also an armed expulsion from Uganda.

The civil war of 1990–1994 hurled Rwanda back into the world of Hutu Power and Tutsi Power. Faced with a possible return of Tutsi Power, it provided Hutu Power, a marginal tendency in the Second Republic that had in 1972 followed the revolutionary First Republic born of the 1959 Revolution, with its first opportunity to return to the political center stage as defenders of the revolution. Without the civil war, there would have been no genocide.

The Rwandan genocide needs to be located in a context shaped by three related moments: the global *imperial* moment defined by Belgian colonialism and its racialization of the state; the *national* moment established by the 1959 revolution that reinforced racialized identities in the name of justice; and the *postcolonial* regional moment, born of a link between the citizenship crisis in postrevolutionary Rwanda and its neighbors. The first lesson of the Rwandan genocide is that it was not a necessary outcome, but rather a contingent outcome in a context where nationalism failed to come to terms with the racialized legacy of colonialism critically.

The dilemma of postgenocide Rwanda lies in the chasm that divides the Hutu majority from the Tutsi minority. The minority demands justice, while the majority calls for democracy. The two demands seem irreconcilable, however, because violence has long been motivated by a mutual fear of victimhood. Every round of perpetrators has justified the use of violence as the only effective guarantee against being victimized yet again. The continuing tragedy of Rwanda is that each round of violence serves only to create yet another set of victims-turned-perpetrators.

Ultimately, the Rwandan government may need to recognize that the central conclusion to be drawn from the history of post-independence Rwanda—that the only possible peace between Tutsi and Hutu is an armed peace—is shortsighted. It is currently an article of faith in Kigali that power is the precondition for survival. But Rwanda's Tutsi leadership may have to consider the opposite possibility: that the prerequisite to cohabitation, to reconciliation, and to a common political future, might be to give up the monopoly of power. Like the Arabs of Zanzibar, or even the whites of South Africa, the Tutsi of Rwanda may also have to learn that—so long as

Hutu and Tutsi remain alive as political identities—relinquishing power may be a surer guarantee of survival than holding on to it. The first concrete step ought to be what the Banyarwanda outside Rwanda sought: equal citizenship rights of all based on a single criterion—residence, not race.

The genocide weighs heavily on the minds of Tutsi survivors. And it is true that neither the Arabs of Zanzibar nor the whites of South Africa have suffered such genocidal violence. To find historical parallels to this situation, where an imperiled minority fears to come under the thumb of a guilty majority yet again—even if the thumbprint reads “democracy”—we must take leave of Africa. For only in the erstwhile settler colonies of the New World is there a comparable history of violence—a history that has rendered the majority guilty in the eyes of victimized minorities. Such, indeed, has been the aftermath of genocide and slavery, particularly the genocide of indigenous populations in the Americas, Australia, and New Zealand, and the slavery of Africans in the Americas. If one is to go by these experiences, one has to admit that the attainment of enlightenment by guilty majorities has been a painfully slow process.

If the Nazi Holocaust was testimony to the crisis of the nation-state in Europe, the Rwandan genocide is testimony to the crisis of citizenship in postcolonial Africa. But if the Nazi Holocaust breathed life into the Zionist demand that Jews too must have a political home, few have argued that the Rwandan genocide warrants the establishment of a Tutsi-land in the region. Indeed, Europe “solved” its political crisis by exporting it to the Middle East, but Africa has no place to export its political crisis. Thus, the Tutsi demand for a state of their own cannot—and should not—be met.

In Rwanda, as elsewhere, a conflict can end only when the victor reaches out to the vanquished. In Rwanda, as elsewhere, this process of reconciliation will begin when both groups relinquish claims to victimhood, embracing their identity as survivors. In this sense, “survivor” does not just refer to surviving victims—as it does in the rhetoric of the Rwandan government. In a Rwanda that has truly transcended the racial divisions of colonialism, “survivor” will refer to all those who continue to be blessed with life in the aftermath of a civil war and a genocide.

**SEE ALSO** *Genocide and Ethnocide; Holocaust.*

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## GENOCIDE IN SUDAN

In the early twenty-first century, the tragic and disconcerting topic of genocide is centered on the grave humanitarian crisis of death, injury, and dislocation in the western Sudanese province of Darfur, adjacent to Chad. The discourse revolves around several questions. Where is the conflict and why there? What factors precipitated the conflict? How should the conflict be measured and characterized? How should the legal and humanitarian issues be addressed? Who is responsible? What can be done?

### CAUSES OF THE CONFLICT

Like most cases of human strife, the conflict in Darfur in this African and Arab nation has many causes, with specific turning points that sent the various antagonists to new levels of violence.

**Geographical Features.** Darfur is physically located on the Sahelian ecological border between desert to the north and savanna to the south, with micro-climatic variation in the central region that creates small streams, and hillside agriculture in Jebel Marra. The micro-ecological variations result in competition among the various African and Arab groups that seek to make their livings in different ways in these different regions. With only seasonal variations, a symbiotic balance can be struck, but when land competition is exacerbated by southward desertification of the Sahara, along with intense demographic pressure, the competition increases.

Another geographical factor is that Darfur straddles a key east-west trade route from central Sudan west to Chad. Central Darfur and Egypt are linked by the famed “forty-day road” (Darb al-Arba’in). Thus, commerce in even southern Darfur is networked to the wider world. Commercial control of these routes is also a factor. The conflict cannot be reduced to solely geographical factors,

but decreased rainfall in the last two decades in these trade and ecological zones do contribute.

**Historical and Ethnographic Factors.** The conflict is also fueled by economic rivalries between the Daju kingdom peoples (controlling trade and resources in southern Darfur), the Tunjur kingdom peoples (controlling east-west trade and the forty-days road trade), and the Keira dynasties that, from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries, dominated trade through central Darfur. Although seemingly marginal to the modern conflict and often minimized, the divisions between the multiple rebel groups in Darfur stem, in part, from these deeply rooted ethnic rivalries (e.g., Zaghawa, Fur [both non-Arabic-speaking], Camel-Arabs, and Cattle-Arabs).

Beyond the internal struggles to rule Darfur as a sovereign polity or sultanate, Darfur's history contains examples of external competitive relationships and other wider political interests. Depending on the period, the state of Wadai (now in Chad) was interested in economic control over Darfur, as were the Arab powers based in the central Sudan. In medieval times the Funj sultans of Sennar (1504–1821) and the sultans of Darfur clashed or cooperated in the middle lands of Kordofan in the eighteenth century. During the Turkiya (1821–1885) the slave and ivory trader Zubeir Pasha came to control Darfur for himself. During the Mahdiya (1885–1898) Khalifa 'Abdullahi ruled Sudan and Darfur from Omdurman and he was himself a Ta'isha Baggara Arab from Darfur. In 1916, during the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium (1889–1956), the British assassinated the last sultan of Darfur, 'Ali Dinar, to complete their military colonization of the Sudan. In short, the historical record is replete with precedents of external and internal forces who tried to protect, rule, take over, or otherwise manipulate Darfur. This dynamic history presages many of the present conflicts. Simple polarities are not operable.

**Religion.** Because virtually all of the present antagonists in Darfur are Sunni Muslims, one might imagine that religion is not a factor in the conflict. Yet religion is involved. One may distinguish four forms of Islamic observance: First, folk and syncretic Islam marries traditional non-Islamic beliefs and practices with those of orthodox Islam. Second, Islam is represented by those who are simply "good" Muslims following their faith as a matter of their cultural upbringing. Third, there are followers of politicized Islam, which substantially defines the government of Sudan, especially during its association with the National Islamic Front; one faction of the Darfur rebels has a similar orientation. Fourth, there are Muslims in Darfur who want to respect Islam on personal status matters but prefer a separation between state and belief in this multi-religious, sectarian, and culturally

plural nation. Thus, politico-religious issues are part of this dispute.

**Race.** Other elements of the conflict revolve around contentious and complex social constructions of racial identity that prevail in Sudan in general and in Darfur in particular. On one level all Sudanese are "black"; indeed that is what the word *sudan* means in Arabic for the entire region of Bilad as-Sudan (Land of the Blacks). Moreover, all Sudanese are Africans, given that their nation is on the African continent. Although these points might seem obvious, they are at the foundation of much miscommunication, misrepresentation, and misunderstanding of the present conflict. Nonetheless there certainly are dimensions of ethnically based conflict between such groups as the Zaghawa and Camel-Arabs for competing for grazing territory under ecological pressure. Some Arabs mobilize their identity around revivalist Islamo-Arabist models and prejudicial terminology such as Zarqa (blue-black people); in parts of Darfur even the term *kufar* (nonbelievers) or '*abeed* (slaves) is sometimes heard in violent and disparaging contexts. On the other hand "Africans" such as the Zaghawa, Fur, and Masalit certainly have formulated angry and negative stereotypes about Jellaba Arabs and especially about the *janjaweed* or *fursan* (terrible horsemen). Each side has mobilized and polarized the conflict while "othering" their respective enemies.

Traditional cases of interethnic conflict in Darfur were usually resolved by local governance at low levels (especially over water and grazing rights). During the Jaafar Nimieri regime (1969–1983), there was an effort to "modernize" public administration and abolish or transform the traditional councils. When the current conflict began, in the wider context of marginalized people, Sudanese class stratification, and wide opposition to military rule, there was little to stop or buffer the violence from climbing to new heights.

#### THE POLITICS OF GENOCIDE

As the violence escalated, beginning in March 2003, the humanitarian crisis itself became politicized. Some international bodies and nations were using the word *genocide* either to dramatize the distressing situation, or to put political pressures on the antagonists to get them to negotiate plans for armed forces separation, peace keeping, and conflict resolution. The majority of African and Arab nations and Amnesty International were concerned with the deepening humanitarian crisis but were broadly reluctant to polarize the situation, and few used the term *genocide*. Notably, three non-African and non-Arab nations—England, the United States, and Israel—were the most interested in applying this term, perhaps because of



***Sudanese Liberation Army Rebels, 2004.*** Members of the Sudanese Liberation Army (SLA), one of the factions involved in the terrible conflict in Darfur, on patrol. DESIREY MINKOH/AFP/GETTY IMAGES.

domestic pressure or as diversionary efforts. Each of these states has at various times been at war with Arab or Islamic states, sometimes acting in concert. The United States does not have ambassadorial relations with Sudan for a variety of reasons; Israel is not recognized by Sudan; and England had formerly conquered the Sudan (1898–1956), not to mention that it overthrew the independent Sultanate of Darfur. Such historical and political facts were not overlooked by Sudanese, whether democrats or military governments. In this context the term genocide itself also became part of the conflict, as each side sought to project the conflict as much worse, or much better, than it actually was to address its own public relations and propaganda concerns.

#### LEGAL ASPECTS OF GENOCIDE

Aside from these distracting politics of genocide, the December 1948 First Geneva Accords (UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide) establishes some real tests and raises valid concerns. The accords call for international action if crimes against humanity are taking place. In the wake of the Nuremberg Trials following World War II, the crime of genocide was specifically defined in article one as murder “committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group.” Perpetrators could be convicted for conspiracy to commit genocide, to incite genocide, to attempt to commit genocide, or otherwise be complicit in genocide. More than twenty specific crimes and articles were recognized in

1949, and these conventions were further updated and expanded in 1977. Sadly, clear violations took place in such places as Cambodia, Rwanda, and Serbia following the Geneva Accords. Some prosecutions have slowly taken place, but some victimizers could not be apprehended, or died, or were too powerful to be brought before world courts that they refused to recognize.

Within this substantial legal and historical framework, charges and evidence of genocide can be presented at the International Criminal Court (ICC). In the case of Darfur, the United States has identified fifty-one individuals (representing the government, militias, and rebel groups), and extensive evidence and testimony has been collected; but there have been no arrests or prosecutions because of the ongoing dispute. The unilateral military actions of the Sudan Liberation Army (SLA) and the Justice for Equality Movement (JEM) against substantial Sudanese government military targets in Darfur in March 2003 launched the heavy rounds of fighting. Also, many Darfuri people have long been in the Sudanese army, and many refugees from Darfur have actually fled to other cities in Sudan where they might live in poor conditions, but they are not racially persecuted.

On the other hand, among the *janjaweed* and regular government forces, the counterinsurgency strategy has employed extreme and frightful measures to drive the rural populations (supporters of the rebels) to IDP (internally displaced persons) camps, to other Sudanese cities, and across international borders. An internationally brokered

effort to reach a peaceful solution between the government of Sudan and the rebels was achieved in Abuja in 2006 with the largest rebel faction, while others kept maneuvering and splintering for more favorable outcomes. The remaining rebels caused some of the subsequent bloodshed. With these attacks the Government of Sudan (GoS) resorts to the right, maintained by any sovereign state, to deploy its military. These circumstances certainly do not diminish the horrors. But perhaps they weaken or cast doubt on the legal case for genocide. In Cambodia, Rwanda, and Serbia, or in Nazi Germany, *all* members of the targeted groups were at risk *any* place under the control of those committing genocide. This is not the case in Sudan.

Likewise, in Darfur the apparent victims of this crime, the rebels, certainly initiated, then escalated, this conflict as an understandable but perhaps misguided political movement seeking a more favorable position vis-à-vis Khartoum that would be parallel to what they saw was achieved in the North-South (CPA) accords. The rebel forces failed to calculate the role of  *Murahaleen* militias in that dispute and did not adequately account for the probability that Khartoum would likely respond in a similar way in Darfur. In short, it appears that the legal or criminal aspects of this conflict, however horrible, were apparently not built on a plan of extermination or ethnic cleansing of the Darfuri people from the nation of Sudan, but by a counterinsurgency campaign to clear the conflicted zone of civilian support. Moreover, judging from the fact that most of the main Darfur rebel parties attended and participated in the Abuja meetings and that the largest (SLA-Minnawi) signed the accords, it can be seen that most sought a political and peaceful solution of the disputes. Some rebels have supplemental agendas about the political equation in Khartoum or even some interest in secession. Such goals are not the case for genocide in general.

#### GENDER AND HUMAN RIGHTS ASPECTS

United Nations Security Council resolution 1593 of March 31, 2005, referred this conflict to the International Criminal Court. China abstained, while the United States awkwardly feared that it would itself be judged by this judicial body for alleged war crimes and Geneva Accord abuses in its “war on terrorism.” The United States is not a signatory of the ICC, and it was hesitant to charge Sudanese with war crimes, especially while working with Sudan on counterterrorism intelligence and jointly protecting the Comprehensive Peace Agreement that both value. Former president of the African Union (AU), Nigerian President Olasegun Obasanjo bravely proposed creating an African panel for Criminal Justice and Reconciliation for the Darfur situation. To push this point, the normal rotation of the AU presidency was slated to put Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir in this

position during the AU summit in Khartoum. This became so problematic that al-Bashir stepped away from this notable appointment. The ICC continued to investigate human rights abuses in Eastern Congo and Uganda.

Meanwhile, the United Nations created an International Commission of Inquiry on Darfur to document the patterns of abuses in that Sudanese province. The commission concluded that the government of Sudan and its *janjaweed* militia were largely responsible for human rights abuses and other legal violations that could reach the level of “war crimes” according to the principles of the Geneva Accords, including rape, gang rape, and other forms of sexual and criminal violence. The SLA and JEM factions that existed at that time were also charged with such violations.

It is clear that, with the breakdown of the civil and legal order, gender-based abuses occurred because women and children are highly vulnerable and their own male kin had often joined with various armed groups. Violence against women, children, and the elderly in a scorched earth approach aimed partly to make “free-fire zones” in the government counterinsurgency strategy for rebel vs. *janjaweed* engagements and partly to deny the human resources base for the rebel groups in Darfur. This rural depopulation tactic to “break the will” of the rebels backfired, only intensifying their anger and resolve to fight on. International anguish and hand-wringing grew as the zone of death, destruction, and displacement steadily widened.

The number of cases of violence against women represented only a small portion of incidents: A larger number of women were discouraged to report incidents of violence given the extreme sanctions imposed on the Sudanese government, the general state of fear of retaliation, cultural patterns relating to shameful acts, and very few prosecutorial measures that might redress their grievances. For these reasons a culture of impunity developed. The economic and practical need for women to move out of the relative protection of refugee camps to seek firewood and tend small herds compelled them to be continually vulnerable to abuse and violence. It now appears that in Darfur and elsewhere, sexual violence was incorporated as a part of a psychological warfare program against the insurgents. If these acts were organized and institutionalized, such a program would be in clear violation of some of the legal principles of the Geneva Accords.

#### ETHICAL AND MORAL ASPECTS

Certain ethical and moral aspects can be added to the mix of complex issues. The ethical obligation to engage in conflict negotiation and resolution and humanitarian concerns (especially for children and women) are paramount, along with documenting cases of a possible criminal nature. Ethics and morality should drive the global community into



**Sudanese Village Following a Raid by Rebels, 2004.** *The charred remains of Abu Sheik, a village in Darfur, after a raid by rebels. The inhabitants of this village had either been killed or became refugees. AP IMAGES.*

further education and study, as well as nonpartisan advocacy to bring all combatants to the bargaining table to implement force separation, compel disarmament, begin conflict resolution with adjudication, and restore security and justice. Some of these concerns can be addressed with international and local nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). These are far from utopian concerns, as the peace accords accepted for military conflicts in the Southern and Eastern Sudan were “resolved” during the period of conflict in Darfur. Respect for the sovereignty of Sudan should also be a priority, rather than the internationalization of the conflict and escalation to a greater level that puts even more people at risk relative to global security and development concerns about “failed states” in Africa.

#### DEMOGRAPHY AND SCALE: THE “NUMBERS DEBATES”

Among the many contentious topics raging around the Darfur conflict is just how many people have been killed,

injured, and displaced by the conflicting parties, and who is responsible for what. For the Government of Sudan or the Government of National Unity (GNU), there is a political tendency to deflate the numbers; among the rebels, their supporters, and genocide activists there has been a tendency to inflate the numbers. Serious problems afflict the methodology and motivation of both, and the chain of zeroes usually attached to, or subtracted from, the numbers of casualties suggests the high level of approximation. Without doubt, there are certainly tens of thousands of dead and wounded people, and minimally hundreds of thousands of people are displaced from the contested zones in Darfur. Relatively low or high numbers would serve either to minimize or dramatize the claim of genocide. In fact, the legal aspects of the Geneva Accords set no specific requirement for numbers of victims, because what is central to the charge of genocide is the motivation and coordination of the alleged act and not if the “genocidal mission” was achieved.



Nothing in the numbers game suggests that the humanitarian crisis is in any sense diminished. There is little question from any perspective that the situation is grave and deteriorating. So whether the numbers of dead are 200,000 or 300,000 or 400,000 is not really the legal question. Whether the number of displaced persons is one or two million, it is clear that access, aid, and protection by NGOs are needed immediately.

There is an urgent “do something” need to return to negotiation, stop the attacks by all parties on humanitarian agencies, and start to deescalate the conflict, separate the warring parties, and prepare for criminal prosecutions wherever possible. Only then can reconciliation be based in a just resolution that is already within the present, albeit incomplete and unimplemented, Darfur Peace Accords.

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## GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT MOVEMENT

Race and class may be viewed as major predictors of participation in activities and actions associated with local undesirable land uses (LULUs). This growing social problem affects quality of life for many diverse groups, but especially the poor and people of color.

The Environmental Justice Movement (EJM) fights against environmental racism and injustices in the allocation and distribution of environmental contaminants in and around communities of color, the political powerless, and the economically less fortunate. Since the mid-1980s, the EJM has become a multicultural grassroots social movement that aims to seek fairness, and meaningful involvement in the imposition of environmental poisons on disenfranchised communities of color. It seeks to promote environmental justice for people who are most at risk of exposure to toxins. The United States Environmental Protection Agency (EPA; 1998) defines environmental justice as the “fair treatment and meaningful involvement for people of all races, ethnicities, cultures, national origins and incomes, regarding the development, implementation, and enforcement of environmental laws, regulations and policies” (Government Code Section 65040.12 and Public Resources Code Section 72000).

*Fair treatment* means that no specific population group should bear the brunt of a disproportionate share of environmental problems brought about by industrial facilities, governmental structures, and policies. *Meaningful involvement* means that at-risk communities of color should be participatory agents in the decision-making process that affects their local communities and thus puts them at a higher risk for environmental dangers than other, more affluent segments of our population. Thus, the environmental justice movement is the vehicle environmental justice advocates and grassroots groups use in

ameliorating many of the environmental disparities among people of color and the poor communities. The goal is to provide a safe environment free of environmental stressors so people can work, live, play, learn, and pray in a nontoxic environment.

## HISTORY OF THE MOVEMENT

Several major forces have contributed to the growth of the environmental justice movement since the 1980s. These include grassroots activism, an active research agenda, the environmental justice leadership summit, establishment of the Office of Environmental Equity, and the signing of Executive Order 12898. Data show that one of the earliest grassroots actions occurred in Memphis, Tennessee, in 1968 when Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was scheduled to lead a group of African American sanitation workers in a garbage strike. Unfortunately, King was assassinated on April 4, 1968, before he could complete the environmental and economic activism process. Another case can be found in California in 1969, where Ralph Abascal of California Rural Legal Assistance filed a lawsuit on behalf of several migrant farm workers. This resulted in the ban of the pesticide DDT. Following this protest, Linda McLeever Bullard in 1979 filed the *Bean v. Southwestern Waste Management, Inc.* lawsuit on behalf of Houston's Northeast Community Action Group, the first civil rights suit challenging the siting of a waste facility.

Also in 1979, Robert D. Bullard completed his *Houston Waste and Black Community Study* for the *Bean v. Southwestern Waste Management, Inc.* lawsuit. He found that waste dumps were not randomly scattered throughout the city but were disproportionately located in African American neighborhoods. This was the first study to examine the causal factors of environmental racism. Bullard also found that housing discrimination, lack of zoning, and decisions by public officials over fifty years produced the environmentally unequal outcomes (Bullard 2000a, 2005). However, it was not until 1982 that environmental justice received national attention in the United States. In 1982 African American residents in Warren County, North Carolina, protested against a PCB (polychlorinated biphenyl) landfill being placed in their community, which resulted in over 500 activists being arrested. This outcry for environmental justice was the most widely publicized case of collective behavior and social-movement activism. It galvanized the environmental justice movement in the United States, prompting the need for national studies to validate the existence of environmental racism. It also sparked the conceptualization of the concept "environmental racism," a term coined by Benjamin Chavis to refer to "racial discrimination in race-based differential enforcement of environmental rules

and regulations; the intentional or unintentional targeting of minority communities for the siting of polluting industries such as toxic waste disposal; and the exclusion of people of color from public and private boards, commissions, and regulatory bodies" (Chavis 1992, pp. 4–5).

Two major landmark studies in the 1980s confirmed the validity of racial differences in the distribution of toxic sites among local communities. These included the U.S. General Accounting Office and the United Church of Christ studies. The U.S. General Accounting Office study (1983) chronicled eight southern states. The goal was to determine the impact and correlation of environmental degradation on communities of color. This study revealed that three out of four off-site commercial hazardous waste landfills in the southeastern United States were located within predominately African American communities. The national study in 1987 by the United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice found that race was the most significant factor in determining where waste facilities were located. Some of the study's findings showed that three out of five African Americans and Hispanic Americans lived in communities with one or more uncontrolled toxic waste sites, and that 50 percent of Asian-Pacific Islander Americans and Native Americans lived in such communities. Scholars continue to document environmental concerns faced by minorities and the poor with respect to environmental contaminants—showing that health risks from being exposed to such hazards are higher for minorities than for their white counterparts.

Research by Bobby Emmett Jones and Shirley Rainey on perceptions of environmental justice and awareness and health and justice in the Red River community found that blacks were more concerned about environmental issues than whites and that they perceived environmental exposure as placing them at a higher health risk than whites (Rainey 2005). They also thought that environmental racism was the cause of their environmental situation. Bullard asserts that environmental racism combined with public policies and industry practices provides benefits for whites while shifting industry costs to communities of color. It is reinforced by governmental, legal, economic, political, and military institutions.

Another milestone in the growth of the environmental justice movement was the First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit in Washington, DC, in 1991, which led to the identification of seventeen environmental justice principles as a guide to address environmental problems. These environmental justice principles available at [www.toxicspot.com](http://www.toxicspot.com), serve as a guide for grassroots groups:

1. Environmental Justice affirms the sacredness of Mother Earth, ecological unity and the

## *Global Environment Movement*

- interdependence of all species, and the right to be free from ecological destruction.
2. Environmental Justice demands that public policy be based on mutual respect and justice for all people, free from any form of discrimination and bias.
  3. Environmental Justice mandates the right to ethical, balanced and responsible uses of land and renewable resources in the interest of a sustainable planet for humans and other living things.
  4. Environmental Justice calls for universal protection from nuclear testing, extraction, production and disposal of toxic/hazardous wastes and poisons and nuclear testing that threaten the fundamental right to clean air, land, water, and food.
  5. Environmental Justice affirms the fundamental right to political, economic, cultural and environmental self-determination of all peoples.
  6. Environmental Justice demands the cessation of production of all toxins, hazardous wastes and radioactive materials and that all past and current producers be held strictly accountable to the people for detoxification and the containment at the point of production.
  7. Environmental Justice demands the right to participate as equal partners at every level of decision-making including needs assessment, planning, implementation, enforcement, and evaluation.
  8. Environmental Justice affirms the right of all workers to a safe and healthy work environment, without being forced to choose between an unsafe livelihood and unemployment. It also affirms the right of those who work at home to be free from environmental hazards.
  9. Environmental Justice protects the right of victims of environmental injustices to receive full compensation and reparations for damages as well as quality health care.
  10. Environmental Justice considers government acts of environmental injustice a violation of international law, the Universal Declaration On Human Rights, and the UN Convention on Genocide.
  11. Environmental Justice must recognize a special legal and natural relationship of Native Peoples to the U.S. government through treaties, agreements, compacts, and covenants affirming sovereignty and self-determination.
  12. Environmental Justice affirms the need for urban and rural ecological policies to clean up and rebuild our cities and rural areas in balance with nature, honoring the cultural integrity of all our communities, and providing fair access for all to the full range of resources.
  13. Environmental Justice calls for the strict enforcement of principles of informed consent, and a halt to the testing of experimental reproductive and medical procedures and vaccinations on people of color.
  14. Environmental Justice opposes the destructive operations of multi-national corporations.
  15. Environmental Justice opposes military occupation, repression and exploitation of lands, peoples and cultures, and other life forms.
  16. Environmental Justice calls for the education of present and future generations which emphasizes social and environmental issues, based on our experience and an appreciation of our diverse cultural perspectives.
  17. Environmental Justice requires that we, as individuals, make personal and consumer choices to consume as little of Mother Earth's resources and produce as little waste as possible; and make the conscious decisions to challenge and reprioritize our lifestyles to insure the health of the natural world for present and future generations.

The efforts of the summit led to the establishment in 1992 of the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency's Office of Environmental Equity, later renamed the Office of Environmental Justice (OEJ). The purpose of the OEJ is to serve as the focal point for environmental justice concerns within EPA. It provides coordination and oversight regarding these concerns to all parts of the agency. The OEJ engages in public-outreach activities, provides technical and financial assistance to outside groups investigating environmental justice issues, and serves as a central environmental justice information clearinghouse.

Finally, President Bill Clinton's 1994 signing of Executive Order 12898 was another milestone for the environmental justice movement. This Executive Order required all federal agencies to develop environmental justice strategies and to promote nondiscrimination in federal programs substantially affecting human health and the environment and to provide minority and low-income communities access to public participation in matters relating to human health or the environment. These events have been instrumental in the growth of the environmental justice movement. Environmental justice advocates continue to fight against environmental injustices that plague many people of color and poor communities.

### **DUMPING GROUND FOR EXPLOITATION**

Many communities of color and economically distressed communities have become dumping grounds for community exploitation and environmental racism. This type of environmental injustice can be found throughout the world. In the

United States, for example, “Cancer Alley”—an eighty-five mile industrial corridor in Louisiana stretching from Baton Rouge to New Orleans—is home to 138 of the nation’s petrochemical production facilities. This industrial corridor has been described as the “Zone of National Sacrifice” (Wright 1998; Johnson 2005). There are several environmental problems in the United States that have received local, national, and international attention. Affected communities include West Dallas, Texas (lead contamination); Northwood Manor, Texas (municipal landfill); Institute, West Virginia (chemical emission); Alsen, Louisiana (hazardous waste); Tuscon, Arizona (industrial toxic waste site); Emelle, Alabama (hazardous waste site); southside Chicago (waste sites); Oak Ridge, Tennessee (toxic chemical plant exposure); Dickson, Tennessee (well water and landfill); and Nashville, Tennessee (landfill). Exposure to environmental hazards has impacted negatively on residents of these communities’ health and quality of life.

#### GLOBAL ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE PROBLEMS

Environmental degradation also poses a threat to economically and socially disadvantaged communities globally. For example, the Bhopal disaster in India in 1984 caused a toxic chemical release of heated methyl isocyanate (MIC) gases from Union Carbide, which catastrophically killed over 20,000 and injured between 150,000 and 600,000 people. Other examples include the Niger Delta, Nigeria, where oil resource exploration and production has taken place and has impacted disastrously on the environment and quality of life of the people of this territory (Douglas et al. 2005; Westra 1998); Puerto Rico has become one of the “world’s most heavily polluted places” as a consequence of toxic exposure from oil refineries, petrochemical plants, and pharmaceutical companies (Weintraub 2006); in the Pacific, islands have been used for nuclear and atomic weapons testing. Residents’ exposure to radiation from this testing has caused major health problems.

In North America, Native American groups have also been very active in their efforts to protect and reclaim land, resources, culture, religion, and all else that belongs to them from social and environmental exploitation. Environmental activist Winona LaDuke points out that even though Native Americans and other indigenous peoples worldwide have been exploited for economic gain and bear the health risks from industry and public policies, including the danger posed by the high number of radioactive sites on Native American land, they are virulent in their actions to bring about environmental justice (LaDuke 1999, 2005). Native Americans are addressing environmental justice initiatives by producing energy for their communities using green power. The White Earth Reservation is reintroducing stur-

geon into the headwaters of the Mississippi and Red Rivers, and the Nez-Perce are returning to the breeding of quality horses (LaDuke 2005).

Finally, a local environmental justice grassroots movement (made up of women) in Plachimada, the southern state of Kerala, India, formed to fight against environmental racism from the Coca-Cola Company. These local residents, along with national and international leaders such as Vandana Shiva, protested the unfair treatment of their water supply and won a victory over the environmental exploitation by Coca-Cola. The Coca-Cola plant in Plachimada is accused of creating severe water shortages and pollution by stealing over 1.5 million liters of water per day to use in production. Pollution is said to come from the company depositing waste material outside the company premises on paddy fields, canals, and wells, causing serious health hazards and deaths. Shiva continues to fight against pollution, diversion through dams, and privatization that is killing rivers and water bodies and affecting the health and quality of life of India’s population. These are only a few examples of how economic exploitation, racial oppression, devaluation of human life and the natural environment, and corporate greed are compromising the quality of life of communities and cultures around the globe.

#### THE ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE FUTURE

From its strong civil rights beginnings, the EJM in the United States has grown from a small number of grassroots groups to over 500, not counting grassroots groups that are developing on a global scale to fight environmental racism. This movement has been led mainly by local working-class women of color with the aid of scholars, social activists, and policy makers, who have argued in countless studies, reports, congressional testimonies, theoretical and popular books and journals—in print and broadcast media—that environmental racism is a real problem that must be addressed.

Environmental justice groups started out framing environmental racism issues around civil rights issues but have grown to include land rights and sovereignty, social justice, and sustainable development (Agyeman et al. 2003; Bullard 2005). These groups have expanded their grievances from toxic waste to incinerators, smelters, sewage treatment plants, chemical industries, air pollution, waste disposal, facility siting, wildlife, pesticides, lead, asbestos, landfills, water contamination, urban sprawl, transportation, and sustainability in general. The EJM’s goal is for better living in local communities, with safe jobs, urban redevelopment, and clean air and water. The grassroots activism of environmental justice groups is an ongoing process fueled by unresolved environmental justice issues.

SEE ALSO *Antiracist Social Movements*.

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*Shirley Ann Rainey*

## GREAT CHAIN OF BEING

From the time of the ancient Greeks, it has been commonplace to think and write about animals as if they were part of a linear hierarchy. While this view of the natural world may be related to the basic structure of writing in general, in that it is an essentially linear mode of communication, it backgrounds much of pre-Enlightenment thought, and it became a formal feature of early modern scientific thought on natural history. The medieval cultural conception of such a natural hierarchy is known as the "Great Chain of Being."

The French anthropologists Émile Durkheim (1858–1917) and Marcel Mauss (1872–1950) famously observed that the way people organize nature replicates, in some fashion, their own social relations; that is, the way in which they organize themselves. The Great Chain of Being is an excellent example of this. In a social environment structured as a rigid linear hierarchy—from the king, princes, and various ranks of nobles down through vassals, peasants, and perhaps even slaves, all occupying particular slots in vertical relation to one another—it is certainly reasonable to imagine the animal kingdom as similarly organized.

The Great Chain of Being, then, represented an imposition of medieval European political relations upon the natural world. To the extent that the idea was present in earlier times, it was part of a plurality of speculations on the relations of animals. Aristotle said that man is the most perfect animal, and he suggested ranking animals in terms of their mode of reproduction and body temperature. He did not take this idea very far, however. Pliny the Elder did not even incorporate it into the framework of his first-century *Natural History*. In medieval Christian Europe, however, it developed into the dominant, if not exclusive, way of thinking about nature. In Latin, the Great Chain of Being was called the *scala naturae*; in French, *échelle des êtres*.

### COMPONENTS OF THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING

The Great Chain of Being was conceptualized differently by scholars at different times. The historian Arthur O. Lovejoy (1936) identified three basic intellectual components of the Great Chain of Being, which he called the principles of Plenitude, Continuity, and Gradation.

The Principle of Plenitude is derived from the Christian view of the earth as a vessel for the products of God's creation, and as evidence of his bounty. In this view, God is demonstrating his wisdom and goodness through the diversity of his species. Since omnipotence and humility would seem to be incompatible, God is considered to be showing his creative power by bringing into existence not

just a finite sample of life forms, but all possible species. Consequently, there was no line recognized between real animal species and imaginary ones; everything from crows and pigs to mermaids and centaurs must exist somewhere.

The Principle of Continuity held that there were no gaps separating different kinds of living beings. The transcendent line on which various species fell was itself unbroken, and it was an additional manifestation of God's wisdom and power that he created species that blended into one another. Thus, the apes (actually, tailless macaques that are technically monkeys) connected monkeys to people, and the discovery of chimpanzees at the end of the eighteenth century filled in another segment between the "apes" and people (Gould 1983).

Finally, the Principle of Gradation incorporated the assumption about the geometry of the natural order as essentially a line leading from lowest (or simplest, or least like us) up to the highest form of life, the most complex and most intelligent—namely humans. This is the sense in which the linear rankings replicated the social order on earth. In some versions of the Great Chain, the human species was not at the top, but rather in the middle, below a celestial hierarchy of angels, and archangels, leading up to God.

The eighteenth century brought a final component to the Great Chain of Being, the idea of Progress (Bury 1932). In a social universe that saw massive growth in the intellectual arena through developments in science, and unprecedented economic growth through the application of technology, it seemed reasonable to look to the future with anticipation. As the history of life, via the fossil record, began concurrently to be understood, it was an easy step to see progress in the succession of living things through time, or a "temporalizing" of the Great Chain.

#### EVOLUTIONARY IMPLICATIONS OF THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING

Eighteenth-century scholars of natural history were increasingly pulled in two directions as they tried to reconcile their inferences about nature to their interpretations of scripture. The leading social issue of the day was slavery, which was increasingly being rationalized by recourse to the supposed inferiority and lesser humanity of the non-European races (Stanton 1960). Abolitionists commonly invoked the Bible in support of the unity of the species, the product of a single creative act by God on the sixth day. The monogenists (believers in a single origin of people) were necessarily struck by the diversity of human form that had been produced from the loins of Adam and Eve. If Adam and Eve looked like Europeans, then obviously the facial features of Africans must have arisen subsequently; or vice-versa. Thus, from the very

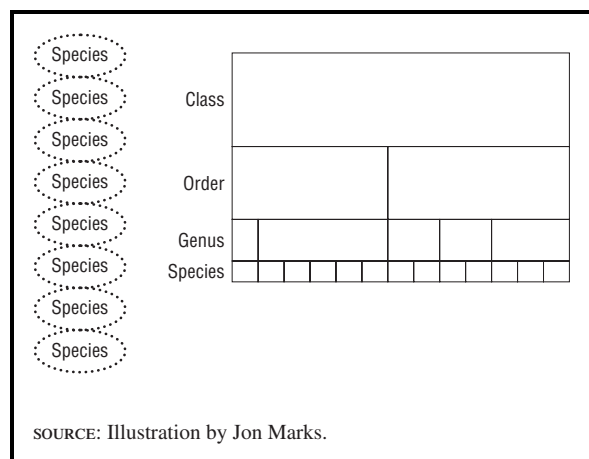
fact of human variation, coupled with a single origin for the human species as recorded in Genesis, the earliest theories of microevolution were deduced.

However, science seemed to link the other races to apes through measurements of the skull and face, at least according to scholars concerned with justifying the practice of slavery by dehumanizing Africans. Rejecting Biblical literalism, the polygenists (believers in multiple origins of people) separated the human races, but in so doing they drew the entire species closer to the apes and, by implication, to the rest of life on earth in their hierarchical framework. Thus, according to Jordan, "To call the Negro a man and the ape a beast was in effect to shatter the Great Chain" (1968, p. 230). To be sure, the relationships among the Great Chain, slavery, and evolution were somewhat nuanced and idiosyncratic (Haller 1970), but there were nevertheless broad correspondences and rationalizations afforded by relating science and politics to one another.

Two bitter controversies of early modern biology were based on interpretations of the Great Chain of Being and its implications. The first, in the middle of the eighteenth century, was over classification; the second, at the turn of the nineteenth century, was over extinction.

The Swedish botanist-physician Carl (Carolus) Linnaeus revolutionized biology in the eighteenth century with his development of formal principles of classification. In his view, rather than forming a single series, life was hierarchically organized into nested categories of equal rank: On earth there were kingdoms of animals, plants, and minerals; within animals there were classes of fish, reptiles, worms, insects, mollusks, and mammals; within mammals there were orders; within orders there were genera; and within genera there were species. Every species ultimately had its place within a genus, order, class, and kingdom.

This system lent itself to comparison and diagnosis, but not easily to a classically linear conception of nature (see Figure 1). While it took hold quickly and firmly in the academic community, it met opposition among other scholars, chief among them the French naturalist Count de Buffon. Buffon opposed the Linnaean system on three grounds. First, it was fairly obvious that nature was organized into higher and lower forms of life, so the linearity of nature could not be discounted. Second, it seemed to imply common descent, for what else could it mean to say that a donkey and a horse should be grouped together? For that matter, "Once it is admitted that there are families of plants and animals, that the donkey is of the horse family, and that it differs only because it has degenerated, then one could equally say that man and ape have had a common origin like the horse and donkey—that each family among the animals and vegetables have had but a single stem, and that all animals have



**Figure 1.** Left, the Great Chain of Being, a one-dimensional hierarchy in which animals are ranked in relation to humans, placed at the top. Right, the Linnaean system, in which animals are placed in relation to each other, in nested categories of equal rank.

emerged from but a single animal which, through the succession of time, has produced by improvement and degeneration all the races of animals” (Buffon, *Histoire Naturelle* IV, “The Ass” 1753) which of course could not possibly be true. Lastly, if the Linnaean hierarchy was not a reflection of common descent, then what produced it? Linnaeus was not saying, and a serious (i.e., post-Newtonian) scholar could not merely describe a pattern in nature, so Buffon felt he was obliged to explain it as well.

Linnaeus and Buffon were both monogenists and creationists, although Buffon developed a theory of microevolution to account for the obvious biological diversity to be found within any species. Late in life, Linnaeus backpedaled from his belief that new species could never arise. But Linnaeus’s nonlinear approach to nature also involved classifying humans into four color-coded geographical subspecies. Tom Gundling (2005) notes that there is indeed linearity in Linnaeus’ treatment of the animal kingdom, which begins with humans and works its way downward; but it may also be noted that he presented his subspecies in an order (American, European, Asian, African) that did not seem intended to express any superiority of Native Americans. Buffon, on the other hand, wrote about human “races” in a very casual and informal sense, and he was struck by their essential identity: “Such differences are not primordial—the dissimilarities are merely external, the alterations of nature but superficial. It is certain that all represent the same human, whether varnished black in the tropics, or tanned and shrunken in the glacial cold of the polar circle” (Buffon, *Histoire Naturelle* XIV “On The Degeneration Of Animals” 1766).

The paradox becomes clearer when Buffon’s use of the Great Chain of Being is seen as restricted to macro-

evolutionary patterns; within a species, such as humans, he saw only undirected variation, or “degeneration.” Further, Linnaeus’s rejection of the Great Chain as an organizing principle incorporated elements of superiority and inferiority in a human classification, as he listed (in the tenth edition of *System of Nature* [1758]) the attributes of white *Homo sapiens Europaeus* as “vigorous, muscular . . . sensitive, very smart, creative, . . . governed by law” but those of black *Homo sapiens Afer* as “sluggish, lazy . . . sly, slow, careless . . . governed by whim.” Buffon’s descriptions could incorporate unflattering terms, but not in such broad strokes and with such zoological formality that they might imply a transcendent ranking of human kinds (Sloan 1973; Eddy 1984).

#### EXTINCTION AND THE RISE OF BIOLOGICAL RELATIVISM

The other great controversy faced by the Great Chain of Being was the problem of extinction. The late seventeenth-century English naturalist John Ray had made it clear that his basic view of nature would be undermined if it could be shown that any species had gone extinct. Such a fact would represent a break in the cosmic Chain; it would either show a basic flaw in the design of God’s creation or the fragility of God’s handiwork in the face of human agency. It would represent, wrote Ray, “a dismemb’ring of the universe,” which would presumably be a bad thing.

However, by the middle of the eighteenth century, it was clear that extinction was a fact of life that would have to be accommodated by science. Not only was the large, flightless dodo gone for good from the island of Mauritius, but since that was the only place it had ever been found, it was unlikely to turn up again anywhere else. Moreover, the copious fossil remains of prehistoric life forms, familiar yet distinct from any known species, made it increasingly necessary to incorporate the apparent fact of extinction into any scientific theory of the history of life (Rudwick 1985).

The two principal attempts to do so in the earliest part of the nineteenth century were those of Jean-Baptiste Lamarck and Georges Cuvier. Lamarck developed a theory in which the imminent threat of extinction produced a response on the part of the organism that involved incorporating stable improvements into its organic features; in essence, it climbed a notch up the Great Chain of Being to avoid extermination. Within this framework, he explicitly envisioned the possible transformation of an ape into a human. Cuvier, on the other hand, began with the premise that the Great Chain was false, for (following the Linnaean approach) he saw four noncomparable, and therefore nonrankable, kinds of creatures: vertebrates, mollusks, insects, and radiates. Cuvier’s theory incorporated extinction as a real phenomenon—a periodic purging of

existing animals, with their replacement by newer forms of life. In this conception, the transformation of species was neither necessary nor likely.

The shift in the eighteenth century from the linear ranking of life forms (in terms of their approximation to the human) to the establishment of their places in a natural order derived from patterns of similarity to one another must be seen as part of a broader set of relativizing discourses. Civilization could be seen as a glorious culmination of history (as per Thomas Hobbes), or as decadent and unnatural (as per Jean-Jacques Rousseau); perhaps, then, civilization merely comprised one set of ways of living, with its own attendant merits and deficiencies. Concurrently, age-old social and political hierarchies were crumbling, as the revolutionary idea of a nation composed of citizens with equal rights began to be implemented in America in 1776 and in France in 1789. Ironically, the institution of slavery would stand in the way of the full implementation of those ideas in America for many decades.

It was clear, however, that the future of biology lay in establishing the relationships of plants and animals to each other, not to a transcendent and arbitrary standard; just as modern political society would be founded on the equal relationships of citizens to each other, not to the ancient standard of hereditary aristocracy.

#### RACIAL SCIENCE AND THE GREAT CHAIN

The early nineteenth century was a time of considerable intellectual ferment in natural history, particularly in relation to the position of people in the natural order, and in their relation to one another. Cranial studies were undertaken and quickly invoked to differentiate and rank the peoples of the world. These ranged from Morton's studies of cranial volume through Retzius' cranial or cephalic index, a measurement of skull shape. The most powerful measure, however, turned out to be the facial angle, derived by a Dutch anatomist named Pieter (Petrus) Camper, who tried to devise a method that would permit the accurate artistic rendering of the heads of different people for aesthetic purposes. However, Camper's work was seized upon by polygenists to emphasize the differences between Europeans and Africans, for it supposedly showed the intermediacy of Africans in facial form between Europeans and apes.

Indeed, the power of the Great Chain of Being to dehumanize non-Europeans by linking them to lower forms of life proceeded largely unaffected by the emergence of Darwinism. Some pre-Darwinians, such as the French naturalist Julien-Joseph Virey, placed Europeans, Africans, and apes in a series and casually connected the dots. The famous pre-Darwinian evolutionary scheme in

*Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* (1844) ran from amoebas, through other species and other races, to Europeans:

We have already seen that various leading animal forms represent stages in the embryotic [sic] progress of the highest—the human being. Our brain goes through the various stages of a fish's, a reptile's, and a mammifer's brain, and finally becomes human. There is more than this for, after completing the animal transformations, it passes through the characters in which it appears, in the Negro, Malay, American, and Mongolian nations, and finally is Caucasian.

The leading characters, in short, of the various races of mankind, are simply representations of particular stages in the development of the highest or Caucasian type. The Negro exhibits permanently the imperfect brain, projecting lower jaw, and slender bent limbs, of the Caucasian child, some considerable time before the period of its birth. The aboriginal American represents the same child nearer birth. The Mongolian is an arrested infant newly born. (Chambers 1844, pp. 306, 307)

The Darwinian revolution had little effect upon the racial conception of the Great Chain. Scarcely two decades after the initial publication of the *Vestiges*, Thomas Huxley (who had recently reviewed and excoriated a later edition of the *Vestiges*) would be faced with arguing for Darwinism in the absence of a human fossil record. Fatefully, the first-generation Darwinians would argue that the absence of such evidence for evolution was unnecessary, since (by drawing upon preexisting imagery) Europeans could be linked to the apes via the nonwhite races.

Thus, Thomas Huxley—an abolitionist, monogenist, and evolutionist—explained the position of black people in the natural order in an 1865 essay:

It may be quite true that some negroes are better than some white men; but no rational man, cognisant of the facts, believes that the average negro is the equal, still less the superior, of the average white man. And, if this be true, it is simply incredible that, when all his disabilities are removed, and our prognathous relative has a fair field and no favour, as well as no oppressor, he will be able to compete successfully with his bigger-brained and smaller-jawed rival, in a contest which is to be carried on by thoughts and not by bites. The highest places in the hierarchy of civilisation will assuredly not be within the reach of our dusky cousins, though it is by no means necessary that they should be restricted to the lowest.





**Histoire naturelle de genre humain by Julien-Joseph Virey (1824).** *The Great Chain of Being doctrine dehumanized non-Europeans by linking them to lower forms of life. French naturalist Julien-Joseph Virey placed people of African descent between apes and whites in the evolutionary ladder, as seen by this illustration. REPRINTED FROM JEAN-JULIS VIREY, HISTOIRE NATURELLE DE GENRE HUMAIN. PARIS: CHROCARD, 1824.*

Darwinism's German apostle, Ernst Haeckel, would go further, constructing a theory of evolution that stretched from the amoeba to the German nation, driven by his "biogenetic law" (that ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny, or that individuals personally pass through developmental stages representing their ancestry). In such a grand view, not only would other races be primitive and inferior, but so would other social institutions and political systems. These primitivizing and dehumanizing aspects of the Great Chain of Being would be invoked to legitimize (by recourse to nature) the most notorious

practices of modern technological states in the service of imperial aspirations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Dubow 1995; McMaster 2001).

A considerable effort in evolutionary biology and anthropology since World War II has been devoted to divesting Darwinism of the metaphor of linearity. Some notable examples include the interpretation of human ancestry (Tattersall 1998); primate psychology (Povinelli 2000); life on earth (Simpson 1949; Foley 1987; Ayala 1988) and adaptation (Gould and Lewontin 1979). Likewise, to purge Darwinism of the ideology of racism required considerable effort after World War II (Washburn 1951; Haraway 1988; Barkan 1992), and to some extent continues to do so (Graves 2001; Marks 2002; Brace 2005). Perhaps the last major holdout of the Great Chain in science lies in the idea that intelligence is a singular and innate property, ascertainable through standardized tests, and permitting the establishment of everyone's relative positions by their scores, or IQs.

**SEE ALSO** *Colonialism, Internal; Genocide; Racial Hierarchy.*

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Jonathan Marks

## GYPSIES

SEE Roma.

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## HAITIAN RACIAL FORMATIONS

When it declared its independence from France in 1804, Haiti defined itself as a “black” nation-state. Born out of the only successful slave revolution in world history, Haiti remained diplomatically and culturally isolated throughout the nineteenth century in a Caribbean zone where slavery, colonialism, and racism were the norm. Moreover, the country’s colonial experience had generated persistent divisions between Haitians of full African descent and those of mixed European and African ancestry. The terms “black” and “mulatto” described these two groups, but the tension between them was more a matter of social and political conflict than racial prejudice, as it might be defined in the United States. Nevertheless, the “color question” was a major source of internal political conflict into the twentieth century.

### MAIN GROUPS AND LABELS

Historically, Haitians have described mulattos and blacks as the two major social or ethnic groups in their country. Haiti is also home to a small number of families of Middle Eastern descent. In the early 1970s, however, the Canadian sociologist Micheline Labelle found that Haitians used as many as 120 different racial terms, and that more than 95 percent of these labels were based on a set of between eight to ten terms. Labelle’s Haitian informants agreed that each of these racial terms represented a specific mix of physical characteristics, especially skin color, hair texture, hair color, and facial features. But when she asked individual Haitians to classify drawings of faces, they applied racial labels in ways that did not

match their abstract definitions. Labelle’s other major finding was that informants used these racial labels in class-specific ways.

Labelle’s study confirmed what Haitian intellectuals have long maintained: The terms *mulatto* and *black* are more determined by social class than by physical characteristics. Though the wealthiest members of Haitian society also include people who describe themselves as black, all mulattos are, by definition, members of the elite. In other words, light-skinned Haitians who are poor, without much formal schooling, are unlikely to be described as mulattos, regardless of their physical appearance. Since colonial times, mulattos have been seen as more European in culture, education, and lifestyle. After independence, members of important mixed-race families used these characteristics to justify their political dominance. Haiti’s black politicians and intellectuals have historically claimed to represent the majority population, and criticized lighter-skinned Haitians as racist. Yet these tensions were usually confined to the cities. In the 1970s Labelle met many rural Haitians who said they had never seen a mulatto and did not know what one was. Other rural respondents identified mulattos as *blancs*, a term that means both “white” and “foreigner.”

Haiti’s racial terminology also has a geographic component. The country’s southern peninsula has been historically identified with rich mulattos, while after independence the northern region was controlled by black landowning families. Urban areas, especially Port-au-Prince, were historically the seat of mulatto power, because these families dominated foreign trade and the government offices. The countryside, where high mountains kept peasants isolated, was stereotypically black.

Race labels also have a religious and linguistic significance. Although nearly all Haitians participate in the Vodou religion (“voodoo” is seen as a disparaging term), it is strongly associated with black Haitians. Vodou was only recognized as an official religion in Haiti in 2002.

Though 80 percent of Haitians identify themselves as Catholics, the Haitian Catholic Church, administered by white foreign bishops from 1860 to the 1960s, was long identified with the mulatto class. In the 1980s and 1990s, however, politically active priests helped mobilize poor black parishioners. In addition, the ability to speak French is an important marker of mulatto social status. Though French has been the official language of Haiti since independence, only about 10 percent of Haitians can speak it fluently. All Haitians speak Creole, but the government only recognized this as an official language in 1983.

#### RACISM AND ANTIRACISM IN HAITIAN HISTORY

Haiti’s colonial history began when the island was colonized by the Spanish who named it Santo Domingo, but the country’s Francophone identity began in the middle of the 1600s, when French-speaking buccaneers settled on the island’s western coast. France claimed one-third of Hispaniola, naming its colony Saint-Domingue. Gradually the buccaneers became planters, importing hundreds of thousands of enslaved Africans. By the 1780s, slaves outnumbered French colonists ten to one in Saint-Domingue. The Spanish colony of Santo Domingo, on the eastern side of the island, remained relatively undeveloped, with few whites or enslaved Africans.

By the early 1700s, many of Saint-Domingue’s male planters had had children with their slaves. Evidence shows that colonists treated free mixed-race people as white well past the middle of the century. In the 1760s, however, colonial authorities began to worry about colonists’ loyalty. French attempts to “civilize” Saint-Domingue included removing free mixed-race people from “respectable” society. The island had as many free people of color as it had whites by 1780, and this included hundreds of wealthy French-educated mixed-race men and women.

In 1789, two such men were in Paris when the French Revolution broke out. One of them, the indigo planter Julien Raimond (1744–1802), worked with French abolitionists to make racism, not slavery, the revolution’s main colonial controversy. The other, the merchant and landowner Vincent Ogé (ca. 1768–1791), returned to Saint-Domingue in 1790 and demanded voting rights. Colonists were determined to limit voting to “pure” whites, and they executed Ogé and twenty-three of his supporters. Yet free

coloreds continued to demand civil rights, unintentionally opening the way for a slave insurrection.

In August of 1791, hundreds of slaves carried out a massive rebellion in the North Province. As a class, free coloreds sided against the slaves, but many whites resisted granting civil rights to free coloreds until a new revolutionary law was passed in April 1792. Conservative colonists plotted against revolutionary officials, and in June 1793 they rose against them. In exchange for help in fighting these counterrevolutionaries, the revolutionaries offered freedom to slave rebels. On October 31, 1793, they emancipated all the slaves.

Rebels increasingly came to join the revolutionary army, the most notable being Toussaint-Louverture (1743–1803), who had joined the rebels by July 1794. Yet the revolution’s new black officers clashed with lighter-skinned leaders, and in 1798 Toussaint accused the mulatto general André Rigaud (1761–1806) of racism and separatism. His army finally defeated Rigaud’s forces in 1800.

In 1802, French emperor Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821) sent an expedition to Saint-Domingue. Its commander, Charles Leclerc (1772–1802), had orders to remove all nonwhites from power, and when he died from yellow fever, his successor, Donatien Rochambeau (1755–1813), used genocidal techniques against a popular rebellion. His brutality led black and mulatto officers to unite against him. Leclerc had exiled Toussaint, but another black general, Jean-Jacques Dessalines (1758–1806), forced Rochambeau to surrender. On January 1, 1804, Dessalines declared the existence of an independent Haiti, and in 1805 a new constitution proclaimed that all Haitians were black, though more than half the generals who signed it were mulattos.

The following year a coalition of black and mulatto officers assassinated Dessalines and founded two independent states. In the North, Henri Christophe (1767–1820) established a self-consciously “black” kingdom, while in the West and South, Alexandre Pétion (1770–1818) headed a “mulatto” republic. In 1820, Pétion’s lieutenant, Jean-Pierre Boyer (1776–1850), united the two territories, but a revolt overthrew Boyer in 1843. Although peasants, led by a charismatic small farmer named Jean-Jacques Acaau (d. 1846) could not force Boyer’s successors to respond to their demands, from this point the mulatto class began to rule through a series of black presidents. But not all black leaders, especially military officers, would accept this “government by understudy.” By the 1860s, Haitian politics had become a rivalry between the mulatto Liberal Party and the black National Party. From 1879 on, the National Party dominated the presidency, though regional revolts still deposed individual leaders.

In 1915 the United States Marines invaded Haiti after several violent political riots in Port-au-Prince, and the United States ruled the country until 1934. During the long occupation, anger at U.S. racism fostered a new interest in Haiti's African roots among urban intellectuals and the rising black middle class. But mulatto politicians and businessmen were the real beneficiaries of the U.S. occupation, which brought foreign investment and the modernization of Haiti's ports, army, and system of tax collection.

In 1957 a popular reaction against the stronger army and more efficient state created by the United States brought a black country doctor, François "Papa Doc" Duvalier (1907–1971), into the presidency. Under his leadership, racial polarization reached new heights after Duvalier struck out against the mulatto elite. Deeply familiar with Haitian rural culture, Duvalier presented himself as the culmination of a long line of strong black Haitian leaders. He created his own militia, the Tonton Macoutes, to terrorize opponents and overbalance the power of the U.S.-trained army. Thousands of wealthy light-skinned Haitians went into exile. While his racial rhetoric appealed to Haiti's black majority, Duvalier directed foreign aid and government revenues into his own accounts. When Duvalier died in 1971, his son, Jean-Claude (b. 1951), took over the presidency. Far less capable than his father, "Baby Doc" presided over a series of economic crises, including foreign hysteria over AIDS in Haiti, which destroyed the fledgling tourist industry. He was driven into exile in 1986.

The Duvaliers' corruption made it impossible for any Haitian politician to claim to represent the black majority. Instead, a charismatic priest named Jean-Bertrand Aristide (b. 1953) created a political movement called Lavalas, or The Flood, by openly discussing the tensions between rich and poor. Aristide won Haiti's first truly democratic election in 1990, and when the army drove him into exile eight months later, no one used racial labels to describe the event. But Lavalas splintered after U.S. troops returned Aristide to power in 1994. He was re-elected in 2001, but many supporters had lost confidence in him. Refusing to denounce the violence of gangs that claimed to be his supporters, and unable to create a functioning government, Aristide was driven into exile in 2004 by a coalition of opposition groups and private militias, with the support of the United States.

#### RACE AND RACISM IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL ISSUES

Since the fall of the Duvalier regime in 1986, labels such as "black" and "mulatto" have been increasingly replaced in Haitian public discourse by a more frank discussion of the tensions between rich and poor, between urban elites and rural masses. On the other hand, emigration from Haiti has made racism more than ever a problem for

Haitians leaving their country. In 1980, approximately 12 percent of Haitians were living abroad, and that number rose dramatically in the following decades.

Since the early 1900s, sugar companies in Cuba and the Dominican Republic recruited Haitians as field workers. Between 1915 and 1929 there were as many as 300,000 Haitian workers in Cuba, and a similar number worked in the Dominican Republic. Reviled and persecuted in these countries, many migrants could not afford to return home, even when the Great Depression closed the plantations. In 1937 the Dominican army massacred between 10,000 and 30,000 Haitians after President Rafael Trujillo (1891–1961) launched a program of "racial cleansing." Nevertheless, Haitians continued to work on Dominican sugar estates into the 1990s. Similarly, there are well over 100,000 Haitians working on other islands throughout the Caribbean, often illegally.

According to the U.S. Census, there were nearly 750,000 Haitians living in the United States in the year 2000, and their experience has also been marked by racism. This is best demonstrated by the explanations some U.S. medical researchers offered in the early 1980s to explain the emerging AIDS epidemic. The presence of Haitians among the earliest victims of the mysterious new disease produced lurid theories that AIDS originated amid the orgiastic rites imagined to be part of Haitian Vodou. Until 1985, "Haitian" was a medically defined "risk group" for AIDS. Throughout the decade, Haitians living in the United States lost jobs and were shunned by their neighbors because of this identification with the dreaded disease.

#### MAJOR FIGURES IN HAITIAN RACIAL POLITICS

Anténor Firmin (1850–1911) was the most prominent antiracist intellectual in late nineteenth-century Haiti. European writers such as Arthur de Gobineau had used Haitian "savagery" as evidence to support racial theories that Africans were incapable of civilization. In 1885 Firmin published *De l'égalité des races humaines* (*On the Equality of the Human Races*) in response to Gobineau's influential *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines* (*Essay on the inequality of the human race, 1853–1855*). Firmin directly challenged the racist anthropology of the day and suggested that race was a social construction. At the same time, Firmin condemned both Vodou and the Creole language. Because these "backwards" traits were a product of Haiti's environment, he believed they would eventually be eradicated.

The physician, diplomat, and anthropologist Jean Price-Mars (1876–1969) was the founder of Haiti's *Négritude* movement of the 1920s and 1930s, which was begun in recognition and support of African cultures. Price-Mars's book, *Ainsi Parla L'Oncle* (*So Spoke the Uncle*, 1928),

written under the racism of the American occupation, led many Haitian intellectuals to reconsider their attitudes about peasant culture. Price-Mars insisted that Haitians recognize that their cultural roots were in Africa as well as France. He described Vodou as a theological system, not a collection of superstitions. In 1941 he helped found the Bureau and Institute of Ethnology in Port-au-Prince, though this did not prevent a state-run “anti-superstition campaign” targeting Vodou practitioners that very year.

**SEE ALSO** *Caribbean Racial Formations; Children, Racial Disparities and Status of; Firmin, Anténor; HIV and AIDS; Poverty; Racial Formations; Social Welfare States.*

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John D. Garrigus

## HAMER, FANNIE LOU 1917–1977

Fannie Lou Hamer was born Fannie Lou Townsend on October 6, 1917, in Montgomery County, Mississippi. She was the youngest of twenty children born to share-

croppers Jim and Lou Ella Townsend. At the age of six she began working in the cotton fields of Sunflower County and by age twelve she had dropped out of school. She married Perry “Pap” Hamer in 1944, and the couple settled in Ruleville, Mississippi, to work as sharecroppers.

Hamer did not know that blacks could vote until 1962 when, at age forty-four, she attended a mass meeting of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). She volunteered, along with seventeen others, to attempt to register to vote. She failed the required literacy test, however, and when she returned home she learned that she had also lost the job she had held for eighteen years because of her attempt to register. Thus began a public life dedicated to having America fulfill its democratic promises to all citizens. She became a political, social, and economic activist.

In 1964 Hamer helped to organize the events of Freedom Summer, out of which emerged the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) to which she was selected as vice chairman. As a delegate to the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City, she challenged the seating of the all-white party delegation (the “Regulars”). Hamer became a national figure when she provided testimony during televised hearings before the Credentials Committee. She spoke of atrocities faced by blacks in Mississippi when attempting to register and vote and of being severely beaten after she was arrested in Winona, Mississippi, for attending a civil rights meeting. She stated, “If the Freedom Democratic Party is not seated now, I question America, is this America, the land of the free and the home of the brave where we have to sleep with our telephones off the hook because our lives be threatened daily?” (Mills 1993, p. 121). As a compromise, the MFDP was offered two seats, which Hamer rejected, stating, “We didn’t come all this way for no two seats ‘cause all of us is tired” (Mills 1993, p. 5). The MFDP did not win its political challenge, but this effort paved the way for future delegations to Democratic conventions to be integrated.

In 1968 the Loyalists Democrats of Mississippi, a biracial outgrowth of the MFDP, ousted the Regulars at the Chicago Democratic Convention. Hamer was selected as a delegate, but she argued that the party had lost touch with poor people. In the lawsuit *Hamer v. Campbell*, Hamer sought to block elections in Sunflower County on the grounds that blacks had not had an opportunity to register. A federal appeals court overturned a district court decision against her, and new elections were ordered. Hamer also helped organize the National Women’s Political Caucus in 1971.

Hamer dedicated her life to helping the poor, children and working people. In 1963 she formed Delta Ministry, a community development program. In 1968, she founded

Freedom Farms Cooperative, a nonprofit venture designed to help poor farming families. The cooperative purchased forty acres of land and, with help from the National Council of Negro Women, created a pig bank so families could support themselves. (A pig bank loaned adult pigs to local families who would breed them, keep the piglets, and return the mama pig for other families to use.) She also supported efforts of striking members of the Mississippi Farm Labor Union and spoke at rallies to save Head Start programs. A life dedicated to serving others ended March 14, 1977, when Fannie Lou Hamer died of heart failure in Mound Bayou, Mississippi.

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*Mamie E. Locke*

## HATE CRIMES

Hate crimes are message crimes. They affect more than the targeted individual; they affect the entire community. When a person of a selected race or ethnicity is attacked simply because of skin color, the entire ethnic community is put in fear.

Hate crime laws have spawned much debate in modern society. They are viewed as essential by some segments of the community as a powerful tool with which to combat violent bigotry, but they are denounced by others as an overextension of governmental power designed to legislate morality. Addressed here are the specifics of hate crime laws, some of the reasons for the controversy that surrounds them, the reliability of statistics, and the different types of hate crime offenders and hate crime victims.

#### HATE CRIME LAWS

Most states in the early twenty-first century have some form of hate crime legislation. Many such laws create criminal enhancements that increase the level of punish-

ment for crimes with a "hate" component. The wording of hate crime laws often includes numerous protected classes, in addition to race. In California for example, Penal Code Section 422.55(a) defines a hate crime as "a criminal act committed, in whole or in part, because of one or more of the following actual or perceived characteristics of the victim: (1) Disability, (2) Gender, (3) Nationality, (4) Race or ethnicity, (5) Religion, (6) Sexual orientation, (7) Association with a person or group with one or more of these actual or perceived characteristics." Penal Code Section 422.56(d) explains that the phrase "in whole or in part, because of" means that "the bias motivation must be a cause in fact of the offense, whether or not other causes also exist. When multiple concurrent motives exist, the prohibited bias must be a substantial factor in bringing about the particular result. There is no requirement that the bias be a main factor, or that the crime would not have been committed but for the actual or perceived characteristic."

Hate crime laws apply even if the offender mistakenly believes a victim has a characteristic that the person does not in fact have. They criminalize actions committed against a person who belongs to a particular ethnic group, or against a person whom the perpetrator believes is a member of such a group. An assault against an Asian who is mistakenly believed to be a person of Middle Eastern ancestry is no less a hate crime just because the perpetrator's perception of the victim's ethnicity was incorrect.

Opponents of hate crime laws feel that the government should not function as "thought police," and that the motivation of the perpetrator should be irrelevant. This viewpoint often stems from a misunderstanding of the scope of hate crime laws. Citizens are free to hold whatever biases they choose; it is only when they commit a crime because of such biases that hate crime laws apply. This distinction is often frustrating for targeted individuals to hear, but it is important for communities to understand that as sympathetic as law enforcement might be, they can only enforce violations of the criminal law.

The controversy over hate crime laws is also fueled by the misconception that hate crime laws infringe upon constitutionally protected freedom of speech. Racial slurs constitute free speech. Such language, unless it qualifies as a criminal threat, is not criminal. The distribution of racist leaflets or brochures is another exercise of free speech and is not subject to prosecution. Hate crimes are criminal acts committed against someone because of their membership in one of the protected classes. But that does not mean that noncriminal acts of discrimination such as racial slurs or the distribution of leaflets should necessarily go undocumented. Although not criminally actionable on their own, they may be useful in proving the motive behind a criminal act. Law enforcement agencies are thus

## Hate Crimes

encouraged to document them for tracking purposes and future use. Individuals who exhibit this kind of blatant bigotry by engaging in such behavior often graduate to committing crimes against people of the targeted race. When they do, evidence of their history of intolerance may establish the motive necessary to prove the commission of a hate crime.

### THE PREVALENCE OF HATE CRIMES

Because of underreporting, it is statistically difficult to determine the prevalence of hate crimes. Many hate crime victims do not report their victimization because they are unaware of the existence of such laws. Others do not trust the police or do not feel that anything will be done. In some cases this hopelessness is the result of prior bad experiences with law enforcement agencies who were themselves unfamiliar with hate crime laws and the resources available to victims. Other reasons victims do not report hate crimes include fear of retaliation, fear of deportation, and fear that their status as private members of the gay and lesbian community will be revealed.

On the positive side, increased community education about hate crimes has resulted in an increase in the number of hate crimes that are reported. Someone unfamiliar with this area of the law might look at the statistical increase in reported hate crimes and conclude that there has been an alarming increase in hate crimes. The professional opinion of those involved in the field, however, is that the statistical increase is not due to an actual increase in hate crimes committed, but rather to an increase in hate crimes reported. This increase in reporting is attributed in part to the proactive nature of tolerance-based programs and hate crime law-enforcement teamwork. Partnerships among peace officers, prosecutors, the Anti-Defamation League, and other community groups have resulted in greater public awareness of hate crimes and how communities can report and combat such bias.

For over a decade, the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program has been collecting information on hate crimes. The 2003 Hate Crime Statistics report, which was published in November 2004, listed 8,715 offenses, 4,574 of which were motivated by racial bias. With all fifty states reporting, the 2003 report broke down the 8,715 offenses committed by state. California was in the lead, with 1,701 offenses reported; in second place was New Jersey, with 638; third was New York, with 625; and rounding out fourth and fifth place were Michigan and Massachusetts, with 487 and 473, respectively.

Although the numbers reported serve a statistical purpose, the unfortunate reality for victims is that most hate crimes go unsolved. This is because most hate crimes



**Family Visits Hate Crime Victim's Grave.** *The parents of James Byrd Jr. visit his grave. Byrd, an African American, had accepted a ride from three white men, who instead beat him and then dragged him from their truck for about three miles. Byrd's assailants were convicted of a hate crime; two were sentenced to death and one life in prison. AP IMAGES.*

are attacks on strangers without any motive but intolerance and hatred. There is no preexisting relationship to lead police to a suspect; there is no stolen property to trace; and because hate crimes are often impulsive, there is no evidence of prior planning that might generate leads.

### PROFILES OF HATE CRIME OFFENDERS

Research and experience show that there are different categories of hate crime offenders and that different factors contribute to a perpetrator's motivation. *Responding to Hate Crime* (2000), by the National Center for Hate Crime Prevention Education Development Center, identifies three common types of hate crime offenders. *Thrill-seeking offenders* are the most common. Usually acting in groups, these are typically young people who seek out victims on the victim's own turf, usually to gain "bragging" rights. These perpetrators, who commit more crimes against property than against persons, are predominantly motivated by a desire for acceptance by their peers, rather than by hatred for the victims. *Reactive offenders* feel a sense of entitlement with respect to rights and privileges they feel they should enjoy, and they are threatened by their victims, usually people of color, whom they perceive as a threat to these rights and privileges. They consequently feel justified in



intimidating and committing crimes against these victims, who are often members of the offender's neighborhood, workplace, or school. *Mission offenders* are the most violent type of hate crime offender, though fortunately they are the rarest. They view their victims as "subhuman" and part of a conspiracy, and they are motivated by a psychotic belief that they must rid the world of such people. They seek out their victims where such victims are likely to be found. Some mission offenders conclude their mission with their own suicide.

Hate crime offenders can be identified circumstantially through many different factors, including bigoted remarks, manner of dress, racist tattoos, "White Pride" music playing in their vehicles, and sometimes even the date they choose for their attack. For example, many hate crimes are committed on certain holidays, such as Martin Luther King Day or on the birthday of Adolf Hitler.

Dramatic profiles aside, hate crimes are also committed by ordinary citizens, often in response to a real or perceived threat by a particular group. These retaliatory hate crimes are actually inappropriate expressions of anger or fear. Shortly after the attacks of September 11, 2001, the following "retaliatory" hate crimes were reported: A woman in traditional Muslim dress was almost hit when a car intentionally swerved towards her as she was crossing the street; an Arab-American family arrived to open their grocery store in the morning only to find "Go Home Arabs" spray-painted on the front of their door; an evening prayer service was interrupted by cherry bombs exploding outside on the sidewalk of a mosque. Scores of Arab-Americans, and also those who appeared to be of such ethnicity, were subjected to the wrath of frustrated citizens in the aftermath of the September 11 tragedy. Many of the victims became afraid to go to work, afraid to worship, even afraid to send their children to school because some of their children had been subjected to violence there.

#### THE VICTIM'S PERSPECTIVE

Many citizens cannot imagine what it is like to be a hate crime victim. Hate crime victims cannot employ traditional means of self-protection because they are targeted by criminals with a unique motivation. Criminals motivated by financial gain commit crimes such as theft and embezzlement. Criminals motivated by a quest for sex or power commit sexual assaults. Physically violent crimes are often the result of arguments, or they are committed for revenge. Awareness of criminal motivations allows society to protect itself to some extent. To avoid a mugging, one does not wear expensive jewelry or walk down dark alleys at night. To prevent car theft, one locks one's car, equips it with an alarm system, and parks it in lighted areas. Hate crime victims, however, cannot take

precautionary measures to defend themselves. A person targeted due to the color of their skin cannot eliminate that risk factor.

When a person is attacked based on an immutable characteristic, the fear of revictimization may lead to helplessness and isolation. Victims of hate crimes feel degraded, frustrated, and afraid. These emotions ripple through their community, leading to outrage, blame, and collective fear. Because most hate crimes go unsolved, victims often suffer the additional frustration of knowing that the offender is unlikely to be brought to justice, and is therefore more likely to re-offend. This frustration, like the outrage of the crime itself, spreads throughout the victim's community.

#### THE FUTURE

Despite the best efforts of law enforcement and human rights groups, hate crimes will probably never be completely eradicated, and an overnight transformation from intolerance to acceptance cannot be expected. Therefore, the debate over hate crime laws will continue. In the meantime, those with first-hand experience in the field understand that although the fight can be difficult, in the balance, the opportunity to help victims regain their dignity outweighs the frustration of unsolved cases.

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#### HEALTH CARE GAP

In the preamble to the constitution of the World Health Organization (WHO) health is defined as "a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity." While this definition has not been amended since 1948, this concept of a "complete state of health" is rarely held by those responsible for delivering medical or public health programs. Rather, utilitarian measures that bring the "greatest good to the greatest number of people" are often adopted, based on the premise that the resources needed

to deliver a state of complete health to all persons are not available. Under this model, those most vulnerable to disease and those most needing preventive and curative services are the ones excluded from good health and health care.

Race is an oft-stated correlate of disease. Although some diseases are indeed more common to a particular ethnic group, such as sickle-cell anemia among those of African descent, much of the correlation between race and disease is associated more with social than biological determinants. Racism creates an environment in which the conditions that promote disease and the barriers to health are greatest in communities of color. Mortality statistics in the United States represent a concrete example of the effect of racism on health. In 2002 the life expectancy at birth of a white girl was 80.3 years, while that of an African-American boy was 68.8 years. (National Center for Health Statistics 2004). These differential mortality statistics are due not to racial predilection of disease but rather to differential access to prevention, diagnosis, and treatment of disease, as well as to the impact of racism and oppression on health. The correlation between economic and social marginalization and disease is clearly linked in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which mentions health only in the following terms:

Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

Recognizing that the disparities in attaining a “complete state of health” are due to social and economic conditions rather than biological determinants, the focus here will be on three aspects of health disparities that are the consequences of racism: (1) the structural factors that result in an increased risk of disease among communities of color, (2) the racial disparities in access to quality health care, and (3) the psychological impact of racism on individual and community health.

#### **STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE AND THE RISK OF DISEASE**

One step in achieving the complete state of health described by the WHO is the maintenance of good health and the absence of disease. Health maintenance can be viewed as two interrelated entities: the promotion of health through the behaviors that are known to maintain health (such as a balanced diet, sufficient sleep, and regular exercise) and the prevention of disease—specifically,

the mitigation of risk (avoiding drugs, wearing a condom, etc.). Both health promotion and disease prevention are often presented as “lifestyle choices” that are within the control of the individual. Yet among the consequences of racism are unequal access to housing, employment, education, and even quality food and water (Williams 1999). The lack of these basic necessities constrains the choices available to populations marginalized by racism. The systematic exclusion of a group from the resources needed to develop their full human potential has been called “structural violence” (Galtung 1969). The concept of structural violence is useful in understanding the barriers that prevent health maintenance and risk mitigation in a racist society. Because infectious diseases are among the most “preventable” illnesses, and because communities of color bear a disproportion risk of transmissible disease, health promotion and disease prevention will be explored through the examples of tuberculosis (TB) and the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV).

TB is one of the most cogent examples of relationship between poor living conditions and the spread of disease among the poor, particularly African Americans. While the treatment of TB is highly effective, it was not the advent of anti-tuberculosis treatment but the improvement of living conditions that heralded the decline of TB in the United States. The rate of active TB plummeted in New York City in the late 1940s due to the post-World War II economic boom and the migration of people from urban tenements to single-family homes in the suburbs. Thus, the best way to prevent TB is to live in a less crowded environment. However, conditions of urban poverty—particularly overcrowding, poor housing, and inadequate nutrition—continue to propagate the spread of TB worldwide and are largely drawn along socioeconomic lines. The striking reappearance of TB in the United States in the 1990s has been discussed extensively in the medical literature, especially its association with HIV. Yet the underlying causes of the epidemic were structural factors rather than biological susceptibility. The overcrowding in U.S. prisons that has occurred since the 1980s as a result of the “war on drugs” has significantly impacted African Americans, who make up only 12 percent of the U.S. population but constitute more than 40 percent of those incarcerated in state and federal prisons (Human Rights Watch 2001). Additionally, the 1980s saw increased rates of homelessness due to decreased government spending on public housing. The main risk factors for TB in the 1990s outbreak were a history of homelessness and incarceration, and African-American men were disproportionately affected (Brudney and Dobkin 1991).

Some scholars trace the upsurge in TB back even earlier, to policies designed to address what was called “social pathology” in urban neighborhoods (Wallace

2001). An advisor to Mayor John Lindsey of New York developed a policy of “Planned Shrinkage” of poor African-American communities. This policy involved the withdrawal of essential services (particularly fire brigades) to encourage residents to relocate out of certain areas. As fires burned in 1975 and 1976, residents did indeed relocate, often living with several other families in one apartment or becoming homeless, as a consequence of the planned shrinkage of poor communities. Not surprisingly, the beginning of the rise of TB in New York City began in the late 1970s. While an airborne disease would seemingly be as ubiquitous as the air people breathe, the air in corridors created by structural violence considerably increases risk of TB. In the early twenty-first century, TB continues to spread along lines of racial segregation.

Like airborne diseases, sexually transmitted diseases are ubiquitous, though their distribution follows society’s racial and economic fault lines. AIDS is arguably the worst epidemic disease of the early 2000s, and it has a strikingly unequal distribution among populations, both worldwide and locally. While prevention programs are often focused on increasing knowledge and resultant behavior change; it is likely that internalized racism and low self-esteem decreases the ability of individuals to act on such knowledge. Moreover, the economic situation of the most marginalized communities may result in the exchange of sex for money, housing, security, or drugs. These situations are worsened not only by racism but by gender inequality. Lastly, the epidemic of incarceration of African-Americans foments the AIDS epidemic by increasing exposure to sexual violence and drug use and by worsening the level of poverty faced by many prisoners upon release.

The AIDS epidemic in the United States now disproportionately affects African Americans. In 2002 the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) reported that 39 percent of all AIDS cases and 54 percent of new cases of HIV infection were among African Americans. Nearly one third of all HIV infections in African-American men are due to intravenous drug use (as compared to 9 percent in white men). Yet white adolescents have been shown to start using drugs at earlier ages than their African-American counterparts. If initial use and experimentation with drugs is less common among African Americans, what would cause the high rate of HIV transmission from drug use among this population? Again, incarceration appears to be a significant risk, with both African-American men and women being incarcerated at rates upward of five times that of whites. Moreover, much of the increase in incarceration has not been for violent crime but for possession of drugs. In a 1999 report by Marc Mauer and the Sentencing Project, the disproportionate punishment meted out against African Americans in the “war on

drugs” is clearly depicted: “State prison inmates sentenced for drug offenses increased 306% between 1985 and 1995, the number of African American state prison inmates sentenced for drug offenses increased 707% in the same time period.”

Once in prison, HIV risk increases significantly, due to both the high prevalence of rape and the flow of illicit drugs into prison. Additionally, life after incarceration is characterized by a tightening noose of structural violence, including joblessness, homelessness, and poverty—factors that lead to drug use, the selling of drugs, and an increase in the commoditization of sex as a means for survival.

Neither HIV nor TB has a specific racial predilection, but they are both examples of the risk for ill health that is promulgated by institutionalized racism and a lack of social and economic rights. Such structures make the maintenance of health subjugated to the daily want of basic necessities. Much of public health is focused on health promotion and disease prevention, yet such programs never identify the mitigation of racism and its social consequences as a preventive strategy.

#### ACCESS TO AND QUALITY OF HEALTH CARE

The social and economic consequences of racism put a disproportionate burden of disease on populations of color. Yet this larger burden of disease has not led to an increased provision of diagnosis or treatment of illness. Instead, the same structural barriers that cause ill health also prevent equal access to high-quality health care. Among the most salient examples of the poor state of health care for African Americans in the United States is the gross disparity in infant mortality. Table 1 demonstrates the nearly three-fold difference in infant death rate between infants born to African-American mothers and those born to Asian, Hispanic, or non-Hispanic white mothers. The causes of the striking inequities in health outcomes of both adults and children of color are multi-dimensional and complex. However, several key factors result in poor health outcomes and higher mortality rates for people of color.

The United States has the largest percentage of people without health insurance of any developed nation. In 2004 more than 45 million people in the United States were without health insurance. Of the uninsured, 11.3 percent were white, 19.7 percent were black, and 32 percent were Hispanic. Lack of health insurance coverage has significant effects on health-seeking behaviors and health outcomes. For example, people without health insurance do not access screening services such as mammography for breast cancer, and they thus often delay seeking treatment until their disease is at an advanced state (Ayanian et al. 1993).

Race and Hispanic origin of mother	Number of infant deaths	Number of live births	Infant Mortality rate (deaths per 1000)
American Indian	346	41,668	8.3
Asian or Pacific Islander	977	200,544	4.9
Hispanic	4564	815,883	5.6
Non-Hispanic black	8212	604,367	13.6
Non-Hispanic white	13,461	2,362,982	5.7

SOURCE: Adapted from *National Vital Statistics Report*, Vol. 50, No. 12, August 28, 2002.

**Table 1.**

Yet the difference in mortality is not only due to a lack of insurance and the late detection of disease. Even when these factors are controlled for, African-American women suffer a significantly higher mortality rate from breast cancer than white women (Joslyn et al. 2000). This difference in outcomes along racial lines has been documented in numerous other diseases as well, including heart disease, lung cancer, and colorectal cancer, which are the major killers of Americans. These studies postulate a variety of reasons for higher mortality rates among African Americans, including a lower rate of subspecialty referrals and less aggressive use of medical or surgical therapies. Poor health outcomes—even among people of color who have “access” to the health-care system, as measured by comparable insurance coverage and income—prompted the Institute of Medicine to commission a study in 2003 to examine the causes of this disparate outcomes. This study found:

Stereotyping, biases, and uncertainty on the part of healthcare providers can all contribute to unequal treatment. The conditions in which many clinical encounters take place—characterized by high time pressure, cognitive complexity, and pressures for cost containment—may enhance the likelihood that these processes will result in care poorly matched to minority patients’ needs. Minorities may experience a range of other barriers . . . including barriers of language, geography, and cultural familiarity. (Smedley et al. 2003)

Both access to and quality of health care is affected by racist structures within health insurance and the medical system itself. These factors contribute to a significantly higher mortality rate throughout the spectrum of

life in communities of color, and a systematic change in the health system is needed to address this problem.

**PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL  
IMPACT OF RACISM ON HEALTH**

While racism affects physical health in overt ways, such as promoting health risks and restricting access to and quality of care, the psychological and social results of racism also affect physical and mental health, and these factors may be even more insidious and deadly than the others. One definition of health that is pertinent to racism’s impact is the concept of health as freedom or autonomy. The notion of “complete health” requires control of one’s destiny, even in the face of a physical condition termed a “disease.” A diabetic, for example, who has managed to bring her blood sugar into the normal range long-term may be considered healthy, while a Palestinian in exile from his homeland may find himself in terrible health even when there is no evident diagnosable disease. As Alastair Cambell writes, in *Health as Liberation* (1995), “Provided that I can follow at least some of my basic aspirations in life, I will regard myself as retaining my health, whatever the threats to my bodily or mental well-being. Without such physical and mental freedom, functional ability loses its point” (p.11).

Racism negates or diminishes the autonomy of individuals to participate in society, and this lack of connectedness affects social health. The restriction of employment and educational opportunities; the engineering of challenges to the right to vote; and the relegating of groups into neighborhoods with substandard quality of food and environmental, security, and transportation conditions are all factors that affect the social health of marginalized communities.

Racism is normalized and institutionalized by legal policies such as racial profiling, which can add hours to the transit plans of people of color. For many being stopped by the police while walking or driving and being subjected to body searches when flying or entering a building can become part of the daily routine. At its worst, racial profiling involves lethal forms of police and gang brutality against people of color. Such policies are painful reminders to oppressed groups that society accepts that some persons should be treated differently due to a perceived physical distinction associated with potential communal danger. For whites who witness profiling, the process legitimizes latent racism, while if one of the persons profiled concurs that the process is necessary he or she may internalize the racism into his or her own psyche and persona. Camera Jones defines internalized racism as “acceptance by members of the stigmatized races of negative messages about their own abilities and intrinsic worth” (Jones 2000, p. 1213).

The psychological damage from the internalization of racism includes poor self-esteem and may result in depression and other mental illnesses as well as substance abuse. People from racial minorities may internalize racism by affiliating with entities that promote the status quo such as denouncing affirmative action and promoting racial profiling or by practicing self-marginalization such as making the decision not vote. Usually, such decisions are evidence-based. For example, when racism is widely accepted as a societal norm (such areas can still be found within the United States), such decisions are made to prevent consequences that might immediately endanger the physical or mental health of an individual or community. As Stephen Biko said of the South African apartheid government that eventually killed him, “the greatest weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed.” Like the many other health effects of racism, marginalization afflicts the health of the entire community, not just the stigmatized.

As long as racist social structures continue, the health of those marginalized and stigmatized by these structures will be seriously and often lethally affected. Complete health must be viewed as a societal challenge, not just a medical one. The root causes of many diseases lie in the architecture of structural violence, which must be considered one of the main enemies of health promotion and disease prevention. Furthermore, improved access to and provision of high quality and equitable health care for individuals from minority groups must be the top priority for a medical system that is failing the most vulnerable. Lastly, the demonstrable nature of racism and its deleterious effect on individual and community health suggests that racism itself should be defined as a diagnosable disease, with its own category in medical literature, education, research, and policy. Based on the grim statistics that the disease of racism brings to society, major institutions, such as the National Institutes of Health, should support formal research on codifying racism’s symptoms, signs, and sequelae. Such research should inform the investments needed to address and remediate the unacceptable human cost that racism incurs on individuals and society.

**SEE ALSO** *Brazilian Racial Formations; Canadian Racial Formations; Caribbean Racial Formations; Cuban Racial Formations; Diseases, Racial; Haitian Racial Formations; Health Disparities between Indians and Non-Indians; Infant Mortality and Birth Weight; Medical Experimentation; Medical Racism; Mental Health and Racism; Social Problems; South African Racial Formations; Transnationalism; United Kingdom Racial Formations.*

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## HEALTH DISPARITIES BETWEEN INDIANS AND NON-INDIANS

### BACKGROUND INFORMATION AND POLITICAL CONTEXT

American Indians experience health and disease in a way different from that of any other group of people in the United States. Their life expectancy is the lowest of any group in the United States, and Indians have the highest prevalence of Type 2 diabetes in the world. It is not uncommon to see alarming statistics in the press concerning the health of North American indigenous people. According to the National Congress of American Indians, the most recent statistics recount stunning differences in the infant mortality rate for Native American babies—150 percent higher than that of white infants. Additionally, the suicide rate for American Indians and Alaska Natives is

two-and-a-half times greater than the national average. A 2003 report from the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights also indicated that American Indians are 630 percent more likely to die from alcoholism and 650 percent more likely to die from tuberculosis than other persons in the United States. American Indians have high death rates from motor-vehicle crashes, unintentional injuries, alcohol-induced injuries, and malignant neoplasm.

### PUBLIC-HEALTH CRISIS

Countless scientific research projects and subsequent reports indicate that Native Americans are in the midst of a public-health crisis concerning diabetes and other health-related problems. While many scientific studies tend to focus on genetic and lifestyle choices and their relationships to Native American health, more often than not, the sociopolitical and sociohistorical aspects of Native American health are not addressed. These aspects, however, are essential to understanding health disparities in Native North America. Traditional health to most Native Americans is a balance of spiritual, physical, mental, and emotional components. This balance is not addressed by Western medicine, and patients are apprehensive about seeking health care because of what they consider to be incomplete care.

Access to health care, poverty, discrimination, cultural differences, low educational attainment, and poor social conditions are often cited as reasons for Native American health disparities. Some policy analysts would argue that access is no longer an issue for Native Americans. However, it is imperative to understand the political nature of American Indian health care when attempting to address the numerous disparities, because funding levels for government-sponsored health care are directly tied into appropriations by politicians and are subject to the political climate of the time. As of mid-2007, the Indian Health Care Improvement Act (Public Law 94–437) had not been renewed, and the Bush administration was attempting to limit the number of Native Americans the act could serve. The Snyder Act of 1921 (Public Law 67–85), the same law that conferred citizenship on all American Indians, authorizes Congress to appropriate funds for "the relief of distress and conservation of health" of American Indians, but it is up to the discretion of the government to determine how much relief is offered.

The federal responsibility to provide health care is carried out by the secretary of the Department of Health and Human Services through the Indian Health Service (IHS). The IHS provides directly or indirectly the majority of funds for the health care of American Indians and Alaska Natives (AI/AN). The U.S. government has been negligent in its responsibility to provide health care to



**Health Disparities.** *A doctor listens to a patient's lungs at a Tohono O'odham reservation hospital. Native Americans have higher rates of chronic and disabling illness, infectious disease, and mortality compared with whites. AP IMAGES.*

AI/ANs. Funding for AI/ANs is neither a congressional nor presidential priority, as the IHS budget lacks funds to provide adequate services. Per capita, the IHS budget (\$1,914) is 50 percent that of federal prisoners (\$3,803) and is far behind that of Medicare (\$5,915), the Department of Veterans Affairs (\$5,214), and the U.S. population in general (\$5,065). The IHS non-medical budget is \$614 per person served.

An important feature of this act is that it sets the programmatic and legal framework for the government in meeting its responsibility to provide health care to American Indians. Another important political feature that impedes access is the uncertainty of services. Most recently, the Bush administration attempted to eliminate clinical health care services that directly serve urban American Indians. Approximately two-thirds of AI/ANs do not reside on reservations because of migration and ethnocidal relocation programs to force assimilation. During the period when the Indian Health Care Improvement Act was in effect, mainstream health care and health care delivery changed dramatically to emphasize prevention and the “whole person” approach, which some say is analogous to the balance recognized by AI/AN. Most recently in main-

stream health care, mental health is recognized as a “health threat,” and practitioners have begun to incorporate a strong health promotion and preventative emphasis. Another important feature of the Indian Health Care Improvement Act is the ability to create local level health care models that, coupled with the 1975 Indian Self-Determination Act (Public Law 638), allow tribes to run their own health care clinics. These clinics work hard to incorporate traditional models into health care promotion and delivery. But because of the politicized nature of health care services, a common adage in areas with significant Indian populations is that one should not get sick after June because no funding is available. Against this complicated political backdrop, American Indians receive their health care. The availability of clinics has improved over the years, but the highly political nature of health care has not.

## DIABETES

Diabetes is a major health threat to American Indians. “Diabetes is a chronic disease that occurs when the pancreas does not produce enough insulin, or alternatively, when the body cannot effectively use the insulin it produces” (World Health Organization, 2006). There are several forms of diabetes, including Type 1 and Type 2. Type 1 is an insulin-dependent type, usually with childhood onset (and hence formerly called juvenile diabetes). This type results from low insulin production in the pancreas. Type 2 is generally an adult onset type, but Native American children as young as ten years old have been diagnosed with this type. Type 2 results primarily from insulin resistance, or the inability of cells to absorb insulin, along with other factors, and until recently was attributed to the combination of poor diet and lack of exercise. Once a person is diagnosed with Type 2 diabetes, the first-line treatment is generally diet and exercise. If these fail to bring down blood glucose, the next step is oral medication, then combined oral medications and insulin. If the first regime is not effective, then different medications are introduced.

As of 2007, the National Institutes of Health recognized that stress is a contributor to uncontrolled Type 2 diabetes. Stress, especially from trauma, including physical and sexual abuse, or witnessing abuse, is now considered a contributor to an increase in blood glucose. Many of the ethnocidal federal policies—manifested as day-to-day stress on Native American people—have contributed to the high levels of Type 2 diabetes among Native American communities. Some of the historical stressors were and are (1) removal of people from their homelands, disrupting their indigenous diet, and subsequently making many of them dependent upon government food programs (which are inherently political); (2) imposing a new religion; (3) forced removal of children

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from their families and their subjection to abuse for being “Indian” at federal American Indian boarding schools, and subsequent loss of culture and traditional child-rearing practices through forced assimilation.

Diabetes also creates comorbidities associated with the disease, including diabetic retinopathy, renal failure, heart disease and stroke, diabetic neuropathy, and peripheral vascular disease, to name a few. The Web site for the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) lists heart disease, diabetes, and stroke as, respectively, the first, fourth, and fifth leading causes of death among AI/ANs. Even though a person may die of heart disease or stroke, a person with diabetes likely developed these conditions as a result of the disease.

Until American Indian health care is depoliticized and American Indians are allowed to exercise their sovereign rights as outlined in law and treaty, they are more vulnerable to experience disease and public-health-related issues than other populations in the United States.

**SEE ALSO** *Diabetes; Diseases, Racial; Infant Mortality and Birth Weight; Medical Racism.*

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## HERITABILITY

An often repeated claim of those who analyze the social status of blacks and whites is that differences between the groups in average IQ test scores is a result of genes that directly cause that difference in mental ability. This claim is said to be validated by observations that point to the *heritability* of IQ test performance. For example, the IQ scores of adopted children are correlated with the IQ scores of their biological parents, even though the children were adopted at an early age. That is, the higher the IQ scores of the biological parents, the higher the IQ scores of their

children raised by adopting parents, indicating an effect of heredity. What this observation, however, does not take into account is that the average IQ score of the adopted children as a group is much higher than the average score of the biological parents and is equal to the average IQ score of the adopting parents as a group. That is, being raised by the adopting parents, who, in fact, have higher IQ scores as a group than do their biological parents, results in an increase in the IQ scores of the children over those of their biological parents.

Differences between individual organisms in measurable characteristics such as weight, growth rate, susceptibility to physical disorders, or behavior are a consequence of three interacting causes: genetic differences, environmental differences, and random developmental events. In the absence of detailed experimental modifications of the developmental process by controlled genetic and environmental manipulations, it is impossible to provide an accurate description of the causal pathways leading to a mature organism. Plant and animal breeders, however, need to choose breeding stocks and techniques of artificial selection that enable them to produce, as quickly and efficiently as possible, higher-yielding and more disease-resistant agricultural varieties. For this purpose, they developed, in the first half of the twentieth century, techniques for estimating the “heritability” of observed differences. The heritability of a trait in a particular variety estimates what proportion of the difference between the measurement of the trait in a population and the measurement of it in a specially selected group from that population would be preserved in the next generation if only the selected group were used as parents for that next generation. If the selected group of parents is three inches taller than the average of the population, how much taller than average will their offspring be? The proportion of selection difference that appears in the next generation is the *realized heritability* of the trait. If the next generation is only 1.5 inches taller, on average, then the realized heritability is 50 percent.

Such a measure is only useful for breeding experiments if the environment is kept the same in the two generations. If the environment is not the same, it cannot be known whether the selection really worked or whether it was the result of an environmental improvement.

A more sophisticated experimental approach to this same problem is to vary the environment and the genetic parentage of the organisms in a controlled way and to then analyze the variation in the offspring to estimate what proportion of that variation can be attributed to genetic differences, what proportion to environmental differences, and how much specific interaction there is between the genetic and environmental variations. A common technique is observing the amount of similarity



between relatives of various degrees while keeping the distribution of environments the same for all of the relatives. Such an analysis, however, is not an analysis of causal pathways, and it is a serious error to confuse such an analysis of variation with an analysis of causation (Lewontin 1976). The same set of genetic lines, when tested in a different average environment but with the same amount of environmental variation, will give a different estimate of heritability, and the lines may be in a different relative order in their performance.

Despite this meaning of heritability, human geneticists and psychologists have repeatedly estimated heritability of human traits, especially traits of mental performance, in the process making serious methodological and conceptual errors. First, because they cannot control human developmental environments, many studies have either ignored the problem or made a variety of convenient but untestable assumptions about environmental similarities. Identical twins raised apart, for example, may be separated at various times after birth or may be raised by close relatives in the same locality. Second, interpretation may confuse the analysis of the variation with a separation of genetic and environmental causes, arguing, for example, that because the estimate of heritability of IQ was 70 percent, then only 30 percent of the observed differences in IQ could be eliminated by environmental interventions.

Finally, there is a confusion of the heritability of a trait within a population and the heritability of differences between populations. This is important in analyzing claims about differences between races. Differences within a population can be entirely genetic, while differences between populations can be entirely environmental. As an example, suppose a handful of seed from a genetically variable population of maize is planted in a chemically controlled, uniform environment. All the differences in growth among individuals will then be the consequence of their genetic differences. Suppose a second sample of seed from the same variety is grown in a uniform environment like the first, except it is deficient in an important nutrient, leading to all the seeds growing poorly. Again, the variation among plants within that environment will be entirely genetic, but the difference between the two groups of seed will be entirely environmental. In like manner, the differences in mental performance among individual children within a racial group may be strongly influenced by genetic differences, yet the differences between the groups may be the result of the different social and educational environments in which the groups find themselves.

SEE ALSO *Genetic Variation Among Populations; Genetics, History of; IQ and Testing.*

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R.C. Lewontin

## HERRNSTEIN, RICHARD J. 1930–1994

The child of Hungarian immigrants, Richard J. Herrnstein was born on May 20, 1930. He received his undergraduate degree at City College of New York before going on to Harvard University, where he studied with the famed psychologist B. F. Skinner. He obtained his Ph.D. in psychology in 1955. After three years in the U. S. Army, during which he worked at the Walter Reed Army Medical Center laboratories in Washington, D.C., he accepted a faculty position at Harvard. He spent the rest of his life at this institution, eventually becoming the Edgar Pierce Professor of Psychology.

Herrnstein initially specialized in animal learning behavior, and he quickly produced a dramatic change in the field by developing a mathematical structure for relating behavior to reinforcement, resulting in what came to be called the "matching law." Taking over the Harvard pigeon lab, which Skinner had made famous, Herrnstein soon established a reputation as one of the leading researchers in the world on the behavior of these birds, and he looked forward to his work having a wide range of applications. He expected, for example, that pigeons would eventually replace—and even outperform—human workers in numerous perfunctory tasks in both industry and military security. By the late 1960s, however, the study of animal behavior had lost the cachet it once enjoyed, and it became relegated to a backwater within the discipline. Herrnstein then turned to the opposite end of the behavioral spectrum, relinquishing the Skinnerian environmentalism that had informed his work with animals in favor of an emphasis on the predominant influence of genes in shaping human intelligence.

In September 1971, Herrnstein published his first contribution to his new interest, a highly controversial article that appeared not in a scientific journal but in a popular magazine, the *Atlantic Monthly*. He did not report any new research, and most of this article was merely a straightforward discussion of the psychometric definition

of intelligence and the evidence for its high heritability. In the last couple of pages, however, Herrnstein outlined what he saw as the social implications of the science. He speculated that as equality of opportunity steadily increased, arbitrary advantages would play less and less of a role in determining life outcomes, leaving genetic differences in intelligence as the principal cause of individual differences in earnings and prestige. This would result in a new sort of class stratification, one in which those at the top would deserve their privileged position by virtue of their innate intellectual superiority. At the other end of the economic spectrum, he predicted that “the tendency to be unemployed may run in the genes of a family about as certainly as bad teeth do now” (Herrnstein 1971, p. 63).

Although Herrnstein made no mention of race, the issue of racial differences in intelligence was clearly lurking in the background. Arthur Jensen, an educational psychologist at the University of California, Berkeley, had published his own inflammatory analysis of heredity and intelligence in 1969, concluding that racial differences were in part genetic and that as a consequence current programs of compensatory education were destined to fail. Coming on the heels of Jensen’s article, Herrnstein’s was perceived as support for the embattled Berkeley professor. In addition, the editors’ introductory comments to the article strengthened this impression by presenting Herrnstein’s article as a continuation of the discussion on race and intelligence.

Twenty-three years later, the argument that originated in the *Atlantic* was elaborated into *The Bell Curve*, an 845-page tome coauthored by Herrnstein and his collaborator Charles Murray, a policy analyst at the conservative American Enterprise Institute. Much of the book was dedicated to demonstrating that intelligence test scores show a stronger correlation than socioeconomic background to a wide variety of variables indicative of social and occupational success. In other words, the authors held that intelligence exerted greater influence on each of these variables than did class background. This time, however, Herrnstein and Murray included a chapter on “Ethnic Differences in Cognitive Ability,” in which they found it “highly likely” that genes were involved in the differences in test scores between blacks and whites, although they were “resolutely agnostic” on the relative strength of the genetic and environmental influences: “As far as we can determine,” they wrote, “the evidence does not yet justify an estimate.”

Although these comments on racial differences were controversial, what turned the book into a cause célèbre was its discussion of the social policy consequences of genetic differences in intelligence, both among individuals and between races. Insisting that affirmative action had been based on the explicit assumption that there were no genetic differences in intelligence between the races,

Herrnstein and Murray called for radical modifications in the policy, both in university admissions and employment decisions. Indeed, they blamed the rash of criminal behavior by police in some cities on the changes in hiring standards introduced by affirmative action measures.

*The Bell Curve* concluded with a cautionary tale about the risks of ignoring genetic differences in intelligence, and it offered two visions of the future. A failure to face the scientific facts about intelligence, and especially the innate cognitive disadvantage of the underclass, the book predicted, would lead inevitably to a “custodial state.” This would essentially be a “high-tech and more lavish version of the Indian reservation,” the inhabitants of which, most of them residents of the “inner city,” would be segregated from the more capable citizenry and subjected to various forms of surveillance and control. The alternative to this dismal prospect, Herrnstein and Murray argued, was a society that offered “a place for everyone,” even the less intelligent, by ensuring that society’s rules were simple and direct. Someone caught committing a crime, for example, should have to face consequences that are swift and clear. Likewise, a woman who bore a child out of wedlock should not be able legally to demand support from the father. Thus, the policy implications of genetic intellectual differences turned out to be synonymous with the initiatives promoted by Murray in his capacity as a scholar at a conservative think tank.

Herrnstein died of lung cancer on September 13, 1994, only a week or two before the publication of this hugely controversial book, and he thus did not participate in what one collection of reviews aptly called “The Bell Curve Wars.” However, reactions to the publication were intense, ranging from a *Forbes* writer who claimed that *The Bell Curve* was being “seriously compared” with Darwin’s *Origin of Species* (Brimelow 1994) to black intellectuals who called it “hate literature with footnotes” (Jones 1995) and “utterly racist” (Patterson 1995).

**SEE ALSO** *Education, Discrimination in Higher Education, Racial Disparities; IQ and Testing.*

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## HETEROSEXISM AND HOMOPHOBIA

Heterosexism and homophobia are two related forms of oppression that can exist alongside or interact with race and racism. Heterosexism can be defined as a system of power that privileges heterosexual ("straight") people on the basis of their sexual or affectional orientation, while homophobia can be defined as prejudice, discrimination, or violence against lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, questioning, or intersex (LGBTQQI) people on the basis of their sexual or affectional difference from heterosexual people. Like racism, sexism, classism, caste prejudice, xenophobia, ageism, and other oppressions, heterosexism and homophobia share a common root: namely, the exercise of social domination based on a negative evaluation of social difference.

Heterosexism and homophobia uphold racism in three key ways: (1) by exacerbating the negativity directed at people who are already subject to racism (for example, gay black people); (2) by strengthening the existing social tendency to create hierarchies based on difference (for example, tacitly ranking black heterosexuals above black LGBTQQI people, or privileging white gay men above black gay men); and (3) by providing additional avenues of discrimination or violence for already vulnerable populations and thus confounding the source of discrimination or violence (such as the routine imprisonment or frequent assault of homeless black transsexuals).

Both heterosexism and homophobia can pertain to prejudice, discrimination, or violence against people on the basis of their gender presentation and its conformity to social norms in addition to prejudice, discrimination, or violence against LGBTQQI people and related systems of power. Thus, heterosexism and homophobia encompass virtually all forms of oppression that relate to physical sex, sexuality, sexual behavior, sexual orientation, sexual preference, affectional preference, sexual identity, gender identity, gender role, and gender expression, particularly when any of these fall outside what society deems normal or traditional. As such, heterosexism and homophobia often intersect with sexism in addition to race and racism.

Heterosexism and homophobia denote a broad general spectrum of experiences that involve negative, unfair, or discriminatory treatment on the basis of sexual orientation or gender expression. Other terminologies that have been used to encompass this spectrum include homonegativism, homoprejudice, gay-bashing, gay-baiting, and hate crimes. Although hate crimes have been the subject of much public discussion and policy development in the United States and globally, researchers agree that there are many forms of negative behavior directed toward LGBTQQI people that fall outside the definition of hate crimes due to their subtler, more informal, or less overtly violent nature. Both survey data and anecdotal reports suggest that the majority of LGBTQQI people have been the target of negative behavior directed at them as the result of their sexual orientation or gender expression. In addition, both research-based and personal accounts indicate that experiences of heterosexism and homophobia have often been compounded by forms of discrimination related to race, gender, class, nationality, culture, religion, ability status, age, or other vectors of social difference.

Intersectionality refers to the fact that various identities and oppressions overlap and interact. For instance, the experience of being white and gay may differ from the experience of being black and gay; the experience of being a lesbian of East Indian descent from a Hindu community may differ from the experience of being a lesbian of East Indian descent from a Muslim community; the experience of being a transgender person living in poverty may differ from the experience of being a wealthy transgender person. While there are commonalities to the LGBTQQI experience, there are also significant differences based on unique aspects of individuals' identity and social location. Even within groups of people claiming the same identity and sharing the same social location (black Christian middle-class lesbians, for instance), there are differences in experience and perspective based on personality and personal history.

### EXAMPLES OF HETEROSEXISM AND HOMOPHOBIA

Heterosexism and homophobia, like all forms of oppression, may be expressed at the individual, collective, or institutional levels of society. Furthermore, heterosexism and homophobia, like other forms of oppression, may be reflected in attitudes and feelings, behaviors and practices, cognitions (including beliefs and stereotypes), policies and laws, and even material or symbolic culture. For example, an individual may hold a homophobic feeling, "I don't like gay people," possess a heterosexist belief, "Same-sex couples shouldn't marry," or enact a homophobic act, such as physically assaulting a man who dresses like a woman or a woman who dresses like a man. Groups of

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people, such as members of a church or a clique in school, may promote homophobic attitudes, as “Homosexuality is evil” or “Trannies (transsexuals) are rejects”; practice heterosexist discrimination, for example, barring homosexual individuals from positions of visibility or leadership in the church, such as the ministry; or engage in homophobic violence, such as vandalizing the locker of a student known to be a lesbian.

Social institutions, such as schools, jails, hospitals, or public welfare agencies, may develop heterosexist or homophobic policies that prevent LGBTQQI people from enjoying the same rights or privileges as heterosexual or gender conforming people. For example, schools may place on detention or expel same-sex student couples who hold hands or kiss, but not different-sex student couples who do the same thing. Furthermore, schools may tacitly discourage or explicitly disallow students of the same sex from attending a prom together, while similar disincentives or prohibitions are not placed upon students of different sexes. Jails may prevent condom distribution because of a desire to not condone or even not acknowledge same-sex sexual activity. Hospitals may deny visitation or consultation rights to the same-sex partner or children of a patient. In other cases, patients are rejected from care on the basis of their presumed sexual orientation or non-traditional gender expression, a particularly common problem for transgender people. In some cases, stereotypes linking LGBTQQI people to HIV/AIDS interfere with access to medical care.

Public welfare agencies may fail to recognize same-sex unions or parental relationships, thus denying access to certain benefits or programs that would be available if the clients were heterosexual. For example, non-biological mothers whose same-sex unions dissolve may lose custody of their children or even visitation rights despite strong bonds between them and their children and years of child-rearing. LGBTQQI individuals who live in poverty may be faced with additional challenges. For instance, transgender individuals often have a hard time finding placement in gender-segregated facilities for the unhoused; queer people who are fired from their jobs on the basis of sexual orientation or who experience other forms of discrimination often cannot afford the legal expenses of a civil suit.

Heterosexism and homophobia exist in law as well. For instance, laws that bar same-sex partners from marriage or civil union disallow lesbian and gay couples from a number of rights and privileges that different-sex couples can take for granted, such as tax benefits, insurance benefits, property rights, inheritance rights, adoption rights, visitation rights, and immigration rights. These laws also disadvantage different-sex partners who choose not to marry, although such couples are not subject to



***Candlelight Vigil for Matthew Shepard, 1998.*** University of Wyoming student Matthew Shepard was beaten to death because of his homosexuality. His assailants were not charged with a hate crime as the state's hate crime law did not include sexual orientation or gender expression. EVAN AGOSTINI/GETTY IMAGES.

the extra stigma and unique vulnerabilities attached to homosexuality in homophobic and heterosexist societies.

Heterosexism and homophobia abound at the level of material and symbolic culture, most evident in the mass media and everyday social practices. For example, heterosexual couples are common on television, in movies, and in advertisements, whereas homosexual couples are rare. The experiences of heterosexual couples are normalized and presented in great diversity, whereas the experiences of homosexual couples tend to be presented as pathological or comedic departures from the norm. For example, heterosexual couples from a variety of racial, ethnic, and cultural groups, socioeconomic classes (rich, poor, middle class), and religious communities (Christian, Jewish, Islamic) are frequently observed, unlike their lesbian or gay counterparts. (Notably scarce for both groups, however, are interracial, intercultural, or cross-religious unions

and families.) Furthermore, individuals whose relational style or preference does not conform to the couple model—for example, people with multiple partners, people in open relationships, polyamorous or polygamous people, or people who are celibate by choice—are rarely represented, or, when they are, are treated as spectacle rather than normalized. The cumulative effect of these depictions is to perpetually reinscribe the notion that heterosexuality and traditional gender expression are normal and good, while homosexuality and non-traditional gender expression are abnormal and bad—producing what Adrienne Rich has termed “compulsory heterosexuality” (1986).

Even language encodes heterosexism and homophobia. In English, there are more words (most of them pejorative) to describe gay men than straight men and lesbian women than straight women. Conversely, there are few words that suggest the possibility of genders other than (or in between) male and female, excluding and minimizing the lived experiences of transgender and intersex people. It has been argued that the dearth of terminology and the lack of articulation of categories to reflect people’s lived experience of their own gender and sexuality is partially responsible for contemporary phenomena like the down-low, in which men who appear straight and maintain relationships with women engage in secret homosexual sex while rejecting the label *gay*. While other forms of homophobia and heterosexism certainly contribute to this phenomenon, the absence of an appropriately diversified discourse about gender and sexual expression is likely an important factor.

Finally, social practices like gender-reassignment surgery (in the case of intersex children), gender reassignment therapy (in the case of transgender or intersex individuals who are diagnosed with gender identity disorder), and reorientation therapy (also known as reparative therapy, conversion therapy, or RT—designed to change homosexuality into heterosexuality or asexuality) further invalidate and render invisible the reality that not all people fit into the sexual, gender, and relational categories on which mainstream society has historically relied.

#### HETEROSEXISM AND HOMOPHOBIA IN HISTORICAL AND GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

Perspectives on homosexuality, homosociality, gender role, and gender expression have varied across time and culture. Cultures vary with regard to how they define and label sex and gender, and not all cultures devalue same-sex sexual expression. Additionally, virtually all cultures have witnessed historical changes in how they define and label sex and gender as well as the value or stigma they

place on same-sex sexual expression. While biological sex, gender expression, gender role, sexual or affectional orientation, and gender or sexual identity are all technically independent of one another (that is, capable of existing in a virtually infinite number of combinations), most societies package these variables in predictable ways and attach value to social scripts that contribute to heterosexism and homophobia.

For example, in the West, male bodies have typically been associated with masculine gender expression, certain “male” social roles, sexual attraction to or interaction with women, and straight identity. In numerous societies, however, particularly historically, latitude has existed for male bodies to be associated with feminine gender expression or female social roles, and/or sexual interaction with males and females. As Walter Williams has shown, a number of societies, from Native American to Southeast Asian, Pacific Islander, Middle Eastern, and African have defined valued gender statuses of this nature, often linked to special statuses within the larger society (1986). In many cases, these statuses have been associated with unique spiritual abilities or responsibilities. While seemingly less common, similar roles for female-bodied or intersex persons have also existed. Many societies have defined what are known as third-sex or third-gender statuses, some naming as many as six unique and identifiable sexes or genders based on different combinations of body (male, female, or intersex), gender role (male, female, or transgender), sexual orientation or behavior (homosexual, heterosexual, or bisexual), and other factors (spiritual, ritual, or preferential).

Societies have varied on (and scholars continue to debate) whether sex, gender, and sexual orientation are natural and fixed (the essentialist position) or arbitrary and historically constituted (the social constructionist position). Many societies have maintained religious doctrines or cosmologies (creation stories) explaining how gender, sex, and sexuality came into being and what are the acceptable variations. At the same time, a great deal of evidence suggests that homosexual behavior and variations in gender expression have always existed across all known societies. How societies have interpreted and explained homosexuality and gender variation, as well as the value societies have placed on these practices, has varied over time and across subpopulations within societies. Each of these perspectives has different implications for how heterosexism and homophobia manifest in society, as well as how each is combated.

#### ANTI-HETEROSEXIST AND ANTI-HOMOPHOBIC ACTIVISM

In the early 2000s, the rights of LGBTQQI people are the subject of debate and activism. Rights for homosexual and gender variant people are being linked with the larger

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human rights discourse. Activism focuses on gaining recognition, visibility, and rights, as well as parity in the representational realm, whether political, economic, or symbolic. Since the 1960s, marches for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender rights, also known as pride marches, have become increasingly common around the globe, although LGBTQQI organizing continues to be risky in many countries. In 1996, South Africa achieved international renown by becoming the first nation in the world to incorporate LGBT rights into its national constitution.

In 2007, same-sex marriage was legal in the Netherlands, Belgium, Spain, Canada, and South Africa. Additional countries that recognize civil unions include Andorra, Argentina, Australia (Tasmania only), Brazil, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Iceland, Israel, Luxembourg, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Slovenia, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. In the United States, same-sex marriages or civil unions are recognized to some degree in the states of California, Connecticut, Hawaii, Maine, Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Vermont, as well as the District of Columbia, although this acceptance is highly contested at the national level. At the same time that advances in LGBTQQI rights are taking place, however, anti-gay backlash continues to occur, threatening safety, well-being, and justice for LGBTQQI people around the world. Because LGBTQQI people are whole persons and not just embodiments of sexual orientation or gender expression, anti-heterosexist and anti-homophobic activism targets the elimination of *all* forms of prejudice, discrimination, and violence in society.

SEE ALSO *Feminism and Race; Gay Men; Lesbians.*

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Layli Phillips

## HIGHER EDUCATION, DISCRIMINATION IN

SEE *Education, Discrimination in Higher.*

## HIP-HOP CULTURE

Hip-hop culture has always had a complex relationship with race. From its inception, the relationship between hip-hop and race has been fragmented, decentralized, and, in many ways, fluid. Hip-hop emerged in the Bronx, New York, in the early 1970s. The economic environment that catalyzed its development reflected the negative effects of a postindustrial society and a rapidly changing economy. Inner-city communities were devastated by the emergent service economy and the shift from domestic manufacturing to overseas outsourcing.

At the same time, the social and racial environments in which hip-hop developed were multifaceted and have yet to be systematically studied. From hip-hop's inception, the youth involved in its genesis were from a diverse array of African, Latino, and European origins. Hip-hop itself would not exist in its current style without the various and diverse contributions of pioneers and artists from the Caribbean and Latin America, as well as their African American neighbors and counterparts in the Bronx.

Most observers identify four foundational elements of hip-hop culture. These components are DJ-ing/turntablism, B-boying/breaking, MC-ing/rapping, and visual/graffiti art. Each component stands on its own, however, with its own artisans, audiences, and commercial products. The intersection of these components in the West and South Bronx generated the cultural revolution of hip-hop. Although rap music and hip hop are often used interchangeably, rap is only one of (at least) four elements of hip hop. A brief explanation of these elements underscores their original emergence and sets the stage for the corresponding racial categorizations.

DJ-ing is the deliberate and technical manipulation of the turntable, ultimately transforming it from a simple musical platform into a full-blown musical instrument with its own arsenal of sounds, such as scratches, temporally manipulated tones, sonic cuts, and samples (short bits of other people's music). B-Boying refers to the kinesthetic or body responses to the DJ's isolation of "break" beats on vinyl records. B-boys would break during the isolation and looping of break beats at the original hip-hop jams (parties). The break is that part of a song where the track is stripped down to its most fundamentally percussive elements. The connection between the highly percussive or beat-oriented segments in hip-

hop music and the power of the drum in African and African-American cultures should not be overlooked or underestimated. Hip-hop music captures and reflects the power of the drum in its dance and music.

The MC is the verbal arbiter of hip-hop culture. Originally cast as a tangential hype-man for the earliest well-known DJs in hip-hop, the MC has now graduated to the foreground of the culture. The poets, MCs, and rappers of hip-hop have become the main purveyor of rap music's dominance on the pop culture landscape. Graffiti art is the element of the culture that most clearly and singularly predates the genesis of hip-hop. Indeed, graffiti can be traced back to ancient times. However, its development in conjunction with the other foundational elements of hip-hop is striking. Graffiti provided a viable artistic platform for poverty-stricken inner city youth, whose artistic outlets were diminished in most public institutions. In addition, in the 1970s there was a drastic reduction of musical and arts programs in public schools, and of funds that supported recreational centers and other public platforms for creative production. Many scholars have referred to hip-hop's graffiti art as one of the most potent signals of young people's reclamation of public spaces, which have been utterly privatized in this postmodern era. One generation's rampant vandalism is indeed another generation's revolutionary movement.

At the risk of promoting racial essentialism in hip-hop culture, the following is a brief outline of several of the seminal figures in the origins, development, and growth of hip-hop underscores the postmodern quality of the racial dynamics within the culture. To begin with, the consensus founder of hip-hop culture is known as DJ Kool Herc (Clive Campbell). Born in Kingston, Jamaica, not very far from Bob Marley's neighborhood of origin, Herc moved with his family to the West Bronx in the late 1960s. Before long he borrowed elements of Jamaican "dub" and "yard" cultures and infused these public performance techniques with African-American soul music, the verbal styles of radio disc jockeys, and the aforementioned developing elements of hip-hop (especially graffiti art).

Herc's sensibilities for these forms, and his understanding of their potential to entertain inner city youth in postindustrial New York, bloomed suddenly in the summer of 1973, when he took over for a DJ at his sister's birthday party, held in the rec room of their housing project. From this point forward, the hip-hop "jam" became the fastest-growing and most engaging form of youth entertainment. In interviews and in public appearances, Kool Herc readily concedes the importance of his relationships with African-American and Latino youth, as well as his Jamaican heritage and love of African-American soul music. In particular, James Brown's soulful stylings and live music performances inspired Kool Herc's desire to



**Breakdancer Performing in a New York Subway, 2003.** Breakdancing first became popular through local performances in parks and clubs in New York City during the early to mid-1970s. It found a mainstream audience through movies such as *Flashdance* and *Beatstreet*. © JERRY ARCIERI/CORBIS.

isolate the break beats of records in order to extend the most danceable aspects of the original hip-hop jams.

At least two other DJs share the honor as founders of hip-hop: Afrika Bambaataa, of West Indian heritage, and Grandmaster Flash who is of Jamaican heritage. Aside from being one of the originally eclectic hip-hop DJs (e.g., using music from Japan and Germany, and borrowing and sampling from electronica and disco), Afrika Bambaataa was also a leading figure in one of the largest and most notorious street gangs, the Black Spades. During the early stages of hip-hop culture, Bam was the leader of the movement within the Black Spades to transition away from the violent activity usually associated with gangs. The result was the birth of the largest and longest-lasting community arts organization in hip-hop culture: the Zulu Nation. DJ Grandmaster Flash learned the basic technique of scratching from Grand Wizard Theodore, and in the mid-1970s he developed it in a way that transformed the turntable into a bona fide instrument.

Although youth from all backgrounds have been influential in “breaking” (sometimes referred to as

“break dancing”), the earliest pioneers are of Latin American origins. One of the first dominant breaking crews was the Rock Steady Crew. One of this group’s leaders and most endearing personalities is Crazy Legs, who starred in a number of Hollywood films, including *Flashdance* (1983) and *Beatstreet* (1984). Though he witnessed the decline in mainstream popularity of breaking, he continues to be an ambassador for hip-hop dance forms all over the world.

One of the first MCs, Busy Bee starred in the groundbreaking docudrama *Wild Style* (1982). Of African-American origin, MCs and rappers such as Busy Bee, Coke La Rock, Grandmaster Caz, and Melle Mel extended the African-American oral tradition (including field hollers, ring shouts, spirituals, the blues, sermons, toasts, and playing the dozens) into the twenty-first century with their rap lyrics. The best rappers and MCs have generally been of African-American origin—Rakim, Jay-Z, Nas, and Tupac Shakur are usually included in this group, though this is not to exclude their West Indian counterpart,



Notorious B.I.G., whose Jamaican American heritage informed his milky and melodic lyrical delivery.

One of the most noted pioneers of graffiti art in hip-hop culture was a young Greek-American named Demetrius. His “graf tag,” Taki 183, is credited as one of the first monikers to go “all-city” (i.e., to be recognized in all five boroughs of New York City) via its ubiquitous presence on subway trains and various neighborhoods. Many graffiti pioneers were of Latin American descent, such as the extraordinary Lady Pink, who braved the same dangers and pitfalls of graffiti writing as her male counterparts. Clearly, “graf art” is another element of hip-hop in which African-American ethnicity is not an essential prerequisite to artistic or commercial success.

It is admittedly a racially essentialist conclusion to assert that any of the aforementioned elements of hip-hop are dominated by any particular ethnic group. Yet each element, through its pioneers and most significant contributors, often suggests a particular ethnicity’s penchant for artistic expression. So it may be appropriate to conclude that young people of European descent have (at least in America and Europe) been more prominent in graffiti artistry than in MC-ing or rapping. Likewise, Latin American acrobats have been more prominent in breaking and B-boying than in MC-ing or rapping. DJs tend to run the ethnic gamut, though various DJs of Asian ethnicity dominated international competitions in the early twenty-first century. These racial assignments and categorizations ultimately deconstruct the spirit of hip-hop culture, which tends to invite people of all hues to participate in and experience what is the most pervasive popular form of entertainment across the globe in the early twenty-first century.

SEE ALSO *Black Popular Culture; Rap Music.*

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*James Peterson*

## HIV AND AIDS

During 2005, around 4.1 million adults and children became infected with the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV), the virus that causes acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS). By the end of the year, an estimated

38.6 million people worldwide were living with HIV, according to the World Health Organization (WHO) and the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS 2006) report. Since the beginning of the epidemic in the 1980s, 32 million people have died from AIDS, but it is increasingly clear that this global health crisis has not impacted populations equally. Rather, patterns of social and economic inequality are evident in the hardest-hit AIDS epicenters around the world.

Of those living with HIV globally, 95 percent live in developing countries. In contrast to western and central Europe and North America where the number of people living with HIV is estimated to be 720,000 and 1.2 million, respectively, in Asia, 930,000 people were newly infected in 2005, bringing the total number of people living with HIV in the region to 8.3 million, with more than two-thirds of them living in India.

However, sub-Saharan Africa is by far the worst-hit region, with 24.5 million people estimated to be HIV infected. This region is home to just over 10 percent of the world’s population, but almost two-thirds of all people living with HIV reside there. Across sub-Saharan Africa, HIV prevalence rates (proportion of people living with HIV) vary significantly between and within sub-regions and countries. While several southern African countries have HIV prevalence rates above 17 percent (with Botswana and Swaziland having the highest prevalence rates of 24% and 33%, respectively), prevalence rates in West African countries are much lower (with adult HIV prevalence rates lower than 2% in most countries). More serious epidemics are in Central and East Africa where HIV prevalence rates range from 4 to 13 percent.

In the Caribbean region—which is the second most affected region—prevalence rates in the Bahamas (3.3%) and Haiti (3.8%) are the highest outside of the African continent. An estimated 330,000 people were living with the virus in 2005. In the same year, Latin America reported around 104,000 new HIV infection cases, and an estimated total of 1.6 million people living with HIV, about one-third are residing in Brazil.

In the United States, of the estimated 1.2 million people reported to be living with HIV in 2005, historically oppressed African American and Latino populations accounted for more than 73% of new HIV infections, although they represented only 12 and 11 percent, respectively, of the U.S. population (Centers for Disease Control 2003). Thus, in both resource-poor and resource-rich countries, HIV/AIDS has increasingly been concentrated in the poorest, most marginalized sectors of society (Parker 2002).

Three general factors have influenced the overlapping crises and the distinct dynamics of the epidemic: (1)

poverty and economic underdevelopment; (2) mobility and patterns of community instability, including migration and social disruption due to war and political or community marginalization; and (3) gender inequalities (Parker, Easton, and Klein 2000). These structural factors are at work across all countries and also help elucidate how HIV and AIDS disproportionately impact indigenous people of color, particularly people of African descent, for whom larger health and social welfare inequities are tied to the enduring legacy of racism. Accordingly, this discussion situates the disease within a sociocultural context and delineates the ways in which racism underlies the alarming rates of HIV-infection among African descent populations that have historically been the targets of inequity and racism on a global scale.

#### **HISTORICAL RACISM, SOCIAL AND HEALTH INEQUITIES, AND HIV/AIDS**

Globally, racism plays a role in vulnerability to health disparities, including HIV/AIDS. Long before AIDS, many of the issues that place people at risk for HIV/AIDS occurred along the contours of racial oppression for marginalized indigenous populations, specifically among people of African descent. In discussing global health disparities, Raymond Cox contends that “systematic and widespread discrimination over centuries has manifested itself in poor living conditions and poor health of indigenous peoples and people of African descent all over the world” (Cox 2004, p. 548). The experience of sub-Saharan Africa sets the stage for examining historical conquest, violence, and oppression as a backdrop to socio-political conditions which have enabled the rapid spread of HIV/AIDS across the African Diaspora.

European colonialism and imperialism, and the artificial boundaries these systems imposed on Africa, exacerbated sociopolitical upheaval. The disintegration of traditional socioeconomic structures led to conflicts, poverty, and family and community disruption; forced migration; and involuntary displacements. South Africa, a country whose racist apartheid system deprived blacks of education and access to health care, is home to the second largest number of AIDS cases. Apartheid pervaded South African culture and supported the treatment of nonwhite South Africans as second-class citizens. During the 1960s and 1970s, the government implemented a policy of “resettlement” that forced nonwhites to move to government-specified areas, or “homelands,” where blacks rarely had plumbing or electricity, and where access to transport, hospitals, and health-care facilities was sharply curtailed. Highly developed white hospitals were off limits to blacks, whose few hospitals were seriously understaffed and underfunded. Further, within the tragic pattern of

forced removal of blacks to “resettlement zones” and the destruction of indigenous family life, black South African miners and other laborers worked long periods away from home and family. This became an underlying factor in increases in sex worker services and a major factor contributing to the HIV/AIDS epidemic (Sachs 2000, Robins 2005). Within this entrenched migrant-labor dynamic, it is estimated that AIDS may have been spreading at the explosive rate of more than 500 new cases per day. In 1982 the first recorded death from HIV occurred in the country, and by the mid-1990s the death toll had reached 10,000. In the United States, meanwhile, HIV/AIDS was ballooning into a health crisis, most notably for historically oppressed ethnic minority populations, African Americans and Hispanics. The U.S. epidemic ostensibly began as an epidemic of gay white males; however, the changing face of AIDS became evident in the mid-1990s as the percentages of AIDS cases among whites declined but grew disproportionately among people of color, especially African Americans. In 1985 blacks accounted for 25 percent of diagnosed AIDS cases but this figure rose to 50 percent by 2005 according to the Centers for Disease Control (CDC 2006). In 2003 the rate of AIDS diagnoses for African Americans was almost ten times the rate for whites and almost three times the rate for Hispanics. African-American men had AIDS rates eight times that of white men, while the rate of AIDS diagnoses for African American women was 25 times the rate for white women. In 2002 AIDS was the number one cause of death for African-American women between twenty-five and thirty-four years of age, and AIDS ranks in the top three causes of death for African Americans aged twenty-five to thirty-four (CDC 2006).

The AIDS epidemic among African Americans has been shaped by poverty, chemical dependency, lack of accessible health care, mistrust of medical and other institutions, isolation, institutionalized racism, and internalized oppression (Gilbert 2003). It unfolded parallel to a rise in intravenous drug use and crack cocaine use, a situation only worsened by biased law enforcement practices and the increased arrests associated with the 1980s “war on drugs,” forcing a disproportionate number of black men to enter the penal system. Nearly half of all prisoners in state and federal jurisdictions and almost 40 percent of juveniles in legal custody are African Americans; and in 2003, the AIDS prevalence in state and federal prisons (0.51%) was more than 3 times higher than in the general U.S. population (0.15%) (Maruschak 2005).

Similar to people of African descent around the world, black Americans already suffered from serious health and standard of living disparities predating AIDS. The death rate for African Americans is higher than non-Hispanic Whites for heart diseases, stroke, cancer, chronic lower respiratory diseases, influenza and pneumonia, diabetes,

and homicide. African Americans make up 40 percent of the homeless population; and infant mortality rates among U.S. blacks outpace those of some developing countries. Depression among African American women is almost 50 percent higher than that of white women. Not surprising, the U.S. Institute of Medicine released a report in 2002 that documented increasing evidence that, even after such differences as income, insurance status, and medical need are accounted for, race and ethnicity remained significant predictors of the quality of health care received by African Americans (Smedley, Stith, and Nelson 2003). The report confirmed racial and ethnic bias in the U.S. health care system, and that people of African descent suffer poorer health, use fewer health services, and are less satisfied with health-services encounters than almost any other ethnic group. Thus, issues such as providers' attitudes, communication with persons of color, and lack of cultural competence are factors in not only maintaining these disparities, but also in exacerbating them. Such patterns of health and HIV infection disparities are found in other countries where people of African descent are disproportionately poor and disenfranchised. In Brazil, which has the largest population of African descent outside the African continent, black and brown children are twice as likely as white children to die before the age of one (Cox 2004). Although the country has always boasted of its lack of racial problems, recent developments have highlighted racial disparities and pushed Brazilians to come to terms with how race affects virtually all aspects in their lives, from education to employment to justice. Around 47 percent of Brazil's 185 million people are black, and half of them live in poverty. Blacks in Brazil are twice as likely as whites to be poor and to receive less schooling, and they are more likely to die at a younger age than whites. These statistics underscore how HIV infection rates parallel color lines in Brazil. Brazilian blacks are nearly twice as likely as whites not to know how HIV is transmitted and, thus, to not know how to protect themselves from the virus (Hay 2005). Further, between 2000 and 2004, new cases of AIDS among people who declared themselves black or brown rose from 33.4 percent to 37.2 percent for men and from 35.6 percent to 42.4 percent for women (Hay 2005).

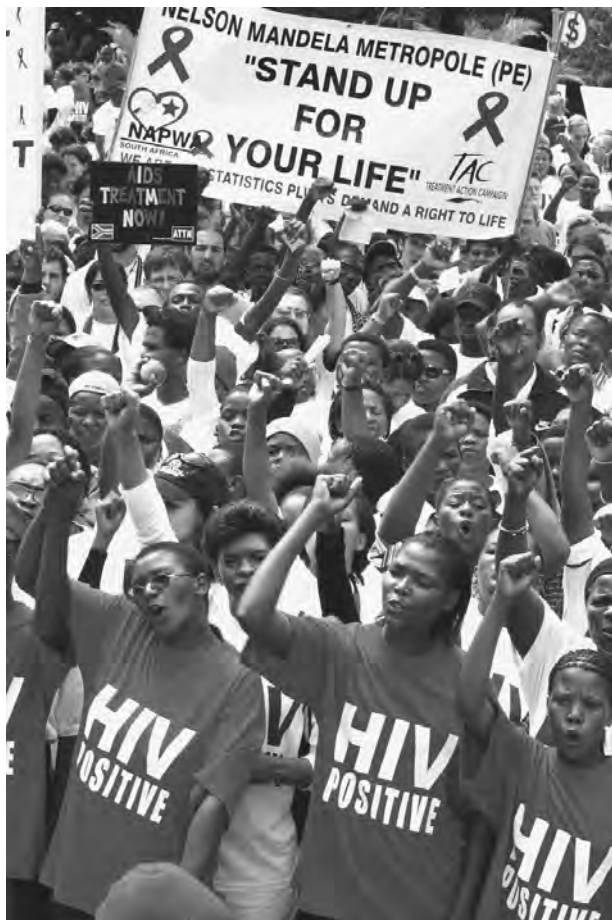
Even in countries such as the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and Columbia, where advanced risk-sharing systems of health care should protect its residents equally, people of color are not in fact protected as well as others. In Canada, for example, disparities among the indigenous population and among people of African descent exist, and cultural incompetence among healthcare workers has been acknowledged as a cause for these disparities. Poverty rates among persons of color in Canada are unacceptably high, reach-

ing as high as 50 percent for some groups, such as recent black immigrants (Jackson 2001). As a result, blacks are highly overrepresented among those suffering from HIV/AIDS. In the 2001 census, black people accounted for 2.2 percent of Canada's population but represented 15.1 percent of AIDS cases with known ethnicity. At the same time, the proportion of cases among white Canadians declined from 87.5 percent in 1993 to 64.1 percent in the first half of 2002 (CDC 2003). In sum, across continents and within countries, the patterns of HIV infection rates underscore the reality of health vulnerabilities grounded in inequitable access and treatment.

#### RACE, CULTURAL IDENTITY, AND GLOBAL RESPONSES TO HIV/AIDS

Sociopolitical constructions frame society's responses to any epidemic, and people with HIV/AIDS have frequently been blamed for their condition, rather than being viewed in the contexts of marginalization and inequity. For example, the initial categories of "high risk" groups (i.e., gay men, Haitians, Africans, sex workers) obscured the sociopolitical constructions of HIV. Early responses to AIDS were crippled by a lack of knowledge about the sociocultural context of the lives of historically oppressed people, including an understanding of how structural impediments rooted in institutionalized racism often place people in "high risk situations" (Zwi and Cabral 1992) and limit the options people can choose as a means of survival. Among these impediments are poverty, sociopolitical inequity, underdevelopment of education, disparities in health and healthcare, and marginalized and inadequate living conditions. Life choices to avoid HIV infection typically depend on the extent to which individuals have access to, and personal agency to obtain, crucial societal resources such as food, shelter, safety, money, education, and appropriate mental and physical health care.

Further, negative stereotyping and devaluing one's group can lead to a weakening of self-regard and group pride, and can express itself in depression, despair, and self-abuse. Substance abuse, for instance, has been linked to deteriorating communities and hopelessness. In addition, in-group horizontal oppression often translates into the imposition of stigma, sexism, heterosexism, and oppression against less-empowered members, such as women and children, homosexuals, and other HIV infected persons. These internal group dynamics can, in turn, create added vulnerability to HIV infection. Further, the extent to which people of African descent are affected by a distrust of whites and the notion that Eurocentric health information is untrustworthy constitutes another hindrance. This distrust can foster conspiracy theories (i.e., AIDS is a manmade virus that is being



**AIDS Activists Protest in Cape Town, South Africa, 2003.** HIV and AIDS is highly prevalent in Africa. Here AIDS activists gather in Cape Town to protest South African president Mbeki's failure to address the issue in his annual state of the nation address. AP IMAGES.

employed against blacks) as a way to make meaning of the disease and tragedy when accurate information is missing. Lack of information and educational disparities also remain a major barrier. For example, in Botswana where the HIV prevalence rate is 24.1 percent, only one in ten survey participant knew three ways of preventing sexual transmission of HIV (UNAIDS 2006).

HIV/AIDS researchers and policymakers have only recently acknowledged the ways in which early responses failed to adequately address the needs of people of African descent. Nowhere has the slow response to address HIV transmission and treatment been more controversial than in South Africa where President Mbeki persistently questioned, rather than taking action against, the startling HIV infection rates and projections. Steven Robins (2004) notes that while there is a need to avoid the construction of AIDS as a "black disease," the government's slow response along with popularly held AIDS

myths, stigma, and shame created a sense of denial among the general population as well as policymakers and politicians. Former South African president Nelson Mandela's 2005 announcement that his son died of AIDS sent a strong message about breaking down barriers surrounding the disease's public stigma and putting pressure on the government to take prevention and treatment efforts seriously. At the 2006 International AIDS Conference in Toronto, the South African government faced severe criticism about its policies encouraging traditional remedies such as beetroot and garlic over antiretroviral drugs. While there has been some treatment progress, less than 20 percent of the almost one million South Africans in need of antiretroviral treatment were receiving it in 2005 (UNAIDS 2006).

Advances in tackling HIV/AIDS around the world can occur through culturally congruent programs that address structural and cultural forces and the daily realities of people who contend with racial oppression. For example, despite poverty, war, and social disruption, Uganda's political leadership declared AIDS a national priority as early as 1986 and responded swiftly with educational programs backed by the participation of traditional religious and community leaders and prevention strategies that were integrated with media, popular culture, the arts, and school systems (Irwin, Millen, and Fallows 2003). As a result, while HIV infection rates rose sharply in late 1990s in many other African countries, Uganda saw a steep decline in HIV prevalence during the mid and late 1990s.

Brazil is noted for its universal free access to antiretroviral therapies that has nearly halved AIDS-related deaths. However, in 2005 leaders of Brazil's AIDS Program acknowledged that racism is an additional factor in HIV vulnerability, pointing to new statistics that AIDS among people of African descent was on the rise. The ministry launched the "AIDS is RACISM" campaign to encourage more blacks to seek information on HIV/AIDS (Hay 2005). Similarly, in the United States, despite treatment advances in antiretroviral medications that can allow people to live with HIV as a chronic illness, blacks have not realized the same benefits. Black Americans account for more AIDS-related deaths than any other racial/ethnic group and blacks with HIV/AIDS face greater barriers to treatment, including lack of transportation and health insurance. In his noteworthy 1989 essay "AIDS in Blackface," Harlon Dalton questioned how much whites would commit to sociopolitical action toward eradicating AIDS, a disease of the most politically weak and negatively socially constructed target population. Indeed, concern is mounting that as the disease has shifted away from whites to blacks, the general public has become less concerned and alarmed by the epidemic (Jaffe 2004).

Despite the fact that AIDS is a preventable and treatable disease, racism continues to play a strong force in structural impediments to effective prevention and intervention among African decent people worldwide. On a global scale, recent progress has been made through UNAIDS toward building a renewed international response to the HIV/AIDS epidemic; however, the path of progress remains unclear. Yet, it is clear that the health of people of African descent is inextricably tied to the broader struggles of equity and social justice in health, education, and social welfare. Therefore, organizations such as the Global AIDS Alliance, an organization dedicated to mobilizing the political will and financial resources needed to slow, and ultimately stop, the global AIDS crisis and reduce its impact on poor people and poor countries are of vital importance as a unified voice in continuing to focus attention on responsible and equitable treatment and global AIDS policies.

**SEE ALSO** *Brazilian Racial Formations; Caribbean Racial Formations; Cuban Racial Formations; Diseases, Racial; Haitian Racial Formations; Medical Racism; Social Problems; South African Racial Formations; Transnationalism; United Kingdom Racial Formations.*

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*Dorie J. Gilbert*

## HOAXING

A racial hoax is an instance when someone falsely places blame for a real or fabricated crime on another person because of that person's race. The crime may be real or staged, and the falsely accused person may be real or imaginary. Although a person of any race can perpetrate a racial hoax against a person of any other race, the most common racial hoaxes have historically involved whites falsely accusing blacks of criminal activity.

Racial hoaxes play on stereotypes about racial Others. Their believability depends upon the general public already possessing strong negative stereotypes about racialized groups, which form the basic premises of racial hoaxes. Throughout the whole of colonial and American history, whites have routinely developed, popularized, and generally believed negative stereotypes about people of color, especially African Americans. Negative stereotypes specific to African Americans, who are the usual targets of white-initiated racial hoaxes, include myths describing black people as hypersexual, randomly violent, lacking self-control, and emotionally and intellectually inferior to whites. As these myths spread through media, anecdotal stories, and popular culture, negative beliefs about people of color become rooted in whites' minds.

People who attempt racial hoaxes choose their racial targets and craft their stories to fit these stereotypes. A famous example occurred in 1994, when Susan Smith, a

## Hoaxing

young white mother in South Carolina, claimed “a surly black man wearing a dark knit cap” had carjacked her and driven off with her two young children in the back seat. For several days, Smith issued public pleas for the safe return of her children, and the police publicized a composite image of a black man and asked residents to come forward with information. Large numbers of black men were suddenly under public suspicion of kidnapping. For nine days, Smith carried on her story before confessing to police that she had murdered her own children. She led police to where she had strapped her children in her car and rolled the car into a lake.

Smith’s hoax exemplifies the relationship between racial hoaxes and stereotypes. Smith’s story depended upon the belief that black men are dangerous and frequently commit acts of random violence. The massive official response, and the fact that most whites initially believed Smith’s story, indicates the pervasiveness of the stereotype of black men as dangerous criminals. In this way, racial hoaxes clearly demonstrate the continuing reality of pervasive white racism in contemporary society.

The extreme number and popularity of negative stereotypes against people of color, especially black men, and the paucity of negative stereotypes about whites play a major role in the large disparity between incidents of white-initiated racial hoaxes and those initiated by people of color. Negative stereotypes against people of color make hoaxes believable. In the absence of stereotypes, hoaxes are often nonsensical and obvious lies *prima facie*. In addition, the widespread acceptance of negative stereotypes has produced an atmosphere in which whites are quick to believe racial hoaxes claiming black criminality but are more skeptical about claims of white criminality.

A second reason for the greater frequency of white-on-black hoaxes is the disproportionate amount of institutional power whites have over people of color in the United States. The story of Charles Stuart illustrates this point. In October of 1989, Charles Stuart, a white Bostonian, with the help of his brother and a friend, murdered his pregnant wife and then shot himself in the stomach. As part of the cover-up, Stuart telephoned police and claimed a black man in a jogging suit had committed the crime. At the mayor’s direction, police detectives rushed to Stuart’s aid. Police officers randomly stopped, harassed, and interrogated dozens of innocent young black men throughout the mostly black neighborhood where Stuart claimed the crime had occurred. During this process the police detained several innocent black men, and they nearly arrested one black man who Stuart had identified in a lineup. After two months of searches and investigations and a tip from Charles’ brother, police finally decided to question Stuart about the events. Sens-

ing their suspicion, Stuart took his own life rather than face murder charges.

White-on-black racial hoaxes are frequently effective because they receive massive institutional support from whites who control major institutions, such as police departments and judiciaries. Because anti-black stereotypes make claims about the fundamental nature and character of all black people, the white public and white-run institutions react to hoaxes by effectively considering all black people as suspicious and criminal. Hoaxes in which people of color falsely blame whites do not have this effect because negative stereotypes about the general character of white people are uncommon, and because people of color do not have the institutional power to effectively criminalize all whites. Instead, hoaxes initiated by people of color are often met with initial suspicion and, when taken seriously, result only in limited searches for guilty individuals rather than general searches through entire white neighborhoods.

The importance of unequal institutional power is even more apparent when one considers the history of racial hoaxes in the United States. During the slavery and Jim Crow periods (1619–1965), whites had complete control over every government institution, including the police and the courts. Extensive and overt white racism allowed whites to completely disregard the testimony of blacks and the objective evidence of cases. Mere accusations from whites were sufficient to convict people of color in a court of law. Often, black people never even reached a courtroom, while white mobs lynched unknown numbers of black men (official estimates are over 6,000), usually as scapegoats after whites accused them of petty theft or sexual promiscuity with white women, as occurred in the Rosewood, Florida, massacre of 1923. In this case, a white mob burned down the black community of Rosewood after a white woman falsely claimed that a black man had raped her.

Some racial hoaxes, however, have been perpetrated by people of color against whites. Most often these hoaxes involve people of color claiming to be victims of racial hate crimes. White-originated hoaxes are usually not classified as such until perpetrators confess their fabrications. Hoaxes against whites, however, are more frequently deemed hoaxes by white officials without confessions from the people of color who made the original claim.

Perhaps the most famous hoax of this type is the 1987 case of Tawana Brawley. Brawley, a fifteen-year-old black girl, was found in New York State covered in feces and racial slurs written in charcoal. She claimed that six white police officers had abducted and raped her before leaving her in the condition in which she was discovered. Several black community leaders, including the Reverend Al Sharpton, supported Brawley and brought national

attention to the incident. Eventually, investigators claimed Brawley's accusation to be a racial hoax. Ten years after the event, Sharpton and other Brawley supporters were found liable for defaming the accused officers. Nevertheless, Brawley consistently claimed that the officers did in fact rape her and perpetrate a hate crime against her.

Racial hoaxes continue to be common. Kathryn Russell-Brown, the director of the Center for the Study of Race and Race Relations at the University of Florida, has found 68 examples of racial hoaxes that occurred in the United States between 1987 and 1996. Seventy percent of these involved whites falsely accusing people of color. Among these cases, several trends are worth noting. First, white-initiated racial hoaxes are more frequent and usually involve whites blaming black men for extremely violent actions such as rape and murder. Accusations from people of color usually falsely claim that whites have perpetrated hate crimes against them. Second, white law-enforcement officers were the most frequent initiators of racial hoaxes. This is especially disturbing when one considers the trust and power the public places in these officers. Finally, white-initiated hoaxes are usually classified as hoaxes only after offenders confess their dishonesty. Conversely, white officials often classify black claims as hoaxes in the absence of confessions. This trend and the ubiquity of stereotypes against people of color suggest that far more blacks have been victims of white-initiated racial hoaxes than history records.

**SEE ALSO** *Criminal Justice System; Criminality, Race and Social Factors.*

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## HOLOCAUST

Winston Churchill described the mass murder of European Jewry by Nazi Germany and its allies as “a crime without a name.” The perpetrators, the National Socialist (Nazi) regime in Germany called it *Die Endlösung der*

*Judenfrage* (the Final Solution of the Jewish Question). The number of Jewish victims is generally regarded to be between 5.8 and 6 million. Later, this extermination policy became known as the Holocaust, or “Shoah” in Hebrew. In a more generic and legalistic formula, the Holocaust was an example of genocide, a word invented by Raphael Lemkin in 1943. The word *holocaust* is derived from the Greek *holokaustos*, meaning a “burnt offering,” as used in a religious sacrifice.

Since the end of World War II and the development of more critical studies of this event, other racial, religious, asocial and political groups have been identified and included as victims of the Holocaust. These include the Roma and Sinti (Gypsies), victims of the T-4 program (killings carried out because of genetic disorders), Jehovah's Witnesses, political prisoners, Poles, and homosexuals. The use of the word “Shoah” tends to limit the issue to Jews only, as is the case with the commemorative day on the Jewish calendar, the 27th day of the month of Nisan. In 2006, the United Nations adopted January 27 (the date on which the Auschwitz death camp was liberated in 1945 by troops of the Soviet Army) as an International Day of Commemoration in Memory of the Victims of the Holocaust.

#### RACISM IN NAZI GERMANY

Racism played a key role in defining the victims of Nazi persecution, and it became lethal when it was mixed with German nationalism, folk concepts of blood and soil that helped define insiders and outsiders, issues of degeneracy, fear of chaos and outside enemies, a world war, and the application of modern scientific and medical technologies to mass killing. In the case of the extermination of the Jews, race was also indistinguishable from Jewish religious practice. In 1931 the National Socialist Party established the Race and Resettlement Office (Rasse-und Siedlungshauptamt, or RuSHA), which became a Schutz-staffel (SS) Main Office in 1935. Ultimately, this office was concerned with population transfer policies and the extermination of the Jews and other undesirable groups.

However, while race was the defining issue in the Holocaust, other factors were also present, including economic motivations that involved German medical doctors, lawyers, and businesses getting rid of their Jewish competitors in order to improve wage conditions; the seizure or sale of property during a process called “Aryanization,” in which the Jewish owners received only a small percentage of the property value; the seizure and sale in other countries of “degenerate art” from museum collections, and, later, the massive pilfering of private Jewish art collections. Aryanization and the subsequent ethnic cleansing of Jews in occupied countries made it easy to justify property transfers from Jews to members of the local nation, such as Poles, Slovaks, Croats, and Hungarians. The seizure of

property was all done with legal decrees. Hence, a long paper trail was left by the German bureaucracy, which later provided the basis for material claims against the postwar German government. In parts of Eastern Europe, especially those states created after 1918, local individuals saw the Germans and Jews as controlling industry. This was especially true in those sections of Poland that were formerly part of the German Empire. The historian Raul Hilberg has also pointed out that once the Holocaust commenced, there was no authorized budget for it. It was, therefore, the sale of Jewish assets that paid for the killing.

In the eyes of both perpetrators and bystanders, however (with variations from country to country), there were collateral factors that had developed during the long presence of the Jews within European Christendom. Among these were biblical allegations of responsibility for the crucifixion of Christ (particularly Acts 5:30, "The God of our fathers raised up Jesus whom you murdered by hanging on a tree.") and the multigenerational responsibility for this crime (Matthew 27:25, "His blood be on us and on our children."). Another factor was the fear of vertical social and political mobility by a formerly tolerated minority, the Jews, who had a generally supportive attitude on issues of democratization. In Claude Lanzmann's film *SHOAH* (1985), a Polish peasant woman remarks that Jewish women were seen as rivals for their "beauty," owing to the fact that they did not work and hence were sought after by Polish men. Whether this testimony is true remains conjectural.

All of these factors pointed to the Jew as "other" or "stranger," despite long residencies in the countries where the Holocaust would play itself out. Nevertheless, it is important to point out that Jews were often killed not by German killing squads but by local populations. The most notorious cases, perhaps, were in Kaunas (Kovno), Lithuania, and the Polish town of Jedwabne. In the latter massacre, which took place on July 10, 1941, approximately 1,500 Jews were killed by Poles. However, despite a 2001 apology for the massacre by President Aleksander Kwasniewski, both the facts and interpretation of this event remain contentious because of the nationalist view that the Poles were also victims of Nazism.

#### RACE AND RELIGION IN THE NAZI PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS

*Race* and cognate terms in Greek and Latin have been used for 2,000 years to describe the existence of social or ethnic groups of various kinds. However, in the late nineteenth century, the word *race* was applied to European Jews in a novel manner, combining a mixture of the new pseudoscience of eugenics, romantic ideas from the arts, and religious ideas to construct the idea of "the

Jewish race." While Nazi theorists had constructed the idea of the "Aryan" along racial lines as having white skin, blond hair, blue eyes, and a right to rule because of natural selection, the Jews were constructed in an opposite light. Jews were often described as having Middle Eastern origins, no matter how long they had lived in Germany. According to Nazi propaganda, as indicated in the notorious 1940 film *Der ewige Jude* (*The Eternal Jew*), Jews were considered a mixed race "with negro admixture." In addition, racists considered the Jewish Diaspora to be a potential threat because Jews were situated in many places and hence difficult to defeat at once. Jews were also described as both inbred (unlike the "Aryans") and having a cunning power because of their intelligence. It was also held that the specific occupations that they held in society (bankers, intellectuals, etc.) put them in a position to dominate the modern world of the twentieth century. However, Jews were also said to be "feminized" because of their lack of a country and an army. They needed protection from others, and they were therefore vulnerable when policies of toleration broke down.

As Nazi racism developed, the issue of what constituted race became more complex. Religion entered the discourse not for Jews, but rather for Jews who had converted to Christianity but were still considered Jews by Nazi law. For example, the 1935 Nuremberg Laws imposed a state-defined racial definition on Jews based on grand parentage, irrespective of current religion. This was a negation of the Christian concept of religious conversion: After the Nuremberg Laws, Christian mission to the Jews was prohibited. In the long run, despite race theory being based on "blood," the racial attack on the Jews also necessitated attacks on synagogues and Jewish books, as well as on the Jews themselves.

Adolf Hitler attacked the Jews in his writings from 1920 onwards. However, the Nazi Party (officially, the National Socialist German Workers' Party) did not attempt to define Jews with specificity until 1935. Hitler's landmark book, *Mein Kampf* (1925), became the source of the essential ideology of Nazi Germany. In the book, a series of struggles of opposites were laid out: light against darkness, health against sickness, the visible against invisible, form against formlessness in the arts and thought, culture against decadence, and Aryan against Jew. Deviations from the worldview found in Hitler's thought were viewed as forms of sickness, which could be changed through surgery. For the Nazi state, that surgery took the form of genocide.

Under German National Socialism, the *führer* was viewed as a charismatic and authoritarian leader who emerged from the chaotic conditions in Germany at the end of World War I. While his rise was also linked to



Germanic nationalism and folklore, Hitler positioned himself as a new Siegfried prepared to avenge a betrayed nation and restore equilibrium. What followed in the Nazi program was a form of salvation that was both romantic and artistic: It was interested in a memory of the past, especially as it concerned race and spirit of a people. Using myths of the German past, Hitler and his cohorts constructed the new myth that no German hero could be defeated except by a “stab in the back,” a phrase popularized by General Eric Ludendorff.

It was through this logic that the explanation of the German defeat of 1918 was revealed through two critical events. The first was the Russian Revolution of November 1917, described by its enemies as “Jewish Bolshevism.” The second was the questioning within the nation-state of who was a true German and who was a stranger. The latter proved to be the Jews, who had a long history in Europe as being the “other,” and who were often linked erroneously to the outbreak of chaotic situations. This included Christian myths of deicide in the Bible, accusations about the defiling of culture, and ultimately race mixing through conversion to Christianity. Thus, anti-Semitism, which minimally might be simply a dislike of Jews because of religious or cultural reasons, became infested with racism based on biological concepts.

Nazi rhetoric also had within it a strong relationship to Christian rhetoric. In November 1934 at Nuremberg, Deputy Führer Rudolph Hess stated: “The party is Hitler, but Hitler is also Germany, just as Germany is Hitler.” This extravagant claim was derived from the language of the Gospel of St. John, which reads, “I am in the Father and the Father is in me.” (John 14:10) The general propaganda of the era suggested that Hitler had been chosen to put the German universe back in order and that Nazism was a Christian movement.

#### AESTHETICS, PUBLIC HEALTH, AND LAWS OF EXCLUSION

Art and public health programs were also a part of Nazi race theory and biology, known as *Rassenkunde* (Race Science). The concept was sufficiently simple. It meant that good breeding creates a sense of race in a people. Race was a myth linked to art, bodily aesthetics, and racial hygiene, and it was an ideal to be accomplished. Any intrusion by aliens, such as Jews, threatened this process. Such eugenic ideas were not new, nor were they specifically German. Hitler’s attacks on the Jews as a race, however, necessitated an attack both on Jewish art and creativity and on the physical characteristics of the Jews. Hitler believed that the idea of creative work had to be anti-Semitic. Thus, the Jewish presence in Germany, and later Europe, was seen as evil not only because of the threat of interbreeding, but also because of the infiltra-

tion of “inferior” Jewish art and music. The German word *entarte* (degenerate) was applied to modern art, swing music, people who had nontraditional life styles, and individuals with mental disorders and physical handicaps, as well as to Jews, Afro-Germans, and the Sinti and Roma (Gypsies). Many applications of “degeneracy” were made to the works of non-Jews, but ultimately all Jewish influences on culture were to be eliminated.

Once Hitler came into power on January 30, 1933, the Jews were the main focus of exclusionary laws based upon state-authored racism. Those laws were similar to the “Jim Crow” laws that established the segregation of races in the United States, although Jews in Germany were Caucasian, spoke German, and often had German family names. Some had in fact been Christians for generations, and were therefore not Jews according to the religious precepts of the Jewish community. More than 2,000 anti-Jewish laws were passed between 1933 and 1945 creating a wall of separation between newly defined “Jews” and “Aryans.” The initial laws were more general in nature, including the Law for Restitution of the German Civil Service (April 1933), the Law to Prevent the Overcrowding of German Schools (April 1933), the Law for the Protection of Hereditary Health of the German People (July 1933), and the Editorial Law (October 1933). Later laws of exclusion grew more and more specific.

For the Nazis, the Jews were the group that caused fear and anomie. The solution, at first, was separation and a push for them to emigrate. Only later did the issue become one of extermination. The German laws that removed Jews from professions and left them without a livelihood were an invitation for them to leave the country. A decree of February 10, 1935, authorized the Secret State Police (or Gestapo) to forbid all Jewish meetings that propagandized for the continuing residence of Jews in Germany. On February 8, 1936, the Gestapo applied a ban on the Association of Jews Faithful to the Torah, because such an organization “cannot promote the emigration of Jews and is likely to impede the supervision of Jews.” Other laws made it more and more difficult for Jews to live in Germany. Thus, through the “First Supplemental Decree” of the Nuremberg Laws, which was passed on November 14, 1935, the civil rights of Jews were cancelled, their voting rights were abolished, and those Jewish civil servants who were still working were retired (this process of removal began in April 1933). On December 21, 1935, the “Second Supplemental Decree” led to the dismissal of all professors, teachers, physicians, lawyers, and notaries who were state employees.

Other laws created racial and social separation between Aryans and Jews. This included a prohibition



**Jewish Sympathizer, 1935.** Jews and those who sympathized with their plight were publicly humiliated. This woman was forced by Nazi soldiers to wear a sign that reads: "I am the greatest swine form, and only get involved with Jews."

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on marriages between Jews and citizens of "German or kindred blood." In addition, sexual relations outside of marriage between Jews and nationals of "German or kindred blood" were forbidden, and Jews were not permitted to employ female citizens of "German or kindred blood" as domestic servants. A decree of August 17, 1938, required Jews to have a red "J" stamped in their passports, while Jewish men had to take the middle name "Israel" and women the middle name "Sara." These were clear identifiers of "Jewish race."

If any law is useful for understanding the political construction of "race" in Nazi Germany, it is the law of August 31, 1936, when the Reich Finance Ministry announced that religious affiliation had to be indicated on tax forms. Soon thereafter, on October 4, 1936, another decree indicated that the "conversion of Jews to Christianity has no relevance with respect to the question of race. The possibility to hide one's origin by changing one's religious affiliation will entirely vanish as soon as the offices for racial research begin their work."

#### FURTHER DEFINING THE VICTIMS

A major problem with the "Jewish Question," in Germany, as it was termed, was that there were no clear statistics about the number of Jews living among the German population of approximately 66 million people. The general belief was that the Jewish population in Germany was 530,000, or about eight-tenths of one percent of the total population. Statistics released in April 1935 indicated there were 750,000 half-Jews (*Mischlinge*, or "half-breeds") and 475,000 full Jews, totaling more than a million Jews. Other sources placed the total number of Jews and half-Jews at no more than 600,000. Certainly many German Jews were so assimilated they could not be differentiated from Germans by any objective criteria.

Thus, the dilemma of determining the number of Jews and half-Jews (who were also half-German) produced the necessity of a more precise law in order to enforce prior and future decrees. This discussion led, in September 1935, to the Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honor (the first Nuremberg Law), and to the subsequent decrees of November 14, 1935, which attempted to perfect the definition of a Jew. However, these laws led to many anomalies over the question of half-Jews, or *Mischlinge*.

According to the Nuremberg Laws, a Jew was a person descended from three or four Jewish grandparents, regardless of their current religious affiliation. A "Mischling, First-Degree" was a person with two Jewish grandparents who fell into one of the following categories: he or she belonged to the Jewish community religiously; was married to a Jew; or was the offspring of legal or nonlegal sexual intercourse with a Jew. A "Mischling, Second-Degree" was a person with one Jewish grandparent. Thus, theoretically, an Aryan was someone with no Jewish grandparents. However, the law revealed some of the artificiality of the construction of race in the definition of a first-degree Mischling, which included membership in the religious community as a determinant of race. In Poland, which was occupied by Germany during World War II, a change in the law permitted children born to a Mischling family before May 31, 1941, to be regarded as Aryans, while those born after May 31, 1941, were considered Jews.

#### THE PUSH TO EMIGRATE

These decrees and laws took away German citizenship and made Jews technically "stateless," suggesting that the race policy of Germany between 1933 and the beginning of World War II was designed to promote the emigration of Jews rather than their extermination. The July 1938 Evian Conference was convened by thirty-two countries in an effort to solve the growing refugee problem, but little was decided and the conference had only a minor impact. The hypocrisy of the Western nations in

criticizing the German policies on Jews but being unwilling to accept an extensive number of the refugees only encouraged and emboldened Hitler. However, the issue of accepting refugees was never popular among the populations of democratic countries and leaders often reflected that they were following democratic opinion on this question. Nonetheless, before the end of 1938, while hundreds of separation laws were being decreed, the violence against Jews was often lethal, but hardly genocidal.

Kristallnacht, or the “Night of Broken Glass” (November 9–10, 1938), was the first German nationwide outburst against the Jews. It was allegedly caused by the murder of a German official in Paris by a Jew upset with his parents’ deportation to a “no-man’s land” on the Polish border. On Kristallnacht, mobs throughout Germany, Austria, and the Sudetenland attacked Jews and Jewish property, including places of worship. Ninety-six Jews were killed and hundreds were injured, and hundreds of synagogues were subjected to arson and destroyed, as were 7,500 businesses. Cemeteries and schools were also vandalized. In the immediate aftermath, between 26,000 and 30,000 Jews, mostly men, were arrested and sent to concentration camps. Most were eventually released on the assumption that they would leave Germany. The difficulty, however, was finding a country of refuge. A heavy fine was levied on the Jewish community for their responsibility for the event. Most significantly, Kristallnacht marked the transfer of Jewish policies to the Schutzstaffel, or SS, headed by Reichsführer Heinrich Himmler.

Emigration did pick up after Kristallnacht. However, a major problem in successful emigration was the world economic depression, which limited entry visas into other countries. In addition, even the world’s democracies had varying levels of anti-Semitism, which affected their immigration policies.

Some of the prohibitive laws that were passed before and after Kristallnacht limiting Jewish rights were dazzling in their specificity and emphasis on things usually considered trivial. For example, an April 1933 decree forbade the use of Yiddish in the State of Baden’s cattle markets. A law passed on December 1, 1933, proclaimed: “The Association of Retail Traders in Frankfurt forbids Jewish shops from using Christian symbols during Christmas season sales.” On June 21, 1934, the Hessian Education Ministry excluded the Old Testament from the Protestant religious educational curriculum, replacing it with additional passages from the New Testament. On September 28, 1935, the Mayor of Königsdorf, a village in Bavaria, decreed that cows purchased directly or indirectly from Jews could not be inseminated by the common village bull. However, it was not until September 3, 1941, that a decree mandated that Jews remaining in Germany had to wear the Yellow Star identification on their outer clothing. It is of note that

this requirement was imposed on Jews in the occupied territories even earlier, after the beginning of World War II and occupation policies of 1939.

The T-4 Euthanasia Program that led to the killing of Germans who were physically and mentally impaired began officially on September 1, 1939. It included gassing operations, and an estimated 100,000 patients were killed. Others were killed through starvation or injections of phenol directly into the heart. The numbers killed by each method are imprecise, and more natural causes of death were often written into death certificates. Doctors who served in the T-4 program also aided in the selection process for arriving inmates at German death camps in occupied Poland after 1941.

### RACIAL PROPAGANDA

Alongside the various decrees separating the Jews from “Aryans” was a constant barrage of racial epithets that came from the Ministry of Propaganda and the notorious anti-Semitic newspaper *Der Stürmer*, edited by Julius Streicher. *Der Stürmer* began publication in 1923, ten years before the Nazis achieved power. It was a perfect example of a “rag” newspaper, with stories that were sensationalist and anti-Semitic (and pornographic, in their own way). The stories were drawn often from standard anti-Semitic mythologies of the past, and from the *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*, a notorious forgery from the turn of the twentieth century that purported to reveal a Jewish plot of world domination. There were exaggerated stories about alleged “ritual murders” of Christian children and about the alleged predatory nature of Jewish men seeking out pure Aryan women for sexual relations (a myth that Hitler obsessed about). Jewish men were almost always depicted in what would be considered a “racial” type of imagery—long hooked noses, rounded bodies, large ears, thick glasses, and long devilish fingernails—and these images were linked to images of capitalist as well as communist domination. The offensiveness of *Der Stürmer* was so intense that Streicher was sentenced to be hanged at the 1945 International Tribunal at Nuremberg, although he had never personally ordered or carried out a murder.

By the autumn of 1938, after five and a half years of National Socialist rule, the living conditions of the German Jews had worsened dramatically as the result of the discriminatory measures planned and executed by the state. Many were unable to believe that things could get worse. Others, however, were convinced that the openly declared threat of a “solution to the Jewish question” would be carried out.

Concurrent with the persecution of the Jews was the reclassification of the Gypsy population from “asocial” to a “race.” After 1936, the Nuremberg Laws were applied to

them, even though they were not mentioned in the decree. In 1937, German law classified Gypsies as “asocials,” but in May 1938 they were reclassified as a racial group by the Central Office for Fighting the Gypsy Menace. The racial classification created some contradictions in strict Nazi racial policy, as the Roma were from India, thereby placing them in the structure of Indo-European peoples, and hence Aryans. Nevertheless, the Gypsies, already the subject of social ostracism because of their perceived lifestyle, became the subject of eugenic studies using the same pseudoscientific methods of bodily measurements as those used on the Jews. This included measurement of nose and skull size and descriptions of hair and eye color.

An SS decree of December 16, 1942 (referred to in other German documents, though the original has not been found), ordered the deportation of Gypsies to concentration camps. At Auschwitz, the Nazi medical researcher and eugenicist Dr. Joseph Mengele took particular interest in Gypsies. The artist and former Auschwitz prisoner Dina Gottlieb has testified about a series of paintings and drawings of Gypsy women she did on Mengele’s order, emphasizing the structure of the ear. At least half a million Gypsies perished in concentration camps and killing centers, including Babi Yar near Kiev, Auschwitz, and a killing site called Lety in the Bohemian Protectorate.

#### FROM EMIGRATION TO GENOCIDE

The steps toward genocide, toward a “racial purification program” of mass killing, started with the German attack on Poland on September 1, 1939. While no written order apparently exists for what became the “final solution of the Jewish question,” the general consensus of historians is that a written order should not be expected in a modern bureaucratic state such as Nazi Germany. However, the general idea of the removal of the German Jews had been in the air for a long time and is found frequently in Hitler’s speeches. For example, in Hitler’s speech given on January 30, 1939, he indicated that war would bring some sort of extermination program. He stated, “Today I will be once more a prophet: If the international Jewish financiers in and outside Europe should succeed in plunging the nations once more into a world war, then the result will not be the Bolshevizing of the earth and thus the victory of Jewry, but the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe.” The speech may be said to have paved the way to a further radicalization of anti-Jewish policies, although it was not until 1940 that extermination appeared to be a realistic goal.

In 1940 the highly propagandistic and racist film, *Der ewige Jude* was shown in German movie theaters. Produced by Minister of Propaganda Joseph Goebbels and filmed by Fritz Hippler in the Lodz ghetto, the film conjures up images of Jews as both a public health menace



*Dutch Jews Leave for a Concentration Camp, 1942 or 1943. A Jewish family in Amsterdam, Netherlands, has just been arrested and must leave their house to go to a concentration camp in Poland. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.*

and a group racially inferior to the Aryans (they are ultimately compared with an infestation of rats). The film ends with Hitler’s speech of January 30, 1939. Hitler repeated the threat of the destruction of the Jews in later speeches, including those given on January 30, 1941; February 24, September 30, and November 8, 1942; and February 24, 1943. Parallel to Hitler’s pronouncements at this time were additional directives within the Nazi Party by Joseph Goebbels, Reichmarshall Hermann Goering, and Heinrich Himmler, the commander of the SS. Reinhard Heydrich, the head of the SS Main Office and the second-ranking officer in the SS, approached Hermann Goering in July 1941 and asked him to authorize his department to begin plans for a “total solution” of the “Jewish question.” A return letter from Goering to Heydrich, dated July 31, 1941, seems to establish bureaucratic approval for the extermination of the Jews on a racial basis. In this document, Goering wrote: “I hereby commission you to carry out all necessary preparations . . .

for a total solution of the Jewish question in the German sphere of influence in Europe.”

**Early Executions.** Heydrich had convened a conference on September 21, 1939, to discuss racial policy in Poland. A decision was made to evacuate up to 1.5 million Jews into the Lublin district, into what would be called, for the time being, a “reservation.” The first Nazi ghettos were established for Jews in October 1939. The Star of David, in white and yellow colors, was introduced as an insignia for Polish Jews on November 23, 1939. Executions of Jewish male leaders in towns and cities followed. On December 10, 1942, the London-based Polish government in exile made the following request: “The Polish Government asks that the United Nations shall take effective measures to help the Jews not only of Poland but of the whole of Europe, three to four millions of whom are in peril of ruthless extermination.”

The most well-known study of shooting units is Christopher Browning’s 1992 book *Ordinary Men*, in which he examines *Ordnungspolizei* (Order Police) Reserve Police Unit 101, based in Hamburg. This unit killed over 38,000 Jews by shooting, beginning in July 1942 in the village of Jozefow, and it was later involved in the deportation of 45,000 others to Treblinka. Later, when the ghettos were better organized, they became the vehicle for a slower but consistent method of deportation to the death camps. Beginning in the summer of 1942, for example, more than 300,000 Jews were deported from the Warsaw Ghetto to Treblinka, a process that prompted the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising that began on April 19, 1943.

The beginning of the war against the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, clearly mixed the territorial ambitions of the Reich with a policy of racial annihilation. Four mobile killing squads, the *Einsatzgruppen*, followed the regular army onto the territory of the USSR and began the liquidation of the Jewish population, and of anyone linked to the Soviet political class. Mass murder was carried out mainly by shooting the victims in pits, though there was some experimentation with killing people in gas vans. While the local population killed Jews in some of the Eastern countries under occupation, the SS preferred “organized killing” rather than spontaneous pogroms. Slovakia solved its Jewish problem in an interesting way: It paid the Germans 500 Reichmarks for the removal of each Jew.

The mechanism for killing the Jews had also been put in process early in 1941. Auschwitz, a Polish army camp, was taken over on June 14, 1940, and turned into a concentration camp. In October 1941, the SS leader Heinrich Himmler authorized the construction of the Auschwitz II-Birkenau camp for Soviet prisoners of war.

After the first test gassings of prisoners at Auschwitz I in September 1941, the first selections and gassings took place in May 1942 at Birkenau, which had been converted from a place of incarceration for Soviet prisoners to the principal destination for the mass murder of the Jews. Eventually, the six major death camps were established on the territory of the former Polish state: Auschwitz, Majdanek, Belzec, Chelmno, Sobibor, and Treblinka.

While the death camps were being built on the territory of the prewar Polish Republic, which was now divided into occupation zones, on October 23, 1941, the Security Police forbade the emigration of Jews from Nazi-controlled territories for the duration of the war. This ended all emigration solutions, including the one most talked about in inner Nazi circles, that of sending the Jews to the island of Madagascar.

**Wannsee and the Final Solution.** The Wannsee Conference, convened at a lakeside resort south of Berlin on January 20, 1942, is best interpreted as a bureaucratic evaluation of extermination policy to date. Debates took place on strategies such as the immediate need for the Final Solution versus the labor needs of the Reich. The minutes from this conference taken, by Obersturmbannführer Adolph Eichmann, indicate the advanced plans to murder all of European Jewry and suggest the entire German bureaucracy was becoming involved in the process. They also suggest that the participants discussed creating a mood for compliance in mass murder among the diverse branches of the SS and the bureaucracy.

The Wannsee Conference also raised the question of race through a discussion of the fate of the Mischlinge, or the half-Jews. The discussion at Wannsee, as revealed in the minutes of the meeting, indicated the imprecision in the Nuremberg Laws of 1935, especially when related to the labor needs of the Third Reich. For example, it was decided at the conference that persons of mixed blood of the second degree were to be treated “essentially as Germans,” probably because of the labor shortage in the country. There were some bizarre exceptions, however. For example, this policy did not apply to any person who, from a racial viewpoint, had an “especially undesirable appearance that marks him outwardly as a Jew,” nor did it apply to anyone who had a “particularly bad police and political record that shows that he feels and behaves like a Jew.”

The discussion on first-degree Mischlinge (those with two Jewish grandparents) indicated that many exemptions had already been made and that cases should be reexamined based on “personal merit.” This pattern of reinterpretation indicates that racial definitions, so critical in 1935, were now being rethought. However, in order to prevent any additional mixed offspring, first-degree

## Holocaust

Mischlinge were to be sterilized. Other very precise situations of marriages between Jews and Aryans, with or without children, were discussed, and remedies advanced for the deportation of Jews to what was called “the old-age ghetto” of Theresienstadt.

Reinhard Heydrich became the effective leader of early plans to implement the Final Solution. He and his subordinate, Adolf Eichmann, controlled the bureaucratic apparatus to implement this policy. In addition, Heydrich also controlled the operations of the Einsatzgruppen and the work of SS-Obergruppenführer Odilo Globocnik in the Lublin district of the General-Government (the central part of occupied Poland). According to what is regarded as the “functionalist” model of the Holocaust, Heydrich created a coherent and systematic plan for the extermination of European Jews by merging a series of diffuse internal systems. After Heydrich’s assassination in April 1942 near Prague, this phase of the destruction process adopted the name “Operation Reinhard.” The death camps at Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka were associated with this destruction process. By the end of 1942, approximately 4 million Jews had been killed in the various extermination processes.

As German control of Europe expanded into military occupations, the extermination of Jews intensified. The killing process was more ruthless in the East, featuring mass shootings by Einsatzgruppen on Soviet territory; the use of gas vans; and two forms of gas chambers, using carbon monoxide and Zyklon B gas (prussic acid), at the Auschwitz and Majdanek extermination camps.

**Poland, the Ghettos, and Forced Labor.** The implementation of the Holocaust in Poland included a rapid identification and isolation of the Jews. On November 23, 1939, all Jews over the age of ten years were required to wear the Star of David as an identification mark. The Nazi occupation authorities would eventually establish 400 ghettos in occupied Eastern Europe. The two largest were in Warsaw and Lodz, Poland. The Warsaw Ghetto was created on November 23, 1939. From both a racial and a supposed public health point of view, the ghettos were designed to separate the Jews from the rest of the local populations.

However, a debate existed among the Nazi elite about the purpose of the ghettos. On one hand, because of a shortage of labor, the ghettos could provide, theoretically, a reserve of slave labor. On the other hand, the poor and dismal living conditions, combined with poor diet and the absence of health care created conditions for what would appear to be a natural decline of the Jewish community through an increased death rate. A third interpretation was that the ghettos were way stations to the death camps. Ghettos were subject to frequent raids



*Execution in Poland, c. 1942. Victims of the Holocaust were often buried in mass graves. It was not uncommon for victims to be marched to the edge of a pit filled with bodies before being shot in the back of the head by Nazi soldiers. © CORBIS.*

by the SS, who often removed the very people who might be part of a useful slave labor force. German capitalist enterprises also benefited from the slave labor potential. Virtually every German company used some form of slave labor. Perhaps the most well-known case is that of I.G. Farben, which ran Auschwitz Camp III-Buna with slave labor supplied by the SS. Eventually, all of the ghettos were liquidated, with the remaining populations sent to death camps or other slave labor facilities, or else sent on death marches into Germany itself.

The ghettos began to be emptied in 1942 during “Operation Reinhard.” As the war progressed and defeat became probable for the Germans after the loss at Stalingrad on February 2, 1943, the attempt to exterminate the remainder of European Jews under German control intensified. This is best documented in the deportation of Hungarian Jews, who had previously been protected by the Hungarian regent, Admiral Miklos Horthy. However, the Germans occupied Hungary in mid-March 1943, and the deportation of Hungarian Jews to Auschwitz began in May. Within a short time, 440,000 Jews were deported from Hungary.

## THE AFTERMATH

By the time the Holocaust ended in the East, Jewish losses were severe: 2.8 million from Poland were killed; 1.5 million on the territory of the Soviet Union; 277,000 from Czechoslovakia; 560,000 from Hungary; and 270,000 from Romania, plus other losses in Greece (60,000) and Yugoslavia (65,000). However, the war between Germany and the Soviet Union has to be assessed as being a war not only between competing ideologies but also as a conflict that involved racial ideas.

In Western Europe, Jews were identified for deportation to the East and annihilation. The imposition of "Race Laws" or registration laws helped in defining Jews, especially by the wearing of a yellow star, and this was a prelude to isolation and deportation. In the Netherlands, the Jewish population was 159,000 at the outset of war. Registration was mandated there by the German occupation authorities in January 1941. Eventually, 107,000 were deported and 102,000 died. Up to 30,000 Dutch Jews were hidden, two-thirds of whom survived. Belgium's Jewish population was 66,000 at outset of the war, of whom 28,500 were deported, beginning in September 1942. France's Jewish population was approximately 225,000, and 77,000 of them were deported. Of Norway's approximately 1,500 Jews, 770 escaped to Sweden, while 761 were deported by ship to Stettin and on to Auschwitz. Jews were also deported from the British Channel Islands, which were occupied by the Germans.

Under Mussolini, Italy was generally reluctant to give up its Jews, despite imposition of the race law in 1938. However, after the initial fall of fascism, Mussolini established the Northern Italian Republic of Salo on September 23, 1943, with German support. This led to the beginning of the deportation of 8,000 Italian Jews (about 20% of Italy's Jewish population) in October 1943, and 95 percent of those who were deported died. About 40,000 Italian Jews survived the war without deportation.

The last phase of the Holocaust was defined by death marches and the liberation of the Western concentration camps in April and May 1945. As territory under German control contracted, the SS began to march inmates from the camps in the East to concentration camps in Germany. During these marches, stragglers who fell by the wayside were beaten and killed. The sadism of the guards during the death marches has been recalled with particular detail by many survivors, raising the question of whether they were obeying the orders of the SS guards, or whether this was a reflection of their own racism toward the prisoners. The survivors of the death marches and transports wound up in concentration camps at Bergen-

Belsen, Dachau, Flossenburg, Buchenwald, Mauthausen, and other places inside pre-1938 German borders.

The Holocaust ended with the end of World War II on May 7, 1945. The Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Elie Wiesel has suggested that without Hitler, there would have been no Holocaust. However, the period before the Holocaust witnessed an intense development of race theory, anti-Semitism and racial hygiene in the realm of public health policies that demonized the "others" who lived in Germany. The whole issue of how non-Europeans, as the Jews and Roma/Sinti were defined, fit into the nation-state idea of the 1930s, when race became a political factor, suggests the explosive aspects of policies based on tolerance of "others" and "strangers."

The postwar International Military Tribunals (IMT) at Nuremberg, and the later zonal trials, clearly established the nature of the Nazi criminal offenses, not only in conspiracy and aggressive war, but also in war crimes and crimes against humanity that were racist and genocidal in nature. For those anti-Semitic states, individuals, and organizations that deny the event happened, the trials, the huge amount of documents from the event, and Germany's own admission of guilt are the most effective rebuttals. In addition, there is extensive documentation of the testimony of victims, particularly through such video projects as the Fortunoff Archive at Yale University, the University of Southern California's Shoah Foundation Institute for Visual History and Education, and the work done within research divisions of Holocaust museums, such as the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C. and Yad Vashem, the Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority in Jerusalem.

Since 1945 the study of the Holocaust has become a template for understanding acts of genocide that came before and after the Nazi era. The intensity of racism, especially as authored by a modern state, and the technological aspects of the German killing machine, as well as the extended time frame and the attempts to kill Jewish victims outside German borders (but in occupation zones) provide a certain uniqueness to the plan of the perpetrators. However, this assessment is not to suggest that the Holocaust is so different that it excludes comparisons with other genocides. On the contrary, the study of the genocide of the Herero, the Armenian genocide, and the genocides in Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge, in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in Rwanda, and in Darfur have been more identifiable and better understood because of the legacy and historiography of the Holocaust.

SEE ALSO *Anti-Semitism; Ethnic Cleansing; Genocide; Roma.*

## Homophobia

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Stephen C. Feinstein

## HOMOPHOBIA

SEE *Heterosexism and Homophobia*.

## HOTTENTOT VENUS

“Hottentot Venus” was the moniker given to a series of women exhibited in sexually suggestive, ethnic curiosity shows in England and France in the early nineteenth century. The woman who is most linked with the icon, Saartjie Baartman, was the first to take the role. Baartman, who was also called Sarah or Sara, was a native of South Africa. It is generally believed that she was born around 1788, and she may have been twenty years of age or older in 1810 when she arrived in London, England, to perform in the “Hottentot Venus” show. She died in Paris, France, in 1816. Even after Baartman’s death, the “Hottentot Venus” show continued, featuring unnamed women, including one performing at the ball of a duchess in Paris in 1829 and another performing at Hyde Park in London in 1838.

Baartman was born during the period of Dutch colonization in South Africa. Her indigenous name is uncertain, but the name Saartjie is Dutch for “little Sara.” Baartman was raised in a rural indigenous community of Khoisan, the descendants of the Khoi Khoi people (who were already rumored to have been wiped out) and the San. The Khoi Khoi were derogatorily referred to as “Hottentots,” while the San were called “Bushmen.” Both Khoi Khoi and San were labeled “missing links” between humans and apes in racist scientific arguments because of their hunter-gatherer lifestyles and unusual speech patterns, which the Dutch dismissed as guttural animal sounds. Such views dehumanized the Khoi Khoi and San, who were targeted for extermination and removal. Baartman was already a married woman when she experienced one of these extermination raids on her community. She lost her husband and family in the raid, and eventually she migrated to the urban center of Cape Town for survival, taking work as a servant to a Boer farmer named Peter Cezar.

Cezar’s brother, Hendrik Cezar, noticed Baartman during a visit to the house and later conceived of the “Hottentot Venus” show. The show, which would take place in London at the famous Piccadilly Circus, would exploit European interests in African natives, especially the



“Hottentots,” who had already become mythical in the European imagination. It would also exploit English interests in South Africa, since Great Britain had battled with the Dutch over control of the African colony. Aside from these racial and political elements, the “Hottentot Venus” show would also capitalize on prurient interests in so-called primitive sexuality, described in the tall-tale accounts of explorers who fabricated stories of “Hottentot” women’s oversized buttocks and mysterious genitalia excess—rumored to be an extra flap of skin covering the vaginal area and known as the “Hottentot apron.”

Hendrik Cezar formed a partnership with a British ship surgeon, Alexander Dunlop, both entertaining the idea of Baartman’s exhibition in Europe. It is believed that both men convinced Baartman to enter into a contract on the “Hottentot Venus” show, in which she would share in the profits of her exhibition. They left the Cape for London in 1810 and arrived in September of that year. Dunlop eventually dropped out of the business transaction when a local merchant purchased a giraffe skin from the two men but refused to invest in Baartman. Nonetheless, Cezar advertised the show and billed Baartman as a “most correct specimen of her race.” The “Hottentot Venus” exhibition, which took place at 225 Egyptian Hall in Piccadilly Circus, was instantly popular and inspired bawdy ballads and political cartoons, thus demonstrating how the icon of the Hottentot Venus became a fixture in the culture. This image created a fetish out of her backside, and it possibly served as the basis for a fashion development: the mid- to late-nineteenth-century bustle, which gave the illusion of a large bottom.

The show also provoked outrage, as various witnesses complained about what they perceived as an occurrence of slavery. These witnesses described Baartman as appearing in a cage nearly nude and being threatened with violence by her exhibitor. These complaints soon led to the intervention of the African Institution, an abolitionist organization that brought Hendrik Cezar to trial for practicing slavery and public indecency. Baartman testified on her own behalf, but she did not corroborate stories of being held against her will and only complained about not having enough clothes to wear. The courts eventually dismissed the case but mandated that Cezar discontinue the show’s indecency. As a result, the show disappeared from London but may have surfaced in the English countryside. There is evidence that Baartman passed through Manchester, where a baptism certificate indicates her conversion to Christianity and her adoption of the name Sarah Baartman in December 1811.

In 1814, Cezar and Baartman arrived in Paris, where Cezar abandoned her to an animal trainer named Reaux. Baartman continued in the “Hottentot Venus” show, which caused the same sensation in Paris as it had in London. It is



**Illustration and Description of Saartjie Baartman, 1811.** *Hottentot Venus* was the moniker given to a series of women exhibited in sexually suggestive, ethnic curiosity shows in England and France in the early nineteenth century. South African native Saartjie Baartman was the first to portray her. GEORGE ARENTS COLLECTION, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

possible that her audiences also included the Parisian elite, since she was featured at salons and private parties. Baartman later attracted the attention of three revered natural scientists George Cuvier (who served as Napoleon’s surgeon general), Henri de Blainville, and Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire. In March 1815, these three men subjected Baartman to scientific observations in the Jardin du Roi (King’s Garden) of the Muséum d’Histoire Naturelle. Baartman was already an alcoholic at the time, and the scientists enticed her with alcohol and sweets to pose nude. She refused, however, to reveal what they had hoped to witness: a view of her “Hottentot apron.” Engaging scientific theories of “missing links,” Cuvier posited that Baartman was really a San, and he began referring to her as “my Bushwoman.” However, de Blainville remained convinced that she was a “Hottentot.”

Less than a year after this scientific inquest, Baartman died from complications of alcoholism. Upon her death, Cuvier acquired her cadaver, using it to write his 1817 scientific thesis unveiling the mystery of her “apron.” In this thesis, Cuvier compared her genitalia with those of apes and crafted racist scientific theories, which circulated for more than a century, on African women’s oversexed and subhuman status. He also molded a plaster cast of Baartman’s body and preserved her genitalia (considered “enormous” in comparison to white women) and her brain (considered “small” in comparison to white men) in jars of formaldehyde fluid, which remained on display at the Musée de l’Homme in Paris as late as the 1980s. Baartman’s skeletal remains were also housed at this museum, alongside other skeletons displayed for scientific study.

In 1995, under Nelson Mandela’s post-apartheid government, South Africa agitated for the return of Baartman’s remains and began a nearly decade-long feud with the French government over this troubling history. Seven years later, in March 2002, the French Senate finally agreed to return Baartman’s remains—including her preserved organs—for burial in her homeland. On August 9, 2002, National Women’s Day in South Africa, thousands attended Baartman’s centuries-delayed funeral in Cape Town. She was buried along the River Gamtoos.

SEE ALSO *Cultural Racism; Scientific Racism, History of*

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Janell Hobson

## HOUSTON, CHARLES HAMILTON 1895–1950

Charles Hamilton Houston was born on September 3, 1895, in Washington, D.C. He would go on to become one of the greatest lawyers in American history. Houston developed a systematic approach to the use of the courts to advance individual rights, and he trained a generation of lawyers to battle an entrenched system of racial oppression and segregation. Houston’s colleague William H. Hastie defined Houston as “a genius,” “the architect of the NAACP legal program,” and “the Moses” of the civil rights movement. Houston believed that lawyers were “social engineers” who had a responsibility to work for the common good. He was instrumental in revamping Howard Law School as a training ground for generations of black lawyers, and he thus created a nationwide network of lawyers who could help fulfill his mission.

These efforts created a foundation that lawyers would use to topple the system of “separate but equal” and the assumptions of many about racial inferiority. Houston’s strategic approach involved the preparation of hundreds of legal challenges to discrimination, which eventually led to the Supreme Court’s 1954 decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* that “separate but equal” facilities are unconstitutional. Through his life’s work, Houston exemplified an excellence of character and ability that transcended racial categories and spoke to the promise of equal opportunity and education.

Houston was born into a society in which segregation was both de facto and de jure in much of the country. Blacks and whites lived, worked, and were educated separately, either by custom or by law. Houston’s father was a lawyer who, for a time, worked as a clerk in the federal Record and Pension Office to supplement his income from the practice of law. His mother was an accomplished hairdresser whose clients included the wives of senators and diplomats. Houston’s parents had high expectations of their only son, and when he received a scholarship to attend the University of Pittsburgh they encouraged him to attend a more prestigious school. He therefore attended Amherst College in Massachusetts. While schools like Amherst and Harvard occasionally accepted blacks as students, they were not fully integrated

into school organizations, and clubs and fraternities often barred their entry. As a result, Houston led a singular but not lonely existence at Amherst. He made some friends and acquaintances, but he was never fully accepted into the fabric of college life. Nonetheless, Houston distinguished himself as a student and was elected to Phi Beta Kappa. In 1915, he graduated *magna cum laude* and was one of the college's six valedictorians.

After graduation, Houston taught English at Howard University, the prestigious black college in Washington, D.C. His career was interrupted by World War I, in which he served as a second lieutenant in the field artillery. During his service, Houston experienced overt racism, and he observed that in the face of discrimination, intelligence, talent, skill, and character provided little, if any, protection. Systemic racial prejudice allowed whites to belittle, threaten, humiliate, and abuse their fellow soldiers of color with impunity. Houston began to recognize the impact that legal skill and strategy could have in combating the inequities of racism and segregation. He remarked, "I would never get caught again without knowing something about my rights; that if luck was with me . . . I would study law, and use my time fighting for men who could not strike back" (McNeil 1983, p. 42).

In 1919, Houston enrolled in Harvard Law School, where he again experienced the stings of de facto segregation. Nonetheless, he demonstrated a keen legal mind and distinguished himself as a law student, receiving praise from his professors. Based on his academic achievements, he became the first black student elected to the editorial board of the *Harvard Law Review*. He graduated from Harvard Law School in 1922, earned a doctorate in juridical science from the same institution in 1923, and then studied civil law at the University of Madrid. Houston's pursuit of an advanced legal education was driven, in large part, by his belief that a complete understanding of the Constitution and the legal structures of the nation was essential in the fight for justice and civil rights for African Americans.

Houston joined his father's legal practice, and from 1924 to 1929 he worked in the Washington, D.C. firm of Houston & Houston. At that time, he developed a reputation for a willingness to represent the underrepresented, despite their inability to pay. In 1924, Houston began teaching at Howard Law School, and in 1929 he became the vice-dean of the school. He helped to transform Howard from an evening program to a fully accredited law school that would become a training ground for some of the country's greatest lawyers. He worked at Howard until 1935, when he joined the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) as its first full-time salaried attorney and special counsel, and he became the "architect" of its legal civil rights program. After resigning from the NAACP in 1940, Houston returned to private

practice, where he worked tirelessly against infringements on the right to work; unfair labor practices; and segregation in housing, land ownership, and transportation. He remarked to friends that his grandmother's stories of slavery inspired him to protect African Americans against discrimination and prejudice. He also applied this fundamental belief in equality to international struggles for human rights and freedom when he protested economic imperialism in Latin America and colonization in Africa.

Houston's work was grounded in a belief in equality in education, in lawyers as agents of social change, and in human rights. He firmly believed that discrimination in education had to be eradicated for racial equality to be possible. Houston's strategy involved attacking racial inequities in teacher's salaries, transportation, and graduate and professional education. He tied the inadequacy of advanced educational opportunities for blacks to efforts to impede the development of black leadership and economic development in the black community. His brilliance and success rested on his careful preparation of legal briefs and the use of the Constitution to advance equality and equal rights, and to force reforms where they could have no chance through politics. He advanced the idea of using law as an instrument to achieve equality.

The development of socially conscious and prepared lawyers was integral to Houston's strategy of attaining racial equity in education. He believed lawyers had to use their understanding of the Constitution in "bettering conditions of the underprivileged citizens." According to Houston, the lawyer was a "mouthpiece of the weak and a sentinel guarding against wrong" (McNeil 1983). He emphasized the role of black lawyers in these efforts in particular, and he worked to strengthen the National Bar Association, which represented the interests of black lawyers at a time when nonwhites were excluded from the American Bar Association.

Houston is perhaps best known as an advisor to the first black Supreme Court justice, Thurgood Marshall. He mentored and taught legions of lawyers and was always available for consultation in their work. Erin W. Griswold, a former dean of Harvard Law School, noted that "It is doubtful that there has been a single important case involving civil rights during the past fifteen years in which Charles Houston has not either participated directly or by consultation and advice" (Hine 1995, p. 39). Most important, however, according to Houston, was the need to "work for the social good." Houston stressed the role of law in advancing civil rights, stating that human beings are "each equally entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and that good governments are bound to protect these rights "without prejudice or bias" (Hine 1995, p. 39).

SEE ALSO *Brown v. Board of Education*; *Civil Rights Movement*; *Marshall, Thurgood*; *NAACP*; *NAACP: Legal Actions, 1935-1955*; *Plessy v. Ferguson*.

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Deseriee A. Kennedy

## HUERTA, DOLORES

1930–

Dolores Huerta, a cofounder of the United Farm Workers of America, was born Dolores Clara Fernandez on April 10, 1930, in Dawson, New Mexico, to Juan Fernandez and Alicia Chavez. Her parents divorced when she was three years old, and she relocated with her mother and two brothers to Stockton, California. In her youth, Huerta was greatly influenced by her mother's independence as a businesswoman and activism as a community member. After graduating from Stockton High School in 1947, she attended college and received a certificate in teaching.

In 1955 she joined the Community Service Organization (CSO) and was trained in community organizing by Fred Ross. Through her work with the CSO, where Huerta met César Chávez, she was exposed to the unique needs of farmworkers. In 1962, she and Chávez resigned from the CSO and established the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA), which later became the United Farm Workers (UFW), the largest organization of its kind in the nation.

As a cofounder of the UFW, Dolores Huerta has dedicated her life to organizing farmworkers and lobbying for the rights of farmworkers and their families—a job many considered impossible, given the seasonal nature of much of farm work and the migratory patterns of workers. Huerta's work has included negotiating union contracts, directing national boycotts, organizing field strikes, speaking out against the use of toxic pesticides, and campaigning for political candidates. Her efforts have been essential to the establishment of a credit union and medical and pension plans for farmworkers. Huerta and her family have made many sacrifices while struggling for farmworkers' rights, and they have often struggled financially.

Indeed, at times they have not even had enough money for bare necessities.

As one of the few women holding a leadership position within a union during the 1960s and 1970s, Huerta was both criticized and admired for her assertiveness and independence. She suffered accusations of putting her position within the union above her role as a mother to her eleven children, and she was resented by both men and women for her "manlike" role within the union. At the same time, Huerta has been considered a role model for Chicanas, Latinas, and other women, especially those seeking to carve out a space for themselves within contemporary social movements. Huerta's position within the union has been essential to breaking down gender stereotypes within the farmworker movement.

Through her work, Dolores Huerta has encouraged the maintenance of a strong sense of self, personal pride, service to others, and self-reflection. Throughout her life, she has maintained her commitment to social justice and community activism both in theory and in practice. It is her belief that "the power for change is predicated on the power of individuals to make moral choices for justice over personal welfare" (Griswold del Castillo and Garcia 1995, p.69). Her lifelong dedication to the farmworker movement has led her to travel throughout the United States promoting an awareness of the issues faced by farmworkers, immigrants, women, and youth.

SEE ALSO *Chávez, César Estrada; Farmworkers; United Farm Workers Union.*

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Brianne A. Davila

## HUMAN AND PRIMATE EVOLUTION

The diversification and cultural development of humans occurred only in the last few million years, but the species has a much longer evolutionary background. Humans are primates, related to apes, monkeys, and lemurs, and many of the unique characteristics of the species are a result of the social and ecological interactions of our ancient primate ancestors. Human evolution built upon general primate adaptations by elaborating several major

innovations, such as upright walking, tool use, culture, and, ultimately, language.

Since the late twentieth century, there has been an explosion of genetic information about humans and other primates. The Human Genome Project and subsequent projects exploring the genomes of related primates have made it possible to examine the genetic changes that underlie human and primate anatomy and behavior. This has led to a reevaluation of many old hypotheses concerning primate and human evolution, as well as the formulation of new ones, most notably, the recognition that humans and chimpanzees are sister taxa. Anthropologists can now employ a combination of genetic information and evidence of fossil form (morphology) to test hypotheses about human evolution.

### HUMANS AMONG THE PRIMATES

Molecular comparisons of living primates suggest that the last time they all shared a common ancestor was sometime during the Late Cretaceous period, around 80 million years ago (Ma). The first primates would have been animals similar in form and adaptation to living tree shrews, which are small arboreal insectivores. The earliest fossil evidence of primates is from the Paleocene epoch, between 65 and 55 Ma.

The initial diversification of the primates may have been a case of coevolution with flowering plant species, for whom modern primates, bats, and plant-eating birds are important pollinators and seed dispersers. Today, nearly all primates retain a generalized, broad diet made up of a balance of fruits, leaves, plant gums, and insects or meat, with some primate lineages specializing to some extent on one or another of these sources. Early primates left humans an anatomical legacy: arboreal adaptations such as grasping hands, fingernails, and binocular vision. They also left a legacy of sociality, as most living primates form long-term social bonds that include mutual grooming.

The prosimian primates include living and fossil lemurs, lorises, and tarsiers. Lemurs live today only on Madagascar; East African bushbabies and South Asian lorises are their close relatives. Tarsiers now live on Southeast Asian islands. In the Eocene and Oligocene (c. 50–30 Ma), lemur-like adapid primates and tarsier-like omomyid primates were broadly distributed through the forests of North America, Europe, Africa, and Asia. The Eocene was the warmest period of the last 65 million years, and subtropical forest habitat suitable for primates covered areas as far north as Wyoming and France.

Monkeys, apes, and humans are grouped together as anthropoid primates. Living anthropoids share a number of features attributable to their common ancestry. These primates tend to invest more resources and time into their offspring, with longer developmental times and

more extensive brain growth. These features allow more sophisticated social behaviors, with stable social groups that effectively share information. Nearly all anthropoids give birth to one offspring at a time, and females have a single-chambered uterus to enable longer gestations and larger fetal size.

Early anthropoids appeared during the Late Eocene (c. 40 Ma). Anthropoids like *Aegyptopithecus* from Fayum, Egypt, had skeletons like living monkeys in most respects, but with relatively smaller brains. Genetic comparisons of living humans and monkeys show that genes expressed in brain development have evolved rapidly during the last 30 million years, reflecting the recent evolution of cognitive functions in anthropoids (see Dorus et al. 2004).

### MIOCENE APES

Humans and apes are hominoids, and they diverged from the cercopithecoids (Old World monkeys) around 30 Ma. The first hominoids were similar to earlier anthropoids. They were arboreal quadrupeds, unlike living apes, which have long arms for suspending their bodies beneath branches. The teeth of early apes were like those of earlier primates. *Proconsul* was an important fossil hominoid lineage in Africa from 24 to 15 Ma, with several species covering a range of size from monkeys like macaques up to chimpanzee-sized or larger. The diversity of these apes covered many of the size and diet niches now occupied by cercopithecoids. At the same time, a gorilla-sized African ape called *Morotopithecus* appears to have had a suspensory locomotor pattern. Genetic evidence suggests that the most diverse lineages of living apes, the gibbons and siamangs, diverged from the ancestors of the great apes sometime around 18 Ma.

A dispersal of hominoids into Eurasia during the Middle Miocene may have included the ancestors of living great apes. Several apes, including *Ankarapithecus* and *Pierolapithecus*, were relatively small apes, with arms suited to suspending their weight beneath branches like living gibbons. These apes divided into an Asian lineage, ancestral to living orangutans, and a European-African lineage, ancestral to humans, chimpanzees and gorillas. The number of genetic differences between living species can be used to estimate the length of time since they last shared a common ancestor, called their divergence time. For the Asian and European/African ape lineages, this divergence occurred around 13 Ma. An orangutan-like ape called *Sivapithecus* existed in South Asia by 12 Ma.

Toward the end of the Miocene, ape diversity declined. South Asian and European apes ultimately became extinct, coincident with climate changes that increased seasonal temperature and rainfall variations and reduced the area of forests. These climatic shifts favored the rise of the cercopithecoid (Old World)

monkeys, whose geographic range increased during the Upper Miocene and Pliocene to include Europe and East Asia by the Early Pliocene (c. 5 Ma).

Both humans and the living great apes are survivors of these extinctions. Despite being limited to small geographic ranges in the tropical forests of Africa and Indonesia, great apes have substantial adaptive and genetic diversity. For example, the genetic differences between Sumatran and Bornean orangutans exceed those between many other primate species. Likewise, chimpanzees and gorillas retain behaviorally and genetically distinct subspecies across their African ranges. These primates depend on different foods, strategies for finding food, and styles of communication in different parts of Africa.

### THE FIRST HOMINIDS

Unlike the other African apes, early hominids are exceptionally well preserved in the fossil record almost immediately after their origin. Three hominid species have been found dating to the Late Miocene: *Sabelanthropus tchadensis* (7 Ma) in Chad, *Orrorin tugenensis* (6 Ma) in Kenya, and *Ardipithecus kadabba* (5.5 Ma) in Ethiopia. Each is represented by a fragmentary sample that presents some evidence of bipedal locomotion or upright posture (e.g., the proximal femur of *Orrorin*, the cranial base of *Sabelanthropus*, and the foot of *Ardipithecus*). The dental remains of these genera are very similar and, except for their smaller canines, within the range of other Late Miocene apes (see Haile-Selassie et al. 2004; Wolpoff et al. 2006).

A rich record of early hominids exists from sites in eastern, southern and central-western Africa. These remains date from as far back as nearly 4 Ma. The famous “Lucy” skeleton, found in 1974 in Hadar, Ethiopia, represents the species *Australopithecus afarensis*, and an even more complete skeleton was found in Dikika, Ethiopia in 2001. Hundreds of other fossil fragments from Ethiopia, Kenya, and Tanzania also belong to this species, which lived between 3.8 and 2.9 Ma. An additional large sample of hominids found in South Africa and dating to between 3.0 and 2.5 Ma represents *Australopithecus africanus*. This was the first of the early hominid species to be discovered. It was first identified by the South African anatomist Raymond Dart in 1924. From the name *Australopithecus*, these early hominids are often called “australopithecines.”

These samples confirm the importance of bipedal locomotion to the early hominid lineage. The shape of the pelvis, knees, and feet had evolved to a human-like form that precluded efficient quadrupedal locomotion. Footprint trails from 3.5 Ma found in Laetoli, Tanzania, also demonstrate their human-like bipedality. Several pieces of evidence suggest that these australopithecines

retained an adaptation to climbing. In particular, this may explain their short legs, small body sizes, powerful arm bones, and curved hand bones. Their small size stands out as a contrast to recent humans, as they averaged only around 1.2 meters in height and 35 to 50 kilograms in mass.

Aside from bipedality, the other major anatomical pattern of early hominids involved dentition. Australopithecines had large molar and premolar teeth compared to living and fossil apes and humans. These teeth were low-crowned and had thick enamel, apparently adapted to a diet of grinding hard foods such as seeds. Isotopic evidence suggests that their diet was varied, with the main difference from other primates being a high consumption of plants with a  $C_4$  photosynthetic cycle—including grasses and some sedges (see Sponheimer et al. 2005). As primates cannot digest grass, it has been suggested that this may represent the consumption of grass seeds, termites, and other grass-consuming animals (see Peters and Vogel 2005). Contrasting with their large molar teeth, early hominids had small canine teeth, which may hint at a reduction in male competition or a shift from threatening displays with the canine teeth to other kinds of displays, such as vocalizations or weaponry.

A later group of australopithecines greatly emphasized the adaptation to large grinding teeth. These “robust” australopithecines had molar and premolar teeth with as much as four times the area of present-day humans, together with immense jawbones and jaw muscles. Their diet presumably included a higher percentage of hard, brittle foods, which may have been increasingly important during the drier climates of the Late Pliocene. These were the last of the australopithecines to become extinct, a little less than 1.5 Ma.

### FROM AUSTRALOPITHECUS TO HOMO

Alongside the robust australopithecines lived the earliest members of our own genus, *Homo*. Early *Homo* can be distinguished from contemporary australopithecines by its smaller molar teeth (although still larger than living people) and larger brain size. The transition to large brains and smaller teeth was accompanied by an increased dietary reliance on meat. Because of its high caloric and protein content, meat requires fewer digestive resources and can fuel more substantial brain growth. Primates with high-energy diets tend to have smaller guts, which also allows a higher proportion of metabolic resources to be allocated to brain tissue (see Milton 2003; Aiello and Wheeler 1995).

The archaeological record provides further evidence for a dietary shift, with the earliest-known stone tools occurring in Ethiopia about 2.6 Ma. Many primates are

able to manipulate objects as tools, and wild chimpanzees have traditions involving the use of stones to crack nuts and shaping simple wooden spears or probing sticks. It seems probable that early hominids also shared these abilities, but they left no archaeological trace. The earliest flaked stone tools were used to cut flesh off animal bones and break into bones for marrow.

These early toolmaking hominids existed in regions with more extensive and seasonally arid grasslands, and they are found together with the robust australopithecines. Both fossil and archaeological evidence of *Homo* remain rare before 2 Ma, but after this time numerous fossils of a small-bodied, large-brained hominid species called *Homo habilis* have been found. *Homo habilis* is the first species to show evidence in the wrist and hand of toolmaking adaptations, and the traces of brain anatomy preserved on its endocast suggest a more advanced planning ability than in earlier hominids (see Holloway 1996).

A second species of early *Homo*, called *Homo erectus* had larger bodies and taller stature—an average of 1.6 to 1.8 meters compared to earlier hominids at 1.0 to 1.4 meters. With its longer legs and larger brain size, *Homo erectus* was adapted to the use of larger home ranges and more patchily distributed, high-energy food resources. The differences in size between males and females in this species, sexual dimorphism, were in the range of recent humans, possibly reflecting more human-like social interactions than in earlier hominids, including greater cooperation and food sharing.

The use of more open territory and larger home ranges may have enabled *Homo erectus* to colonize Eurasia. A series of fossils and archaeological remains from Dmanisi, Republic of Georgia, dates to about 1.8 Ma. Hominids also reached Java around this time, and indeed the first fossil specimens of *Homo erectus* to be found were discovered on Java by the Dutch colonial physician and scientist Eugene Dubois in 1891.

#### PLEISTOCENE HUMAN EVOLUTION

The populations of *Homo erectus* in Africa and East Asia developed some regional differentiation relatively early in their existence. The form of the cranium, the thickness and shape of the brow ridge, the size of neck muscle attachments, and other details overlap between regions but differ substantially on average. Also, the Dmanisi *Homo erectus* skeletons appear to have been smaller than those in Africa. Some researchers view these features as evidence that *Homo* was divided into different species in different parts of the world. Others consider these morphological differences to be analogous to features distinguishing human populations today (see Asfaw et al. 2002).

*Homo erectus* had reached China by 1.2 Ma, but hominids entered Europe later, after 1 Ma, and possibly

as late as 800,000 years ago. Shortly after this time, fossils in Africa show a loss of some of the diagnostic cranial traits of *Homo erectus*, and, with a few exceptions, early European skulls never had them. The African and early European remains are often referred to as “archaic” members of our own species, *Homo sapiens*, or else by another species name, *Homo heidelbergensis*. It is not clear whether the anatomical evolution was accompanied by biological speciation, or whether it represents an increase in brain size and consequent changes in cranial morphology within a single evolving species. In either case, early European hominids also had morphological features distinguishing them from other regions, including a projecting face and nose and large sinuses. One of the most important sites of the last million years is Sima de los Huesos, Atapuerca, Spain, at which the partial skeletal remains of more than 25 individuals, from around 300,000 years ago, have been found.

The emergence of regional morphological variants was one trend during the Pleistocene, and it was joined by other trends in common across different regions. The most important was a gradual increase in brain size. The earliest *Homo erectus* specimens had endocranial volumes averaging around 750 milliliters; these increased to an average of 1,400 milliliters by 50,000 years ago. This increase is evident everywhere ancient humans lived, including Africa, Asia, and Europe. It is logical to assume that brain size increased because of new cognitive abilities. Brains are energetically expensive, and the metabolic cost of an increase in brain tissue must be redeemed by more food acquisition or reproduction.

The archaeological record provides additional evidence about cognitive evolution. Stone tools gradually became more sophisticated over the Pleistocene. First, the development of bifacially flaked handaxes and cleavers in Acheulean industry shows that hominids could learn and replicate standardized, symmetrical forms by 1.5 Ma. Later, tools became more standardized, raw materials were obtained across longer distances, and techniques were shared across wider areas. These changes may reflect either more widespread contacts between cultural traditions or more efficient transfer of information. Finally, by 300,000 years ago, humans had mastered prepared-core toolmaking techniques, which required information transfer, not only about finished tool form but also about procedure. After this time, the technological properties of different human cultures began to diversify yet further, with industries changing more rapidly and occupying smaller areas. The fragmentation and acceleration of change in material culture would continue over the last 50,000 years as the complexity of culture and behavior increased further.

It is likely that the behavioral complexity after 300,000 years ago required some capacity for spoken language. Because people learn and coordinate their activities by talking to each other, language is a fundamental basis for human culture and behavior. But there is very little anatomical evidence relating to the evolution of language, for the necessary structures (e.g., tongue, larynx, brain) do not fossilize. Still, a few hints exist. At least one *Homo habilis* skull includes a marked enlargement of Broca's area in the frontal cortex, a brain structure important to planning complex activities and carrying out speech in living humans (see Holloway 1996). The hyoid bone, a small bone in the throat that supports the larynx, rarely fossilizes, but two hyoids from Sima de los Huesos and one from Kebara, Israel, have been found. These hyoids are essentially human-like in shape, in contrast to a preserved hyoid from *Australopithecus afarensis*, which is ape-like. Finally, at least one gene related to language, *FoxP2*, shows evidence of strong selection within the past 200,000 years (see Enard et al. 2002). Together, these hints suggest a long evolution of language from early, simple communication to the fully human language of today.

#### THE NEANDERTHALS

The most well-known group of ancient humans is the Neanderthals (or Neandertals), inhabitants of Europe and parts of West Asia between 200,000 and 30,000 years ago. The Neanderthals were specialists in hunting large game, with sites dominated by the bones of bison, horse, and red deer. Isotopic evidence suggests that their diet included a very high proportion of meat (see Bocherens et al. 2005). Early humans, including Neanderthals, had short lives compared to recent humans, including recent hunter-gatherers. They also had a very high rate of traumatic injuries. These factors may be attributable to their reliance on close-contact hunting of large animals using thrusting spears. With powerful long bones and muscular necks, the Neanderthals were highly adapted to this strenuous lifestyle.

The high mortality and risks of early human lifestyles had demographic consequences. Archaic humans maintained low population densities and low total numbers for thousands of generations. In contrast, recent humans have exploded exponentially in numbers. This rapid growth has been possible with a relatively small per-generation rate of increase, emphasizing that the reproductive potential of early humans must have been balanced by higher mortality. The risks of ancient lives may also be illustrated by the occurrence of cannibalism, both by Neanderthals and other archaic peoples.

Genetic evidence taken directly from Neanderthal skeletal remains has been recovered. Some of the diversity

of ancient Neanderthals is evidenced by their mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA), which share a common ancestor with the mtDNA of living humans between 300,000 and 700,000 years ago (see Serre et al. 2004). No sequences like the Neanderthal mtDNA have been found in any living people, however, suggesting that at least this genetic element did not form part of the ancestry of present-day humans. The relationships concerning the rest of the genome are somewhat more complicated. The initial phase of the Neanderthal Genome Project found possible evidence for Neanderthal-human interbreeding, with Neanderthals differing only slightly more from humans than a random pair of humans do from each other. Other genetic evidence from recent people also suggests that genes from archaic humans may have entered recent human populations by interbreeding.

Neanderthals and other early humans were absorbed or displaced by the emergence of modern humans. This event may reflect the simple technology of earlier peoples and the more effective collection strategies of moderns, and it therefore may have been a primarily cultural transition with anatomical and behavioral consequences. Alternatively, there may have been a cognitive revolution between the earlier archaic and later modern humans. In any event, the later historical elaboration of human cultures and diversity would not have been possible without the evolutionary history of Pleistocene and earlier hominids. The anatomical and behavioral adaptations of our ancestors were the building blocks of the current human world.

**SEE ALSO** *Genetic Distance; Genetic Variation Among Populations; Human Biological Variation; Human Genetics; "Out of Africa" Hypothesis.*

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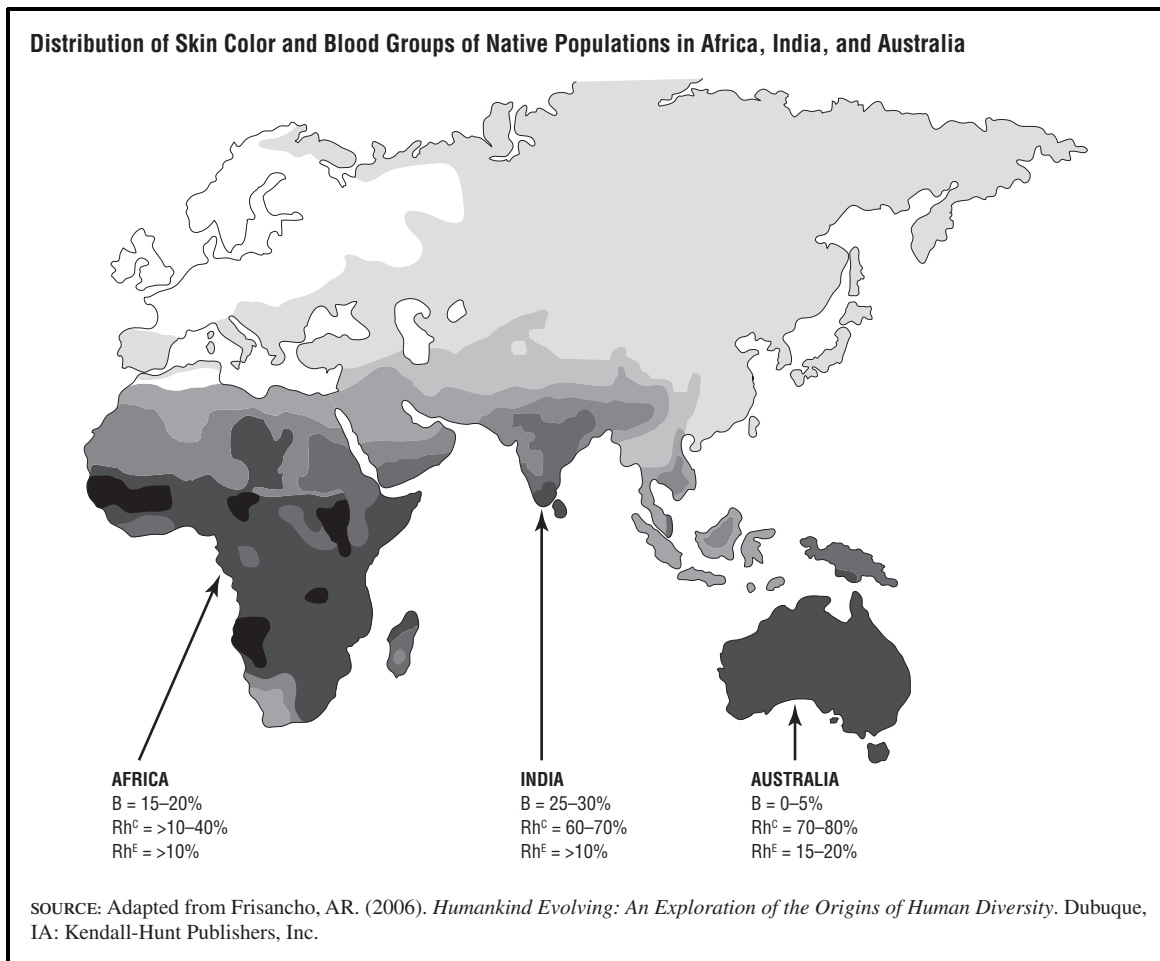
John Hawks

## HUMAN BIOLOGICAL VARIATION

To some people, "race" is a four-letter word associated with negative connotations, while for others it refers to actual biologically inherited traits. Skin color is the most readily visible signifier of race, and as such is the characteristic upon which most racial classifications are based. Historically, the ancient Egyptians were the first to classify humans on the basis of skin color. In 1350 BCE Egyptians classified humans into four races: "red" for Egyptians, "yellow" for people living to the east of Egypt, "white" for people living north of Africa, and "black" for Africans from the south of Egypt. The ancient Greeks, on the other hand, referred to all Africans as "Ethiopians." A major tenet of the biological concept of race is that the traits that identify a given race are unchangeable and have been fixed since the beginning of humankind. Since the early twentieth century, however, an evolutionary approach led by anthropologists and human biologists has emerged that calls into question the validity of the biological concept of race.

### RACE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

In the early 1900s, head shape was considered an innate "racial" trait that was inherited, with little environmental influence at work. This concept changed with the pioneering studies of Franz Boas (1858–1942). Boas demonstrated that the cephalic index (the ratio of head width to head length) of children born to immigrants to the United States changed because they grew up in a different environment than that of their parents. These and subsequent genetic studies have demonstrated that the biological features that distinguish racial groups are subject to environmental influence and are of recent origin. Furthermore, data and models from DNA studies suggest that common race definitions pertaining to humans have little taxonomic validity, because there is no correlation



**Figure 1.** Distribution of Skin Color, B Blood Group, and Rh Blood Group Rh<sup>C</sup> and Rh<sup>E</sup> in native populations of Africa, India, and Australia. Although Australian, African, and Indian populations have similar skin color, they have very different blood types.

between genetic markers such as blood type and markers for race such as skin color. For example, as shown in Figure 1, the Australian aborigines, East and West African populations, and native populations from India have a similar dark skin color. Based on this trait, they could all be assigned to an “African race.” However, with reference to frequencies of the B blood group and Rh blood genes C and E, the Australian aborigines are very different from the East African, West African, and Indian populations. In other words, there is no concordance between blood type and skin color. Likewise, the ABO blood type frequencies for natives of Taiwan and Greece are very similar (O = 45.2 %, A = 32.6 %, B = 18.0 %, AB = 3.4 %), but on the basis of geography and physical appearance these two populations clearly belong to different categories.

Likewise, the indigenous populations of sub-Saharan Africa, southern Europe, the Middle East, and India have similar frequencies of the sickle-cell trait (20 to 34 percent),

yet they differ in skin color. The similarity of these populations in the frequency of sickle-cell trait is related to their common adaptation to malaria, not to a common racial origin. Similarly, lactose tolerance occurs both in European and African populations, not because they have the same racial origin, but because both were evolutionarily adapted to dairy products. In other words, the concept of “race” is both too broad and too narrow a definition of ancestry to be biologically useful. The reason that definitions of race lose their discriminating power for identifying races is due to the fact that humans share a common origin and have been constantly migrating throughout their evolutionary history. For example, the large-scale migrations between Africa and Europe, as well as the colonial expansion of European populations into Asia and the New World, have resulted in the mating of individuals from different continents and the concomitant mixture of genetic traits.

For these reasons, using the biological concept of race to describe biological diversity has largely been

abandoned. Nevertheless, because the risks of some diseases have a genetic basis in some populations that may have originated in a geographic region that differs from their current area, there is still great interest in understanding how genetic diversity has been structured in the human species.

#### CRITERIA FOR RACIAL CLASSIFICATION

In the taxonomic literature, “race” is any distinguishable type within a species. Among researchers, however, “race” as a biological concept has had a variety of meanings. Some use frequency of genetic traits between and within groups as the point of reference, while others use geographical area.

**Trait Frequency.** Genetic studies demonstrate that about 85.4 percent of all the variation in the human species can be attributed to variation within populations and that there is only a 6.3 percent difference between “races,” with less than half of this value accounted for by known racial groupings (see Lewontin 1972; Barbujani, Magani, Minch, et al. 1997). In other words, there is much more genetic variation within local groups than there is among local groups or among races themselves. This genetic unity means, for instance, that any local group contains, on average, 85 percent of the genetic variation that exists in the entire human species. As a result, there is about 15 percent genetic variation between any two individuals. Therefore, a randomly selected white European, although ostensibly far removed from black Americans in phenotype, can easily be genetically closer to an African black than to another European white. As summarized by Jeffrey Long and Rick Kittles in a 2003 article, the patterns of genetic variation within and between groups are too intricate to be reduced to a single summary measure. In other words, identification of trait frequencies and statistical partitions of genetic variation do not provide accurate information to justify claims for the existence of “races.”

**Geographical Race.** Because some phenotypes, such as skin color, facial features, and hair form, differ between native inhabitants of different regions of the world, biological anthropologists and geneticists introduced the idea of geographical races (see Dobzhansky 1970, Brues 1977, Garn 1961, Mayr 2002). In this classificatory approach, each geographic region (e.g., South America, Australia, sub-Saharan Africa, East Asia, Polynesia) is associated with a race. According to these authors, “geographical races” refer to an aggregate of phenotypically similar populations of a species inhabiting a geographic subdivision. An underlying assumption of this approach is that in each geographical area there are clusters of genetic traits that, taken together, differentiate them from

those of other geographic areas. Current evidence indicates that variability in the genotypic and phenotypic expression of genetic traits is affected by natural selection, migration, and genetic drift. As a result of these processes, genetic diversity follows a pattern characterized by gradients of allele frequencies that extend over the entire world. (Alleles are alternative versions of a particular gene.) In other words, when identified, the clustering of genetic traits in a given area reflects the demographic and evolutionary history of the population rather than a racial category. Therefore, there is no reason to assume that “races” represent any units of relevance for understanding human genetic history.

In summary, and as stated by the 1996 American Association of Physical Anthropologists’ “Statement on Biological Aspects of Race”: (1) all human populations derive from a common ancestral group, (2) there is great genetic diversity within all human populations, and (3) the geographic pattern of variation is complex and presents no major discontinuity. In other words, race is a consequence of social history and any variation is therefore transitory. For these reasons, among biological anthropologists at least, the biological concept of race for describing biological diversity has largely been abandoned.

#### IQ AND RACE: MISUSE OF SCIENTIFIC INFORMATION

An illustration of the dangers of misusing information on the intelligence quotient (IQ) and heritability is found in studies of IQ and race. The IQ test was developed by the French psychologist Alfred Binet in the 1910s to identify children’s reading readiness. The IQ test was intended to measure “mental age” in various categories. Binet warned that the IQ test could not properly be used to measure intelligence “because intellectual qualities are not superposable, and therefore cannot be measured as linear surfaces are measured” (Binet and Simon 1916, p. 206). Intelligence was therefore not considered by Binet to be a fixed quantity, but rather one that could be increased through teaching. Yet in the United States, tests of IQ have been used to measure general intelligence.

As shown in Figure 2, the normal range for IQ for about 67 percent of the population falls between 85 to 115, while only 5 percent of the population attain IQ values greater than 140 and below 70. The use of IQ as a measure of an individual’s innate intelligence is not valid for two reasons. First, there are many kinds of intelligence. There are some people with outstanding memories, some with mathematical skills, some with musical talents, some good at seeing analogies, some good at synthesizing information, and some with manual and mechanical expertise. These different kinds of intelligence cannot be subsumed into an IQ score.

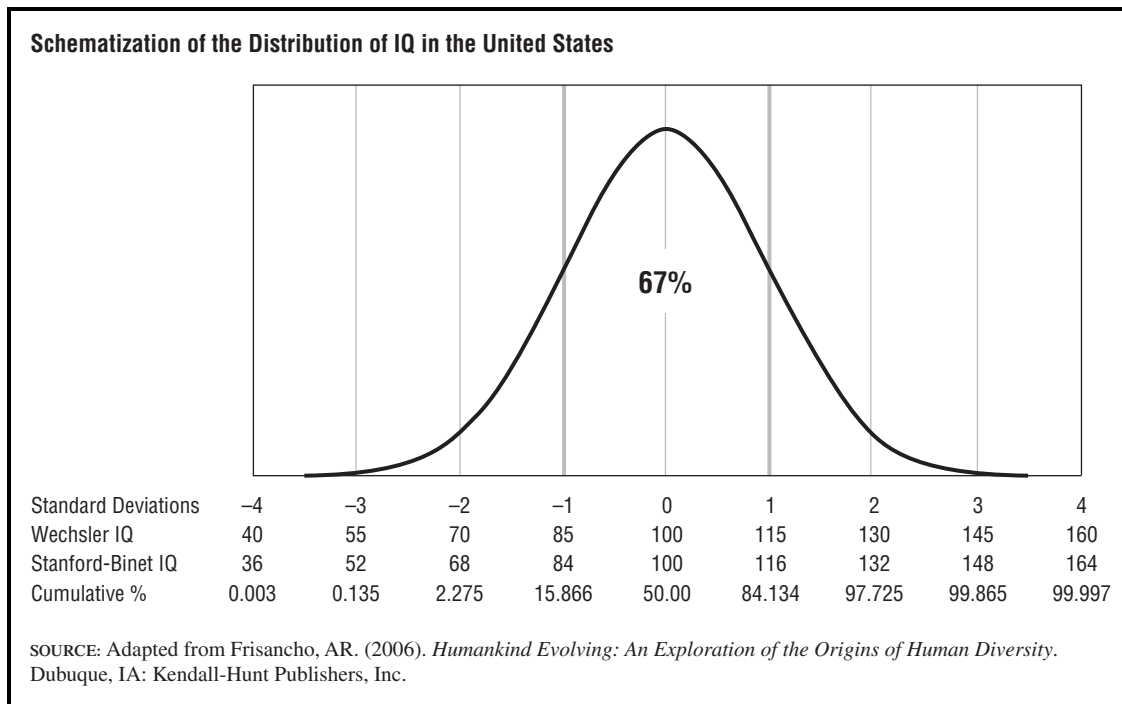


Figure 2.

Second, there is no evidence that IQ is genetically determined. It is true that about 60 percent of the variability in IQ is inherited within family lines, but the fact that it is inherited does not mean that it is genetically determined. Discrete traits such as blood type that do not change through the life cycle are genetically determined and, therefore, have a high heritability, but continuous traits such as height, weight, or IQ are highly subject to environmental influence. Heritability is computed as the fraction of phenotypic variability due to genetic differences divided by total variability. It is expressed as  $h^2 = G / P = G / (G + E)$ , where G is variability in genotype, E is variability in environment, and P is variability in phenotype. Depending upon whether the environmental variance (E) is large or small, the phenotypic variance (P) can be either large or small, and the heritability ( $h^2$ ) can be either large or small. Measures of heritability, especially of continuous traits such as intelligence, indicate the joint influence of genetic and environmental factors. Twin and family studies have shown that shared environmental factors have an important effect on educational attainment (see Silventoinen et al. 2004). Shared environmental factors such as education have a greater impact on intelligence during childhood than in adulthood. In other words, heritability of intelligence (unlike genetic determination) can be very different in different populations, depending upon the environmental condition in which each population develops. Therefore, a low IQ score reflects the effects of poor

education during childhood and negative environmental conditions.

Despite these pitfalls, some researchers have attempted to show that difference in IQ reflects difference in genetic capabilities. For example, Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray, in their book *The Bell Curve* (1994), argue that differences in IQ between white and black Americans reflect differences in the genetic capability of intelligence in each race. They point out that the distribution of IQ scores in black Americans is shifted to the left, so that there are higher frequencies of low IQ scores and lower frequencies of high IQ scores when compared to white Americans. However, this difference is more a reflection of the different educational experiences of black and white Americans. For example, a study by Dickens and Flynn (2006) shows that “in nine standardization samples for four major tests of cognitive ability blacks gained four to seven IQ points on non-Hispanic whites between 1972 and 2002. Gains have been fairly uniform across the entire range of black cognitive ability.” Similarly, in the Barclay School of Baltimore, black children who previously scored at the 20th percentile were later attaining scores at the 85th percentile. These findings together indicate that the lower IQ scores associated with black samples is more a function of educational experiences than of genetic determinants.

It is evident that cultural environment is an important contributor to any measures of IQ. This inference

can be illustrated by several examples. First, consider two hypothetical groups of eight-year-old children: one from a middle class U.S. school and one from a poor rural area in Guatemala. These children are asked the following question: "Suppose you have five eggs and you drop two, how many eggs do you have?"

The U.S. children will likely answer that they have three eggs left, but the rural children may answer that they have five eggs. Based on this result, one might conclude that the Guatemalan rural children do not know how to add or subtract. However, the rural children have been raised in an environment associated with food shortages, and they will likely believe that just because an egg has been dropped does not mean it cannot be eaten. Hence, for the Guatemalan rural children, there are still five eggs. The "correct" answer, therefore, depends on the children's past experience. In another example, suppose that Australian aborigine trackers and Peruvian Andean weavers are asked to identify a series of drawings that will make a complete square as fast as possible. It is likely that the speed of the Peruvian Andean weavers at this task will be faster than that of Australian aborigine trackers. This difference is related to the fact that Australian aborigine trackers have had little or no contact with the concepts of two-dimensional geometry, whereas the Peruvian Andean weavers are in an occupation that involves experience with two-dimensional geometric designs. Thus, differences in responses may reflect an individual's or population's past experience.

IQ should be defined as a measure of an individual's sum of cultural experience, rather than a measure of genetic difference. This does not mean that a person's genetic makeup is not a significant factor in individual intelligence in particular areas. Without the proper environment, however, this trait may not be expressed.

#### THE USE OF GEOGRAPHIC AREA AND RACE IN BIOMEDICAL RESEARCH

It is evident that the biological concept of race is poorly defined and cannot be used as a surrogate for multiple environmental and genetic factors in disease causation. Recent genetic studies of DNA polymorphisms have suggested that human genetic diversity is organized in continental or geographical areas (see Serre and Pääbo 2004; Feldman, Lewontin, and King 2004). This conclusion suggests that geographic area, rather than race per se, has a valid role in biomedical research because many medically important genes vary in frequency between populations from different regions. If, for example, there are major differences in allele frequencies between geographic areas, individuals from different origins may be expected to respond differently to medical treatments. In this case, the identification of the origin of people in a

geographic area does have some justification as a proxy for differences in environmental and other factors of relevance for public health.

However, the ability to place an individual within a geographic region and range of variation does not mean that this variation is best represented by the concept of race. For example, sickle-cell disease is a characteristic of ancient ancestry in a geographic region where malaria was endemic (e.g., Africa, the Mediterranean, and southern India), rather than a characteristic of a particular racial group. Therefore, a diagnostic approach toward sickle-cell disease must take into account the individual's geographical ancestry. Similarly, populations who throughout their evolutionary history have developed an adaptive response to economize salt loss under the condition of tropic heat stress are more susceptible to developing high blood pressure than other populations when living in temperate climates. In other words, in biomedical research, it is not race that is relevant, but rather how the forces of evolution in a geographic area have shaped the individual's genes. Thus, because an individual's genes are grounded in his or her genealogy, identifying all contributions to a patient's ancestry is useful in diagnosing and treating diseases with genetic influences.

**SEE ALSO** *Australian Aborigine Peoples; Clines; Clines and Continuous Variation; Human and Primate Evolution.*

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*A. Roberto Frisancho*

## HUMAN GENETICS

Whether or not race is a useful construct in biology, medicine, and society has been debated for more than a century. Despite this attention, even the most elementary questions about race persist. What is a race? How many

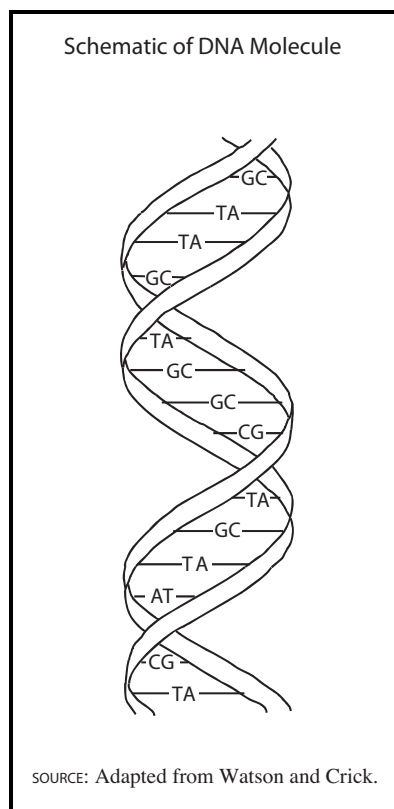
human races are there? What determines membership in a race? Is race a useful proxy for health or behavior?

Scientific interest in the relationship between race and human biological variation has intensified recently with advances in genomics. There is hope that an increased knowledge of the human DNA sequence and the discovery of DNA sequence variations within and among individuals will provide definitive answers to the long-standing questions about the biological aspects, and indeed the biological validity, of the idea of race. Genomic data have revealed the patterns of human genetic diversity in exquisite detail. However, it is still a challenge to understand how these patterns relate to the biological processes that generated them, and to discover the implications of these patterns for broader issues related to health and disease. While the purpose here is to focus on contemporary issues of race in genetics and disease research, it must also be remembered that race is not simply a biological topic; it is part of human social and political fabric as well.

## IMPORTANT TERMS AND KEY CONCEPTS IN GENETICS

A basic familiarity with terms and concepts in genetics is essential to understanding human genetic variation. To begin, all hereditary information is encoded in DNA (deoxyribonucleic acid). Each DNA molecule is composed of two strands of basic building blocks called *nucleotides*. There are four different kinds of nucleotides, denoted by the letters A, C, G, and T. The letter designations for nucleotides are used as a shorthand for the chemical bases that give the four kinds of nucleotides their distinctive properties. The two strands of a DNA molecule are wound together lengthwise forming a *double helix* shape. At each position along the double helix, the nucleotide from one strand is paired with a nucleotide from the other, according to a basic rule: A with T and C with G. In essence, each DNA molecule exists as a long string of nucleotide pairs. The information in genes is encoded in the sequence of A, T, C, and G nucleotides (see Figure 1).

The DNA double helix is super-coiled and bundled with proteins into structures called *chromosomes*. Every person has twenty-three pairs of chromosomes, with one member of each pair inherited from their mother and the other member inherited from their father. One of the twenty-three chromosome pairs is special because it determines the person's chromosomal sex. The two members of this pair are different in males (they are denoted X and Y); while females carry two X chromosomes. The other twenty-two pairs of chromosomes are called *autosomes*. The autosomes are alike in males and females. Chromosomes are contained inside the nuclei of cells. Interestingly, humans and other life forms carry a small DNA molecule outside of the cell nucleus. This DNA molecule occurs in many copies in a



**Figure 1.** Schematic of the DNA molecule illustrating the double helix form and base pairing rule T:A and G:C.

cell component called the *mitochondrion*. Mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA) is easy to work with in the laboratory and has been studied extensively.

In the early twenty-first century, geneticists speak of the *genome*, which is a complete copy of the DNA for a species. The term *locus* refers to a specific physical location on a genome. Loci (plural of locus) vary in length: They can be small and hold only a single nucleotide, or they can be large and hold stretches of thousands or millions of nucleotides. *Alleles* are alternative nucleotide sequences that occupy the same locus. New alleles are created by the chemical process of mutation. The differences between alleles are usually minor; at some places one base is substituted for another, or a small number of nucleotides is inserted or deleted from the DNA sequence.

A *gene* is a nucleotide sequence that encodes the information for a specific product such as a protein. Every gene resides at a locus and there are often allelic forms of genes. Surprisingly, the genome contains far more DNA than is required to encode all of the information in human genes. In fact, only about 2 percent of the genome encodes genes, and about half of the genome consists of repeated nucleotide sequences with no known function.

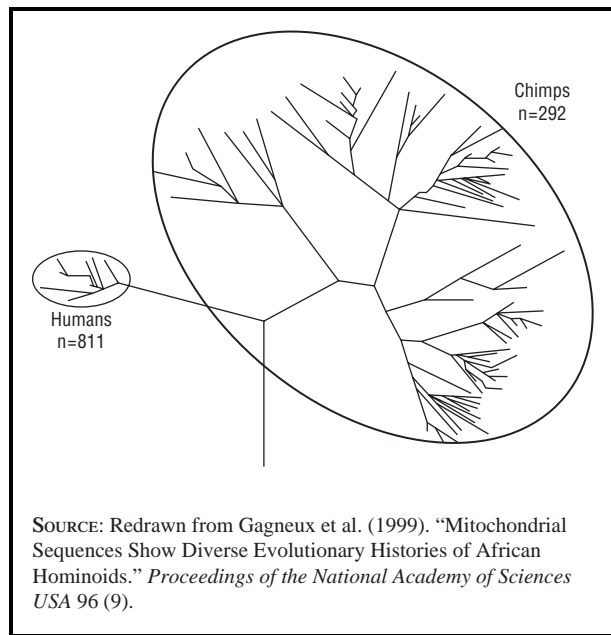
## HUMAN DIVERSITY AT THE DNA LEVEL

Genetic diversity is measured from DNA sequence differences between alleles. There are many methods for estimating genetic diversity. However, all of the methods reveal three major features that typify a unique pattern of human genetic diversity. The first feature is that the amount of diversity at the DNA level is only a fraction of what would be expected for a species that consists of billions of members. The second feature is that the genetic diversity in people living outside of sub-Saharan Africa is mostly a subset of the genetic diversity in populations within sub-Saharan Africa. The third feature is that, at most genetic loci, a variant allele that is common in one human population is common in the entire species. These three features have been reproduced by many independent studies and in many regions of the genome.

The three basic properties of human genetic variation are seen in patterns of *nucleotide diversity*, which is defined as the probability that a nucleotide at a random position in the genome will differ between two randomly chosen copies of the genome (Nei 1987). The first property, that humans have low diversity, is apparent when comparing humans and chimpanzees. Humans and chimps are each others' closest relatives and, in comparison to other animals, are remarkably similar genetically and behaviorally. In a study of mtDNA, nucleotide diversity in chimpanzees was 4.32 percent, which was more than seven times the value observed in humans, which is 0.609 percent. It would normally be expected that the human population, with more than six billion members, would harbor more diversity than the chimpanzee population, with only 100,000 to 200,000 members. Figure 2, modified from Gagneux et al. (1999), provides a further illustration of this finding. Each terminal branch on the trees represents a group of closely related mtDNA sequences, and the branch lengths represent the numbers of nucleotide changes among these sequence groups. Notice that the chimpanzee tree is bushier than the human tree.

The second and third basic properties of human genetic variation are illustrated by a study of DNA sequences from widely dispersed populations in Africa, Asia, and Europe (Yu, Chen, Ota, et al. 2002) that estimated nucleotide diversity at different levels of population structure; for example, the nucleotide diversity between two copies of the genome that were sampled from the same population (within group) or from different populations (between groups).

As shown in Figure 3, nucleotide diversity is lower if both copies of the genome are drawn from Europe or from Asia, than if both copies of the genome are drawn from Africa. That is, Africa has more within-group nucleotide diversity than Europe or Asia. However, what is even more interesting is that if one copy of the genome is drawn from Asia and the other



**Figure 2.** Lineage of mtDNA linking human and chimpanzee forms back to their common ancestor. Notice the “bushiness” on the Chimpanzee side of the family tree.

copy is drawn from Europe, the nucleotide diversity is nearly the same as when both copies are drawn from Europe or both copies are drawn from Asia. On the other hand, if one copy of the genome is drawn from Africa and the other from Asia, the nucleotide diversity is higher than if both pairs were drawn from Asia. The result is the same for African-European pairs in comparison to European-European pairs. By contrast, if both copies of the genome are drawn from Africa, nucleotide diversity is higher than either the African-Asian or African-European pairs. This unexpected result comes from the fact that diversity in non-Africans is mostly a subset of the diversity in Africans. In other words, there is widespread diversity in Africans that is not found in non-Africans, but most of the widespread diversity in non-Africans is found in Africans.

Repeated DNA sequences further support the three primary features of genetic variation. In a study that included 4,199 alleles from 377 loci in 52 different populations from around the world, about half of the alleles (46.7%) were widely represented in populations across major geographic regions, and only 7.4 percent were exclusive to populations in a single region (Rosenberg et al. 2002). These region-specific alleles tended to be rare, even within their region of occurrence. This finding is consistent with a theory in population genetics that holds that common alleles are usually old and expected to be shared across populations either by descent from a common ancestor or because they have spread by migrations, whereas new alleles are rare and localized to the geographic region in which they arose because they have not had time to spread.

The low nucleotide diversity and nested subset pattern of genetic diversity is consistent with a model that postulates a succession of ancient founder events that occurred as the human species expanded its range and occupied new continents. In this view, the origin of the species was in Africa about 200,000 years ago, and the species expanded out of Africa beginning only 100,000 years ago (Rogers and Jorde 1995; Harpending and Rogers 2000; Rogers 2001). While the present data agree with the recent African-origin scenario, it must be recognized that there are active debates on the timing of human origin and the global expansion of the species (Wolpoff et al. 2001).

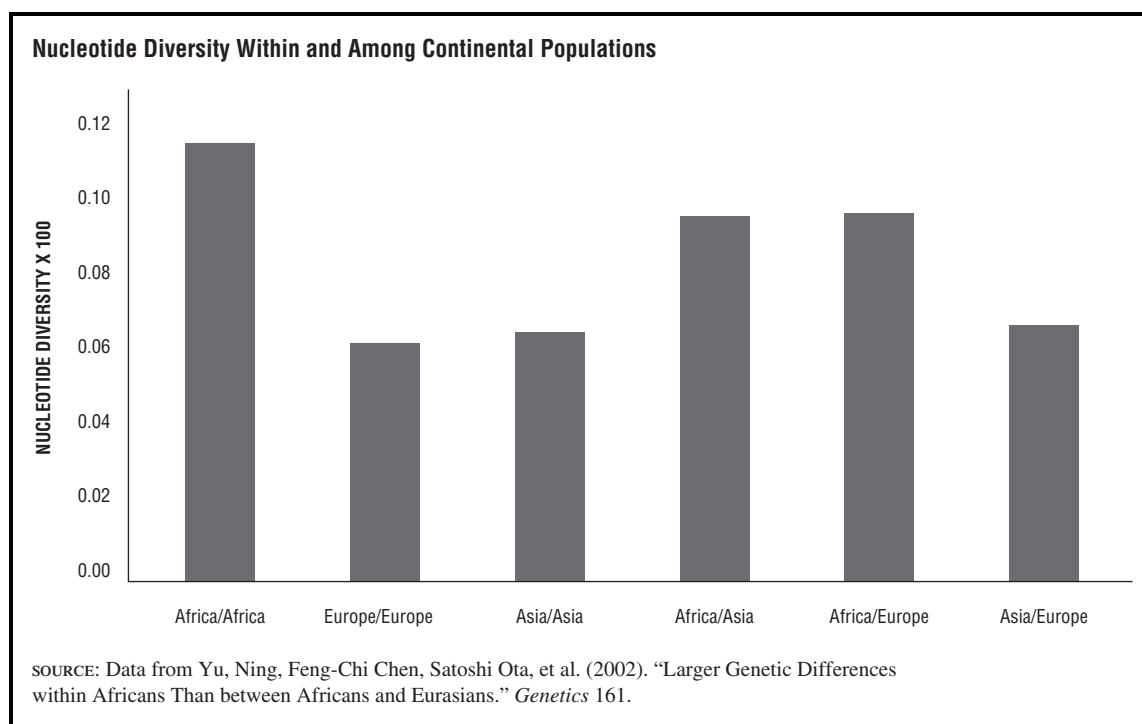
A final word of caution is that the patterns described above represent averages over many different loci. The variation at any single locus can deviate from the overall average. One reason for different patterns of variation across loci is that the order and timing of evolutionary change is a complex stochastic process. While each locus is potentially an outcome of the same process, no two outcomes are alike (Harpending and Rogers 2000). Another reason for different patterns at different loci is that natural selection can create deviations from the otherwise common patterns of genetic variation (Ruiz-Pesini et al. 2004). For instance, alleles that bestow a resistance to malaria are primarily found in regions with a history of malaria and reflect localized adaptations. Because natural selection can present a bias, DNA sequences that do not encode functional products are the most useful for understanding patterns of population history and relationships.

#### GENETIC VARIATION AND RACE

The word *race* should be used carefully because different meanings have been affixed to it in scientific, social, and historical contexts. Population geneticists typically define *race* as a group of individuals in a species showing closer genetic relationships within the group than to members of other such groups (Hartl and Clark 1997, p. 121). However, race defined in this way is not a very useful description for the overall pattern of DNA variation in humans. Figure 4 illustrates some of its shortcomings.

Panel 4A represents three hypothetical groups. Within each of the three groups, the members are, on average, more similar to each other than they are to the members of the other two groups. If one focuses on a pair of the groups, say A and B, a member of A is less similar compared with a member of B than with another member of A. The same is true the other way around: A member of B is less similar compared with a member of A than with another member of B. The relationship is symmetrical: A is a race when compared with B and B is a race when compared with A. The same pattern is evident when members of A are compared with members of C and when members of B are compared with members of





**Figure 3.**

C. Panel 4B shows that the actual pattern of variation in human DNA sequences lacks symmetry between populations. For example, the genetic variation found in Europeans and Asians is a subset of the variation found in Africa.

Genes from African populations are, on average, less similar to each other than they are to genes from European and Asian populations. Thus, Africans cannot be considered a race by the population genetics definition. Conversely, Europeans can be considered a race relative to Africans because the similarity between a pair of genomes drawn from Europe is greater than the similarity between a pair from Europe and Africa. The same sort of asymmetry holds in comparing genomes from Asia with genomes from Africa. However, one would be hard-pressed to argue that Europeans and Asians are races with respect to each other, because European-European pairs, Asian-Asian pairs, and European-Asian pairs are all similar to nearly the same degree. Thus, whether or not a particular group is a race, or how many races a group belongs to, is relative to whom that group is being compared.

#### PREDICTING POPULATION MEMBERSHIP FROM GENETIC VARIANTS

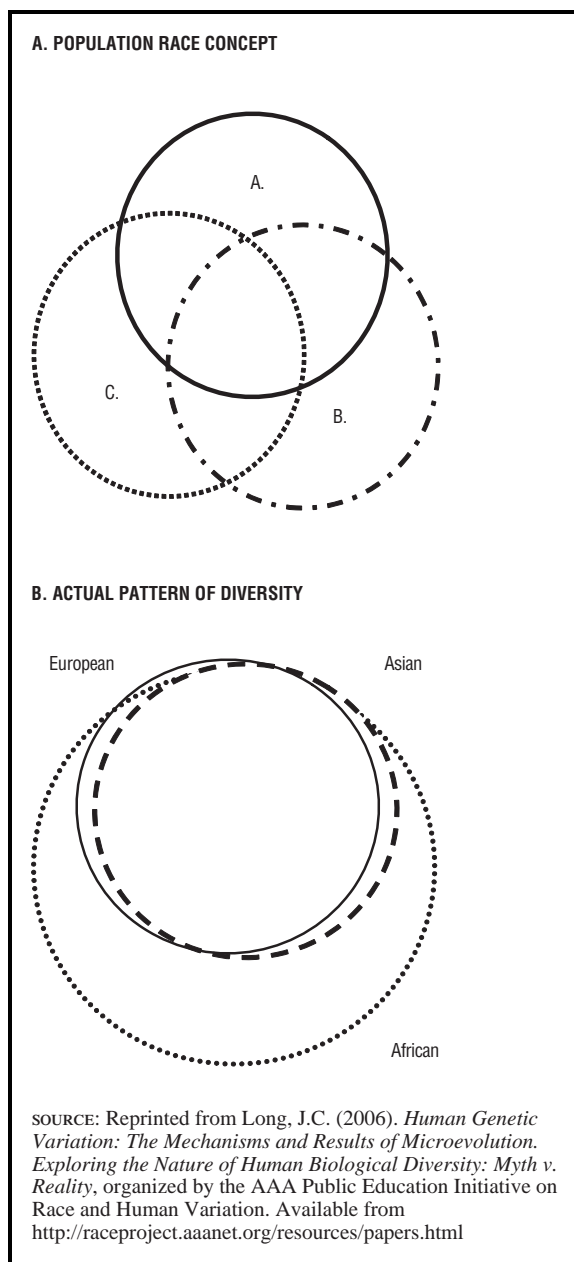
Several studies have successfully used sets of highly variable DNA markers from nonfunctional regions of the genome to reveal clusters of genetically similar individuals. Nota-

bly, the resulting genetic clusters tend to contain people sampled from the same region of the world (Pritchard et al. 2000; Rosenberg et al. 2002; Bamshad et al. 2003). It is now estimated that only a modest number of highly variable loci are required to correctly assign an individual to a continental cluster (Bamshad et al. 2003; Rosenberg et al. 2003). While only nonfunctional markers have been used for finding genetic clusters, one study has shown that the frequencies for alleles of drug metabolizing enzymes differ among clusters (Wilson et al. 2001).

To many scientists and nonscientists, these results seem to affirm the validity of race. After all, the correct assignment of individuals to populations has been traditionally viewed as a gold standard in validating races (Mayr 1969). Nevertheless, the ability to assign individuals to groups is unlikely to resolve the major issues surrounding race. The ability to classify individuals is ambiguous with respect to the pattern of variation among groups. Both of the patterns of variation illustrated in Panel 4A permit classification of individuals, but the asymmetrical pattern of actual human variation (Panel 4B) challenges conventional intuition about what race means.

#### PREDICTING GENETIC VARIANTS FROM POPULATION MEMBERSHIP

Though it is often possible to use genetic information to assign an individual to the geographical region from



**Figure 4.** Idealized race concept (A) and actual pattern of genetic diversity (B).

which he or she came, the inference is not as strong in the reverse direction. An individual's ancestry conveys only a small amount of information about the specific genetic markers that they carry. This is true even when the occurrence of a particular marker is restricted to a localized geographic region. A prime example is the ALDH2-2 allele at the acetaldehyde dehydrogenase 2 locus (ALDH2). This allele encodes a dominant-acting deficiency that prevents formation of the active ALDH2 enzyme. A consequence of ALDH2 inactivity is the accumulation of the noxious metabolic intermediate

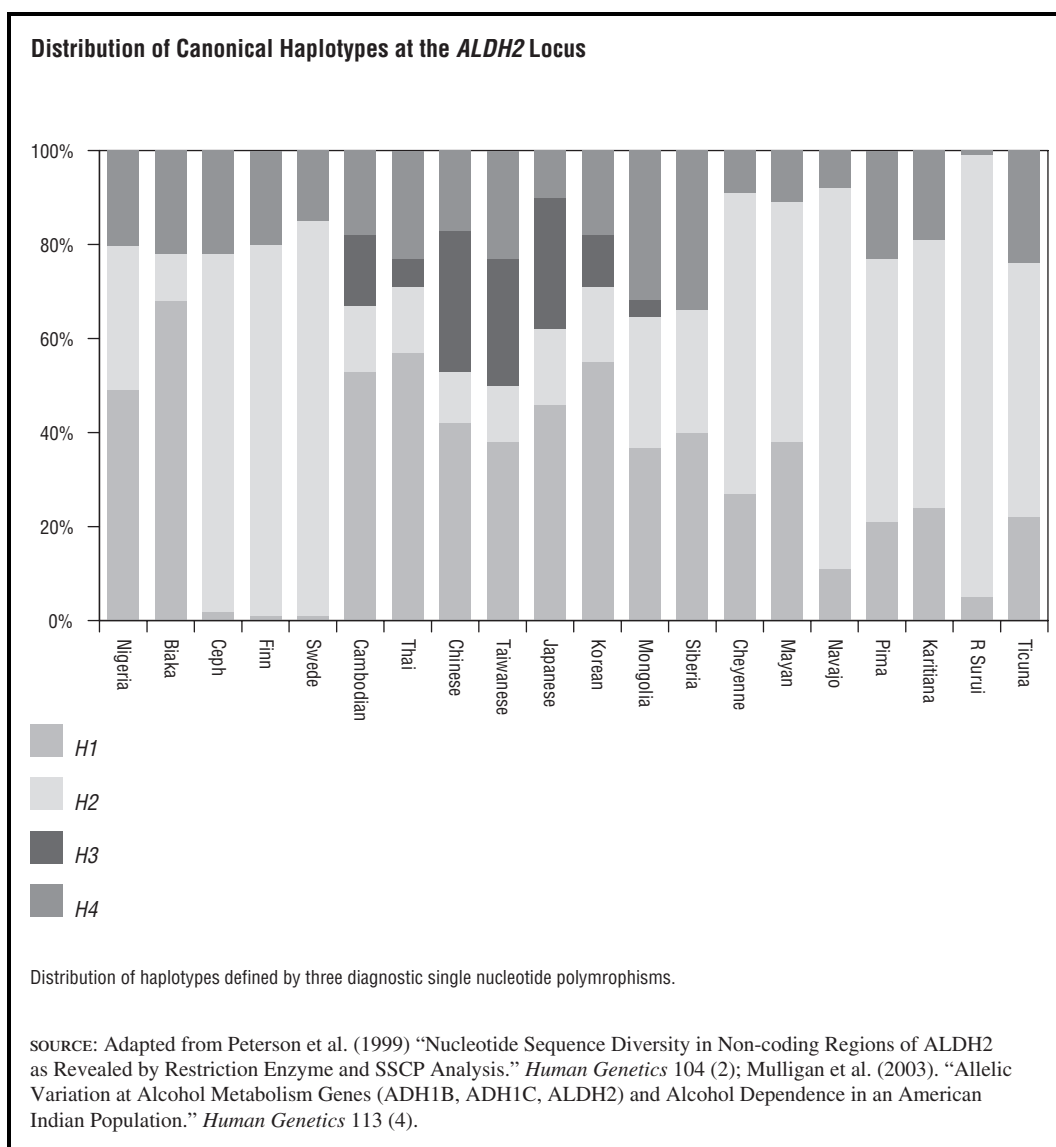
acetaldehyde (Inoue et al. 1984). Elevated blood acetaldehyde is associated with alcohol sensitivity and symptoms such as increased blood flow, dizziness, accelerated heart rate, sweating, and nausea (Wolff 1972; Agarwal and Goedde 1990; Agarwal et al. 1991). These symptoms in combination define the "flushing response." The ALDH2-2 allele affects human health in an interesting way. Individuals who carry the ALDH2-2 are protected from heavy drinking and ultimately alcoholism by the unpleasantness of flushing.

Figure 5 presents data on the frequencies of four major allele complexes at the ALDH2 locus (Peterson et al. 1999; Mulligan et al. 2003). The ALDH2-2 allele is carried on H4. Notice that H4 is found only in Asian populations, where it is relatively common. Because ALDH2-2 is found only in Asians, it is a perfect indicator of Asian ancestry. Nonetheless, the converse cannot be claimed, because most Asians do not carry the ALDH2-2 allele. As a result, while the ALDH2-2 allele is a good indicator that an individual will not drink alcohol or become alcoholic, most Asians do not carry ALDH2-2, and some Asians do drink alcohol and become alcoholic.

Population membership, therefore, may not be a precise indicator of genetic susceptibility to, or treatment of, diseases. While many marker alleles can be used to accurately infer ancestry, ancestry will allow only a weak inference about whether an individual carries a particular disease-risk allele.

#### PREDICTING HEALTH FROM RACE

Health researchers are actively debating the value of race and ethnicity in the diagnosis and treatment of chronic diseases such as diabetes, high blood pressure, and cancers (Burchard et al. 2003; Cooper et al. 2003). It is well known that chronic diseases are unevenly distributed in the general population. Depending on the disease, some groups are more or less prone than others. However, chronic conditions are difficult to analyze because they are caused by a combination of many factors, including both genes and environment. This complexity makes it likely that people presenting the same diagnosis vary widely with respect to the underlying causes that led to their problem. The chief argument for using race in medicine is that it can serve as a proxy for the total mix of genes and environments experienced by the patient. As such, it will better enable doctors to tailor diagnoses and treatments to the patient. However, there are several arguments against using race in the practice of medicine. First, racial groups are often too poorly defined to serve as useful proxies for genetic populations or specific environments. Second, the known genetic differences among populations are too small for population membership to be a strong indicator of the genes carried by individuals. Third, analyses suggest that although disease-predisposing



**Figure 5.**

alleles can vary in frequencies across population, the disease-predisposing alleles appear to have similar effects in people in different groups (Ioannidis et al. 2004). Fourth, a race-specific approach to medicine easily lends itself to misuses such as justifying unequal opportunity for health care. Despite these caveats, the U.S. Food and Drug Administration has recently approved the marketing of BiDil, a congestive heart failure medication, for a specific racial group: African Americans.

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The genetic diversity in our species has three defining features. First, the level of diversity in humans is consistent with a much smaller population than is living in

the early twenty-first century. Second, the geographic pattern of genetic diversity forms nested subsets. Third, at most genetic loci, an allele that is common in one human population is common throughout the species. The architecture of human genetic variation is ultimately explained by the evolutionary history of our species and best understood in that context.

These findings complicate genetic scholars' notions of human race by contradicting the intuitive expectation that a race classification is symmetrical (i.e., if A is a race with respect to B, then B is a race with respect to A). For example, non-African people are more homogeneous than the species as a whole, but there is nearly as much genetic diversity in African people as there is in the species as a

whole. Despite the inadequacy of race concepts for describing patterns of genetic variation, genetic differences among human populations do exist, and one of the most striking ways that populations differ is in the overall level of variation. African populations harbor the greatest diversity. On average, non-African populations harbor less diversity.

A major question is: Do disease susceptibility alleles have the same distribution as the more-or-less neutral variations in the DNA sequence? The answer to this question is not yet known. Some speculation has led to the common disease–common variant hypothesis (Reich and Lander 2001), which holds that the alleles that contribute to common diseases will have population distributions much like neutral variants because they are only disadvantageous in the post-reproductive phase of life, and are therefore undetected by natural selection. To the extent that this is true, the susceptibility alleles for common diseases should be widely shared. In general, the findings from one population should be relevant to others. However, two important caveats must be raised. The first is that because Africans harbor more allelic variation than do non-Africans, studying non-Africans will not identify important genetic variants related to the health of people of African descent. The second is that effects of major genes may be modified by the rare variants that are specific to local populations or geographic regions.

Race is clearly a poor descriptor of the patterns of genetic variation. However, breaking the tradition of using it will be difficult. A major barrier to breaking this tradition is that lay people and scientists alike use what is known as the *implicit* definition of race. In this view, races represent a pattern of variation that is difficult to pinpoint but clear to most people. This position is imprecise and irrefutable because it is based on an article of faith: that races display a pattern of variation that is already clear to most people. It is easy for users of the implicit definition to talk past each other, and for them to unwittingly fall back on prejudices or use typological thinking that is inconsistent with biological processes. The utility and internal consistency of race concepts can only be validated or rejected to the extent that they are explicitly stated. It must also be remembered that race is as much a social phenomenon as it is a biological one. The ancestry of individuals and groups is hopelessly confounded with environment and social standing. Therefore, it is unlikely that one line of evidence, such as genetics or genomics, will clarify all of the important health issues surrounding race.

**SEE ALSO** *Clusters; Eugenics, History of; Forensic Anthropology and Race; Gene Pool; Genes and Genealogies; Genetic Distance; Genetic Marker; Genetic Variation Among Populations; Genetics, History of; Genetics and Athletic Performance; Human and Primate Evolution.*

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## HUMAN TRAFFICKING

According to the United Nations (2002):

Trafficking in human beings is the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring, or receipts of persons, by means of threat or the use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another, for the purpose of exploitation.

In short, human trafficking is the recruitment and transportation of persons through coercion, deception, or some other form of illicit influence.

The main reasons behind human trafficking are labor and sexual exploitation. Labor and sexual exploitation, however, are intertwined and in many cases proceed simultaneously. Each year, millions of women, children, and men, especially from developing nations, are trafficked within and across national boundaries to serve as bonded labor, domestic workers, farmworkers, and sex workers. Kathryn Farr (2005) reports that about 27 million people around the world live under some form of slavery. Most are women trafficked for prostitution. For example, about 35,000 women from Columbia, 25,000 women from Bangladesh, and 500,000 women from the former Soviet states have been trafficked and sold into prostitution in different countries. The trafficking of Nepali girls and women in Indian brothels has been considered the most intensive sexual slave trade anywhere in the world (Hynes and Raymond 2002). Trafficked women have become the new slaves of the global economy.

The trafficking of children has also become a major social problem. Children are trafficked around the world mainly for labor and sexual exploitation. They work in homes, farms, factories, carpet factories, sweatshops, restaurants, construction sites, and the sex and tourist industries. Conditions can include debt bondage. The International Labor Organization estimates that there are about 250 million working children ages five through fourteen. About 120 million children are working full-time in hazardous and exploitative types of work (Palley 2002). Traf-

ficking has become one of the fastest growing crimes and generates up to \$7 billion annually (Widgen 1994).

### THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The exploitation of women is often rooted in imperialism and colonialism. Political, economic, and sexual exploitation of the weak and powerless, who are often people of the previously colonized and developing nations, continue today on a worldwide scale. During imperial and colonial expansion, whether in North America, the Caribbean, Europe, Africa, or Australia, colonizers extracted huge profits by exploiting and commodifying women. Women's sexuality and labor became a means to appropriate economic, political, and social gain for colonizers. By purchasing, hiring, and selling women, the colonizers made these women transferable commodities to be used and reused, sold and resold.

Kamala Kempadoo (2004) reports that during the colonial invasion of the Caribbean, "slave women were frequently hired out by white and free colored families as nannies, nurses, cooks, washerwomen, hucksters, seamstresses, yet the general expectation of individuals who hired female labor under whatever pretense was that sexual benefits were included" (p. 53). Kempadoo further reports that "concubines served as both mistresses and housekeepers and were sometimes hired out by their owners to sexually service other men in order to obtain cash" (p. 53). To rationalize such practices, these women were blamed for being sexually available and promiscuous. Referring to the sexual exploitation of black women during slavery in the United States, bell hooks (1981) states: "The use of the word prostitution to describe mass sexual exploitation of enslaved black women by white men not only deflected attention away from the prevalence of forced sexual assault, it lent further credibility to the myth that black females were inherently wanton and therefore responsible for rape" (p. 34).

Under slavery, African women in the United States were subject to bondage labor, captive slavery and prostitution, and breeding labor; they lived a barbaric slave life. The colonial white owners controlled their labor and bodies. Forced sex, rape, and brutal torturing and floggings of women's naked bodies were a common practice by white male slave owners. By coerced mating and oppressive massive breeding, slave women's bodies became machines to produce and reproduce slave labor. State agencies fostered racial and gendered violence through various discriminatory laws. Dorothy Roberts (1997) reports that "the law reinforced the sexual exploitation of slave women in two ways; it deemed any child who resulted from the rape to be a slave and it failed to recognize the rape of a slave woman as a crime" (p. 29).

Social, economic, and sexual exploitation and oppression of slave women in the United States is rooted in a

white supremacist colonial patriarchal culture and ideology. As hooks (1981) points out, “Colonial white men expressed their fear and hatred of womanhood by institutionalizing sexist oppression” (p. 31). Slave women were forced to adapt to mainstream oppressive gender roles and relations defined and introduced by the colonial patriarch. Slave women were thus oppressed and exploited by a double-edged sword—their race and their gender.

Similarly, various anthropological studies illustrate the ways in which women became concubines, prostitutes, and entertainers after the colonial invasion in Australia. Eleanor Leacock and Mona Etienne (1980) report that the “history of relations between colonizers and aboriginal Australians meant that women’s sexual freedom became transformed into its opposition: prostitution” (p. 11). The colonizers and those in authority had turned women’s bodies and sexuality into a site for deriving sexual pleasure and economic profit.

#### GENDER AND STATE AGENCIES

Cases from different parts of the world also show ways in which war, political violence, and expansion of military bases have exacerbated various forms of gender-based violence—particularly sexual exploitation. Any kind of war, whether political, civil, or ethnic, and expansion of army bases and processes of militarization have fostered the sex trade and forced prostitution, with young girls and women as primary targets. Being a displaced refugee makes girls, women, and children even more vulnerable for sexual exploitation. War and conflict in Vietnam, the Persian Gulf, eastern Europe, and Africa have witnessed such sexual exploitation and political violence.

Trafficking, sexual exploitation, and gendered violence are also rooted in the low status and positions of girls and women. In addition, those who are already marginalized in society because of their low socioeconomic status, demographic characteristics, and culture and political location are more susceptible to being trafficked and sexually exploited. In caste-based societies such as India and Nepal, the poor, indigenous, low-caste ethnic minorities and uneducated girls and women are more likely to become victims of sexual labor exploitation. For example, in Nepal, under the “Deukis system,” wealthy families buy young girls to offer to temple idols. These girls are forbidden to marry, and without alternative livelihoods, they are forced into prostitution. Similar to the Deukis system, under the “Devadasi system” in India, young girls are offered as gifts to various deities. Unable to earn their livelihood by the donations and gifts from their patrons and other visitors, the girls are compelled to sell their sex. Girls and women of the Badi community, the lowest caste in Nepal, traditionally earned



**Sex Worker Protests Sexual Exploitation Reform Plans.** In 2004 the Indian government announced plans to curb human trafficking and require that victims of sexual exploitation receive rehabilitation. Dozens of sex workers staged a protest in New Delhi, worried that such legislation would threaten their livelihood. © DESMOND BOYLAN/REUTERS/CORBIS.

their livelihood by singing and dancing. Because of economic factors, they were later pushed into prostitution.

Such cases suggest how state agencies and cultural practices through various religious and other institutions control women’s labor and sexuality. Additionally, the cases indicate how some traditional practices have increased women’s vulnerability to sexual labor exploitation.

#### INDUSTRIALIZATION, FACTORY WORK, AND TRAFFICKING

The processes of industrialization and modernization have also facilitated trafficking. The industrializing nations of Asia and Latin America have created conditions that brought a massive number of rural women and children into low-paying, labor-intensive manufacturing jobs in the cities. In Southeast Asia and South Asia, persistent poverty and debt have compelled many parents to sell their daughters and children. Many of these parents, however, do not know that their children are then tricked and lured into the sex trade. Customers’ preference for virgins and the fear of AIDS have also accelerated the number of children and young girls forced into sex trafficking. UNICEF reports that there are at least a million child prostitutes in Asia alone, with the highest numbers present in India, followed by Thailand, Taiwan, and the Philippines (Banerjee 2002).

Industrial manufacturing jobs and a factory-based work culture provide favorable conditions for labor and sexual exploitation. Even those women and children who join manufacturing work voluntarily face long working hours and deteriorating working conditions, and they are subjected to sexual harassment, rape, and different forms of sexual violence and exploitation by owners and overseers.

#### GLOBALIZATION AND THE POLITICAL ECONOMY

The processes of globalization, global restructuring, and global capital accumulation have intensified sex trafficking and the exploitation of sexual labor. The trafficking of women and children, particularly girls, for the sex trade is now rampant in the global economy. Global capital expansion, neoliberal policies, open borders, structural adjustment programs, internal and international migration, transnational networks, globalization of communications and different modes of communications that facilitate international arranged marriage, mail-order brides, and the marketing of women and children in sex tourism have fueled the trafficking and sex trade industry. As Kamala Kempadoo and Jo Doezema (1998) put it, "Sexual labor today forms a primary source for profit and wealth, and it is a constituent part of national economies and transnational industries within the global capitalist economy" (p. 8).

Structural adjustment programs (SAPs) that have been imposed by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in the developing nations have become key features of global restructuring. Under SAPs, poor countries are pressured to privatize their state-owned enterprises, liberalize domestic markets, remove trade barriers, encourage foreign investment, and prioritize export-oriented manufacturing. A huge cut in state-owned health care and education; open borders; free flow of labor, capital, and commodities; and a highly competitive international market economy have exacerbated various social, economic, and global problems. After the privatization of public sectors, prices doubled for public goods and services in areas such as education, transportation, health care, telecommunications, drinking water, and electricity. Under trade liberalization, protection is removed from local industries. This negatively affects cottage, handicraft, and small and labor-intensive manufacturing industries, all of which depend on a large unskilled and semiskilled labor force.

Although the main goal of SAPs is that goods and services should be produced where they can be made most efficiently at the lowest cost, with nations increasing their prosperity by mutually opening their trade and markets, it has not worked out that way. By eroding national markets

and industries, global restructuring has displaced many people, particularly women and children, from their work and livelihoods. These women and children, who are the most vulnerable of the labor force, then become primary targets for sex trafficking and the sex trade. For example, millions of women and children in Bangladesh have lost their work in the textile industry when work was moved to China, where production costs were lower. This pushed many women and children into the sex industry.

By allowing free competition, open markets, free enterprise, and deregulated labor markets, economic restructuring has on the one hand led to poverty, unemployment, risk, and social, economic, and political inequality, and on the other hand to the insecurity of low-paying jobs in the informal economic sectors. This duality has affected poor women and children the most, as they are now the preferred labor of informal economic sectors and constitute the largest labor force in the service sector. This has simultaneously accelerated the feminization of migration and of the labor force, as well as trafficking and the sex trade. In the service sector particularly, the demand for female labor has been greatest in domestic work, tourism, and the sex industry.

Interregional and international labor migration provides a route and a context for sex trafficking. As poor women and children from deprived regions seek employment in cities or foreign nations, they become more vulnerable to sex trafficking. Trafficking of girls and women, particularly in South Asia, occurs en route from rural to urban areas within the country and en route from one country to another. Shobha Hamal-Gurung (2003) notes the linkage between factory work, migration, and sex trafficking; and reports that sex trafficking of girls and women in Indian brothels occurred mainly in two ways: during the migration process—en route to destined employment cities and from the carpet factories where these girls and women worked.

By providing loans with high interest rates, SAPs push poor countries into becoming debt-ridden. Since women have become the ideal labor force of the global economy, many industrializing, debt-ridden nations then encourage their female citizens to migrate and become transnational workers in order to stabilize and boost their economies with the remittances they send back home. Transnational female labor migrants are more likely to be trafficked or subjected to economic and sexual exploitation in foreign lands, particularly if they are brought into the country illegally or if they become illegal aliens later.

The process of globalization and global restructuring has created a market for the sex industry in which millions of innocent women and children are turned into economic and sexual commodities, thereby becoming



the new slaves of globalization. According to Goodwin (2003), quoting a UN spokesman, “Slavery is one of the most undesirable consequences of globalization” (p. 499).

Although a matter of choice for some, sex work is not a matter of choice for the majority of women and children who migrate to urban areas in search of wage work and a better life. It is not a matter of choice for the majority of women and children who are deceived by false jobs in urban or global cities and who are then smuggled during the internal and international migration process. Victims of trafficking and the sex trade are brought into the industry in various ways. They are often lured away from their country by recruiters who promise them high-paying jobs in a foreign country. They are either brought illegally or upon their arrival their passports and other legal documents are seized by the recruiter or pimp. The willingness to migrate in search of livelihood, legally or illegally, results in favorable conditions for traffickers and an impetus to trafficking. Consequently, these women and children become extremely vulnerable to various forms of exploitation. Because of their legal status, language and cultural barriers, and fear of the police and government authorities, these women and children are trapped—forced and coerced to become sex workers. Fear of deportation also makes them vulnerable to abuse. Even if they manage to escape, they may encounter trouble with the law and authorities, and they may end up in jail, where they may face another cycle of sexual violence.

The tourist industry in Southeast Asia is intertwined with the sex trade that brings billions of dollars annually. The Thai government, for example, promotes sexual tourism through advertising stating that “the only fruit sweeter than durian [a local fruit] is Thai women,” according to Richard Poulin (2003, p. 38), citing David Hechler. No doubt the sex industry now flourishes with the interplay of the domestic and international political economic system. Cynthia Enloe (1989) states that the sex industry “requires Third World Women to be economically desperate to enter prostitution” and makes them dependent “on an alliance between local governments in search of foreign currency and local and foreign businessmen willing to invest in sexualized travel” (pp. 36–37).

The rampant, ever growing global sex industry is also analyzed within the demand and supply model in which the receiving countries with large sex industries create a demand for female bodies. On the demand side also are significant numbers of men with social, economic, and political power. The industry exists because those in power—the state, government, the political and economic systems, industrial capitalists, and patriarchy—hegemonize it and reap the profits. The majority of poor women and ethnic minorities from the industrializing

nations or nations facing political and economic crises constitute the supply side, while businessmen and patriarchs, particularly from the rich nations, constitute the demand side. Women as a commodity serve the demand of those who can purchase them. Globalization has no doubt provided multiple sites and multiple agencies to operate and foster the transnational sex trade. H. Patricia Hynes and Janice G. Raymond (2002) report:

In what becomes a predacious cycle, the growth of the transnational sex industry—with its unique profit potential from the reuse and resale of women, compared to the one-time sale of drugs and weapons—entices governments facing economic crisis to promote women for export within the global sex trade industry in order to attract a flow of remittance back to the sending country; or to directly and indirectly promote local sex industries to bring money into the country. (p. 205)

## CONCLUSION

Historical factors, larger structural forces, the processes of global capital accumulation, sociocultural and political-economic factors, and the politics of race, class, gender, nationality, and citizenship are important when analyzing the nature, pattern, process, and victims of contemporary human trafficking.

Although in general the majority of slaves in the global economy are children and women, these children and women can also be described as members of a particular race, ethnicity, and class, and as nationals of particular Third World countries. Until the collapse of the former Soviet states, the majority of trafficked girls and women were from Asian, Latin American, and Caribbean nations, whose black, brown, and gold skin tone made them exotic and desirable to others in the global sex trade. The increasing numbers of *Natashas* (female sex workers from the former Soviet states) and other white women into the sex trafficking and sex trade, however, illustrates the historical overrepresentation of women in such practices.

Although patriarchal entrepreneurs extract profit from the labor of women and children, they often rationalize their interest and behavior by arguing that they are helping to alleviate poverty. The majority of enslaved sex workers who provide bondage labor are subjugated, exploited, and commodified not only because they are women but also because they are poor and typically members of racial-ethnic minority groups in their countries. As Hynes and Raymond (2002) put it, “The fact that it took blond and blue-eyed victims to draw governmental and public attention to trafficking in the United States gives the appearance, at least, of racism” (p. 200).

The inclusion of white women into the sex trade, nonetheless, helps us to see the racialized gendered aspect of human trafficking and the sex industry.

The processes of colonialism, industrialization, and globalization have eroded women's positions and status. Whether in the poorest developing nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, or in the cities of the richest and most developed nations, young girls' and women's labor and sexuality as a commodity has been colonized, subjugated, and globalized across continents, nations, and regions. What is common between the colonial expansion, industrialization, and globalization is that in all of these phases, women's labor and sexuality are highly commodified and exploited. This continuation of global colonialism and imperialism reflect a series of unequal power relations and hierarchical power structures in which poor girls and women in general, and poor girls and women of color in particular, are located at the bottom of global power structures.

SEE ALSO *Body Politics; Gender Ideology; Illegal Alien; Poverty; Rape; Sex Work; Sexuality; Violence against Women and Girls.*

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Shobha Hamal Gurung

## HYPERTENSION AND CORONARY HEART DISEASE

Persistent high blood pressure, or hypertension, became recognized as a diagnosable medical condition in the 1930s, with rudimentary treatments emerging in the late 1940s. A decade or more before this, colonial physicians in Africa had already developed an interest in the apparent paucity of hypertension among indigenous black populations, which they attributed, in part, to the absence of modern stresses and cultural dissonances. This explanation persisted for decades, especially in apartheid-era South Africa, where it conformed to the ideology of black homelands as salubrious respites from a more complex urban life for which native people were thought to be inherently unsuited (Donnison 1929; Packard 1989).

Hypertension is an important precursor of coronary heart disease (CHD), which involves a narrowing of the coronary arteries that supply oxygenated blood to the heart muscle. The blood-carrying capacity of the coronary arteries becomes restricted by fat and cholesterol deposits on the artery walls until the affected person experiences a chest pain called *angina*, or until a sufficient obstruction of the coronary artery occurs to precipitate a heart attack. Often, a heart attack results from a sudden closure of the artery due to a blood clot forming at a point where the artery is already narrowed.

## HYPERTENSION AND AFRICAN AMERICANS

Observations of heightened levels of hypertension and average blood pressure in African Americans arose in the early 1900s, with primitive population-based survey results dating to at least as early as 1932. These findings were in direct contrast to the apparent absence of hypertension in rural African populations, and also with a relatively low risk for CHD among African Americans. By the 1960s there was extensive evidence from community-based surveys, such as the Evans County (Georgia) Study, to indicate that black Americans experienced nearly twice the clinically defined hypertension than that experienced by white Americans. At the same time, however, these epidemiologic surveys confirmed that CHD risk was lower for blacks than for whites in the United States. Rather than precipitating heart disease, untreated hypertension in African Americans was more likely to manifest in cerebrovascular disease and stroke mortality.

The observation of differential risk for hypertension and CHD between racial groups led many physical anthropologists and medical researchers in the first half of the twentieth century to focus on identifying inherent anatomic and physiological differences between groups that might explain this disparity. A large number of research reports resulted, with putative racial variation identified in nearly every component of the cardiovascular apparatus. For example, one study involved postmortem examinations of the hearts of seventeen whites, fifteen Africans, and two African Americans in the early 1950s. This study concluded that the Africans had an extra large branch of the left coronary artery, to which protection from coronary heart disease was attributed (Phillips and Burch 1960).

There was a similar preoccupation with the comparative sizes and weights of organs, such as the observation that blacks had smaller or lighter kidneys than whites. Similarly, it was widely held that blacks had a natural resistance to a number of common diseases, including hookworm, gall stones, tuberculosis, syphilis, pneumonia, and whooping cough, and thus it was thought that they might also possess a lower risk for coronary heart disease as an intrinsic racial trait (Lewis 1942; Phillips and Burch 1960).

A consequence of the persistent observation of racial/ethnic disparity in hypertension and CHD risk has been the ongoing use of language that casts blacks and whites as fundamentally distinct in terms of innate biology or physiology. For example, scientific articles often carry titles such as "Hypertension in Blacks: Is it a Different Disease?" (Megs 1985).

This predominant ideology of essential biologic difference has precipitated numerous unsubstantiated assertions

in the peer-reviewed medical literature. For example, hypertension is often described as intrinsically more virulent among blacks. But assertions that blacks "tend to experience greater cardiovascular and renal damage at any level of [blood] pressure" (Kaplan 1994, p. 450) have no clear empirical basis.

Likewise, despite voluminous research on environmental and behavioral factors that contribute to hypertension and CHD risk, the long-standing paradigm of viewing racial/ethnic groups as representing human subspecies has led many discussions of the cardiovascular disease disparity in the biomedical literature to be couched reflexively in terms of hypothesized genetic factors. For example, in an exhaustive review of more than 400 articles on racial differences in cardiovascular disease in 1960, John H. Phillips and George E. Burch sought to caution against a completely essentialist interpretation by concluding, judiciously, that "it appears that many racial differences reflect not only genetic and racial factors but [also] variations in the medical care available and extended to the Negro, and the Negro's cooperation and participation in this medical care" (p. 274). In the subsequent four decades, however, the general emphasis on intrinsic as opposed to social factors remained largely intact. For example, writing in the *British Medical Journal* in 1997, Sarah Wild and Paul McKeigue concluded that "excess mortality from cerebrovascular and hypertensive diseases in migrants from both West Africa and the Caribbean suggests that genetic factors underlie the susceptibility to hypertension in people of black African descent" (p. 705).

## THE SLAVERY HYPERTENSION HYPOTHESIS

An abiding faith in innate biologic predisposition as the explanation for observed racial patterning in disease has led to a surfeit of ad hoc hypotheses, such as relating blood pressure dysregulation directly to skin pigmentation, or to excess testosterone levels in black men. The most widely disseminated of these "just so" stories is the slavery hypertension hypothesis, an evolutionary theory that relates excess hypertension risk in New World blacks to selection during the "Middle Passage" for phenotypes that were sodium retentive. The theory was posited at least as early as 1983, and it was adopted in the late 1980s by the hypertension researcher Clarence Grim, who has since championed the idea energetically. Grim speculated that sodium loss from sweating, diarrheal stools, and vomit during the transatlantic voyage led to high levels of mortality from dehydration, and therefore to selection pressure against genes coding for greater sodium excretion. Though the slavery hypertension hypothesis lacks any empirical support and has been widely criticized from the historical as well as the biomedical arenas, it continues

to capture the popular and scientific imagination as a tidy explanation for elevated levels of hypertension in African Americans, and it is routinely cited in medical textbooks, scientific journal articles, and the popular press. For example, in a feature article about the young Harvard economist Roland Fryer Jr., published in the *New York Times Magazine* in March 2005, the hypothesis is depicted as a new and exciting idea from the rising academic superstar. (Grim, Henry, and Myers 1995; Kaufman and Hall 2003).

The unexpectedly low prevalence of coronary heart disease observed in African Americans in the first half of the century led to similar speculation regarding some categorical racial protection, either cultural or genetic. But these theories of innate resistance to atherosclerotic progression quickly evaporated as the racial disparity flipped in the 1960s and 1970s. Indeed, by the 1980s and 1990s it was black Americans who had a higher CHD risk than whites (driven largely by a wider disparity for women). This reversal in the racial disparity was largely explained by changes in risk-factor distributions in the two populations, such as more diabetes, more atherogenic lipid profiles, less physically active occupations, and greater levels of obesity among blacks. Nonetheless, the scientific discourse soon shifted to speculation about an innate characteristic that predisposed blacks to develop CHD, rather than to avoid it.

#### HEART DISEASE, RACIAL DIFFERENCES, AND MEDICAL CARE

By the last quarter of the twentieth century, the CHD death rate was falling for all groups, although more slowly for blacks, which further exacerbated the disparity. At younger ages (less than sixty-five years), the relative black excess became particularly pronounced. The mortality risk at these young ages is low in absolute terms, but the racial disparity is as much as two-fold. This produces a relatively small difference in the number of attributable cases of CHD death, but a larger number of excess years of life lost, due to the young ages of the cases.

Another important cause of cardiovascular mortality is congestive heart failure, which may result from CHD, hypertension, or any of several other cardiovascular pathologies. There are roughly five million Americans with congestive heart failure, and another half a million are diagnosed with the condition every year, making it the one major category of cardiovascular disease that has continued to increase in the United States over the last several decades. Like hypertension and CHD, a racial predisposition to heart failure incidence or mortality has been proposed numerous times in the medical literature, especially to account for a more extreme excess of black risk at younger ages.

Heart failure is unique in being the target of a race-specific pharmacotherapy. The new drug, marketed under the commercial name BiDil, is simply a combination of two previously existing generic vasodilators, isosorbide dinitrate and hydralazine. In June 2005, based on the successful results of a clinical trial called A-HeFT, which enrolled only self-defined African-American heart failure patients, this drug combination was approved by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) for sale in the United States as the first “ethnic drug” (Taylor et al. 2004).

To justify a trial restricted to one racial group, the A-HeFT investigators proposed that African Americans have lower average rennin-angiotensin system activity, which leads to reduced tissue availability of nitric oxide, a molecule that facilitates the vasodilation necessary for healthy blood pressure regulation. The A-HeFT investigators then asserted that retrospective analyses of data from previous heart-failure trials strongly suggested that black patients had an especially pronounced response to the BiDil combination. However, in the only study that was cited to support this assertion, a statistical test for racial heterogeneity found no significant difference in response between blacks and whites (Carson et al. 1999). It has therefore been suggested that the decision to test and market the drug only for blacks appears to be motivated by concerns that are commercial, rather than scientific, in nature (Kahn 2004).

The whole notion of creating ethnic-specific drugs for cardiovascular conditions remains controversial. Racial groups are not discrete genetic categories, and they overlap considerably with respect to the relevant etiologic and physiologic factors that influence pharmacological effects. Therefore, all available data suggest that any drug determined to work on most blacks will also work on most members of any other group, and vice versa. This phenomenon was demonstrated quantitatively by a recent meta-analytic review by Ashwini Sehgal (2004). Despite numerous claims that antihypertensive therapies have differential efficacy across racial groups, Sehgal showed that the distributions of blood pressure reductions for various common classes of antihypertensive medications overlapped by 83 to 93 percent. This suggests that basing clinical decisions on race may disadvantage the majority of patients of any group, who would respond equivalently to a drug that is presumed to have an effect specific to some other group.

#### TREATMENT FOR CARDIAC DISEASE

In contrast to the very ambiguous basis for race-specific therapies, the evidence for differential treatment of cardiovascular conditions is now extensive, including differential access to screening and to diagnostic and

therapeutic interventions. These differences persist even when controlling for insurance status and socioeconomic level. For example, in an experimental design in which physicians were shown videotapes of actors reading identical scripts of a case presentation of chest pain, the odds that a black woman actor would be referred for right-heart catheterization were only 40 percent of the odds for a white man, even though the vignettes contained identical medical and social histories and identical symptoms (Schulman et al. 1999).

A large number of factors may contribute to differences in access to care and to differential treatment within the medical system, including patient knowledge, patient trust in the physician (and in the healthcare system as a whole), patient-physician communication, patient noncompliance, physician stereotyping, and overt discrimination. For example, when a physician gains less information from a patient of a different race because of cultural or educational barriers in the communication process, the natural response is to stereotype the patient (i.e., to treat the patient based on assumptions about the average member of the group, instead of according to the patient's individual values). This stereotyping, even if entirely well-intentioned and factually unbiased, will tend to exacerbate disparities between groups by adding more random error to the transfer of information necessary for appropriate treatment. If the stereotype is factually incorrect, then the disparity may be exacerbated even further (Balsa and McGuire 2003). There is also extensive evidence to suggest that physicians have many irrational stereotypes about racial-minority patients. For example, in experimental studies, medical students rated black women as having a lower quality of life than white men (Rathore et al. 2000), while psychiatrists asked to make diagnoses from standardized patient vignettes rated black men as being more hostile and dangerous than males from other groups (Loring and Powell 1988).

Cardiovascular disorders have complex etiologies involving diet, physical activity, and genetic factors, as well as a person's psychosocial and physical environment. Moreover, they are ascertained and treated differentially with respect to social position and cultural identity. As such, these conditions are very sensitive to social contexts, and they tend to show wide disparities when the relevant factors vary across population groups. These disparities have long fueled hypotheses of innate group predispositions, but rapid shifts in patterns over space and time belie such facile speculation. For example, the West African diaspora, stretching from the population groups of origin through the Caribbean, Brazil, the United Kingdom, and the United States, represents a group of genetically related peoples who were dispersed widely over dramatically different social environments. Yet despite a common geographic origin, these groups now evidence some of the widest

variations in cardiovascular risk factors and disease prevalences in the world (Cooper et al. 1997). Nonetheless, the emergence of race-based therapeutics as the latest approach to cardiovascular disease disparities demonstrates that many of the most important lessons of the last several decades of epidemiologic research have not yet been fully assimilated.

SEE ALSO *Diseases, Racial.*

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## ILLEGAL ALIEN

On March 3, 1875, the United States established, for the first time, federal prohibitions on the entry of immigrants deemed undesirable. The legislation, known as the Page Law, excluded criminals and prostitutes from entry into the country, as well as Chinese contract laborers known perjoratively as “coolies.” The act, driven by racial and economic fears and followed by a series of broader Chinese exclusion laws beginning in 1882, is often referred to as the genesis of the “illegal alien” category in the United States.

In the contemporary debate about undocumented migration to the United States, the term *illegal aliens* is widely perceived to be synonymous with Latino immigrants, and particularly with Mexican immigrants. Yet much is misunderstood about the legislative and social origins of the term. This history, in which the federal government created the category of “illegal aliens” by forbidding entry to a racially targeted class of undesirable immigrants, has engendered the conflation of noncitizenship, nonwhiteness, and criminality into a malleable racial euphemism readily available for private and public enforcement strategies.

### DEFINING “ILLEGAL ALIEN”

In U.S. law, there is not a clear definition of an “illegal alien,” despite the term’s widespread use in popular and policy discourse. Although the conjoined phrase is not found in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the word *illegal* is defined as “not legal or lawful; contrary to, or forbidden by law.” *Alien*, in turn, is defined as “belonging to another

person, place, or family”; “foreign, not of one’s own”; or “of a foreign nation and allegiance.” In broader immigration discourse, terms such as *illegals*, *undocumented workers*, or *unauthorized immigrants* are commonly used interchangeably, although they do not necessarily represent the same category. Rather, these terms are often a measure of political sensitivity and ideological position in the U.S. immigration debate. Undocumented workers, for example, are a subset of “illegal aliens” representing those who have entered the workforce. In addition, despite the extraterrestrial implications of the term *alien*, within U.S. immigration law an alien is “any person not a citizen or national of the United States,” according to the Department of Homeland Security. This is a broad bureaucratic category that includes legal permanent residents, temporary visitors, and unauthorized migrants. An “illegal” alien can be a person who has entered the country without authorization or whose legal status has lapsed—either because the person violated the terms of his or her visa or committed a deportable offense. Consequently, lawful permanent residents, or green-card holders, can become illegal aliens, while some illegal aliens can be paroled into the country and thus be considered lawful persons.

### PRECURSORS TO “ILLEGAL” MIGRANTS

Before 1875, federal and state restrictions on the mobility of persons also produced “illegality.” In the antebellum period, for example, the mobility of both free blacks and slaves was regulated by state and federal laws. While not dubbed “illegal aliens,” persons such as foreign black

## *Illegal Alien*

seamen were nonetheless the target of restricted entry into various states. The overall regulation of slavery notwithstanding, the movement of convicted criminals, the poor, indentured servants, and persons deemed a threat to public health were also variously controlled, restricted, and penalized prior to 1875. In fact, the Page Law, by restricting the “coolie trade,” convicts, and prostitutes, only codified the central elements of pre-1875 restrictions. In this sense, illegal aliens “have always existed in the United States” (Neuman 1993, p. 1901). They are a constituent element of the nation.

### ENFORCEMENT

The creation of the U.S. Border Patrol in 1924 operationalized border enforcement and the apprehension of illegal aliens. Prior to this, only a token force of mounted officers was commissioned to assist immigration officers in the capture of persons so categorized. The creation of an enforcement apparatus coincided with the Johnson-Reed Act of 1924, which created numerical limits on immigration from throughout the world. Deeply impacted by racism, and by a preference for northern European migrants, the numerical limits of the 1924 law expanded significantly the numbers of present and future “illegal aliens” (Ngai 2004, p. 4).

After 1924, deportation became the central strategy for confronting illegal aliens. The deportation process, which once abided by a statute of limitations (the illegal immigrant had to be caught within a range of zero to five years after entry), was streamlined over the twentieth century by removing the statute of limitations on a migrant’s undocumented status, by denying due process for noncitizens, and by the use of “voluntary departures.” In the latter example, a migrant would sign a prepared statement and then “voluntarily” depart, avoiding any lengthy adjudication process. Further, as Joseph Nevins points out in *Operation Gatekeeper* (2002), the immigration statute of March 4, 1929, explicitly criminalized “illegal” entry as a misdemeanor and “illegal” reentry as a felony punishable by fine or imprisonment (p. 54). It is during this time period that Mexicans immigrants became the quintessential “illegal aliens.” They were subject to large-scale government repatriation and deportation campaigns in the 1930s and 1950s, with the latter campaign being termed “Operation Wetback” by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS).

### MEXICANS, BRACEROS, AND “ILLEGALS”

The focus on Mexican undocumented migrants coincided with a twenty-two-year guest-worker program called the

Bracero Program, which contracted an average of 200,000 male Mexican laborers per year between 1942 and 1964. The Bracero Program is said to have greatly increased the presence of undocumented migrants through job recruitment and competition, the stimulation of social and family networks, and the growth of Mexican communities in the United States that developed during the decades-long flow of sanctioned migration. The contradiction of large-scale recruitment simultaneous with large-scale deportation is illustrated by Operation Wetback in 1954. In her book, *Inside the State: The Bracero Program, Immigration, and the I.N.S.* (1992), Kitty Calavita describes the INS process of “paroling illegal aliens to employers as braceros and legaliz[ing] others with a symbolic step across the border” (p. 109). This process exemplifies not only the preference for illegal labor by employers, but also early strategies of legalization as a way to reconstruct and make the “illegal alien” legal. The end of the Bracero Program in 1964, followed by the equalization of numerical migration quotas for all nations in 1965, also stimulated, nearly overnight, the massive presence of Mexican illegal aliens, for the sanctioned flow of well over 200,000 Mexican persons annually exceeded the legal quota for the entire western hemisphere and would later be limited further to 20,000 per year (De Genova 2004, pp. 172–173).

### CRIMINALIZATION AND POPULAR SENTIMENT

Since the middle of the twentieth century, illegal immigration has been followed by a pattern of popular outrage and tolerance closely tied to U.S. economic performance. These attitudes have generated a range of policies, including employer sanctions, militarization of the U.S.-Mexico border, denial of public services, reductions in due process, and an amnesty for longtime undocumented residents. These various strategies to halt, control, or regulate the flow of migration, which myopically focus on domestic enforcement instead of international cooperation and global economic development, have largely failed to permanently change the flow and presence of undocumented immigrants. Instead, these policies have heightened the costs of unauthorized migration—stimulating growth in human smuggling, labor exploitation, and vigilante movements against persons perceived to be “illegals,” as well as increasing the migrant death toll along the U.S.-Mexico border. Whereas anti-immigrant activists blame uncaring human smugglers (known as *coyotes*) or the immigrants themselves, immigrant advocates fault U.S. enforcement practices that make unauthorized entry extremely dangerous, leading to more than 3,600 migrant deaths between 1994 and 2005 (Marosi 2005).

Popular responses to undocumented migration place heavy emphasis on migrants’ “illegality” and suggest an





*Sign Warns Drivers to Watch for Illegal Aliens. In some areas, illegal border crossings are so prevalent that road signs have been posted to warn motorists. © CHASE SWIFT/CORBIS.*

inherent and self-evident unlawfulness that criminalizes the person rather than the action the person is purported to have committed. The criminalization of immigrants and persons perceived to be immigrants manufactures a sweeping form of illegality that fails to consider the economic, political, social, or historical factors explaining a person's "illegal" presence. Nevins calls this process *illegalization*, which he defines as "the process by which immigrants entering the United States without state sanction have become constructed and perceived as law-breakers and alleged threats to the sociocultural and political fabric of the country" (Nevins 2002, p. 166). Legally, however, most undocumented migrants, while unsparingly referred to as "illegals," have technically not been charged or tried for the misdemeanor of first-time illegal entry. Roughly half of each year's cohort of new undocumented immigrants entered by legal means but have allowed their legal entry status to lapse, which is not a violation of the criminal code. Nevertheless, a presum-

ably legal category becomes a cultural one, which envelops all immigrants regardless of status, especially those most commonly marked as "illegal" in the early twenty-first century—Latinas and Latinos. Popular discourse, especially when racialized explicitly or implicitly, is a central component to the construction and management of "illegal aliens."

#### ILLEGAL ALIENS IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

The nonpartisan Pew Hispanic Center estimates that there are 11.5 to 12 million illegal aliens in the United States (based on the March 2005 Current Population Survey), representing 30 percent of the nation's foreign-born residents. Undocumented migrants from neighboring Mexico make up more than half, or 56 percent, of the undocumented population, whereas Asia accounts for 13 percent. Europe and Canada, meanwhile, account for 6 percent. Two-thirds of undocumented persons reside in just six states (California, Texas, Florida, New York, Illinois, and New Jersey), according to the Urban Institute, while newer immigrant destinations, such as Arizona, Georgia, and North Carolina, have acquired concentrations of illegal aliens amounting to more than 40 percent of these states' foreign-born populations.

The presence of illegal aliens stimulates a wide-ranging debate about national resources such as jobs, housing, education, and the environment. It also raises cultural fears about bilingual education, racial composition, and crime. Policy issues about noncitizen I.D. cards, driver's licenses, guest-worker programs, and large-scale "legalization" have been known to polarize communities addressing undocumented migration. Both sides make arguments about what to each is clearly evident: Anti-immigrant activists oppose any policy that "rewards" illegal behavior, while immigrant advocates decry the stark inequality that undocumented immigrants and their families endure.

The issue of potential terrorists entering the United States with the flow of undocumented migration was introduced in the 1990s and reinvoked after September 11, 2001. Economic concerns, meanwhile, such as wage depreciation and job competition with undocumented workers, persist in animating activists and politicians on all sides of the issue. Among "illegal aliens" in the early twenty-first century, more than two-thirds are workers (including 94 percent of male undocumented migrants), representing nearly 5 percent of the total U.S. workforce. Whereas many industries or local economies cannot survive without this source of labor, undocumented workers' concentration in low-wage industries—such as agriculture, construction, janitorial services, domestic care, hotels and restaurants, and other service industries—perpetuates high poverty rates despite above-average

workforce participation. In fact, many immigrant advocates argue that the purpose of most policy initiatives has never been to halt undocumented labor but simply to reduce the rights and protections of undocumented workers, thus making them invisible, exploitable, and a permanent underclass in the nation's economy.

Throughout U.S. history, illegal aliens have been subject to labor recruitment, deportation, and settlement into the margins of U.S. society. An undocumented status has, in turn, complicated family and community structures, expanding the impact of anti-immigrant sentiment and legislation onto "legal" migrants and U.S. citizens. For example, 3.1 million U.S.-born children have parents who are illegal aliens, and children under the age of eighteen make up almost 16 percent of undocumented migrants. The welfare of the citizenry is thus tied to the welfare of noncitizens. Family structures, transformed by immigrant status, suggest that undocumented migration is a permanent and complex feature of U.S. society, yet it is one that has been made invisible by the moniker "illegal alien."

**SEE ALSO** *Border Crossings and Human Rights; Border Patrol; Immigration to the United States.*

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## **IMMIGRANT DOMESTIC WORKERS**

Domestic work entails the duties of cleaning, caring, and nurturing in a private household. Domestic work is either "paid" or "unpaid" labor, and it has historically been done by women. When done by mothers and other kin, it is considered skilled work, but when done by others it is often disregarded as unskilled labor, and therefore minimally rewarded with low wages. The labor of domestic work is not inherently racist. However, it has been a vehicle for institutional racism in both the past and the present.

Paid domestic work continues to be relegated to poor women of color and migrant women around the world, and it is usually shunned by those with other labor market options. This is because it is considered a low-status occupation with low wages and poor labor-market conditions. Because it is difficult to enforce labor standards in domestic work, the work often entails excessive job responsibilities that include cooking, cleaning, and caring for the dependents of a household. In the United States, African-American women have historically performed paid domestic service in the South—a labor-market concentration that is a legacy of slavery. In the early twentieth century, African Americans began to enter domestic service in the North, and they were joined by poor immigrant women from Ireland, Italy, Japan, and Mexico. In the early twenty-first century, migrant women of color from Mexico, Central America, the Caribbean, and the Philippines make up a disproportionate number of domestic workers in the United States.

The United States is not the only country that depends on migrant women workers to fill the need for paid domestic work in private households. With globalization, domestic workers are increasingly migrating from poorer to richer countries. Polish and Albanian women, for instance, are moving west to respond to the demand for domestic work in private households in countries from Greece to Germany. Likewise, Filipinos, Sri Lankans, and Indonesians are filling the need for domestic workers in richer countries of Asia and the Middle East, while Filipinos, Caribbeans (e.g., Dominicans in Spain and West Indians in Britain), and Latinos (e.g., Mexicans and Central Americans in the United States and Peruvians in Italy) are filling the demand for domestic workers in the rich countries of North America and western Europe.

Native citizens tend to shun domestic work because of its low pay. Migrant domestic workers uniformly earn below minimum wage—generally reaching no more than \$3.00 an hour for live-in work in Los Angeles, for example (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2001). Average salaries of domestic workers differ across the diaspora: Migrant domestic



**Hong Kong Domestic Workers Protest Pay Cut.** In 2005 China announced a U.S. \$50 pay reduction for foreign domestic workers. In response, maids from the Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand, and Nepal staged a protest march in downtown Hong Kong. AP IMAGES.

workers earn, on average, \$100 per month in Jordan, \$500 per month in Israel, \$1,200 per month in Italy, and \$750 per month in Taiwan. In the United States they can earn up to \$2,000 per month for full-time live-in employment, though they are also known to earn much less—sometimes not reaching \$1,000 per month for the same work. Wage differences between domestic workers in a single country reflect the absence of a labor standard in domestic work and the dependence of domestic workers on the consciousness of employers. However, there are some good employers and bad employers. Good employers ensure domestic workers receive a day off regularly, a daily rest period, and their own private space in the household. In contrast, bad employers have been known to force domestic workers to sleep in the kitchen (Anderson 2000).

Across the globe, from Israel to Greece to Canada, ethnic and racial differences between domestic workers and their employers are not diffused by the intimacy of their interactions in the private space of a home. Instead, these differences tend to be magnified by the unequal relationship imposed by employers. The imposition of

racial difference first takes place in hiring. Racist stereotypes shape the hiring practices of employers, a practice that aggravates the subordinated status of domestic workers while highlighting the racial difference between domestics and employers. In stereotyping an ethnic and racial group, certain characteristics are generalized and conflated, thereby ridding members of the group of their individuality. For example, in Canada, the two largest group of domestic workers—Caribbean and Filipinos—are racialized differently. Filipinos are often enforced with positive stereotypes. Many consider them to be excellent housekeepers who are docile and willing to tolerate the poorest of working conditions without any complaints. In contrast, Jamaicans are imbued with negative stereotypes. They are considered aggressive and less likely to be willing to do the extra work requested by employers. However, both positive and negative stereotypes enforce the marginal status of a group and their distinction as an “Other.”

Xenophobia also mars the integration of foreign domestic workers in the host society (Parreñas 2001). Restrictive immigration laws impose partial citizenship on foreign domestic workers, so that they are not granted the

rights of full membership in the society that depends on their labor. Domestic workers are usually relegated to a temporary visa, which is the case in Asian and European countries. Their legal status is usually conditional to their employment by one particular employer, and they often do not have the right to choose their employer regardless of their treatment—whether good or bad—by employers. This places domestic workers in a position of bonded servitude. This is the case in Hong Kong, but also in Canada and the United States. Under Canada's Live-In Caregiver's Programme, for example, domestic workers must reside for two years with their sponsoring employer to qualify for landed status. In the United States, under foreign labor certification programs, domestic workers must remain employed with their sponsoring employer regardless of work conditions until they receive their green card, a process that has been known to take ten years. In some countries, the exclusion of domestic workers extends to marriage and pregnancy. For instance, foreign domestic workers cannot marry Singaporean nationals, and they face immediate deportation from Singapore and Malaysia if they test positive for pregnancy.

In the workplace, racial inequalities also adversely shape employer-employee relations. Social divisions are manifested spatially and physically. For instance, some employers insist that domestic workers must wear uniforms and wash their clothes separately. Employers also impose "spatial deference" on their domestic workers, meaning the "unequal rights of the domestic and the employer to the space around the other's body and the controlling of the domestic's use of house space" (Rollins 1985, p. 171). Employers also control the spatial movements of domestic workers by deciding on the domestic's integration or segregation from the family. More often than not, they prefer segregation, as they tend to hire those who will demand very little resources in terms of time, money, space, or interaction. Thus, the access of domestic workers to household space is usually far more contained than for the rest of the family. In both Los Angeles and Rome, Filipina domestic workers have found themselves subject to food rationing, prevented from sitting on the couch, provided with a separate set of utensils, and told when to get food from the refrigerator and when to retreat to their bedrooms.

Finally, the inequality of an international and racial "division of reproductive labor" (Glenn 1992; Parreñas 2000) defines employer-employee relations, as women with greater privilege in the global economy pass down the burdens of housework to less-privileged women. Usually those with less privilege are working-class immigrant women of color. Since the 1970s, there has been an increase in the number of two-income families and women in the paid labor force in richer countries throughout the world. Yet states have not adequately responded to

the different needs of these families, particularly their need for child-care assistance, but has instead continued to relegate child care as a private responsibility of the family. Likewise, men have not taken up the slack left by women's participation in the labor force and still do less housework than women (Hochschild 1989). To be free of the burden of housework so one is able to pursue the personally fulfilling challenges of paid work, women with greater resources rely on the low-wage labor of poor immigrant women of color. This inequality suggests that domestic work is not a "bond of sisterhood," but instead a "bond of oppression," allowing for the mobility of one group of women at the cost of the immobility of another (Romero 1992).

**SEE ALSO** *Caribbean Immigration; Immigration, Race, and Women; Immigration to the United States; Undocumented Workers.*

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## **IMMIGRATION, RACE, AND WOMEN**

Latin American women who migrate to the United States come with a set of social beliefs and practices with regard to race relations and racism that selectively shape their lives in the new land. Racial ideologies and practices in each Latin American country have been shaped by distinctive colonization histories and regional socioeconomics, politics, and cultures. A woman from Santiago de Cuba, for example,

experiences these dynamics in a very different way than a woman from Santiago de Chile, or from Santiago, Nuevo León, in Mexico. But beyond these local and unique differences, the Spanish invasion and colonization, as well as its historical sequel, unite all the people of Latin America through a common denominator that has shaped their lives for centuries: white supremacy.

In any Latin American country, being *blanca*, or a white-skinned woman, has been socially established as superior to other standard racial identities that shape women's lives. In Mexico and other countries, these identities may include, but are not limited to: (1) *negra*, or "black," (2) *indígena*, or the derogatory expression "india," (3) *morena*, or "dark skinned," and (4) *mulata*, whose linguistic origin comes from *mula*, or "mule," and which indicates a racial mixture of *raza negra* with white. As a consequence of *el mestizaje*—a term of Spanish origin that identifies racial and cultural mixture following the Spanish colonization of the Americas—multiple skin tones, facial features, body shapes and sizes, hair textures, and eye shapes and color have selectively emerged along with their corresponding identity categories. Beyond these endless phenotype possibilities, the closer the combined effect gets to the superior European standard, the more privilege a woman is granted in a given society. Likewise, the more distant from the "ideal" a woman is, the greater the social disadvantage and inequality she will experience.

In the United States, Latin American immigrant women unpack their racialized baggage within a mainstream society that celebrates women with white skin, blond hair, tall and slender bodies, and blue eyes. As women from different Latin American cultures and societies coincide with people from different ethnic cultures and backgrounds living in the United States, the endless racial and cultural interactions that emerge follow distinct social avenues in a number of ways.

#### RACISM IN THE NEW LAND

Migration to and settlement in the United States does not automatically guarantee gender equality to Latin American women. Ironically, women who use migration as a coping mechanism to escape the violence they experienced in their countries of origin (e.g., domestic and sexual violence) may painfully encounter the very same form of inequality they were trying to escape. Some women encounter sexual violence as they partake in the dangerous journey to the United States. These women are raped in transit, while crossing the border, or after settlement in the new society.

After establishing a permanent life on the margins of society, racism becomes part of a large structure of inequality and everyday life for immigrants, uncovering new forms of danger. Racism is part of the new socio-

economic and sociopolitical scenarios that make immigrant women's routine at work a treacherous puzzle, and sexual violence may become part of their survival journeys. Women who were raped before migrating and who live and work on the margins of society in the United States become vulnerable to sexual violence and rape on their way to sweatshops and other deplorable spaces where they face exploitative and miserable labor conditions. A lack of transportation, linguistic limitations, a dangerous inner-city life, and uncertain citizenship status, among other factors, can exacerbate women's vulnerability.

More and more Latina women have been facing these challenges in the United States. Since the early 1980s, the numbers of Latina migrants coming from Mexico and Central America and settling in permanently in the United States has increased, and as Enrico Marcelli and Wayne Cornelius point out, by the early 1990s Mexican migrant women outnumbered Mexican migrant men. Groundbreaking research done by Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo in 1994 found that the migration and settlement of women in the United States can redefine gender relations in a way that may alter power dynamics in their households. These women actively nurture kinship networks and well-established migrant communities (further mediating the migration of women); they attain relatively stable paid employment; and they utilize various forms of financial assistance. Marcelli and Cornelius note that settlement patterns of women seem to be more permanent than that of men, who seem to move back and forth more frequently. Further, motherhood and the education of children raised in the United States may mediate this process.

#### THE GENDERED PRIVILEGES AND IMAGES OF LATINA WOMEN

In both Latin America and the United States, social images of women are racialized. For more than 500 years, racist beliefs, practices, and experiences of womanhood have made white and fair-skinned women the idealized expression of femininity vis-à-vis indigenous women, *negras*, *mulatas*, and *mestizas*. Before and after migrating, racist images of women have been internalized and reproduced by Latina women. For instance, it is common for people in Mexican and Mexican immigrant communities to celebrate the lighter skin or other attributes of relatives or people close to them, thereby implying some kind of racial superiority. For example, a mother may use the expression "my daughter is *blanca*, *blanca*, *blanca*," or "my daughter has *ojos azules*, *azules*, *azules*" sharing her joy and pride with others as she describes the white skin or the blue eyes of a child born with these characteristics.

Racial privilege is reproduced within everyday life interactions and shaped by larger social and cultural

contexts in Mexican and other Latino immigrant communities. Popular culture reinforces white supremacy, which is further emphasized when immigrant women are exposed to major Spanish-speaking television networks such as *Telemundo* and *Univisión*. Both of these broadcasting companies reproduce the same Western ideals of beauty in their racist, sexist, classist, and homophobic soap operas, or *telenovelas*. In *telenovelas* and other TV shows and movies, white skin goes hand and hand with socioeconomic class. The concept of “*una buena familia*” (literally, “a good family”) represents the heterosexual nuclear family with an intact moral reputation from the middle, upper-middle, or elite socioeconomic strata. *Las buenas familias* in Mexico are usually light-skinned families, never poor or working-class families, and many of the Latino families portrayed in these TV shows follow the same pattern.

In Mexican society and other Latin American countries, a dark-skinned woman is very frequently the inspiration of love and passion in the lyrics of romantic songs, but rarely do such songs express these feelings for a white woman. In other popular culture expressions, race relations take different dimensions. The quintessential “sexy” Latina image—characterized by brown skin, exotic features, and a well-shaped (and at times voluptuous) body—may create both cultural pride and discomfort in women. This iconic archetype has produced racist stereotypes for the benefit of Hollywood filmmakers and U.S. and Latin American producers of images for mass consumption, leading to women’s endless efforts to achieve unattainable standards of beauty. Even though a Latina immigrant may feel validated for her dark skin color, she now has to work on her body so she will look like actresses such as Salma Hayek and Jennifer López, or the statuesque models that are sexually harassed by Don Francisco in his popular *Sábado Gigante*, a Saturday evening television variety show that *Univisión* has aired for at least twenty years.

#### THE EXPERIENCE OF DAUGHTERS OF LATIN AMERICAN IMMIGRANTS

Becoming a woman in the United States—*ser mujer*—is not only about gender but also about culture, race, ethnicity, and class. Second-generation Latinas come of age being exposed to racialized stereotypical images of Latinas. In addition, they are also exposed to their immigrant mothers’ expectations rooted in their Latin American countries of origin. These experiences are shaped by the women’s cultural roots, their immigration experiences, and the ways young women are raised in the United States, particularly in relation to gender, sexuality, and romantic relationships. Some immigrant mothers may not want their daughters to experience premarital sex, but others are not concerned about their daughters’ vir-

ginity, given the different values in the United States regarding the virginal status of a woman. In the end, immigrant mothers do their best to protect their daughters from the gender inequalities they experienced before and after migrating.

#### THE ROMANTIC AND SEXUAL LIVES OF IMMIGRANT WOMEN

Racially, “dating up” and “marrying up” are acceptable in these immigrant communities, but “dating down” and “marrying down” are frequently objected to. While being exposed to the racist ideologies they learned before migrating, immigrant women who date outside their group are subjected to their families’ and friends’ racial surveillance of their romantic choices. A frequent racist pattern views dating African-American men negatively and light-skinned Latino men or white men positively. This preference is related, in part, to the structure of opportunity: Dark-skinned individuals have historically encountered discrimination in education and employment vis-à-vis whites.

Accordingly, going back home with the “wrong” or the “right” man is either punished or celebrated. The act of visiting relatives back home in Latin America may reproduce both racially discriminatory and white supremacist practices, for these relatives may react to a woman’s choice in a partner in racially stigmatizing ways. Ultimately, coming to the United States may help a heterosexual woman to “marry up” racially, providing an avenue for social mobility that many Latin Americans celebrate as a way to “improve one’s race,” as witnessed in the expression “*para mejorar la raza*.” Finally, but not less importantly, in homophobic and sexist Latin American societies, same sex romantic relationships are always questioned regardless of racial differences. However, racism may exacerbate the above dynamics for immigrant women involved in interracial lesbian relationships. Similar patterns may interact with other factors including her family and friends’ feelings of acceptance or discomfort toward same sex relationships.

Given the above complexities that reproduce racist dynamics, is racial-ethnic community integration and development possible for all Latin American immigrant women living in the United States? Entrepreneurs and politicians have worked hard to satisfy their own agendas through the construction of a pan-Latino or “Hispanic” identity that embraces all Latin American immigrants. Many women may not escape, however, from the forces that divided them before migrating from Latin America. Even though social networking and a sense of solidarity among Latina immigrants have been identified in migration research with Mexican women (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994; González-López 2005), racism, classism, and homophobia, among other factors, selectively survive the migration test. And while a common language and similar colonization histories unite

these women, intragroup diversity divides them based on socioeconomic class and occupation, racial background, modes of migration and incorporation, country of origin, sexual orientation, education, marital status, and political agendas and concerns in their countries of origin. The frequently romanticized concept of a “Latino culture” is therefore a theoretical fiction that has little to do with the social realities of Latina immigrant women and their families. The wider concept of “Latino cultures” is more appropriate, for it recognizes diversity in both Latin American societies and U.S. Latino communities.

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## **IMMIGRATION REFORM AND CONTROL ACT OF 1986 (IRCA)**

Large-scale immigration and foreign-born populations routinely spur political controversy, and sometimes harsh xenophobic reactions, in receiving countries. Although the United States has been celebrated as an open society offering a “golden door” to all people, the historical reality is that American policymakers began to impose draconian restrictions on immigration when newcomers of unfamiliar racial and ethnic origin sparked nativist backlashes in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Starting with Chinese exclusion in the 1880s and followed by the establishment of a literacy test and national origins quotas in the early twentieth century, dominant conceptions of ethnic and racial undesirability dramatically shaped policy outcomes. After the liberalizing reforms of the civil rights era, the ethnic and racial composition of new arrivals changed markedly as Asian and Latin American inflows overshadowed traditional European sources in the 1970s and 1980s. Against this backdrop of “new” immigration, American policymakers focused their attention on a divisive issue most closely associated in the public mind with Mexicans: illegal immigration. The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA) was the culmination of an acrimonious struggle among lawmakers over the issue of “porous borders.” The history of this struggle illuminates how a changing polity resolved contentious debates about race, vulnerable populations, labor, and security, and its outcome cast a long shadow on American immigration reform politics.

Illegal immigration inspired more public concern and media attention than any other migratory issue of the 1970s. Dramatic increases in apprehensions and deportations of undocumented aliens by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) were seen as evidence that illegal immigration had reached a crisis level. While 1,608,356 undocumented aliens were deported from 1961 to 1970, the number of deportations rose to 11,833,328 from 1971 to 1980. At the same time, legal immigration soared to 4.5 million in the 1970s, with most immigrants originating from Asian, Latin American, and Caribbean countries. During the early 1970s, Representative Peter Rodino (D-N.J.) championed an employer sanctions law that would punish employers who knowingly hired undocumented aliens. Employer sanctions legislation had been a goal of the AFL-CIO and other labor organizations for years, and pro-labor Democrats like Rodino eagerly led the charge once the issue of illegal immigration assumed prominence on the national agenda. But the proposal placed new strains on old alliances. Major Mexican-American and Latino groups and leaders, joined by civil rights

### *Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA)*

organizations, entered the fray to argue that such penalties would lead to job discrimination against Latinos, legal aliens, and anyone who looked or sounded foreign. Business lobbies also openly challenged the measure as a burdensome and unjustified regulatory demand on employers. In the Senate, bills addressing illegal immigration were held up by Senator James Eastland (D-Miss.), the chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee and a friend of agricultural interests that relied on Mexican labor.

As Congress became deadlocked on the issue, President Gerald Ford established the cabinet-level Domestic Council Committee on Illegal Aliens to develop policy options for addressing porous borders and the presence of millions of undocumented aliens in the United States. The Domestic Council Committee ultimately proposed a broad reform package that included employer sanctions, tough penalties for smugglers, and amnesty for undocumented aliens residing in the country. The administration of President Jimmy Carter advanced reform legislation in 1977 that reflected a similarly comprehensive package of employer sanctions, amnesty for undocumented aliens, and tougher border controls. Yet the proposal met its demise in Congress, where conflicts between organized labor, employer groups, and Mexican-American, Latino, and civil rights organizations once again derailed reform proposals. Reluctant to take no action, Congress established the Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy (SCIRP) in 1978. The committee membership included a cross-section of lawmakers, administration officials, and prominent civilians charged with investigating immigration and the national interest and recommending policy solutions to problems like illegal immigration. SCIRP's final report endorsed a reform package of stronger border enforcement, legalization of undocumented aliens already living in the United States, and employer sanctions with tough worksite enforcement to weaken the magnet of jobs for migrants not authorized to enter the country. One of the controversial findings of SCIRP was that employer sanctions would not work in the absence of a secure system for verifying employee eligibility, raising the possibility of national identification cards (which would be linked to a national data bank) for all employees eligible to work in the United States. The legalization program recommended by SCIRP was billed as a "one-time only" measure.

Representative Romano Mazzoli (D-Ky.) and Senator Alan Simpson (R-Wyo.) took the lead from 1982 through 1986, championing immigration reform legislation that mirrored SCIRP's recommendations. Their initial efforts encountered fierce resistance on all sides, as opposition to key provisions of the comprehensive legislation remained as formidable in the 1980s as it had in the previous decade. Agricultural lobbies complained that access to unskilled Mexican labor was crucial for economic success, and defenders of reform such as Governor Pete Wilson (R-

Calif.) proposed legislation that would establish a large farmworker program. Powerful business groups continued to argue that employer sanctions placed undue regulatory burdens on small and large firms alike, and they found support among members of Congress and the administration of President Ronald Reagan. Latino and civil rights organizations, joined by key leaders of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, criticized employer sanctions for their potential to increase ethnic and racial discrimination against Latino job-seekers—or anyone else who might look or sound alien to an employer. Vilma S. Martinez, president of the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) warned that "well-meaning employers, fearful of government sanctions, will shy away from persons who appear 'foreign.' Racist or biased employers will simply use the 'fear' of sanctions as an excuse to avoid hiring qualified minorities" (Fallows 1983). The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and its allies challenged a national identification card linked with a national database on the grounds that it would endanger privacy by exposing confidential financial, medical, or other information. At the same time, the AFL-CIO and other labor organizations steadfastly defended tough employer sanctions backed by tight workplace enforcement. Finally, public opinion polls suggested that most Americans opposed a legalization or amnesty program for undocumented aliens already in the country, prompting several key lawmakers to echo these concerns.

Given these enormous political obstacles, Representative Mazzoli and Senator Simpson were not optimistic about the chances of enacting comprehensive immigration reform in 1985. But then, as Simpson quipped, "a finger on the corpse began to twitch." At the eleventh hour, a handful of congressional entrepreneurs hammered out a compromise package that included employer sanctions, enhanced Border Patrol resources, a seasonal agricultural worker program, a provision aimed at providing new job antidiscrimination rights for aliens, and a legalization program for immigrants who entered the United States prior to January 1, 1982, and lacked a serious criminal record. This controversial bargain was ultimately passed by Congress as the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986, surviving a number of tight votes on key provisions of the compromise. The final version of employer sanctions, the initiative at the vanguard of immigration reform efforts begun more than a decade earlier, was a mere shadow of the blueprints spelled out by SCIRP. The employer sanctions provisions of the IRCA lacked any reliable employee verification system, exempted small businesses from regulation, and included an "affirmative defense" clause that released employers of any obligation to verify the authenticity of documents presented to them. Thus, the major policy innovation that



was originally meant to curb future illegal immigration lacked teeth.

Although President Reagan signed the IRCA bill into law, his administration was lukewarm about several of its provisions. For instance, Reagan officials openly refused to equip the Justice Department with sufficient resources to counteract potential job discrimination related to new employer sanctions. The administration, which had been instrumental in scrapping proposals for national identification cards tied to employee eligibility, also demonstrated little interest in tough worksite enforcement of the sanctions. To be sure, some Reagan officials shared the view that illegal immigration was a potent threat to national sovereignty. One of the most influential of these law-and-order conservatives, Attorney General William French Smith, argued that the country had “lost control of its borders,” and that tougher border enforcement, employer sanctions, and national identification cards were necessary to restore “faith in our laws.” But at a time when the Reagan White House pledged “regulatory relief,” little effort was made to enforce employer sanctions vigorously. Moreover, the absence of a secure verification system of employee eligibility (which was crucial to the efficacy of employer sanctions, according to SCIRP) made it easy for undocumented aliens to secure jobs via fraudulent documents.

While IRCA’s enforcement mechanisms were quite limited in discouraging unauthorized entries, it was more effective in extending new opportunities for legal status to undocumented aliens residing in the country before 1982, as well as to new seasonal agricultural workers. Consequently, the law marked a significant break with federal policies of the past in which Mexican undocumented aliens were targeted for mass deportations. One of the most infamous of these dragnet efforts was the so-called Operation Wetback of 1954, in which President Dwight Eisenhower authorized mass raids in Mexican-American neighborhoods across the southwestern United States, with local police and INS Border Patrol agents rounding up tens of thousands of “Mexican-looking” people for deportation. The IRCA legalization program reflected very different official conclusions about how to respond to the presence of millions of undocumented immigrants living in the shadows of American life. Tellingly, when Reagan administration officials attempted to exclude certain undocumented alien groups from the IRCA’s amnesty program, a variety of immigration and civil rights defenders won judicial vindication of a more generous set of legalization program regulations. If national officials once responded to worrisome illegal immigration by launching dragnet raids and mass deportation campaigns, the IRCA ultimately conferred legal status to roughly three million undocumented aliens. Illegal immigration, however, though dampened briefly after the IRCA was enacted, soon

returned to peak levels of the pre-reform era, requiring a new generation of leaders to confront the divisive politics of immigration reform.

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## IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

A disproportionately large part of the history of immigration to the United States, and much of the history of legal deliberations over U.S. immigration policy, has been shaped by a preoccupation with whether or not the migrants in question were understood to be racially “white.” In other words, the determination of U.S. immigration and citizenship law—and thus the very definition of who has been recognized as eligible to become a genuine “American” and a legitimate member of the U.S. national polity—can only be adequately understood in relation to a sociopolitical order of white supremacy.

#### EARLY IMMIGRATION LAWS

In what was the first legislative determination of access to U.S. citizenship, and, in effect, the first official definition of U.S. nationality, the first Congress of the United States mandated in the Naturalization Act of 1790 that a person who was to become a naturalized citizen must be “white.” What is perhaps most remarkable, however, is that this whites-only policy for migrant access to U.S. citizenship remained in effect until 1952. Although the law never specified what precisely was to be understood by the term “white,” it established an enduring explicit racial barrier to all migrants’ prospective access to U.S. citizenship, requiring individual migrants (and more often than not, entire migrant groups, defined by national origin) to either have their whiteness confirmed and accepted by authorities or have any possibility of

U.S. citizenship denied. Between 1878 and 1952, there were fifty-two legal cases, including two that were considered by the U.S. Supreme Court, in which various migrants contested their presumed ineligibility for citizenship by petitioning to be recognized as "white." When pressed to define whiteness in this manner, the courts variously resorted to virtually any definition that ensured that people of non-European origins would be excluded. Sometimes the rationalizations were based on the purportedly objective truths established by "scientific" or anthropological experts, and in other instances, when such expertise proved inconvenient for the purposes of racial exclusion, the courts upheld definitions of whiteness that were justified according to "common knowledge" and the accepted opinions of "the common (white) man." Exceedingly seldom were the instances when a petitioner was actually recognized to be white, and thereby eligible for U.S. citizenship.

Among the first actual U.S. immigration laws ever enacted was the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which, following decades of large-scale Chinese labor migration, prohibited any further Chinese migration. Not only was the access of migrants to citizenship explicitly barred on the basis of "race," but this law began an era of unprecedented immigration regulation that would increasingly seek to exclude whole groups from entry into the country solely on the explicit basis of race or racialized "nationality." Chinese exclusion was followed by prohibitions against Japanese and Korean labor migration by a diplomatic "Gentlemen's Agreement" in 1907. Finally, the Immigration Act of 1917 established an "All-Asia Barred Zone," proscribing migrations from an area bordered by Afghanistan on the west and the Pacific on the east. The extension of the exclusions that were already in effect for China, Japan, and Korea to all of eastern and southern Asia was primarily intended to prohibit migration from British colonial India. Filipinos, however, having been designated as U.S. "nationals" due to their colonized status following the Spanish-American War of 1898, were a notable exception to the all-Asian exclusion. The Quota Act of 1921 and the Johnson-Reed Immigration Act of 1924, which imposed severe restrictions on migration from eastern and southern European countries on the basis of a national-origins quota system, reaffirmed the All-Asia Barred Zone. Thus, the formulation of "Asiatic" and "Asian" as overtly racialized categories became institutionalized by law and ensconced in U.S. immigration policy.

These expansive and rigid restrictions against Asian immigration were coupled with the absolute omission of Latin American migrations from any specific national-origins or hemispheric stipulations or regulations. This left the robust and enthusiastic importation of Mexican migration unhindered by any all-encompassing exclu-

sions or other numerical quotas. But it remained sufficiently flexible to label such migrants "illegal" and subject to mass deportations as a routine technique of labor subordination and discipline. Beginning in the second half of the nineteenth century, in the decades following the U.S. war against Mexico, migration became an indispensable source of labor for burgeoning new industries such as mining, railroads, ranching, and, increasingly, mechanized agriculture, especially in the former Mexican regions that came to be known as the "American Southwest."

#### IMMIGRATION IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Through the beginning of the twentieth century, this transnational movement back and forth between the United States and Mexico remained largely unhindered, and the border between the two countries went virtually unregulated. There was a widespread acknowledgement that Mexicans were encouraged to move freely across the border, and, in effect, come to work without any official authorization or immigration documents. Indeed, throughout the twentieth century, Mexicans remained the predominant Latino group in the United States, and for the first half of the century they accounted for the vast majority of Western Hemisphere migration as a whole. Although a dramatically restrictive system of national-origins quotas had been formulated in the 1920s for European migrations, this system of statutory numerical controls pertained exclusively to immigrations from the Eastern Hemisphere. Alongside this severe framework of immigration restrictions and prohibitions, and despite the vociferous opposition of many nativists who readily denounced Mexicans and other Latinos as racial inferiors to the "American" white race, the prospects for "legal" migration from Latin America remained numerically unhindered. Given the crucial role of Mexicans as a disposable migrant labor force within the United States, their numbers were left effectively unlimited.

This is not to say that there were no legal grounds by which U.S. immigration officials could selectively deny entry to prospective Latin American migrants, or to later deport them after the fact. Despite the absence of any statutory quotas to restrict their numbers, unofficial policies at the local level of U.S. consulates charged with issuing immigration visas in Mexico, for instance, were nonetheless imposed to periodically limit the number of prospective "legal" migrants. At the statutory level, there were other bases for the restriction of Latino migrants during this era, but these depended upon a selective enforcement of qualitative provisions in immigration law. The qualitative features of immigration law involve rules and regulations governing who may be allowed to migrate, with what

characteristics, how they may do so, and how they conduct themselves once they have entered the country.

Thus, during the first half of the twentieth century, “legal” immigration could be (and frequently was) denied to many Latino migrant workers from relatively impoverished backgrounds due to a person’s perceived “illiteracy” or presumed “liability to become a public charge” (often associated with having no pre-arranged employment). Attempted migration could also be refused for such infractions as a failure, upon entry, to pay a required \$8 immigrant head tax and the \$10 fee for a visa. Likewise, Latino workers could be subsequently deported if they could not verify that they held valid work visas, or if they could otherwise be found to have evaded inspection upon entry. In the case of a worker who later became unemployed, a migrant could be determined to have become a “public charge,” which allowed immigration authorities to retroactively judge that the person had originally been culpable of a prior condition of “liability.” In addition, a migrant charged with violating U.S. laws, or having engaged in acts that could be construed as “anarchist” or “seditionist,” could also be summarily deported.

By the 1920s, all of these violations of the qualitative features of the law established deportation as a crucial mechanism of labor discipline and control, not only coordinated with the vicissitudes of the market’s demand for migrant workers but also for the purposes of counteracting unionization and political organizing among Latinos. The abundant availability of such a mass migrant labor force encouraged the expectation among employers that it also be exceptionally flexible and tractable, and that its mobility could be effectively managed and subordinated to employers’ needs. Indeed, it is revealing that the U.S. Border Patrol, from 1924 (when it was first created) until 1940, operated under the auspices of the Department of Labor.

The possibility of deportation arose as a consequence of successive changes in U.S. immigration law, and of the remarkably malleable, but increasingly restrictive, policies that summarily defined various migrations as “legal” or “illegal,” thus creating an image of U.S. national sovereignty defined by the territorial integrity of its physical borders. It is important to emphasize, however, that the possibility for “illegal” migrants to be deported was almost always coupled with, and overwhelmingly overshadowed by, the more or less insatiable demand for their legally vulnerable labor, and thus for an effectively permanent importation of ever-greater numbers of undocumented migrant workers. The pervasive racialization of their specific national identity allowed for a commonplace disregard of the juridical distinction between undocumented Mexican migrants and U.S.-born birthright-citizen Mexicans (Chicanos or “Mexican Americans”). This was most dramatically demonstrated by the mass deportations and coercive “repatriations” of Mexicans who were



**Immigrant Voter.** A Chinese boy helps his mother complete her ballot at a polling center in Chinatown near Los Angeles, California in 2004. Since the late 1960s and early 1970s, Latinos and Asians have provided the vast majority of new migrants to the United States. ROBYN BECK/AFP/GETTY IMAGES.

U.S. citizens, usually alongside their migrant parents, during the Great Depression of the 1930s.

Over the course of the twentieth century, U.S. immigration policy toward Latin America came to be distinguished chiefly by increasing regulation and restriction. There was a dramatic overall shift from a policy of numerically unlimited possibilities for “legal” migration from anywhere in the Western Hemisphere (excluding colonies) to one of strict annual quotas for every country of origin, which began with specific immigration legislation in 1976. Latin American experiences of migration to the United States, and consequent U.S. Latino community formation, have been profoundly shaped by this history of calculated interventions in immigration law. Until the Hart-Celler Immigration Act of 1965, there were no numerical quotas whatsoever restricting the “legal” entry of migrants from any of the countries of the Western Hemisphere (excluding colonies). With the hemispheric quota enacted in 1965 and put into effect in 1968, and then, after 1976, with the individual country quotas, an alarmingly disproportionate number of Mexicans (and, increasingly, other Latin American migrants as well) found themselves with no other recourse than to become undocumented, and they were thus relegated to an indefinite condition as “illegal aliens.”

Despite its unprecedented restriction of Latin American and Caribbean migrations, the Hart-Celler Immigration Act of 1965 is typically celebrated as a liberal reform. This is because it finally eliminated the national-origins quota system that had severely restricted European and Asian migrations. The actual exclusions against Asian migrations had been sporadically dismantled during the 1940s and 1950s because they came to be seen as an embarrassment that impeded diplomatic relations

## Implicit Racism

with China and Japan. Subsequently, Asian migrations remained subject to the very strict national-origins system that otherwise remained in place, thus ensuring that permitting migration from Asian countries did not in any significant way alter the fact that only miniscule numbers of Asian migrants would be allowed entry to the United States. This changed dramatically after the 1965 amendments to U.S. immigration law took effect. Notably, because of the absolute interruption in Asian migration during the Exclusion Era, new provisions for family reunification were very often irrelevant—at least initially—for people seeking to migrate from Asia. Therefore, the law's explicit preferences for professional or otherwise highly skilled migrants were commonly the only avenue available. In this way, the law effectively predetermined a middle-class social composition for the new Asian migrations. Over time, however, family reunification provisions created opportunities for somewhat greater class diversity in subsequent waves of Asian migration. Meanwhile, new restrictions limiting migration from Mexico and other Latin American countries ensured that the already massive Latino labor migrations would not only be overwhelmingly working-class in character, but also rigidly locked into a degraded social condition due to the legal vulnerability of these migrant's undocumented immigration status.

Since the late 1960s and early 1970s, Latinos and Asians have provided the vast majority of new migrants to the United States. These recent migrations are simply incomprehensible, however, without a critical appreciation of the instrumental role of the law in hierarchically evaluating, ranking, mobilizing, and regulating them. The operations of U.S. laws of citizenship and immigration reveal decisive features that determined how the variously racialized identities of Latinos and Asians have been profoundly shaped in historically specific relation to the U.S. policy. Furthermore, the racialized experiences of these non-European migrations reveal crucial aspects of how the wider U.S. sociopolitical order of white supremacy has continually been maintained and reproduced, not only in relation to its own internal racial dynamics but also in ever-changing relation to the rest of the globe.

**SEE ALSO** *Border Crossings and Human Rights; Border Patrol; Citizenship and Race; Illegal Alien; Immigrant Domestic Workers; Immigration, Race, and Women; Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA).*

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*Nicholas De Genova*

## IMPLICIT RACISM

Situated within the discussion of racism in the United States and elsewhere, particularly in relation to the study of social psychology, the term *implicit racism* is often erroneously used in oppositional comparison to *explicit racism*. Explicit racism is overt and often intentional, for it is practiced by individuals and institutions that openly embrace racial discrimination and hold prejudicial attitudes toward racially defined groups, which they assume to be scientifically identified through genetics. Implicit racism, however, is not the opposite of explicit racism but a different, yet no less harmful, form of racism. Implicit racism, broadly defined, refers to an individual's utilization of unconscious biases when making judgments about people from different racial and ethnic groups.

According to a number of observers, implicit racism is an automatic negative reaction to someone of a different race or ethnicity than one's own. Underlying and unconscious racist attitudes are brought forth when a person is faced with race-related triggers, including preconceived phenotypic differences or assumed cultural or environmental associations. Since this type of racism lies beyond the awareness of the person displaying the attitudes or actions, it is quite possible for someone to report that they hold few, if any, overt racist ideologies and yet display implicit racism in their everyday interactions with people of different racial groups. In particular, this can occur among whites when they are confronted by others not perceived as white. As

discussed by the sociologist Joe Feagin, examples of everyday racism can include such things as being treated differently when exchanging money at cash registers, being seated at bad tables in restaurants, or being assigned undesirable rooms when checking into hotels. Each of these scenarios is a possible result of the implementation of implicit racism.

Project Implicit is a large and somewhat controversial psychological study that was designed as a demonstration project at Yale University in 1998 and later taken over by researchers from Harvard University, University of Virginia, and University of Washington. The study utilizes Internet testing as a primary research tool for subject recruitment and data gathering. The goal of the Implicit Association Test is to explore the “unconscious roots of thinking and feeling” in the contexts of particular words and pictures associated with gender, sexuality, age, weight, race, and other areas. In reference to implicit racism, it explores reactions to factors such as skin tone, ethnic groups, and race. The goal of these tests is to gauge participants’ implicit preference for one group in comparison to another through responses to representative stimuli.

An average of 15,000 tests per week have been completed in the seven years Project Implicit has been gathering data via the Internet, for a total of 4.5 million tests administered and over 200 investigations published. Researchers have uncovered four main results from this large data set: People are unaware of their implicit biases, biases are pervasive, implicit biases predict behavior, and people differ in their levels of implicit bias. Specific to implicit racism, people harbor negative associations in reference to particular racial groups while reporting that they hold no such biases, resulting in statistically significant racial preferences such as 75 to 80 percent of white and Asian Americans showing an implicit racial preference for whites over African Americans. Individuals with higher levels of implicit racial prejudice engage in acts of discrimination including lower levels of friendliness, lack of racial inclusion, and lower evaluations of performance in the workplace.

Implicit racism has taken hold in our everyday lives, where decisions about individuals and groups continue to be based on racial identifications dictated by perceived clues pertaining to racial group membership. These split-second decisions are based upon non-definitive sensorial associations including, but not limited to, skin color, speech patterns, hair texture, and clothing style. In this day and age of many professing color-blind ideologies, there is strong evidence to show that a large portion of the population, albeit subconsciously, continues to discriminate according to race. Lines are drawn between individuals based on difference, in particular those not perceived as fitting into a category of white. As a result, limitations are placed on minorities in a myriad of societal arenas

resulting in everyday racism, relatively low possibilities for interracial friendship formation, and inadequate access to and mobility within housing, education, and jobs.

**SEE ALSO** *Cultural Racism; Racial Hierarchy.*

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*Ingrid E. Castro*

**INDIAN BOARDING SCHOOLS**

In the fifty years following the American Civil War, federal Indian policymakers eagerly embraced boarding schools to assimilate Native people according to white, middle-class sensibilities. Convinced that race was not a limiting factor in the transformation of Indian culture, reformers embraced ideas that Thomas Jefferson and Albert Gallatin had articulated early in the nineteenth century, and they sought to remold Indian cultures by imposing new American models of behavior. Their optimism was short-lived, however, and the boarding schools had foundered by the turn of the twentieth century, when policymakers, politicians, and the public accepted an increasingly racialized and negative view of Indians and their cultures. The Indian school system was compromised and then largely destroyed when appeals to racialized thinking convinced policymakers that education for Native people was a waste of time, money, and effort.

**RESHAPING AMERICAN INDIAN CULTURE**

The U.S. government relied on a variety of programs to remold Native cultures between 1870 and 1920, but boarding schools quickly became a key element in the era’s coercive assimilation policies. Schools could be built everywhere, they were less expensive than military action, and

they were consistent with the nation's self-professed duty to lift up the oppressed and instruct the unenlightened. As Commissioner of Indian Affairs Thomas Jefferson Morgan put it in his 1889 annual report, schools would do for Indians "what they are so successfully doing for all the other races in this country—assimilate them" (*Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1889, p. 23). Another bureaucrat reminded his audience in 1901 that education and civilization were practically synonymous. Annie Beecher Scoville's address to the Board of Indian Commissioners in the same year summed up the case for boarding schools as neatly as anyone ever had: "If there is an idol that the American people have," she insisted, "it is the school. . . . It is a remedy for barbarism, we think, and so we give the dose. . . . The school is the slow match. . . . It will blow up the old life, and of its shattered pieces [we] will make good citizens" (*Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1901, pp. 809–810).

The belief in the power of education to reshape Indian culture rested implicitly on the assumption that race was not a barrier to transformation. As with other federal Indian policy initiatives designed to promote the acquisition of private property and to confer citizenship, many officials and reformers initially agreed that race posed no significant limitations for the educability of Indians. Morgan, for example, insisted there were "no insuperable obstacles" to the successful education and eventual absorption of Indian children (*Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1892, p. 55). One participant at the 1895 annual meeting of the National Education Association observed that Indian children were "just as capable as any white pupil I have ever had," and when Richard Henry Pratt was queried as to whether the "intellectual faculties of the Indian are essentially different from those of the white race," the famous founder and superintendent of the Carlisle Indian School replied that he did not think they were (Pratt 1895, p. 764).

This kind of optimism led to a flurry of building, which created an impressive array of schools in the three decades following the Civil War. Between 1877 and 1900 the number of boarding schools increased from 48 to 153 (this figure includes 24 off-reservation boarding schools that opened between 1879 and 1898), and the number of day schools rose from 102 to 154. The total number of federally supported Indian schools doubled, from 150 to 307, and by 1900 more than 21,000 Indian children attended federal Indian schools of one kind or another, including 17,708 boarding students. The Indian education budget showed similar trends when it rose from a paltry \$20,000 in 1877 to nearly \$4,000,000 by 1907 (Ellis 1996, p. 22), and when measured against the Indian Bureau's other programs, the schools regularly claimed a larger share of the budget than any other item save annuities and payments required by treaties.

### THE IMPORTANCE OF THE BOARDING SCHOOLS

Although the U.S. government opened day schools and boarding schools on every reservation, boarding schools quickly became the centerpiece of the Indian assimilation system. Day schools were inexpensive to build and operate, but many educators thought them fundamentally flawed because teachers saw their students for only a portion of the day. Because boarding-school students lived on residential campuses that were isolated from their communities, they were exposed—at least in theory—to influences from which it would be difficult to escape. Committed to giving students a thorough exposure to middle-class white values in the boarding schools, many reformers agreed with Richard Henry Pratt, who famously commented that "in Indian civilization I am a Baptist because I believe in immersing the Indians in our civilization and when we get them under holding them there until they are thoroughly soaked" (Pratt 2004, p. 335).

Whether at one of the large off-reservation campuses like Carlisle or Chemawa, or at a more modestly sized reservation boarding school, students encountered a curriculum designed to teach them gender-specific vocational skills and to expose them to a level of academic training that would prepare them for lives as independent, self-sufficient citizens. In the early decades of the school system, this meant that Indian children were expected to matriculate according to standards that reflected both the substantive and philosophical ideals that drove public school education all over the country. Thus, boarding-school students received instruction in mathematics, literature, geography, and art, in addition to working in the school's physical plant or in one of its numerous support systems. White audiences at civic and cultural events were regaled with demonstrations by Indian students (the Carlisle band led the way across the Brooklyn Bridge when it opened, for example), commissioners of Indian Affairs extolled the virtues of an educated and assimilated rising generation of Indian youth, and bureaucrats looked forward to the day when the boarding schools would solve the Indian question once and for all.

### A CHANGE IN VIEWPOINT

But this optimism faded after the turn of the twentieth century, when policymakers came to believe with increasing certitude that Indians were racially backward, culturally deficient, and intellectually feeble. For example, Herbert Welsh wrote that as a race the Indian was "distinctly feebler, more juvenile than ours" (Welsh 1902, p. 178). Early-twentieth-century education expert Charles Dyke, meanwhile, struck an even more pessimistic note when he observed that the crucial issue facing Indian education was how to train the "child races" (Dyke 1909, pp. 928–932).

Seized by the racial determinism of the day, policymakers, reformers, and social scientists eagerly applied new standards of racial thinking to Indians and, not surprisingly, found them wanting in every important category of thought and behavior.

The fallout was immediate. Convinced that race had trapped Indians and made them unable to understand or use education except in its most remedial forms, educators eliminated much of the academic curriculum in favor of vocational training. The point was no longer to educate and assimilate, for racial realities apparently made any significant improvement impossible. Thus, the school supervisor for the Creek Nation commented in 1902 that “we should not try to make the Indian too much of a white man” (*Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1902, p. 424), while federal Superintendent of Indian Education Estelle Reel observed in 1905 that it was a mistake to “attempt to make the Indian over and transform him into a white man, with the idea that this is necessary to bring him into harmony with the established order.” Educators needed to recognize the Indian’s “natural impulses,” she continued, and “not attempt anything more than is consistent with those impulses” (Reel 1905, p. 931). For his part, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells thought that racial limits had made it utterly impossible for Indians to do more than learn simple job skills, and so he ordered what he called “nonessentials” removed from the boarding school curriculum in 1918. As a result, geography, arithmetic, history, and physiology disappeared from the Indian boarding schools (*Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1918, pp. 20, 26).

As Frederick Hoxie has observed in the most important work on this subject, racism and racialized policies not only emerged as the single most important factors during the early twentieth century for redefining the meaning of Indian assimilation, they also doomed the boarding schools and contributed to a legacy of racist thinking whose echoes may still be heard. Tsianina Lomawaima agrees with Hoxie. She notes that “federal boarding schools did not train Indian youth to assimilate into the American melting pot. Instead, they trained Indians to “adopt the work discipline of the Protestant ethic and accept their proper place in society as a marginal class” (Lomawaima 1993, pp. 236–237). As a result of this philosophy, the boarding school system began to be systematically dismantled by the 1910s, and many Indian communities were forced to contend with the prospect of sending their children to local white schools that often resented them and barely tolerated their presence.

**SEE ALSO** *Cultural Racism; Native American Popular Culture and Race.*

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Clyde Ellis

## INDIAN RIGHTS ASSOCIATION

From the time of first European encounters with the Native peoples of the “New World” to the present time, much has been said and much time and money have been expended in an effort to “civilize the savage.” But in fact, and depending on where one stands, one could also spend a great deal of time and energy in arriving at a just conclusion as to exactly who was the savage: the European bent on acquisition of land and riches at any cost, or the indigenous peoples of the Americas reacting in a mostly defensive posture to protect the lands that they had inherited from their ancestors. In the process of “civilization,” the native population was reduced from tens of millions at the time of European contact to a low point of 248,000 in 1890, while

the Anglo population increased from 107 with the founding of the Jamestown Colony in 1607 to an 1890 total U.S. population of 62,622,250.

#### CIVILIZING THE AMERICAN INDIAN

While most members of the dominant (Anglo) society were interested in exterminating the Native Americans, there were other groups who believed that Indian Peoples had souls worthy of converting to Christianity and that in this effort the “savages” could be civilized if they would lay aside their languages, traditions, tribal structures, and adopt a “civilized” yeoman-farmer type mentality. One such group was the Indian Rights Association (IRA).

Herbert Walsh and Henry Spackman Pancoast formed the IRA in Philadelphia in 1882. The Association was dedicated to providing equal protection of the law to Indian Peoples as well as education, citizenship, and ownership of land in a fee-simple title status (personal ownership). While these goals may sound altruistic and high-minded, it should be noted that most Indian Peoples believed that the Creator had given them title to the land, and they had little or no interest in attending Anglo schools or becoming U.S. citizens. In short, the IRA was concerned with turning Indians into a picture of the white person, a vision not shared by those to be converted. The IRA was also interested in civil-service reform and reorganization of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) to include employment of Indian people. In a move that set apart the IRA as a progressive organization, the Association placed the blame on avaricious whites and a corrupt and paternalistic government for the continuing existence of what had become known as the “Indian problem.”

Groups such as the IRA were among a number of groups who considered themselves to be “Friends of the Indian,” and although most were well intentioned and some of their activities proved to be beneficial, many of the policies they helped enact were tremendously destructive to Indian people. The IRA and other Friends of the Indian groups saw themselves as advocating equal status for Indians, and to that end they organized branch associations in cities across the United States, sent representatives on fact-finding missions into Indian Country, and published pamphlets and reports to the Congress, while maintaining a high public visibility through speeches and in the press. For the most part, members of the IRA and Friends of the Indian groups never left their comfortable urban homes in the East to venture into Indian Country to see the Indian experience first hand.

#### IMPLEMENTING GOVERNMENTAL CHANGE

To ensure passage of reform legislation, the IRA kept a full-time lobbyist in Washington. So effective was the

association that most of its program was enacted before 1900. Among the IRA’s projects were the formation of a comprehensive compulsory government Indian boarding school system; the passage of the General Allotment Act of 1887 (Dawes Act), which included land allotments and citizenship; and the extension of civil-service rules to the Indian Office. Of these three main initiatives, only the extension of civil-service rules and the reorganization of the BIA worked to the benefit of American Indian people.

The BIA had its beginnings in 1824. Because the U.S. government’s view of Indians was one of savages, the BIA was placed under the War Department until 1949, at which time it was transferred to the Department of the Interior. Under the War Department the BIA became a powerful non-Indian organization that led tribes down a path toward poverty and extinction. The BIA was powerful, and in many instances the BIA superintendent’s word was law. But following passage of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 and with the backing of the IRA, Congress extended Indian preference in employment to the BIA and the Indian Health Service (IHS). The intent of Congress in establishing Indian preference was to give tribes greater control over their own self-government. As a result, the BIA and IHS were required by law to give preference to persons of American Indian or Alaska Native descent. Over the ensuing years, Native people began to take control of the agency. At the time of passage of Indian preference, less than 15 percent of the BIA and IHS were of Indian descent or ancestry. In 2007, 95 percent of approximately 14,000 employees are recognized as Native people.

#### BOARDING SCHOOL SYSTEM

The IRA also endorsed a key component to the civilization of “the savage”: the removal of Indian children from the Indian family and tribal environment and their education on a Western model. In 1877 the Congress appropriated \$20,000 for the expressed purpose of the reeducation of Indian children, to “kill the Indian, and save the child.” In 1879 Army Captain Richard H. Pratt founded the Carlisle Indian School at Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, as a demonstration project to convince the government and the general public that Indians could be educated. Carlisle became the model for off-reservation boarding schools. The number of students enrolled in day schools on reservations and off-reservation boarding schools increased rapidly. From an enrollment of 3,598 in 1877, more than 20,000 Indian students were enrolled in 148 boarding schools and 225 day schools by the close of the nineteenth century.

Indian parents were demoralized and terrorized by the threat of their children being kidnapped by Indian agents (who for the most part were corrupt officials hired



as the result of nepotism or favoritism) and soldiers and being taken to remote boarding schools, some as distant as 800 miles from their homes. Attendance was made mandatory, however. In 1891 Congress authorized the Commissioner of Indian Affairs "to make and enforce by proper means" rules and regulations to ensure that Indian children attended the schools. Native people resisted by sequestering their children in mountain hide-aways or by taking them deep into reservations, where agents often pursued them on horseback and lassoed them like animals, bound them hand and foot, threw them into wagons and hauled them like freight to train terminals where they were then shipped off to distant schools (Rinaldi 1999).

In the Southwestern United States pressure to enroll children in boarding schools began in earnest in 1887, when the first government school was established at Keams Canyon. According to Indian agent E. H. Plummer, the Keams Canyon School was in dismal condition. The school was crowded and the buildings were poorly maintained. Plummer himself feared that disease would spread and children would die (Holliday 1998). As a result, many Hopi parents refused to send their children to a school so far away to learn the white man's ways. As an example to resistant families, the government arrested nineteen Hopi Indian men and sentenced them to confinement on Alcatraz Island because they had hidden their children and would not allow them to be taken to the boarding school. The prisoners were released in September 1895.

When Indian children arrived at the boarding schools, both boys and girls had their hair cut short and were given new "American" names. For most Indian people the cutting off of the hair represented a condition of mourning, and was associated with death. For Indian children in boarding schools this represented a life and death battle to retain their religion, language, and cultural identity. Many Indian children were required to select an Anglo name from lists that they could not possibly read or understand. Other children were simply assigned new names. Traditional clothing was taken away and miniature copies of military uniforms with high collars, stiff shirts, and leather boots were given to the boys and long cotton dresses and hard leather shoes were given to the girls (Lomawaima 1995).

The goals of the boarding schools were numerous. First and foremost was the belief that Indian children should be removed from parental and tribal influences. A summer "outing" program was added to the boarding school program, placing Indian children on farms and ranches near the boarding school. This prevented the child's return to the reservation during the summer months. The federal government paid the host family \$50

per year per student for upkeep, and any money generated by the labor of the student was claimed by the boarding school. As a result of the distant schools and the outing program, Indian children typically were separated from their family for periods ranging from four to eight years.

Treatment at the boarding school varied, but most children endured harsh discipline, particularly if they were caught speaking their native language, performing a traditional ceremony, or practicing their native religion. Corporal punishment, solitary confinement, and withholding of rations were common punishments used to control Native students who insisted on retaining and practicing traditional ways.

For most Indian children the conversion to a copy of "the white man" proved to be more illusionary than real. Indian boys and girls were taught skills in the boarding schools that had little or no relationship to tribal or reservation life. Indian children who attempted to return to their families could no longer speak their native languages. Skills necessary for survival in a tribal or reservation setting had been crushed. The children were poorly trained for the non-Indian world as well. Some Indian boys found work on farms and ranches. To the disappointment of boarding school administrators, most returned to the reservations and attempted to reestablish themselves within the tribal culture. A small number of Native girls found work at the Bureau of Indian Affairs, but most met only with discrimination and unemployment.

#### ALLOTMENT ACT

The next step in the IRA's plan to civilize and Americanize Indian Peoples into the general U.S. population came with the passage of the Dawes General Allotment Act of 1887. The act is more generally known as "the allotment act" or "Allotment in Severalty." The intent of the Act was to abolish reservations and to allot land to individual Indian people as private property. It was the single most devastating development during this period, because it worked to undermine tribal self-sufficiency and tribal sovereignty. As more and more settlers moved west under the national ideology of Manifest Destiny, new lands were needed. Pressure mounted to abolish Indian reservations. Allotment, a thinly disguised way to break up tribal land holdings, was the answer. The chief provisions of the Allotment Act provided that each Indian family head would receive a grant of 160 acres of reservation land, in fee-simple title. Each single Indian person over eighteen years and each orphan under eighteen years of age received eighty acres, and each other single person under eighteen usually received forty acres of former reservation land, although the amounts varied from reservation to reservation. The key to the Allotment Act was that all land remaining after the allotment to Native Peoples would

revert to the federal government and the government would in turn offer this “surplus” land for sale.

Proponents of the Allotment Act claimed that they had the endorsement of IRA chapters across the country. Allotment would break up communal holdings, they said, and instill the American ethos of individual ambition in the Indian. The overarching goal of the “Friends of the Indian,” those who supported allotment, was to substitute white civilization for Indian culture. Individual landholding would break up extended families and further undermine traditional leadership patterns.

Congress passed the Allotment Act into law even though there was little or no support of the concept of allotment by Indian people. In 1888 Congress ratified five agreements with different Indian Nations providing for the allotment and sale of what the federal government now described as surplus reservation lands. In 1889 eight such laws were passed. In the first nine months of 1891 an additional 8,000,000 acres of former reservation lands passed into non-Indian hands. Oil speculators and timber companies bought up individual allotments. Minor Indian children who possessed allotment lands were declared wards of non-Indians so that oil could be extracted from their allotments or fertile farmlands could be exploited. Through these methods, the total of Indian land holdings was cut from 138,000,000 acres in 1887 to 48,000,000 acres in 1934. Many Indian people did become landless and Native people living on the remaining allotted reservation lands increasingly experienced extreme poverty, despondency, and despair.

It soon became evident that allotted land would be the target of Congressional theft as well, as evidenced in the 1903 legal case *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock*. Following increased white migration and conflict, the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache tribes signed the Treaty of Medicine Lodge in 1867, which created a sizable reservation for them in Indian Territory. Article 12 of that treaty states that no further land cessions would occur “unless executed and signed by at least three-fourths of all the adult male Indians” within the reservation. Although the U.S. government lacked the signatures of a three-fourths majority of Indians, the Secretary of the Interior directed the sale of more than two million acres of land ceded to the federal government. Lone Wolf and other Kiowa-Comanche landholders sued. In *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock*, the Supreme Court affirmed the rulings of the lower courts and ruled that the land sale was legal, stating: “the power exists to abrogate the provisions of an Indian treaty. . . .” Congress has exercised this plenary authority over the tribal relations of the Indians from the beginning, and the power has always been deemed a political one, not subject to control by the judiciary.

The primary goal of the IRA as defined by its constitution is “to secure to the Indians of the United States the political and civil rights already guaranteed to them by treaty and statute of the United States, and such as their civilization and circumstances may justify.” The founders of the IRA, Pancoast and Welsh, believed in the immediate acculturation of Native Peoples into American society. Pancoast and Welsh were instrumental in the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act (1834), the termination of tribal land holdings, the crushing of Indian culture, and “civilization” as the solution to the nation’s Indian problem. Other early Indian advocacy groups, such as the Lake Mohonk Conferences of the Friends of the Indian and the American Indian Defense Association, supported the IRA.

The IRA was founded by individuals who were of the philanthropic sort who believed that American Indians’ best hope for survival lay in a program of assimilation. They did not see the survival of Indians as a separate race of people as a viable option. The destruction of the Indian would require a dedicated effort of education, conversion to Christianity, adoption of Anglo-Saxon legal institutions, institution of private land ownership, and the abandonment of Indian culture and tradition. The organization’s initial stated objective included racist goals, to “bring about the complete civilization of the Indians and their admission to citizenship.” The IRA was not alone in this racist approach to the nation’s Indian problem. The IRA was among several reform organizations that considered themselves to be friends of the Indian, but in reality had little understanding of the physical, cultural, or spiritual needs of Native Americans. Welsh and other IRA leaders lobbied heavily for allotment of Indian lands in severalty, believing that private property and the reduction of communal land holdings would replace tribal membership and place the Indian on the road to extinction as a separate race.

**SEE ALSO** *Native American Rights Fund (NARF)*.

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Troy R. Johnson

## INDIAN SLAVERY

Scholars have long held that the transatlantic slave trade initiated by the Portuguese in the mid-fifteenth century and carried to new heights by the Spanish, Dutch, and English prompted the rise of modern-day racism. From the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, European slave traders and slave owners increasingly propagated beliefs in African inferiority to justify and facilitate the enslavement of African men, women, and children on an unprecedented scale. Africans, however, were not the only peoples coerced into colonial enslavement. American Indians throughout North America were also enslaved in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. While never a majority in European colonies north of Mexico, American Indians nonetheless constituted a significant proportion of the slave population—in some cases up to 25 percent.

The seventeenth century marked the simultaneous rise of both Indian and African enslavement in the colonies that would become the United States. Indian slaves were often easier to acquire than Africans, particularly in the first decades of settlement, when mainland colonists were cash poor. Most African slaves were shipped to sugar plantations, where a booming cash crop combined with steep slave mortality rates resulted in a high demand, and high prices, for African slaves. Planters in Virginia and South Carolina, for example, could not attract slave ships coming directly from Africa until late seventeenth century when tobacco and rice cultivation made better trading prospects possible. In South Carolina African slave importation remained a small enterprise well into the 1720s, and Carolinians were forced to trade with Caribbean-based slavers, taking what slaves they could find.

Indian slaves were a highly desirable alternative to Africans. They could be easier to procure, and they were

far cheaper. The long Middle Passage (the journey of the slave ships across the Atlantic) was costly: Many Africans died en route, and the shipping expenditures were high. Indian slaves, on the other hand, were often transported short distances on foot or in small boats to the nearest port of sale. Thus, less financial investment and infrastructure were needed. Moreover, both Europeans and Indians took Indian captives in the numerous wars that European colonialism spawned. As in Africa, some native communities were willing to sell their war captives to European slavers and the latter were eager to buy them.

## INDIGENOUS AND EUROPEAN CONCEPTS OF SLAVERY

Indian slaves, like those from Africa, often began their enslavement as war captives. Indian societies throughout North America took war captives prior to contact with Europeans. Among the nations of the League of Iroquois, for example, “mourning wars” were waged by clans who had recently suffered the loss of loved ones to violence or disease. These wars could lead to long cycles of revenge warfare in which clans retaliated against other tribes for the killing or capture of their kin. Among the Iroquois this was known as “requickening;” among the Cherokees it was “crying blood.” Motivated by grief, revenge, and a need to restore a cosmological balance, clan matriarchs sent out male warriors to make war on their enemies. Captives were brought back to the matriarchs, who then decided whether the traumatic loss of their family member would be better compensated for by adopting the captives into the community or by relegating them to torture and death or enslavement.

Women and children were usually adopted, and these captives quite literally replaced lost kin, assuming their names and identities. Men were more often killed, though the killing of a woman was a particularly assertive, powerful act.

Not all captives were killed or adopted, however: Some were kept as slaves. Unlike European chattel slavery, indigenous slavery was not labor based. While Indian slaves worked for their Indian masters, they were not enslaved to produce goods for a market economy. Some scholars object to the use of the term “slavery” to describe indigenous captives, preferring the term “adoption complex.” However, this concept does not adequately describe the status of those who remained outside of the clan system. In Indian communities, slaves were enemies who were purposefully not incorporated into a clan, which was the source of all identity in Indian societies. Indigenous slaves lived out their days not simply as outsiders but as nonhumans. In many Indian languages, the same word was used to describe slaves and domestic animals. While indigenous slaves were not



**Native American Abduction.** *Native Americans constituted a significant portion of the slave population in the Americas because they were both cheaper and easier to acquire than African slaves.* PICTURE COLLECTION, THE BRANCH LIBRARIES, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

chattel property in the European sense, they were slaves, as well as a decidedly political form of capital.

Europeans also understood the concept of enslaving enemies. They believed that if a war was waged for just reasons, the war captives whose lives were spared might reasonably be sentenced to servitude or enslavement. They also echoed Indian beliefs that slaves lived outside of human society, thus sharing the idea that slaves were subhuman. Nevertheless, slave status was less immutable in Indian societies' slaves than in European ones. In Indian communities slaves might gain their humanity and rights as citizens through adoption or intermarriage, and their children rarely inherited their status as slaves. In contrast, by the late seventeenth century, European colonies had enacted slave laws to prohibit just this kind of social mobility.

#### INDIAN SLAVE TRADES AND TRADERS

Seeking alternative sources of slave labor, European colonists in New France, Virginia, New England, South Carolina, New Mexico, and Texas established slave trades with Indian communities in these regions. Slave trades represented a middle ground where indigenous traditions

of captive-taking and European desires for economic slaves met. Indians diverted their traditional war captives to this trade. In most cases, this meant that a larger number of women and children, who previously would have been adopted or kept as slaves, were now sold off as slaves.

In New France French officials and visitors found themselves the recipients of war captives, who were given to them by Iroquois, Illinois, and Ottawas to symbolize political alliance. Though Louis XIV had outlawed Indian slavery in 1689, French officials increasingly accepted these political gifts to promote peace with their Indian allies. The French also gave Indian slaves to Indian allies themselves in exchange for English captives taken during Queen Anne's War (1702–1713). These political exchanges, in turn, bred a small trade in Indian slaves purchased to work for French families.

French traders on the western borderlands of Louisiana established a brisk trade with Comanches and Wichitas for Indian women and children. In these frontier communities, single Frenchmen abounded, and a need for domestic help coupled with sexual motives prompted the establishment of a widespread slave trade. While much of Louisiana's labor force was African, Indian women were purchased in significant numbers for sexual companionship. By the early nineteenth century, one-quarter of all Europeans living in northwest Louisiana had an Indian ancestor.

The Comanches and Wichitas, who supplied French traders and soldiers with their Indian slaves, targeted their mutual enemies: the Apaches. The Spanish in Texas also focused on the eastern bands of Apaches, sending out punitive slave expeditions to take Apache women and children to stop or punish Apache horse raids. While the Spanish occasionally returned some of these captives, others were given to soldiers or citizens, while some were exported to Mexico City or the Caribbean. Unlike the French, the Spanish did not develop a system of intermarriage with Indian slaves. Rather, Spaniards tended to marry or have children only with Indian women who had become part of Spanish society.

Both the European demand for Indian slaves and the Indian desire for European trade goods prompted many of the Indian communities involved in the slave trade to intensify their war activities. Despite popular misconceptions to the contrary, war was not generally the main occupation of Indian communities prior to European colonization. The advent of Indian slave trades ushered in an unprecedented level of warfare, as Indian communities rose to meet European demand, often suspending their traditional customs in the process.

In many ways, Indian slave wars were driven by the "gun-slave cycle" that emerged in Africa as a result of the

transatlantic slave trade. In North America, as in Africa, a desire or need for European goods (particularly guns, cloth, metals, and alcohol) led many Indian communities to war more frequently on their enemies and to take more captives than previously. Slaving communities acquired guns, waged more successful wars, took more captives, and in turn acquired more guns. These Indian slavers expanded their wars, traveling greater distances to acquire slaves. The Westo Indians are a quintessential example. The victims of Iroquoian mourning wars, the surviving Westoes had moved southwards into Virginia by 1661. Having selected Virginia because they hoped to trade with colonists there for guns and other goods, the Westoes discovered that Virginians would pay handsomely for Indian slaves. Hence, the Westoes turned into slavers, traveling down as far as Spanish Florida for slaves. When English colonists began to establish South Carolina in 1670, they quickly established a trade with the Westoes for Indian slaves. The slave trade proved politically and economically empowering for some Indian communities who capitalized on the trade, who first enslaved their traditional enemies then expanded their raids further afield. But this was also a dangerous business. When South Carolina traders began to see the Westoes as competitors in the slave trade, they sponsored the Savannahs in a campaign to enslave and kill the Westoes. By the eighteenth century, Indians who were not slavers in the Southeast were likely to fall victim to slave raids.

Colonists not only purchased war captives from Indian communities, they also enslaved Indians whom they captured in their own wars. In Virginia, colonists engaged in punitive slave expeditions after the wars of 1622 and 1644 with the Powhatan Indians. Similarly, in New England, colonists enslaved not only Indian warriors but also Indian women, children, and noncombatants following the Pequot War (1636–1637) and King Philip's War (1675–1676). King Philip's War represented a distinct turning point in New English attitudes toward Indians generally and Indian enslavement specifically. The war was a conflict between English and Indian neighbors who had lived in peace for over fifty years. Catalyzed by English expansion into Wampanoag territory, the war resulted in the enslavement of many New England Indians, including Indians allied with the English. In the wake of the war, southern New England Indians became subjects of the New English colonies. That being the case, it was harder to justify their enslavement, and New Englanders began to import Indian slaves taken from their western frontiers during King William's War (1689–1697) with the French, plus others from the Carolinas.

South Carolinians exhibited the largest, if most short-lived, Indian slave trade: From 1670 to 1715 they enslaved between 30,000 and 51,000 Indians. South

Carolinians invested heavily in the Indian slave trade, and it quickly became the central facet of their economy. They exported many of their slaves to Virginia, New England, and the Caribbean, but a significant number were also kept in the colony. While economically crucial to the colony, the slave trade also served a keen geopolitical purpose. Traders and the colonial government directed their Indian trading partners to enslave Indians who were allied with the Spanish in Florida and the French in Louisiana. Indians vastly outnumbered Europeans in the colonial Southeast and European imperial wars were largely fought by Indian soldiers. Enslavement served both to weaken the Spanish and French and to enrich the English. Most active in this slave trade were the Creek Indians, who in turn used the slave trade to advance their own political ambitions and economic goals. Most notably, Creeks' slave raids (two of which were led by English officials) resulted in the near destruction of the Spanish Indian missions in Florida by 1706.

While the Indian slave trade and Indian slave wars could be mutually beneficial to European and Indian communities, they could also prove deadly if mishandled. South Carolina was nearly destroyed in 1715 when Indian nations throughout the region—Yamasees, Creeks, Cherokees, Chickasaws, Catawbans, and others—killed 90 percent of the traders and 400 settlers. Indian towns had become increasingly indebted to their traders over the course of the early eighteenth century. As the colony's population, wealth, and territory expanded, southeastern Indians watched their own power decrease. When, under the pretext of debt settlement, some traders began to enslave the kin of their Indian trading partners, southeastern Indians responded with war, effectively ending the Indian slave trade in the region. Though South Carolina's economic trade in Indian slaves ended, both Indians and Europeans continued to wage war against their enemies, and to turn some of their captives into slaves.

#### RACE AND INDIAN SLAVERY

While Carolinian traders had acted illegally when they enslaved free Indians with whom they traded in the 1710s, the colonial courts of New England began to involve themselves in the "judicial enslavement" of Indians for crimes and debts following King Philip's War. In the wake of that war, it proved more difficult to formally enslave Indians who were now considered English subjects. However, through punitive indentures—whose terms were either ill-defined or indefinitely extended (through the courts or illegally)—Indians charged with crimes or indebtedness became defacto slaves. In 1774 more than a third of all Rhode Island Indians lived as slaves with white families.

## Indigenismo in Mexico

The codification of slave laws across North America from the 1660s through the 1720s effectively erased the Indian identity of large numbers of Indians who were living as slaves or servants. Though Indians were mentioned in colonial slave laws, the rise of a black majority (combined with binary ideas of race as black and white) doomed Indians who were enslaved to become effectively “black” in the eyes of most colonists. Nonetheless, Indian slaves maintained their own cultural identities. Their impact on slave cultures and slave religions has yet to be fully appreciated.

**SEE ALSO** *Racial Slave Labor in the Americas; Slavery, Racial; Slavery and Race.*

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Denise Ileana Bossy

## INDIGENISMO IN MEXICO

The concept of race in Mexico is deeply rooted in the xenophobic tendencies of the Spanish colonization. It has been recorded that Hernán Cortés (c.1485–1547), the famous Spanish conquistador responsible for the downfall of the Aztec empire, once stated: “We Spaniards suffer from a disease of the heart which only gold can cure.” Cortés therefore brought an exploitative political philosophy to the New World and its indigenous peoples. Since then Mexico has struggled to come to grips with its history and to define its nationalistic identity and place in the world. The historical periods of Mexico’s development and public policies can be broken down into the following: colonization, independence, revolution, modernization, and neoliberalization. Each is marked by its own particular set of institutionalized and informal racist policies.

### ROOTS OF INDIGENISMO: COLONIZATION, CONVERSION, AND CORRUPTION

Policies regarding race began with allegations of ideological superiority by the Spanish at the time of contact. Cortés’s actions are deeply criticized to this day by the indigenous peoples of the Americas, and “Columbus Day” has been reformulated by Native peoples as “Indigenous Peoples’ Day.”

The imperialistic approach of the Spanish toward the New World was conditioned in large part by the earlier Christian Reconquest of Spain, during which Spanish soldiers battled the Moorish population from 711 to 1492 for control of the Iberian Peninsula. Viewing the Reconquest as a “holy war,” a religious-military complex took shape in Spain. Freedom from Islamic rule was equated with Christian identity, and the religious conversion of Muslims and Jews was a critical ideological driving force behind the Reconquest. Using xenophobia (fear of the Other) as grounds to conquer new lands for god and country, the Spanish carried these ideas to their “New World” colonizations, beginning with Christopher Columbus’s arrival in 1492.

The arrival of the Spanish in Mexico in 1519 marked the end of indigenous control over the region and the collapse of the Aztec empire. Those indigenous peoples not killed by the sword were subjected to a wealth of

foreign illnesses from smallpox to influenza, which reduced the population of native peoples from an estimated 27.1 million to as few as 1.2 million shortly after Spanish arrival (Carmack 1996, p. 128). In 1552, the Dominican priest Bartolomé de las Casas (1474–1566) related the devastation that followed the arrival of the *encomenderos*, Spanish arrivals who earned land grants that included economic and political control over indigenous populations. Upon returning to Spain, Las Casas wrote about Spanish brutality under the *encomenderos* and about his doubts that the indigenous populations would ever truly be Christianized or fully integrated into Hispanic society.

*Indigenismo* is “public policy and institutions that address the educational, economic, health, and social needs of the Indian population, with the underlying goal of assimilating Indians into the mainstream culture” (Carmack 1996, p. 478). On the surface such policies appear beneficial to the well-being of the colonial empire, yet they also served to further marginalize the indigenous peoples into resettled communities known as *congregaciones* (or *reducciones*). These resettlements were close to towns where labor pools (*obrajes*) could come from the native communities to aid public work projects that developed the internal infrastructure of the towns (*municipios*), yet they did little for the rural countryside. Where indigenous labor was not accessible, such as along the coast, African slaves were imported. In the ideal, *indigenismo* would bring the indigenous people onto an equal footing with their European colonizers. It would, in essence, “civilize” them. Colonization, however, had quite the opposite effect. Chief among the bad consequences of this process was the imposition of a caste system based on a series of status rankings. This became known as the doctrine of *limpieza de sangre* (purity of blood).

*Limpieza de sangre* policies brought day-to-day reality to the caste situation in Mesoamerica. It was originally dictated in Spain to allow only those of “demonstrable Christian stock” to be allowed to attain noble status or to hold public office. The extension of the *limpieza de sangre* led to racial castes based on skin color, heritage, and Indian ancestry. The most prominent among these rankings (from highest to lowest) were the following:

- *Peninsulares*: Those born in Spain of Spanish descent (immigrants and dignitaries).
- *Criollos*: Those of Spanish descent born in the New World.
- *Mestizos*: Offspring of a Spanish man and an Indian woman.
- *Mulattos (Sambos)* and Free Blacks: Offspring of a Spanish man and an African woman.
- *Indios* (Indians): Indians of pure descent.

- African Slaves: Those brought from Africa to work on coastal plantations or in the mines (Carmack 1996, pp. 172–174).

The caste status of Indians and African slaves varied from one region to another. Frequently, an Indian death from excessive labor was of no concern to *encomenderos*, yet the loss of a slave meant a loss of paid property. This justified, at times, the higher status of slaves over Indians.

As can be seen from the categories above, even though both *criollos* and *peninsulares* had the same skin color, they were separate castes. A constant struggle between *peninsulares* and their lesser *criollo* elites led to the eventual uprising of *criollos* against the *peninsulares*, contributing to Mexican independence from Spain in 1810. The Indians were a prominent part of the uprising because of their resistance to colonial taxation of *obrajes* and their objection to dominant views of the indigenous populations as “passive, dependent, docile, stupid, incapable of higher civilization, lacking in emotions and sensitivity, impervious to pain and suffering, [and] unable to improve their miserable conditions of living” (Stavenhagen 1998, p. 16).

The prevailing attitude at this time was that the indigenous people needed to be “cared for” by missionaries. During this time, religious confraternities (*cofradías*) were formed by the missionaries, allowing indigenous peoples some degree of religious self-control over the practice of Christian ceremonies. This led to religious syncretism, or a blending of traditional native beliefs with those of Christianity. In the minds of rural friars, the Indians’ inherent inferiorities kept them low on the caste scale and out of clergy positions. The derogatory nature of the word *indio* was created through the caste system and resulted in increasing levels of legal discrimination. The missionaries viewed the caste system as a way of interacting with the Indians in similar fashion as they had interacted with the uneducated peasantry of Europe.

This marginalization of the native peoples was met with resistance. In western Mexico, according to Beatriz Rojas (1993), missionaries did not make inroads into the isolated indigenous mountain communities until the 1550s. Thereafter, they met with varying levels of resistance. For example, from 1617 to 1618, the Tepehuán Indians revolted against the Spanish and the Cora were forcibly resettled into villages. In 1712 the Tzeltal revolted against the Spanish in Chiapas.

Mexican independence from Spain did little for the rights of indigenous peoples. *Criollo* elites simply replaced the *peninsulares* in positions of power. *Mestizos*, those of mixed Indian and Spanish ancestry, however, gained prominence as the dominant working class on the ranches (*haciendas*) of the *criollos* and as local authorities in the cities. In essence, they filled gaps in the social structure that the elites were unable or unwilling to fill. The

indigenous peoples continued to be marginalized, and *indigenismo* returned in the guise of what was viewed as “the native problem” (*el problema indígena*).

#### EMERGENCE OF THE MIDDLE CLASS MESTIZO

The Mexican Revolution of 1910–1917 marked the rise of the *mestizo*. Although nationalistic sentiments were important for the independence movement, a new *mestizo* caste consciousness was also apparent in the years leading up to and during the Mexican Revolution. The denial of infrastructural development in the rural areas had led much of Mexico’s population to continue to live in poverty and servitude to *hacienda* owners. In general, the period between independence from Spain and the Mexican Revolution encouraged the advancement of the *mestizo* as the dominant caste and racial classification.

Mexico’s growing *mestizo* population was not without its problems. Although *mestizos* were more Indian in their ancestry than their political opponents, they nonetheless found it necessary ideologically to reject the significance of their Indian past to become a dominant political power in Mexico. This meant the denial of their indigenous heritage in an attempt to be more like their elite neighbors, the *criollos*. Being Christianized, rejecting the use of one’s indigenous language in favor of Spanish, and changes in one’s style of dress and place of residence were all critical to becoming *mestizo*.

When he became President, Benito Juárez (1806–1872), who was half Zapotec Indian and is considered the “founder of modern Mexico,” instituted a series of seemingly liberal social policies that led to the breaking up of the large landholdings of the Church and others, but with the goal of privatizing the lands rather than restoring them to rural communities. This was known as the *Ley Lerdo* of 1856. Juárez viewed the destruction of collective lands as vital to the emergence of Mexico into a new age of progressivism that would require destruction of two communities—the Church and the indigenous peoples. As a result of his agenda, only the wealthy could afford to purchase the lands taken away by the state.

The *Ley Lerdo* had devastating effects on the indigenous lands, and indigenous-controlled communities, already outlawed for fear of their ability to influence local municipal governments, were subject to outside electoral control (i.e., *mestizo*). Indigenous collective lands were either absorbed into the nonindigenous-controlled municipalities to pay off state debts or they were auctioned off. This law affected indigenous communities from the Yucatan to Oaxaca and the Sierra Madre region in the northwest.

Arriving on the heels of Benito Juárez was Porfirio Díaz (1830–1915), who was driven by the need for foreign capital to modernize Mexico. A railroad infra-

structure was built, and European arts, music, and literature were promoted. Intellectualism was equated with Europeanism and the wealthy middle and upper classes gained prominence, ushering in a new period of Mexican development in which the population doubled and the infrastructure expanded.

By 1910, 85 percent of mining companies were North American. Many of these companies favored hiring their own nationals instead of Mexicans. The situation became so bad that “only 2 percent of the population held title to land and 3 percent of the properties covered 58 percent of Mexico” (Foster 2004, p. 154). Seventy percent of the Mexican citizenry, however, continued to be farmers. Hunger was prevalent due to poor pay or displaced peasantries. By 1910, only 10 percent of Indian communities held collective land (Foster 2004, p. 155).

A subsequent economic decline during the early 1900s resulted in foreign debt and infrastructural collapse. It was during this time that the rural areas began to rebel against the policies effected by the Porfiriato regime, leading to the rebellion of Pancho Villa’s forces in the north and Emiliano Zapata’s forces of the south. The success of the rebellion was achieved in 1917, though at the loss of as many as 2 million lives.

#### BUILDING A MODERN MEXICO: LAND REFORM

The Mexican Revolution and the expansion of the *mestizo* race did little for the indigenous populations of Mexico. A nationalistic image of Mexico was created, which aimed to shroud the pluralistic nature of the country in a romantic image of the past, known as *Mexico profundo* (Bonfil Batalla 1996). In the world of the *Mexico profundo*, the de-Indianized peoples were reclassified as part of the rural peasantry. Stripped of their sense of identity, a romantic notion of the past was created and perpetuated by the *mestizo*. In this image, the indigenous peoples no longer existed except as part of the past Mexico—a modern Mexico required a unified nation-state, and indigenous identity represented a threat to that unity.

The Mexican Constitution of 1917 institutionalized the destruction of collectively owned lands (*ejidos*), even though one of the major goals put forth in the constitution was the restoration of communal lands that had been lost to wealthy owners and foreign companies. This ruling was known as the Agrarian Reform Law (*La Reforma Agraria*), or Constitutional Article 27, and its intended purpose was to restore power to the rural proletariat through land redistribution and certification.

With the passage of the Agrarian Reform Law and the rise of President Lázaro Cárdenas (1895–1970) in 1934, foreign control was to be reduced, if not eliminated all together. Lands were to be restored to rural



village communities in collective fashion. In principle, the Agrarian Reform Law had great potential not only for the *mestizo*, but for indigenous peoples as well. The government failed to fully implement the ruling in all affected areas, however. In general, lands in indigenous areas that were determined to have worth to the now federalized resource associations were never restored. Chief among these government-controlled, nationalized industries was *Petroleos Mexicanos* (PEMEX), which came to control much of the oil rich lands of southern Mexico.

#### NEOLIBERALISM: CHALLENGES TO A PLURALISTIC SOCIETY

*Neoliberalism* is a term that was often used by indigenous peoples in the 1990s to refer to the renewed policies of governmental reforms, economic justice, and political ideology that benefited the elites and commercial centers at the expense of indigenous peoples and the poor. According to George Collier and Elizabeth Quaratiello, neoliberalism “looks to the marketplace to solve all of society’s problems and meet all its needs. Neoliberalism has changed society, both for the better by contributing to dramatic growth of civil institutions independent of the government, and for the worse by leading the government to militarization and repression to hold onto power” (1999, p. 157). It is the belief of the native peoples of Mexico that neoliberalism is directly responsible for the continued violation of indigenous rights, economic justice, and sovereignty observed in the early twenty-first century.

In 1975 the first National Congress of Indian Peoples was held, organized in part by the Mexican anthropologist Guillermo Bonfil Batalla. The goals of the congress were the same as those to be later mentioned by the Zapatistas in their 1994 uprising in southern Mexico. These issues included:

- Much of the land was considered infertile or lacking in amount to prove useful.
- The lack of public health care facilities and services.
- The lack of basic human services, such as running water or electricity, despite tax payments.
- The prevalence of malnutrition and poverty brought about by the lack of arable land.
- The poor availability and quality of education, and educational institutions that did not benefit indigenous communities.
- Low salaries and unfair labor conditions.
- Exploitation of peasant and native industries by wealthy middlemen (Collier and Quaratiello 1999, p. 63–64).

In the twenty years after the First Indigenous Congress, it was apparent that the government was doing little, if anything, to address these basic human needs in Chiapas. In the 1970s, a number of indigenous organizations were begun in response to government inaction, among them the Emiliano Zapata Peasant Organization (OCEZ), the Independent Confederation of Agricultural Workers and Indians (CIOAC), and Popular Politics (PP). These organizations aided indigenous peoples with land reform and with organizing workers. The CIOAC enabled farmworkers to “sue ranchers under federal labor laws for back wages and improved working conditions,” while PP was a Maoist-Marxist student organization that engaged university students to work with impoverished communities in eastern Chiapas (Collier and Quaratiello 1999, p. 71).

Indigenous organization largely failed amid a booming development phase of the Mexican economy in the 1970s, dominated by oil. Oil exports reached new heights until the market’s decline in 1981, displacing thousands of indigenous farmworkers from their land and resulting in a two-class system of extreme wealth for the few and impoverishment for the majority.

While the population was booming in the highland region, there was increasingly little arable land available in the low-lying areas. This especially impacted the Tzotzil Indians of the region. Much land had been turned over to cattle ranching, was lost in the construction of hydroelectric dams to supply power to the cities, or was to be used for oil drilling by PEMEX. Industry, it was argued, could not lose these lands because of the wealth they provided.

By 1982, oil exports became 80 percent of the Mexican export economy, to the detriment of agriculture and other internal industries. The export market crashed in 1982, however, and left many with nowhere to go. The living situation had become untenable in the highland region. Pesticides and herbicides used to increase production on small plots of land had not only damaged much of the soil, but the debts incurred by farmers through loans to acquire these chemicals resulted in further land losses by the many who could not afford to repay their debts.

The succeeding events of the 1980s were no better for the Zinacanco peasantry and Tzotzil Maya. Basic government services were limited and budgets were slashed. Moreover, the indigenous Maya peoples were monolingual Tzotzil speakers and illiterate. These factors resulted in deep divisions between the indigenous and the literate Spanish-speaking peoples (*ladinos*) of the region. Not only did educational barriers prevent the *ladinoization* of the indigenous Maya, but political affiliation became a factor. Loyalty to the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), which had held power since the

revolution, determined whether or not one had access to certain governmental programs and services. Indigenous and *ladino* communities alike became divided. Native communities that had remained loyal to the PRI since the reforms of President Cardenas became angry with the cuts in agricultural subsidies that aided the poor. Only those regions where elections were being held or contested received government support, and affiliation with competing political parties, especially the growing Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD) grew.

The 1988 Mexican national election resulted in the continued dominance of the PRI. Carlos Salinas de Gortari (b. 1948) became president amid allegations of corruption and ballot-box stuffing. Salinas continued to support free-trade policies, which led to inflated prices for foods such as the tortilla, a staple of the Mexican diet, yet eliminated farm subsidies. Assistance was supposed to be received regardless of one's political affiliation, but this was not the case. Forty-eight percent of the population lived below the official poverty level, and the distribution of funds to indigenous communities in Chiapas and elsewhere did not occur as planned. PRI officials continued to use literacy and legalism to take advantage of indigenous peoples. Salinas's worst mistake, perhaps, was the amendment of Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution in 1992 in order to again allow privatization of *ejido* lands. Fifty-four percent of Mexican lands were held as *ejidos*, including indigenous territories (Stephen 2002). In order for *ejidos* to remain as collectives, *ejidatarios* had to enroll through a complicated certification process. In addition, women could not vote under these rules, nor did the necessary electoral structure exist. Frustrated with the political impasse, the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) took matters into their own hands. In 1994 an army composed mostly of Zapotec and Tzotzil Indians revolted, timing their revolt to coincide with the implementation of the U.S.-led North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). In the revolt, the Zapatistas took over government offices throughout Chiapas. An Internet posting called international attention to the event and detailed the 34-point agenda of the Zapatistas. Chief among these demands were the return of privatized lands to native communities, hospitals and medicine for indigenous communities, housing and basic services (e.g., water, plumbing, electricity), an end to illiteracy, fair prices for their farm products, and an end to hunger and malnutrition. Very few of these demands differed from those listed twenty years previously by the 1974 Indigenous World Congress, or those called for in the International Labor Organization's (ILO) Conventions 107 and 169, which had been ratified into the Mexican constitution in 1990. These ILO resolutions were specifically designed to protect indigenous collective rights on

religious, political, labor, and land freedom issues. They were viewed by many merely as symbolic gestures, however, in order to show that Mexico was making progress in its commitment to a "plural-ethnic" state.

When the Zapatistas finally voluntarily withdrew from the government centers, an international conference was held between the Zapatistas and the government's Commission of Agreement and Peacemaking (COCOPA) officials to reach a consensus over demands. This agreement, known as the San Andreas Accords, was later signed by President Ernesto Zedillo, who later refused to implement any of the resolutions. However, the idea that indigenous people could organize themselves began to spread to other indigenous peoples.

The end of the rebellion and subsequent meetings resulted in several self-proclaimed autonomous communities by the Zapatistas, which continued to face armed vigilance from the Mexican military in 2005. The autonomous Zapatista communities reflect a socialistic model of social welfare by engaging the Indians themselves to construct and promote schools and bring basic services into their communities as well as to form artisan cooperatives to bring in funds to the autonomous communities.

### THE NEW WAVE OF ZAPATISMO: GLOBALIZATION AND THE FUTURE

In the early twenty-first century, the term *Zapatismo* stands for the new indigenous rights movement. Reorganized as the *Fuerza Zapatista de Liberación Nacional* (FZLN) to emphasize nonviolence, *Zapatismo* is a pan-Indian consciousness that includes the indigenous peoples of Mexico and nonnative sympathizers around the world. The Mexican military's acts of social injustice have come to be closely watched by such organizations as Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International.

Mexico continues to deny the implementation of any plural-ethnic model of Mexican society, though outwardly promoting it, and the Mexican authorities continue to vigilantly police the indigenous areas of Mexico for fear of uprisings. The military and state police closely watch native gatherings and migrations, and human rights abuses against the indigenous peoples of Mexico continue, including the illegal detention of Huichol religious pilgrims on their way back from collecting peyote for use in community religious festivities (Valadez 1998) and military vigilance (searches and questioning) toward individuals coming into and out of the Huichol Indian communities. In addition, the Jalisco State Police have appeared at biannual community meetings where natives were searched, questioned, and religious artifacts seized (Biglow 2001, p. 158–159). These events occurred despite protection for native religious practices expressly



*Tzotzil Indians Trek Home, 2001. Autonomous Zapatistas communities in Chiapas continue to face armed vigilance from the Mexican military. In this photo, hundreds of Tzotzil Indians and aid workers return home from a refugee camp in Chollep after violence between the two forces died down. AP IMAGES.*

being covered in the ratification of the ILO conventions into the Mexican constitution in 1990.

The idea of indigenous communities as “closed corporate communities” (Wolf 1957) is no longer a viable model to describe the changing peasantry. Indigenous identities blend interchangeably with regional identities, resulting in a sort of *polybian*, a person who can exist in two or more worlds (Kearney 1996, p. 141). These polybians are part of regional identities that are difficult to separate from other native or nonnative populations. Whereas ethnic identity and affiliation were previously based on appearance (dress and/or phenotype) and language, these can no longer be the sole criteria for ethnic classification. Self-identification has become the chief factor for this determination. This change was reflected in the 2000 Mexican national census, where 30 percent of the population now identify themselves as indigenous and descended from sixty-two different recognized ethnic groups (Foster 2004, p. 257).

Ongoing confrontations with missionaries further complicate the situation of indigenous rights. Despite

the fact that many indigenous communities have passed local resolutions forbidding missionaries from residing in native areas, missionary activity continues due to support from both domestic and foreign missionary organizations. While some measures employed by missionaries are clearly clandestine and dishonest, other less blatant practices also seem to violate native conceptions of sovereignty, including the repeated aerial dropping of radios that receive evangelical shortwave stations, onto native lands where missionaries are forbidden (National Public Radio 2001b).

Injustices against native peoples have continued in the twenty-first century. The 2000 election of Vicente Fox as the first non-PRI party president in seventy-one years has done little to benefit the indigenous communities. The National Action Party (NAP) promised new economic growth in the indigenous areas, and President Fox maintained that NAFTA would both stabilize Mexico’s economy and bring it firmly into status as a First World nation. This has not occurred, however, as maize imports continue to come from the United States,

undercutting Mexican prices for the grain. Rural and indigenous farmers, particularly Zapotec farmers of Oaxaca, have been forced to turn to bio-engineered crops (transgenics) to increase production (Enciso 2001, National Public Radio 2001a). This was done despite a long-standing indigenous connection with corn production as the chief crop in their diet and the religious connection of corn fertility to human life (Sandstrom 1991; Biglow 2002).

The increase of services to some indigenous areas, such as the Huichol Indians of western Mexico, has brought about a rapid *Mestizoization* of the population. Traditional village politics are turning from an egalitarian socialistic model, with status based on age-prestige social rankings, to a class-based stratification whereby personal wealth and political affiliation largely determine one's place in society (Biglow 2001). This has been compounded by the downfall of cheap labor factories (*maquiladoras*) along the U.S.-Mexico border in 2002, in favor of cheaper labor in Asia.

Not only has lack of employment become a problem for Mexicans in general, but by 2002, nearly one in three Mexicans had been to work in the United States, either legally or illegally (Foster 2004, p. 251). Few realize, however, that the majority of the illegal immigrants are indigenous Mexicans who have become landless in Mexico and are forced to seek out agricultural jobs in the United States. It is therefore important to note the presence of indigenous peoples living in diaspora in the United States and Canada.

Mexican racial politics continue to play a large role as the nation struggles with the ideas of unity and nationalism in the early twenty-first century. A number of recurrent themes have come about, including: (1) the denial of an indigenous past and ethnic diversity, (2) the failure to recognize indigenous sovereignty and constitutional protections for their diverse peoples, and (3) a continued attention to the demands of industry over the will of its the people. While there are no easy solutions to these policies, Héctor Díaz-Polanco (1997), a prominent Mexican anthropologist, argues that at least some degree of indigenous self-determination or autonomy appear crucial if Mexico is to survive as a unified nation-state. Adding to this argument, the Mexican national Consultation of 1999 showed overwhelming support by the populace for Zapatista demands. The World Trade Center bombings in September 2001 and subsequent attention to border security and illegal immigration appear to have halted these initiatives but they will continue to dominate the political scene in the coming years.

**SEE ALSO** *Mexicans; Zapatista Rebellion.*

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## INDIGENOUS

Indigenous peoples are the original inhabitants of a territory that has been colonized by a settler society, such as the United States, Australia, Canada, and New Zealand. As such, they are often minorities in their own homeland. The terms used to identify indigenous peoples vary depending on the colonial history and region, as well as historical period. For example, in Australia the term *Aboriginal* is common, whereas in Canada the terms include *Aboriginal* and *First Nations*, and *Indian peoples*. In New Zealand, the Maori tribes constitute the indigenous people. In Latin America, they are the *Indigenas*; in Japan, the Ainu people are the indigenous minority; and in Sweden, Norway, and Iceland, they are the Sami. In the United States, indigenous peoples include American Indians (made up of hundreds of tribal nations), Alaska Natives (including Inuits, Aleutians, and American Indians), Native Hawaiians, American Samoans, and Chamorros from Guam and the Northern Marianas Islands. In addition, there are Taino-identified people in Puerto Rico.

In the 1986 report of United Nations (UN) Special Rapporteur José Martínez Cobo titled *Study of the Problem of Discrimination against Indigenous Populations*, indigenous peoples are defined as "those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that have developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing in those territories, or parts of them." Cobo goes on to assert that "they form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic traditional medi-

cines and health practices, including the right to protection of vital medicinal plants, animals and minerals."

A key issue for indigenous peoples worldwide is the question of the right to self-determination under international law. Because the basic criteria defining colonies under international law includes foreign domination and geographical separation from the colonizer, indigenous peoples remain at a disadvantage in terms of the application of decolonization protocols to indigenous nations, an issue heatedly debated within the world community. UN General Assembly Resolution 1514 declares: "all peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right, they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social, and cultural development." However, there is no consensus that indigenous peoples have the right to full self-determination, an option that would allow for the development of nation-states independent from their former colonizers. In addition, it is not clear if such rights should be limited to internal self-determination within the existing nation-states in which indigenous peoples live. A key element in this debate is the use of the term *peoples* (plural), which signifies legal rights under international law, over and above the singular *people*, which is grammatically and legally different.

Indigenous peoples worldwide have worked for decades to ensure that their preexisting human rights are recognized and upheld by global nation-states, especially because the domestic laws in most settler states have not protected their ability to assert their self-determination. Key issues of struggle include the right of ownership and control of lands and resources, self-governance, and decision-making authority vis-à-vis the dominant population. As a result of indigenous global activism since the 1970s, a Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples is currently being considered in the UN Human Rights Council, and a vote by the UN General Assembly is possible at some time in the future. In its draft form, the declaration is currently being promoted as part of customary international law, and indigenous leaders are endeavoring to have states adopt this document in order to make it enforceable and legally binding. There is broad resistance to adopting the declaration, however, especially by the United States.

Histories of racism have varied across different global contexts, but histories of genocide are pervasive, as settler states have typically expanded their territory by waging wars against indigenous peoples. European nations, and later the United States and other nation-states, used the "Doctrine of Discovery," which rationalized the conquest of indigenous lands, to perpetuate the legal fiction of land possession, and these nations continue to impose this principle as a mechanism of control in their negotiations with indigenous peoples' legal status and land rights. One of the most common forms of racism against indigenous peoples in modern times is the

pernicious falsehood that they are entirely extinct or diluted due to racial mixing. These populations are subject to a standard of authenticity based on a colonial logic of culture and purity. In the United States, the myth of the “Vanishing Indian” endures and has led to stringent criteria required of tribes seeking federal recognition. This recognition enables the exercise of internal self-determination by domestic dependent indigenous nations subject to the U.S. trust doctrine, which is supposed to be a unique legal relationship with the U.S. federal government that entails protection.

**SEE ALSO** *Fourth World; Genocide; Genocide and Ethnocide; Genocide in Rwanda; Genocide in the Sudan; Racial Hierarchy; Violence against Indigenous People, Latin America.*

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## **INFANT MORTALITY AND BIRTH WEIGHT**

*Infant mortality* refers to the death rate of babies less than one year old; it is expressed as the number who die per every thousand live births. The chances of dying are high among infants because they have not developed immunities to most infectious, parasitic, and communicable diseases, which are often associated with poor sanitary conditions and malnourishment. The infant mortality rate can thus be used as a gauge of the health of populations within and across countries.

#### **IMR WORLDWIDE**

The infant mortality rate (IMR) tends to decline as countries become more economically developed. For example, the IMR in the United States was about 100 per thousand live births in 1900, but in the early twenty-first century it

is below 10 per thousand. Many countries have even lower rates than the United States, such as Japan (3.0), Finland (3.1), and Norway (3.4). In industrialized countries, differences in IMRs tend to be the result of disparities in the health status of women before and during pregnancy, as well as a reflection of the quality and accessibility of primary care for pregnant women and their infants. The IMRs for Peru (43), India (60), Laos (87), Ethiopia (116), Afghanistan (150), and Burundi (157) are very high, although most of these countries have witnessed a substantial decline in infant mortality since the 1960s (United Nations 2004). For example, the IMR in India was 146 in 1960 but reached a low of 60 in 2003. Nonetheless, many developing countries will continue to struggle in their efforts to eliminate adverse birth outcomes if they do not improve access to adequate health care facilities, improve the standards of living for all of their citizens, and put forth a more conscious effort at improving the health of women and children overall.

On a more positive note, the IMR has declined significantly around the world: It was 198 in 1960, 83 in 2001, and 54 in 2003. In the early 2000s, the most common causes of infant mortality worldwide are pneumonia and dehydration from diarrhea. The rate of children dying from dehydration is decreasing, however, due to the success of international efforts in providing mothers with information about Oral Rehydration Solution.

#### **IMRS IN THE UNITED STATES**

In the United States, the IMR has also steadily declined. It was 26.0 in 1960, but has dropped significantly, falling to 6.9 in 2000 (Iyasu and Tomashek 2000). A variety of factors have been proposed to explain the declining IMR across several different historical time periods in the United States. For example, in the early 1900s improved environmental and living conditions were responsible for initial declines in infant mortality, while the next few decades saw declines as a result of programs established to care for pregnant women and their infants (Meckel 1990). According to some scholars, infant mortality declined in the 1990s because of decreases in sudden infant death syndrome (SIDS) (Willinger 1998).

Although the United States has greatly reduced its IMR since the 1960s, it ranked only twenty-sixth among industrialized countries in infant mortality in 1999 (United Nations 2002). This ranking is in large part the result of disparities that continue to exist among various racial/ethnic groups in the United States, particularly between African Americans and whites. In 2000, infant mortality occurred at a rate of 14.0 per thousand live births among African Americans, compared to 5.7 for non-Hispanic whites (Iyasu and Tomashek 2000). By 2002 the IMR for African Americans had declined slightly to 13.9, but this

was still more than double the rate of 5.8 for non-Hispanic whites. Infants of Native American (8.6) and Puerto Rican (8.2) mothers also have relatively high IMRs, while other ethnic groups in the United States, such as Mexicans (5.4), Japanese (4.9), Cubans (3.7), and Chinese (3.0), have relatively low IMRs (Mathews, Menacker, MacDorman 2002). Even though the infant mortality rate has declined throughout the twentieth century for all women, the comparative inconsistency between African Americans and whites remains unchanged.

#### LOW BIRTH WEIGHT AND RACE

Low birth weight is an important determinant of racial/ethnic differences in infant mortality in the United States. Low-birth-weight (LBW) babies are newborns weighing less than 2,500 grams (5 pounds 8 ounces) and very-low-birth-weight (VLBW) include newborns weighing less than 1,500 grams (3 pounds 4 ounces). The IMR for low-birth-weight infants is more than twenty times that of infants born at a normal weight (MacDorman and Atkinson 1999), putting them at a much greater risk for mortality.

In 2001 the percentage of LBW babies born to African-American mothers was 13.0. Although this figure represents a decline from a high of 13.6 in 1991, it is still considerably higher than the rate for Asian/Pacific Islander (7.5), American Indian (7.3), white (6.7), and Hispanic (6.5) births (Martin et al. 2003). In 2001 the rate of VLBW newborns remained at 1.4 percent of live births to U.S. women, but the rate of VLBW among African-American babies was more than two-and-a-half times higher than that among non-Hispanic whites (Martin et al. 2003). The black-white gap in infant mortality in the United States can be explained when adverse birth outcomes such as low birth weight are taken into account (Hummer et al. 1999).

According to the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), other major contributors to infant mortality include congenital abnormalities, SIDS, and respiratory distress syndrome. In fact, SIDS rates are 2.4 times higher for African American babies and 2.6 times higher for Native American and Alaska Native babies than for non-Hispanic white babies.

#### RISK FACTORS FOR LBW

Some relevant lifestyle factors influencing the likelihood of having a LBW infant are maternal smoking, drug and alcohol abuse, poor nutrition, and insufficient prenatal care. For example, in 2001 there was a higher percentage of LBW infants born to smokers (11.9 percent) than to nonsmokers (7.3 percent), a pattern that has been observed among both African American and white infants. Other factors associated with increased risk of LBW include

maternal poverty, low levels of educational attainment, and family medical history (Conley and Bennett 2001).

Social scientists have developed a number of theories to help explain the high infant mortality rate among African Americans.

**The Weathering Hypothesis.** Arline Geronimus argues that there is a more rapid decline in the reproductive health of African-American women than in other women in the United States. According to Geronimus, this partially explains why older African-American women (those in their mid-twenties) have higher neonatal mortality rates (IMR for babies younger than 28 days) and a higher risk for having a LBW baby than their younger counterparts. In her research, Geronimus has found the opposite pattern for non-Hispanic white women, who have the lowest neonatal mortality rates and LBWs among women in their mid-twenties. According to this view, “weathering” occurs among African-American women as a result of a lifetime of exposure to economic disadvantage, untreated health conditions, accumulated obligations to significant others, negative health behaviors, limited job choices, and racial/ethnic discrimination.

Additional empirical support for the weathering hypothesis is mixed, however. Elizabeth Wildsmith (2002) has found some evidence for the hypothesis among U.S.-born Mexican-American women in terms of maternal health. Narayan Sastry and Jon Hussey (2003), using data from birth records of mothers who resided in Chicago, report that an increase in age is associated with a decrease in birth weight among African Americans, but with an increase in birth weight among Hispanics of Mexican origin. Michael Klitsch (2003), on the other hand, reports few racial/ethnic differences in the general pattern of decreasing infant death rates with increasing maternal age in a study of African-American, white, and Mexican-American women.

**Cumulative Disadvantage.** The weathering hypothesis is consistent with the “cumulative disadvantage” perspective that is often proposed to explain disparities in physical health between elderly minorities and their white peers (Crystal and Shea 1990). Those who embrace the cumulative disadvantage perspective argue that individuals who start out with fewer resources will have poorer health outcomes across the life course. Within the weathering framework, age is a resource that decreases in value over time more rapidly for African Americans than for non-Hispanic whites. Age brings with it certain forms of capital such as high energy and a sense of optimism. These resources are higher among the young compared to the old. The difference between these two perspectives, however, is that the weathering hypothesis is multiplicative (it includes the interaction between age and race/ethnicity)

while the cumulative disadvantage view is additive (it includes only the linear effect of age and race/ethnicity). These perspectives emphasize the complex etiology of racial/ethnic differences in infant mortality rates.

**The Intersectionality Hypothesis.** A second view of disadvantage, referred to as the “intersectionality hypothesis,” also advocates a nonlinear relationship between race/ethnicity and health across groups (Mullings and Wali 2001; Weber and Parra-Medina 2003). This view suggests that a unique set of circumstances are created at the intersection of race, class, and gender that do not always support expectations. For example, African-American women who have graduated college have a higher infant mortality rate than white women who have not completed high school (Pamuk et al. 1998). Intersectionality theory provides a useful lens through which such health disparities may be more clearly viewed. In particular, attention is paid to the resources that are available to individuals as a result of the amount of power afforded to their group. It can be argued that African-American professional women must often navigate within the boundaries of organizations that are structured by both racial and gender divisions. In this case, it seems that middle-class status is experienced in a less profound and beneficial way for these women than for any other group. As a result, these women are not afforded the opportunity to organize resources that should be available to them given their social-class standing (Jackson and Williams 2005).

These perspectives are not contradictory. They simply draw attention to the accumulation of risk factors that produce disparities in IMRs. Many social scientists acknowledge the role that more general structures, such as residential segregation and neighborhood quality, play in producing racial disparities in health (Williams and Collins 2001). Residential segregation is directly associated with access to and quality of health care, as well as environmental hazards. In fact, because of segregation, middle-class African Americans live in poorer areas than do whites of similar economic status, and poor whites live in much better neighborhoods than do poor African Americans (Massey and Denton 1993). Predominantly African-American neighborhoods also have fewer quality health facilities (Williams and Jackson 2005), and their residents are more likely to be victims of environmental racism (Sexton et al. 1993). A related body of research highlights the role played by neighborhood disadvantage. Neighborhoods perceived as unsafe discourage residents from engaging in healthful behaviors such as walking (Ross and Mirowsky 2001). African-American babies born in more segregated cities have higher rates of infant mortality than those born in less segregated cities (Hogue and Hargraves 1993). A host of environmental and neighborhood-level

factors are also associated with the risk of delivering a low-birth-weight baby (Sastry and Hussey 2003). Thus, residential segregation and other environmental factors play an important role in access to quality healthcare, the promotion of healthful behaviors during pregnancy, and resulting infant mortality rates.

The steady decline in infant mortality worldwide is an encouraging pattern for the future. It will be important, however, for scientists to continue to investigate a variety of factors (social, economic, environmental, biological) that contribute to infant deaths. On the other hand, some of the complex patterns found in racial/ethnic differences in infant mortality rates suggest that a concerted effort must also be made to carefully distinguish between these causes. For example, infant mortality rates among African Americans compared to non-Hispanic whites are primarily due to the higher incidence of LBW and preterm births. Similarly, Puerto Rican infants have higher IMRs because of higher LBW rates. On the other hand, the differential in the rate of SIDs helps explain the higher death rate among American Indian infants. Health officials must continue to document the causes of infant death, monitor the success of public health campaigns, and keep track of the increasing use of medical technologies, which can also help explain fluctuations in the infant mortality rate (Reuwer, Sijmans, and Rietman 1987; Zhang, Yancey, and Henderson 2002).

**SEE ALSO** *Life Expectancy*.

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## INFECTIOUS DISEASE, SUSCEPTIBILITY, AND RACE

Disparities in health status, whether measured by infant mortality, life expectancy, or rates of disease, have always existed between different groups. They have been especially stark during epidemics. HIV (human immunodeficiency virus), for instance, exhibits marked disparities between developing and developed countries and between different populations within developing countries. How can these disparities be explained?

Some observers have argued that disparities in disease and mortality reflect disparities in socioeconomic conditions, with impoverished populations being most vulnerable to a wide range of diseases. Others have argued that the disparities reflect biological differences between groups that have different genetic susceptibilities to infectious disease. Genetic explanations have been especially popular in the many cases in which health disparities have existed among racial and ethnic groups.

Two diseases, smallpox and tuberculosis, demonstrate this well. During epidemics of smallpox in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and during epidemics of tuberculosis in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, doctors and other observers debated the extent to which substantial disparities in mortality could be attributed to assumed biological differences between racial groups. These cases each suggest that biological differences between “races” might be less important determinants of disease than variations in social and economic conditions.

### “VIRGIN SOIL” EPIDEMICS

Since ancient times, physicians have been aware that disease is distributed unevenly. Different people living in different places suffer from different diseases, or from different rates of the same diseases. In one of the most influential texts of ancient Greece, *On Airs, Waters, and Places*, the author traced disease to the source and quality of drinking water, the direction and intensity of the prevailing winds, and the topography of the land. Yet the susceptibility to disease went deeper than these environmental conditions. Because people who lived in a

specific place became adapted to the local environment, environmental differences became embodied as biological differences (but not necessarily heritable differences) between different groups. Athenians who moved to Alexandria would have found themselves in a climate to which they were not adapted. They would therefore have been more vulnerable to the local diseases of Alexandria. In this way, ancient authors traced variations in rates of disease, in part, to biological differences between people.

Patterns in the distribution of disease among different peoples and places became more obvious and more relevant during the European voyages of exploration and colonization in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As Europeans initiated sustained contact with foreign populations in Africa, Asia, and the Americas, they encountered new diseases and spread their own diseases throughout the world. Smallpox, measles, malaria, and many others spread from Europe and Africa to the Americas. Syphilis spread from America to Europe and then throughout the world. This exchange of diseases had devastating consequences, particularly for the indigenous inhabitants of the Americas. The population of Hispaniola, the first group subjected to Spanish Conquest, foretold the fate of other areas: The Arawak population fell from roughly 400,000 in 1496 to 125 in 1570. As the historian Alfred Crosby has shown, every encounter brought disease and decimation—to Mexico and Peru in the sixteenth century, to New France and New England in the seventeenth century, and throughout North America and the Pacific Islands in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. American and Pacific populations typically declined by 90 percent in the first century after contact, falling victim to smallpox, measles, influenza, and countless other epidemics.

The new encounters between people and disease inspired substantial speculation about the distribution of disease and the causes of susceptibility. Colonists produced a diverse range of explanations for the prevalence of disease among American Indians, including religion, diet, environmental conditions, and hygiene. Early colonists, at least in New England, did not see the mortality disparity in racial terms nor did they assume that there were intrinsic differences between European and Indian bodies. Instead, as Philip Vincent, who led English forces in the Pequot War, put it in 1637, “we have the same matter, the same mould. Only art and grace have given us that perfection which they yet want, but may perhaps be as capable thereof as we” (Jones 2003, p. 38). However, the disparities in health status became more and more striking over time. Colonists described epidemics that devastated American Indians but had no effect on the Europeans who lived among them. European populations grew steadily even as Native populations declined. As Joyce Chaplin has argued, these observations led more and more colonists in the

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to suspect that there were intrinsic differences between Europeans, Native Americans, and Africans. Within their starkly Eurocentric worldview, Europeans saw themselves as both more civilized and more resistant to disease.

Historians and medical researchers have debated for centuries why American Indians had such high mortality from epidemics. Many have favored explanations based in evolutionary theory and natural selection. According to the popular “virgin soil” theory of epidemics, European and Asian populations suffered a high burden of infectious disease throughout their history. As a result, they developed a genetic resistance to smallpox, measles, and many other infections. Because these diseases did not exist in the Americas before Christopher Columbus, the indigenous population never developed similar resistance. Alfred Crosby and Jared Diamond have argued that this differential susceptibility explains the outcome of the encounter: American Indians were doomed because they lacked genetic resistance to a wide range of Eurasian pathogens.

However, the theory of virgin soil epidemics has had many critics. Despite intensive study, medical researchers have not found any substantial evidence that different races have different genetic susceptibilities to smallpox, measles, or other acute viral infections. At the same time, Linda Newson, Stephen Kunitz, and other historians have shown that environmental conditions and social factors played a decisive role in shaping the outcome of encounters between Europeans and Native Americans. Many American populations barely eked out a subsistence living before the European arrival, with life expectancies as low as twenty to twenty-five years. When European colonizers disrupted patterns of subsistence and exposed Indians to warfare, slavery, and dislocation, the populations suffered terribly. The severity of the mortality varied between different groups, often depending on the intensity and intrusiveness of European contact. This suggests that American Indian populations were not born vulnerable to European pathogens. Instead, they may have been made vulnerable by the chaos of colonization and conquest.

#### TUBERCULOSIS, RACE, AND EXTINCTION

During the nineteenth century, tuberculosis replaced smallpox as the dominant cause of mortality in Europe and the United States. Smallpox declined for a variety of reasons, including the spread of vaccination and the emergence of a less virulent strain of smallpox. The rise of tuberculosis is more complex, with urbanization, overcrowding, working conditions in factories, and malnutrition all contributing. By the late nineteenth century, tuberculosis caused roughly 20 percent of all deaths in Europe and the United States. The impact was even more

dire on some populations. Randall Packard has shown how Africans working in South African mines in the first half of the twentieth century suffered terribly from tuberculosis, even after it had receded among the white population of South Africa. Medical researchers at the time wondered whether the Africans were a “virgin soil” for tuberculosis. Packard argued instead that the epidemic arose from the poverty, malnutrition, and physical stress experienced by the black laborers.

In North America the most afflicted populations were American Indians who had been confined on reservations. Tuberculosis caused more than half of all deaths on the Sioux reservations in the Dakotas. Observers continued to emphasize environmental conditions, tracing tuberculosis to overcrowded housing, poor hygiene, and inadequate food. Racial theories, however, became more common. By the mid-nineteenth century, many scientists believed either that the races had been created separately or that they had diverged thoroughly from their common creation. In either case, there was no reason to think that the different races were equivalent. As a result, many scholars in the United States and Europe believed that whites were superior to both American Indians and blacks. This belief led to a widely held conclusion: Indians and blacks, unable to compete with whites, would inevitably go extinct. The burden of tuberculosis among the Native population was seen as proof of their eventual fate.

These theories of racial susceptibility to tuberculosis had many subtleties. White Protestants were not always seen as the most superior race. Just as American Indians were believed to be susceptible because they had only recently encountered tuberculosis, Jews were seen as particularly resistant because they had long lived in urban ghettos where tuberculosis had thrived. However, as the historian Alan Kraut has shown, Jewish doctors did not welcome this theory. Instead, they argued that there was no particular connection between Jews and tuberculosis. The disease simply assailed everyone who lived in suitable conditions.

During the twentieth century, tuberculosis receded from the United States and Europe but remained endemic in many other countries. By 2000, one-third of the world's population (two billion people) were infected. More than two million people died each year. It became clear over the twentieth century that socioeconomic factors have an enormous impact on tuberculosis. In many populations, everyone would become infected, but only those weakened by physical stress or malnutrition would die. This was seen clearly during wartime conditions, when famines, fatigue, and dislocation greatly increased tuberculosis mortality. Such observations led the microbiologist and author René Dubos to christen tuberculosis a “social disease.” Any population, when weakened by poverty and malnutrition, can become devastatingly susceptible to tuberculosis.

Despite clear evidence of the importance of socioeconomic factors, researchers continued to seek and find evidence of genetic factors that influence susceptibility to tuberculosis. In the 1990s William Stead, Richard Bellamy, Adrian V.S. Hill, and other researchers identified a series of genetic variants that increased both the risk of infection with the bacteria that causes tuberculosis and the risk of active disease once infected. In 2006, Philip Liu and his collaborators showed a link between melanin concentration in skin (i.e., darkness of skin) and susceptibility to tuberculosis. It is possible that variations in the frequency of susceptibility genes between different populations contribute to the observed variations in the frequency of tuberculosis in different racial and ethnic groups. The discovery of new susceptibility genes became more common as the Human Genome Project and the International HapMap Project facilitated high-volume genomic analysis. The new genetic data, taken with the existing evidence of the importance of socioeconomic conditions, forced researchers to continue to debate the contribution of genetic and environmental factors to disease susceptibility and health disparities.

#### RACE, GENETICS, AND SUSCEPTIBILITY

Discussions of race and susceptibility to disease have not been limited to virgin soil epidemics and tuberculosis. Instead, racial disparities in disease incidence and mortality rates have been described for most diseases. Diabetes has been most prevalent among the Pima Indians, a problem attributed to the mismatch between scarce ancestral food supplies and the overabundance of modern life. Sickle-cell disease is largely a problem for people of African ancestry, a legacy of evolution in malarial environments. Tay-Sachs disease occurs almost exclusively among Ashkenazi Jews, a product, it has been speculated, of their long exposure to tuberculosis. Countless other “racial” diseases and susceptibilities have been described. This research benefited from increasingly fine-grained analyses of human genetics. Although it has become clear that humans are remarkably homogeneous genetically (much more so than fruit flies or dogs), there is enough variation between humans for genetic subpopulations to be identified. As Noah Rosenberg's analysis has shown, these genetically defined populations correlate well with conventional racial categories. These various lines of research are seen by some to support the conclusion that race is both biologically real and medically significant.

However, as happened with both virgin soil epidemics and theories of tuberculosis susceptibility, questions emerged about the significance of genetic differences between racial and ethnic groups. Even if a disease is distributed along racial lines, genetic differences between

racism might not be the cause. Race in the United States is correlated with education, living conditions, and socioeconomic status, each of which influences disease outcomes. The limitations of racial theories, and the discomfort with them, can be clearly seen in the case of HIV. From the earliest years of the epidemic, HIV/AIDS has exhibited striking disparities in morbidity and mortality. Few scientists or historians, however, have argued that the disparities between South Africans and Europeans, or between urban minorities and suburban whites, existed because the afflicted populations were genetically susceptible to HIV. Instead, the social contingency of HIV on a local and global scale has long been recognized.

Ironically, as more and more genetic data emerge to explain observed racial disparities in health status, the overall argument about the importance of genetics becomes harder and harder to sustain. For instance, disparities between American Indians and the general population of the United States have been described for acute infections, such as smallpox and measles; chronic infections, especially tuberculosis and trachoma; and for the endemic ailments of modern society, including heart disease, diabetes, alcoholism, and depression. A different, but equally diverse, set of disparities exists for African Americans. The persistence of disparities across changing disease environments is actually a powerful argument against the belief that disparities reflect the genetic susceptibilities of different racial groups. Instead, the disparities could arise from disparities of wealth and power that exist between different racial and ethnic groups.

Disparities in disease incidence and mortality rates among different racial and ethnic groups have existed for millennia. However, the causes of these disparities remain unclear. Many researchers have argued that biological differences between racial groups, especially variations in disease susceptibility genes, are the cause of the differential susceptibility. Others have rejected these claims and argued instead that environmental conditions and socioeconomic factors have a greater influence on patterns of disease. Until the questions are resolved, researchers, clinicians, and policymakers need to recognize the complexity of race and the many other factors that interact to produce patterns of disease and mortality.

**SEE ALSO** *Diabetes; Diseases, Racial; Genetic Variation among Populations; Health Disparities between Indians and Non-Indians; Heritability; HIV and AIDS; Human Genetics; Sickle Cell Anemia; Tay-Sachs and "Jewish" Diseases.*

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## **INSTITUTIONAL RACISM**

Institutional racism is the process by which racial oppression is imposed on subordinate racial groups by dominant racial groups through institutional channels. While individuals carry out single acts of discrimination, societal institutions are the primary settings where patterns of racial discrimination are established and perpetuated toward subordinate peoples. Central to the operation of institutional racism is a racial hierarchy of power, and, despite differences in historical development and racial-ethnic group composition among the world's countries, institutionalized racism tends to be prevalent in countries that have both dominant and subordinate racial groups.

## BEYOND RACISM AS FEELINGS

Stokely Carmichael (later, Kwame Ture) and Charles V. Hamilton introduced the concept of institutional racism in their pioneering *Black Power* (1967), thus moving the scholarly understanding of racism beyond the traditional—yet still widespread—focus on individual bigots. While many race scholars now accept the systemic operations of racism, many people still view racism as a feeling of ill will directed toward any racial out-group. Thus, a common notion is that a person either is, or is not, a racist. Understanding that racism occurs at the institutional level adds a layer of complexity to the simple idea that racism is a feeling each individual can choose to either possess or deny.

All societies include institutional inequalities, but, as Louis L. Knowles and Kenneth Prewitt (1969) explain, “no society need use race as a criterion to determine who will be rewarded and who punished. Any nation that permits race to affect the distribution of benefits from social policies is racist” (p. 6). Knowles and Prewitt provide an illustrative example of institutional racism in U.S. history, claiming that the 1964 murder of civil rights workers by Ku Klux Klan members and white police officers in Mississippi was an act of individual racism, while the killers’ acquittal, involving various state agencies in Mississippi, was an example of well-institutionalized racism. Even this delineation, however, is contested; other scholars would argue that the actions of the police officers should also be considered institutional racism because they acted within the police structure and with the support of the all-white police culture.

## HISTORY AND POWER

Institutional racism does not arise spontaneously, but rather develops as institutions themselves are created and/or modified over the years. For example, in the United States, all major institutions, including education, government, and the economic and legal systems, were formed and underwent substantial entrenchment and evolution during the extreme racial oppression and inequality from the 1600s to the 1960s, eras of slavery and legalized segregation. According to Joe R. Feagin, in *Systemic Racism* (2006), each institution has embedded, maintained, and enhanced the unjust impoverishment of people of color and the unjust enrichment and privilege for whites. Indeed, the U.S. economic system was originally created to center around the exploitation and oppression of African Americans via enslavement and, to a lesser extent, the exclusion and discrimination of North American indigenous peoples. Thus, racial oppression is truly part of the bedrock of the United States, forming part of the country’s foundation.

Most European countries differ markedly from the United States in that their racial oppressions and inequal-

ities have historically been less rooted in national origins, less openly contested on the domestic front, and thus less visible to the world. Nevertheless, Europe too has a long history of racist ideology and practice, including the colonization of indigenous peoples across the globe and the support for slavery in many of these overseas colonies.

Central to institutional racism is the power differential whereby patterns of discriminatory practices reward those of the dominant group (typically whites and lighter-skinned peoples) and harm subordinate groups. White elites in many white-dominant countries, such as the Netherlands, Germany, the United Kingdom, France, and the United States, have firm control of the political, corporate, media, and academic arenas, and they are able to generate and reproduce racism through these powerful channels, consciously or unconsciously (Dijk 1993). This occurs not just through the establishment of discriminatory institutional practices but also through the creation of a white supremacist ideology, which gives people rationalizations for outcomes of even extreme levels of racial inequality.

## THE ROLE OF INTENT

According to Joe R. Feagin and Clairece Booher Feagin (2003), institutional racism takes two major forms: *direct* and *indirect* institutionalized discrimination. The former type involves overt actions prescribed by dominant-group organizations that have a discriminatory impact on subordinate racial groups, such as legalized exclusion from certain types of well-paying jobs. The latter consists of less overt racialized acts that harm members of subordinate groups without the perpetrators necessarily having malicious intent. For example, when local tax bases are used as the basis for public school funding, communities of color—whose residents tend to be poorer—are more likely to wind up with the less-funded, often inadequate, schools. Students of color disproportionately receive meager educations, which in turn hinder their ability to compete in the higher education and employment arenas. By contrast, white students receive better than average educations and, therefore, receive unearned benefits from institutional racism practices. Thus, institutional racism in one area (e.g., education) can have substantial effects in another (e.g., employment) and interact with forms of direct and indirect institutional racism there, which results in a cumulative dynamic.

Importantly, indirect institutional racism is hardly reducible to class inequalities working themselves out in racial ways. Contemporary social science research strongly indicates that, even when controlling for all other possible factors (such as class status, education, experience, skills, and location), discrimination against people of color tends to occur at significant rates. These numerous studies include the areas of housing (e.g., Yinger 1995), employment (e.g.,



**Supreme Court Protest, 2006.** In December 2006 the Supreme Court heard arguments in two suits challenging school admission policies. The court's ruling would decide how race can be used when assigning students to K-12 schools in an effort to achieve diversity. AP IMAGES.

Bertrand and Mullainathan 2004; Pager 2003), education (e.g., Oakes 2005), and criminal justice. Notably, a 2005 study conducted by Devah Pager and Lincoln Quillian lends support to the assertion that individuals need not be aware of the racism in their actions for discrimination to be the effect: Employers who had favored white job applicants with criminal records over black applicants with clean records claimed to have no awareness of their recent discriminatory hiring decisions, when interviewed later.

If using the racism-as-feelings perspective, it can seem counterintuitive that the agents of racism can sometimes be oblivious of the discriminatory implications of their actions. Nonetheless, institutional racism can operate with or without the awareness of dominant group members, or their representatives, and does not require malicious intent. However, while institutions need not operate in an explicitly racist manner for the effects of their actions to be discriminatory, the persistence of institutional racism does rely on the active operation of negative attitudes toward people of color in the society (Carmichael and Hamilton 1967).

#### CUMULATIVE IMPACT

In the United States, overt racism, for the most part, is no longer inscribed in law. Nevertheless, this does not mean

that racism is not still institutionalized. According to extensive research done by Harvard University's Civil Rights Project (2003), there is a striking "pipeline" leading from schools to prison. This funneling of students of color into prisons occurs through the systematic tracking of "high-risk" children of color and includes such practices as high-stakes testing, disproportionate special education placements, resource inequities, and stringent disciplinary procedures. This treatment of students of color (most significantly black and Latino boys) combines with law enforcement trends that treat these same juveniles with increasing harshness for both major and minor offenses (see also Oakes 2005).

Here again the cumulative impact of racial discrimination comes into focus. Because of institutional racism in the education system combined with discrimination by law enforcement, a young male of color is likely to enter the criminal justice system and then experience institutional racism there. An abundance of social science research shows that people of color (especially black men) are racially profiled and harassed by police, are likelier to be arrested and charged with crimes, receive harsher sentences, and have more difficulty achieving parole than their white counterparts. Additionally, beyond the prison, in the employment sector, a black man with a criminal record

will have extreme difficulty finding a job, compared to his white counterpart (Pager 2003).

In education, institutional racism can also be seen operating through standard classroom materials, where textbooks omit or skew the truth about racial histories and seriously neglect any discussions of racism and anti-racism (Loewen 1995; Dijk 1993). Virtually all mainstream textbooks are controlled by elites, who most often have an interest in upholding the racial status quo and offering a “whitewashed” perspective on difficult matters such as slavery and colonization, a perspective that will play down the unfair advantages whites have gained through centuries of racial oppression.

All of these institutionalized racist practices are supported by a white supremacist ideology, including insidious stereotypes that rationalize these serious oppressions of people of color. Although media cannot be blamed for creating harmful, racist images of people of color, they certainly project them to the mainstream for consumption and, thus, fuel white conceptions of the goodness of whiteness and the criminality of people of color (Russell 1998). Also often overlooked is the extent to which American (and, to a lesser extent, European) media forms are broadcast to a global market. The world’s populations consume the white supremacist ideology and images and receive ready-made rationalizations for racial inequality that leaves the darkest-skinned peoples at the bottom of a global racial hierarchy through the worldwide operation of institutional racism.

**SEE ALSO** *Color-Blind Racism; Critical Race Theory; Everyday Racism; Orientalism; Racial Formations; Scientific Racism, History of.*

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## INTELLIGENCE PROJECT

The Intelligence Project is a department of the nonprofit Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), a major civil rights organization based in Montgomery, Alabama, that specializes in monitoring, investigating, and curbing the American radical right. Started in 1981 under the name of Klanwatch, the Intelligence Project changed its name in the 1990s to reflect the expansion of its bailiwick to a large variety of other extreme-right individuals, groups, and movements.

The roots of the Intelligence Project stretch back to 1979. That year, Curtis Robinson, a black man, shot a Ku Klux Klansman (KKK) in self-defense in Decatur, Alabama, during an attack on peaceful civil rights marchers by more than 100 club-wielding members of the Invisible Empire Klan. When Robinson was convicted by an all-white jury of assault with intent to murder, the SPLC appealed the conviction and brought its first civil suit against the Klan. During trial proceedings, evidence was uncovered that convinced the FBI to reopen the case, ultimately resulting in the conviction of nine Klansmen on criminal charges. They also discovered the extent to which the KKK had rebounded after its decline in the 1960s. This led to the decision to create Klanwatch in 1981.

In the early years, Klanwatch operated essentially as the investigative arm of the SPLC’s legal department, which was pioneering new legal avenues of attack against hate groups. In 1981, nineteen-year-old Michael Donald was on his way to the store when two members of the United Klans of America abducted him, beat him, cut his throat and hung his body from a tree on a residential street in Mobile, Alabama. The two Klansmen who killed Donald were arrested and convicted, but Klanwatch

investigators also found evidence to support a civil suit alleging conspiracy, eventually winning a historic \$7 million verdict against the United Klans and several individual Klansmen. The most violent Klan group of the civil rights era was forced to turn its headquarters building over to Beulah Mae Donald and to disband.

Klanwatch investigations supported a number of other path-breaking suits against hate groups. In the 1980s, an SPLC suit forced the White Patriot Party, then the South's most militant Klan group, to disband after investigators found it was using U.S. army personnel to train Klan recruits, and that it had acquired stolen military weapons. Another suit resulted in Tom Metzger and John Metzger and their neo-Nazi White Aryan Resistance (WAR) being found partly responsible for the 1988 murder of an Ethiopian student by racist skinheads in Portland, Oregon. In the 1990s, Klanwatch investigators built a case against the neo-Nazi Church of the Creator after one of its "reverends" murdered a black Gulf War veteran. Other suits resulted in judgments against the Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and its leaders for conspiring to burn black churches, and, in 2000, against the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations and its leaders because of an attack on two hapless passersby by heavily armed Aryan Nations security guards.

#### EXPANDING ITS BAILIWICK

While the original purpose of Klanwatch was to gather information about the Klan, it expanded over the years to monitor hate crimes and an array of other kinds of extremists—including neo-Nazis, racist skinheads, Christian Identity adherents, academic racists, violent anti-abortionists, anti-immigrant vigilantes, black supremacists, neo-Confederates, and, notably, the militias that appeared in the mid-1990s. Well before the 1995 bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City left 168 men, women, and children dead, Klanwatch investigators documented the rise of the antigovernment militia movement and its links to white supremacist groups and their leaders. In the aftermath of the bombing, officials of Klanwatch and the SPLC were called upon by law enforcement, media outlets and many others to provide expertise on the American radical right. SPLC cofounder Morris Dees testified before the Senate Judiciary Committee on terrorism just eight days after the attack, and Klanwatch staffers would go on to testify on numerous occasions to Congress, the United Nations, and a number of local and state legislative bodies. Their expertise is supported by a Klanwatch's remarkable database, dubbed "Beholder," the nation's most comprehensive on the radical right.

The Intelligence Project is known for the quality of its factual investigative work and the information it provides to reporters, scholars, and law enforcement agencies. Its

prestige has risen to the point where *U.S. News & World Report*, for instance, said in 1999 that its "state-of-the-art tracking system" had "bested the nation's mighty law enforcement agencies" in connecting a man who shot up a Jewish community center in Los Angeles with the notorious Aryan Nations group.

#### THE STRATEGIES

The Intelligence Project pursues three basic strategies in carrying out its mission of curbing right-wing extremism: (1) Providing information to the public on the radical right and its activities; (2) educating law enforcement officials and supporting their efforts to counter criminal extremist activity; and (3) carrying out the investigative work necessary to pursue civil suits against hate and other extremist groups.

The Project's primary public education vehicle is its magazine, the *Intelligence Report*. The *Report* began as a Klanwatch newsletter of a few pages in 1981, but it evolved over time into a glossy, full-color quarterly magazine that has become the nation's pre-eminent periodical on the radical right. The *Report* is offered free to those whose work relates to right-wing extremism, including more than 60,000 law enforcement officials. In addition, journalists frequently use the groundbreaking stories as fodder to produce their own news articles and broadcast reports.

The magazine has covered a wide array of topics, from annual analyses of the radical right to major profiles of individual extremists and groups. It has examined such phenomena as the use of the Internet by hate groups; the development of White Power music and its importance, the rise and fall of the militias of the 1990s, the proliferation of hate activity on school campuses, and the development of radical new ideologies such as racist variants of Neopaganism and "pan-Aryanism." It has frequently used information dug up in investigations to damage or even destroy hate groups. On one occasion, a neo-Nazi group was completely wrecked when its leader's partly Jewish heritage was revealed. On another, a key leader left the white supremacist movement after the *Report* revealed he was secretly running a pornography Web site and a magazine that carried interracial and bisexual sex ads.

The *Intelligence Report* also carries listings once per year of all hate groups and antigovernment "Patriot" groups active in the previous year, including a map showing their locations and types. These listings typically result in hundreds of local newspaper and broadcast stories that raise local awareness about the groups. A few examples of some of the more important stories carried by the *Intelligence Report* help to give a sense of other ways the magazine works to damage hate groups.

In late 1998 the *Report* published a special edition detailing the white supremacist roots and ideology of the



Council of Conservative Citizens, a group that then had thirty-four members in the Mississippi state legislature and claimed to be merely a conservative organization. The story detailed the racism of the group and its leaders and pointed out its close relationship with Trent Lott of Mississippi, then the U.S. Senate majority leader. As a result, the head of the Republican National Committee asked Republicans to avoid the group. In 2004, the *Report* followed up with a story about politicians who ignored that advice, embarrassing a large number of legislators and effectively curtailing the group's ability to attract any kind of political legitimacy.

In 1999 a special issue of the *Report* explored the socioeconomic roots of racist youth in a group of stories that detailed how "an underclass of white youths, in many cases buffeted by the winds of huge social changes and dislocations," was "altering the face of American hatred." In 2000 an entire issue of the magazine was devoted to the burgeoning neo-Confederate movement, made up of racist groups that seek to justify slavery, Jim Crow segregation, and a number of other hateful doctrines. Subsequent investigative articles detailed the development of the movement and led to the severe disruption of the 32,000-member southern heritage group Sons of Confederate Veterans, which had been largely taken over by extremists.

A series of major reports in various issues have detailed the white supremacist and paramilitary strains that characterize large swaths of the organized anti-immigration movement. A particularly important piece explored the role of a Michigan ophthalmologist with bigoted ideas about Hispanics in constructing and building up most of the nation's anti-immigration organizations.

A 2001 article reported on a detailed Intelligence Project analysis of hate crime statistics, concluding that, nationally, hate crimes are undercounted by a factor of five. Other reports on hate crimes detailed how homosexuals are the group most targeted by violent hate criminals and, separately, explored a wave of fatal violence directed at transsexuals. Another, related report explored a rash of Georgia hate crimes that were part of a backlash against illegal aliens.

Beginning in 2002, a series of articles included extremely detailed and closely held information about the National Alliance, at that time the nation's leading neo-Nazi group. The first, published shortly after the Alliance founder's death, detailed a secret speech he had given recently that savaged members of other hate groups as "freaks and weaklings." The report severely damaged the group's reputation, and started a series of internal splits and other battles that have left the Alliance a mere shadow of its former self. By 2005, the Alliance had been reduced to less than a seventh of its size just three years earlier. In 2005, the *Report* ran a major cover story on the development of the religious right's crusade against homosexuals, a war that began some three decades earlier but heated up with a 2003 Supreme Court

decision striking down state sodomy statutes. The story detailed the false "science" and bully-boy tactics employed by many Christian Right leaders to defame gays and lesbians.

## OUTREACH

The Intelligence Project increasingly has used other methods to fight extremism as well. In the fall of 2003, Project investigators exposed a major attempt by anti-immigration zealots to take over the Sierra Club, a major environmental group with some 750,000 members. A letter was sent to the president of the Club warning him and others that the Sierra Club was "the subject of a hostile takeover attempt" and providing detailed factual material about that attempt. At the conclusion of a lengthy campaign, Sierra Club voters decisively rejected the takeover attempt.

Another form of outreach is the education and training programs that the Intelligence Project offers law enforcement. In 1992, the program's director was asked to help the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center (FLETC) develop a training program to improve the reporting, investigation, and prosecution of hate crimes. The next year, Project staffers wrote and began teaching courses that are a permanent part of FLETC's hate/bias crime training. In the early twenty-first century, Project staffers offer seminars and other training on hate groups, terrorism and related matters to law enforcement agencies around the country. In 2001 the Project began offering an online hate crimes training program for law enforcement officers that is co-sponsored by California State University at San Bernardino.

Probably the single best measure of the efficacy of the Intelligence Project is the virulent hatred directed against its staffers by members of the radical right. The SPLC has seen repeated rallies and demonstrations near its headquarters by neo-Nazis, Klansmen, and a variety of other white supremacists. In 1983 the SPLC's offices were burned by enraged Klansmen, forcing a move to a new building but raising the profile of the organization. In addition, over the decades, more than twenty people have been sent to prison in connection with plots against the SPLC.

**SEE ALSO** *Hate Crimes; Ku Klux Klan; National Alliance; Neo-Nazis; Southern Poverty Law Center; White Citizens' Council and the Council of Conservative Citizens.*

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## INTERNALIZED RACIALISM

Racism is among the most written about forms of oppression that occur at the individual, institutional, and cultural levels. While levels of racism are studied by social scientists across disciplines, psychologists typically focus on the origins, manifestations, and impact of racism at the individual level. Racism is predicated on the belief that certain human groups, called races, are inferior, while other human groups are superior. Internalized racialism is of particular interest to mental health professionals because it involves beliefs about race that are usually uncritically accepted and subsequently become internalized.

Internalized racialism can broadly be defined as the process by which ethnic minorities internalize white stereotypes about ethnic minorities. In the scientific literature the term has been used primarily with blacks or African Americans, but in theory, if not practice, it can be applied to any racial or ethnic minority. The term has been used primarily with blacks or African Americans because they seem to be the most racialized of all ethnic groups in the United States.

### RACIALISM

Unlike *racism* the term *racialism* is harder to define because it is used in different ways by different people. In the psychological literature, racialism has been defined as a way of cognitively organizing perceptions of racial categories so that members of a race are believed to share immutable characteristics that they do not share with members of another race. The immutable traits believed to be shared by all members of a racial group usually include, but are not limited to, physical characteristics such as skin color, hair texture, width of nose, size of lips, shape of chin, the shape and size of the buttocks, and, for men, the size of their genitalia. Behavioral traits often associated with a particular race include law abidingness, sexual activity and reproduction, and athleticism. Cognitive processes are alleged to include intelligence and personality traits regarding temperament.



**Racist Memorabilia.** These items present some of the ethnic stereotypes of African Americans. As people of African descent begin to internalize these stereotypes, internalized racism develops. AP IMAGES.

Racialism is related to the philosophical idea of essentialism, whereby things that look alike are believed to share similar properties. In the white separatist literature, racialism is usually described as involving a strong interest in racial matters, based on the premise that there are innate and immutable traits that define the nature of every racial group. This interest in racial matters can sometimes translate into advocating for or enacting racial policy, such as racial segregation. Consequently, people who are proponents of racialism, or racialists, do not see themselves as racists because they do not appear to advocate or promote the idea that racial groups are superior or inferior.

Social scientists and other social commentators often doubt the truthfulness of this claim, and they dispute the notion that one can believe in immutable racial traits without assigning value, and ultimately a hierarchy, to those traits. Proponents of racialism do not see themselves as promoting racism because they do not support behaviors that harm certain racial groups. Instead, they promote the idea that there should be laws recognizing that there are racial differences. In theory, racialism is usually a precursor to or a necessary condition for racism. It has been argued that racialism is not inherently problematic. Instead, in this view, it is only problematic when the beliefs lead to discriminatory and harmful behavior. In reality, there are instances when claims of racialism are synonymous with racism and other instances when racialism is truly distinct from racism. Because of white racial oppression, the expression of racialism by ethnic

minorities may be more about promoting racial pride than promoting racial separatism.

### STEREOTYPES

The term *stereotype* refers to negative or positive beliefs about the characteristics of a group of people. Like racialism, it has been argued that stereotypes are not necessarily problematic unless they influence the behavior of a member of one racial group toward a member of another racial group. Racialism is largely responsible for racial stereotypes. It has been found that the stereotypes applied to blacks are generally more negative than the stereotypes applied to other racial or ethnic groups. The negative stereotypes of blacks include the beliefs that blacks are more prone to violence and criminal behavior, and that they are lazy, low in intelligence, and sexually promiscuous. The so-called positive stereotypes of blacks include the beliefs that they are athletic, naturally good dancers, and that black men have large genitalia. The notion of positive stereotypes is somewhat controversial, in that members of groups to whom positive stereotypes have been attributed often believe that there are hidden harmful effects of positive stereotypes (e.g., the pressure on Asian-American students to excel academically because of the model minority stereotype). Racial stereotypes play an important role in influencing prejudiced behavior in the form of discrimination and racism.

### INTERNALIZED RACISM

Internalized racism is the degree to which members of ethnic and racial minority groups agree with negative racist stereotypes attributed to their racial or ethnic minority groups, and consequently act on these beliefs. Examples of internalized racism may include: (1) Believing that members of one's racial or ethnic minority group are stupid, lazy, and inferior; (2) aggressive or violent behavior against members of one's racial or ethnic minority group because of the low regard or hatred one holds toward the group; (3) having low self-esteem associated with one's racial or ethnic group membership; (4) placing a higher value on members of one's racial or ethnic minority group who physically or phenotypically appear more white in their features (e.g., lighter skin, straight hair) while denigrating those who have darker skin or appear less white in their features; and (5) holding in higher regard members of one's racial or ethnic minority group who adopt the values or behaviors of the white majority because of the belief that the values and behaviors of one's racial or ethnic minority group are inferior. Internalized racism is generally believed to be negatively related to mental health and physical health. For example, psychologists examining black identity have found that low regard for being black is related to

negative mental health outcomes. Internalized racism can take the form of Asians having plastic surgery to "fix" their eyelids to look more like the white majority, or of blacks bleaching their skin to be lighter. It can also involve dating individuals outside of one's racial or ethnic minority group because of the low regard one has toward members of one's own racial group.

### INTERNALIZED RACIALISM

Internalized racialism is the degree to which members of ethnic and racial minority groups believe that racial groups have innate and immutable characteristics, and consequently act on these beliefs. This racist thinking usually involves identifying with any negative or positive stereotype attributed to one's racial group. Internalized racialism differs from internalized racism in one important way. Unlike internalized racism, internalized racialism includes agreeing with so-called positive stereotypes attributed to one's racial group. The notion of positive stereotypes, as mentioned earlier, can be controversial. An African American who believes that blacks are naturally faster runners than whites and other racial and ethnic groups is experiencing a form of internalized racialism because being a naturally fast runner is a positive stereotype. Similarly, an African American who believes that blacks, on average, are genetically less intelligent or more prone to acts of violence and criminality is also experiencing a type of internalized racialism. Whether it involves agreeing with negative stereotypes (internalized racism), or a combination of negative and positive stereotypes (internalized racialism), individuals who have internalized these stereotypes believe that all individuals are a part of a definable racial group characterized by immutable traits.

### RELATIONSHIP TO BLACK RACIAL IDENTITY

A disproportionate amount of academic discussions about internalized racism and internalized racialism focus on black people, specifically on African Americans. This is perhaps because of the legacy of slavery in the United States. The legacy of slavery, segregation, and discrimination has negatively affected the identity and self-conception of many African Americans. Consequently, many psychologists have focused on facilitating a positive black racial identity for African Americans. The process of constructing a positive black racial identity has been found to be related to racist beliefs about black athleticism, black mental capabilities, and black sexuality.

**SEE ALSO** *Cultural Racism; Mental Health and Racism; Stereotype Threat and Racial Stigma.*

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**INTERRACIAL MARRIAGE**

SEE *Black-White Inter-marriage*.

**IQ AND TESTING**

*This composite entry will cover:*

**OVERVIEW**

*Peter H. Knapp*

**ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT**

*Leon J. Kamin*

**CULTURE, EDUCATION, AND IQ SCORES**

*Mark Nathan Cohen*

**CRITIQUES**

*Wendy M. Williams*

*Susan M. Barnett*

*Jeffrey M. Valla*

**OVERVIEW**

The place of racial groups in society has historically been determined by a variety of structures of segregation, inequality, and domination. However, as George Fredrickson notes in *Racism: A Short History* (2002), conceptions of "scientific racism" that rest on ideas of innate differences in intelligence are distinctively modern. The conception of intelligence as a fixed, unitary, biological capacity was a product of the nineteenth century. Its application to the relationships between Europeans and people of color is the product of a particular historical and intellectual conjuncture.

**SCIENTIFIC RACISM AND MEASURES OF INTELLIGENCE**

Prior to the nineteenth century, invidious ranking of races, individuals, or groups on scales of beauty, ability, virtue, and level of civilization, did not focus on intelligence. The rise of science led to the increase of scientific rationales for race differences during the nineteenth century, based largely on the pseudoscientific disciplines of anthropometry and the use of brain size as an index of intelligence. In the early twentieth century, particularly after World War I, the increased importance of education led to the growth of intelligence tests and other timed paper and pencil tests, such as IQ tests widely interpreted as measures of "intelligence" to assign persons in education or jobs.

In the late nineteenth century, the British biologist Francis Galton (1822–1911) conceived of intelligence as being closely related to sensory discrimination (e.g., sight, hearing, touch, and weight). James McKean Cattell imported Francis Galton's idea to the United States, and he devised tests of sensory discrimination, reaction time, and memory. The scores on these tests, however, proved unrelated to each other and to complex intellectual performance. The French psychologist Alfred Binet (1857–1911), meanwhile, conceived of intellectual development as the cumulative mastery of increasingly difficult tasks of judgment, and he conceived of intelligence as the ratio of mental age (number of tasks mastered) to chronological age. In the United States, researchers used Binet's conceptions to develop standardized measures of IQ. However, early tests derived from Binet had to be administered one-on-one in a nontimed setting, and they were scored by examiner judgment.

In the early twentieth century, demands by the military for rapid testing of large numbers of people led to the development of the test format that has become familiar: paper and pencil questions that can be objectively scored, such as the Army Alpha test and the Wechsler test. Similar measures of academic achievement were developed, such as the SAT (called the Scholastic Achievement Test prior to 1941, then the Scholastic Aptitude Test, then the Scholastic Assessment Test, and then referred to by its initials) and the AFQT (Armed Forces Qualifications Test), and these were widely interpreted as measures of ability. However, they were based upon the presumption that those taking the test had been exposed to equivalent environments. In countries where students were exposed to the same curriculum, potential could be measured as mastery of the material in that curriculum, but where different students were exposed to different curricula, measures of ability came to focus on scores on such timed tests.

### CONCEPTIONS OF RACIAL DIFFERENCE PRIOR TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The relationship between Europeans and people of color has been based on many different conceptions of difference. Religious conceptions of difference dominated the relations of Europeans with Muslims and with a ghettoized Jewish population through most of the late medieval and early modern period. Ethnic and linguistic groups within Europe, such as the Celtic, Saxon, and Norman populations of Britain, were sometimes conceived of as “races.” However, it was only after European colonialism superimposed European elites upon large populations of color that racism emerged in recognizable modern forms. In North America, the relations of Europeans with each other, with Native Americans, with imported African slaves, and with Asians formed a complex system. The compact between northern mercantile elites and southern plantation holders, based on the recognition of slavery, influenced the race relations between Europeans and peoples of color such as Chinese and Native Americans. All the other group relations were polarized around the color line generated by slavery. With the rise of abolitionist sentiment in the nineteenth century, there was a rise in theories of scientific racism, which was used to legitimize those structures.

### RELIGIOUS AND BIOLOGICAL CONCEPTIONS OF RACE DIFFERENCE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

In *The Mismeasure of Man* (1996), the paleontologist and evolutionary biologist Stephen J. Gould examines three kinds of purportedly scientific demonstration of innate superiority from the nineteenth century, all based on physical measures. Theories of polygenism, defended by creationist biologists such as Louis Agassiz (1807–1873), argued for the separate biological origin of distinct races of humankind. Theories of the atavism of criminals, defended by Cesare Lombroso (1835–1909), argued that different moral and social characteristics are associated with distinct body types. The craniology of theorists such as Paul Broca (1824–1900) argued that Europeans have larger brains, and that they therefore have a natural superiority to non-Europeans. Broca made similar arguments about men in comparison to women, and about the upper classes in comparison to the lower classes. In each case, it became evident that the bodies of evidence, which appeared incontrovertible at the time, resulted from a tissue of arbitrary methodological choices and special pleadings, all based on assumptions about group superiority.

The assumption that physical traits, such as brain size, skull shape, or ratio of arm length to height, had some relationship to development and to some unitary concept of intelligence was never demonstrated and is now recognized as mistaken. For example, brain size is mainly a function of body size, and the data allegedly establishing differences between groups were often a product of implicit assumptions stemming from group prejudice.

Within early nineteenth-century biology, attempts to secure the independence of biology from religion were often mixed with powerful ideological and emotional commitments to racism. For example, Gould showed that the published versions of Agassiz’s letters were edited by his wife in order to obscure the transparent racism that was one of the main sources of his polygenism. The hundreds of skull-volume measurements made by Samuel George Morton were regarded by Agassiz as decisive evidence that Europeans had larger skulls, and therefore larger brains, and that they were consequently more advanced than Africans, Asians, or Native Americans. Gould shows that the Morton findings resulted from biased choices and decisions.

The idea that physical, inherited differences between persons and groups allow them to be ranked as superior or inferior was an essential component of the social Darwinist thought that came to dominate political and social thought in the late nineteenth century, particularly in Britain and the United States. The superiority of men over women, of whites over people of color, of Europeans over non-Europeans, and of the upper classes over the poor were unquestioned assumptions of much of that thought. This superiority was often conceived in terms of morals, aesthetics, or emotional and physical energy, rather than in terms of intelligence. For example, the explicit distaste that Agassiz felt for nonwhites was expressed primarily in terms of qualities such as beauty, courage, and honesty, and was only secondarily attached to interpretations of alleged quantitative mean differences between “races,” such as cranial capacity.

In the same way, the arguments used by Lombroso and his school to ascribe criminality to physical indicators of atavism, or to a more “primitive” type, illustrated an essential tendency of social Darwinist thought. Lombroso selected examples that attempted to prove that people with physical traits that he characterized as “atavistic stigmata,” such as a flattened nose, prominent teeth, or joined eyebrows, were more likely to engage in criminal behavior. When he selected cases for illustration, there were always an indefinitely large number of characteristics that could be distinguished, and his choice of measures was often driven by the visceral reactions and conceptions that Gould has called “the apishness of undesirables” (Gould 1996, p. 142).

I. Q. Test



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**Soldiers Take an IQ Test.** *IQ tests were administered to Army draftees during World Wars I and II. The earliest administrators of the test claimed that racial differences in average IQ scores was evidence of genetic superiority and inferiority.* © LAKE COUNTY MUSEUM/CORBIS.

The choice of measures were in fact driven by preordained conclusions, illustrated by the arguments of Broca, who unintentionally selected the aspects and interpretations of the data in order to reach the conclusion that males, Europeans, the upper class, and whites were superior. The notion that brain size is proportional to some unitary quality of intelligence was a deceptively simple idea. In practice, the interpretation of skull size depended upon an indefinitely large number of decisions about measurement. The conclusions were driven by assumptions about such factors as the deterioration of different cadavers or differences in body size resulting from gender and nutrition. Gould notes that an analysis of Broca's arguments reveals a circle proceeding from the preordained conclusion (his certainty that men, whites, Europeans, and the upper class are more intelligent and must have larger brains) to assumptions about choices that would guarantee that conclusion. The presumption that there is some unitary biological capacity that could be called intelligence, and that it could be measured by some external trait such as brain size, drove a series of choices, assumptions, interpretations, and methodologi-

cal decisions that generated bodies of data purporting to demonstrate the original presumption.

#### TWENTIETH CENTURY CONFLICTS CONCERNING INTELLIGENCE TESTS

During the nineteenth century, attempts to prove the superiority of privileged groups by physical measurements formed a component of the broad stream of social Darwinism. The idea that social progress results from competition between groups and individuals of different abilities, leading to survival of the fittest, took different forms. Conceptions of individual competition, directed against the status pretensions of the upper class, coexisted with conceptions of group competition, and these conceptions were connected to nativist and racist movements that were reacting to the waves of immigration to the United States and to the migration of African Americans from the American South to northern cities.

During the twentieth century, life chances came increasingly to depend upon educational credentials, and the development of paper-and-pencil measures of alleged

ability, which were used to allocate people both within education and in businesses and the military, forced debates about race, class, gender, and ethnicity to focus upon the interpretation of those scores. Nicholas Lemann, in *The Big Test* (1999), analyzed the fact that in the absence of a common school curriculum in different communities, it was not possible to test a mastery of that curriculum in any depth. This led to an increased use of tests such as the ASQT and the SAT consisting of timed multiple choice answers to questions dealing with many bits of largely academic information.

In the 1970s the Harvard psychologist Richard Herrnstein argued that social class was and should be largely a function of intelligence, and in the 1990s Herrnstein and Charles Murray's controversial book *The Bell Curve* extended that argument to the view that poverty, low income, welfare dependency, unemployment, divorce, illegitimate pregnancy, crime, and a lack of "middle-class values" were all in large part produced by a lack of intelligence, and that race differences in such conditions were largely explained by race differences in IQ. This analysis was widely criticized. For example, Peter Knapp and his colleagues in *The Assault on Equality* found that virtually all of the alleged effects of IQ disappear if it is measured contemporaneously with social class.

Gould has noted that assumptions of unitary intelligence, which is greater among privileged groups, have invariably served as justifications of social inequality, and that Charles Darwin had recognized the central issue in his comment, "If the misery of our poor be caused not by the laws of nature, but by our institutions, great is our sin" (Gould 1996, p. 424). The assumptions and presumptions of the natural superiority of privileged groups are relatively pervasive, and like the spores of a fungus or like crab grass, they proliferate under favorable conditions. Specifically, the favorable conditions for the proliferation of theories concerning inherited group differences of ability have been political conflicts over group privilege and opportunity. There have been three main periods of recrudescence and increased popularity of such arguments during the twentieth century: the first was in response to the waves of immigration and migration at the beginning of the century; the second was in response to the civil rights movement in the middle of the century; and the third was in response to movements to cut back social policies at the end of the twentieth century.

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*Peter H. Knapp*

## ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

The first intelligence test was devised by French psychologist Alfred Binet (1857–1911) in Paris in 1905. The test, designed for schoolchildren, assessed both the child's fund of acquired knowledge and academic skills. The child's performance was compared to the typical performance of children of various ages. If children did as well as other children of the same age, they were labeled "normal." If children did as well as older children, they were "bright." If the child could only do as well as younger children, Binet concluded that their intelligence was not developing properly and they should receive remedial education. Binet prescribed courses of "mental orthopedics" for those who did poorly on his test. The test was thus to be used as a diagnostic instrument, indicating a possible need for corrective treatment. Binet did not regard the test as measuring some fixed, unchangeable capacity, however, and he railed against the "brutal pessimism" of those who might think otherwise.

Within a decade of Binet's original work, adaptations of his test, including some designed for use with adults, were in use in the United States. The pioneers of the American mental testing movement (Henry Goddard [1866–1957], Lewis Terman [1877–1956], and Robert Yerkes [1876–1956]) all asserted that intelligence tests did measure a fixed, unchangeable capacity, largely determined by an individual's heredity. Familial resemblance in IQ scores was claimed to be evidence of the role of heredity. In addition, racial differences in average IQ were erroneously seized upon as evidence of genetic superiority and inferiority.

In 1912 Henry Goddard administered supplemented Binet tests to European immigrants arriving at Ellis Island in New York harbor. He reported that 83 percent of Jews, 80 percent of Hungarians, 79 percent of Italians, and 87 percent of Russians were "feeble-minded." Lewis Terman, who introduced the Stanford-Binet test to the United States, wrote that IQs in the 70–80 range, indicating borderline mental deficiency, were "very common among Spanish-Indian and Mexican families of the Southwest and also among negroes. Their dullness seems to be racial.... The writer predicts that... there will be discovered enormously significant racial differences which cannot be wiped out" (1916, pp. 91–92).



***African American Army Recruit Takes IQ Test, 1918.*** After World War I, the National Academy of Sciences published an analysis of IQ tests administered to army recruits. This was the first large-scale report to find that blacks scored lower on IQ tests than whites. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

A claim was soon made that Terman's prediction of racial differences had been verified. Robert Yerkes had been head of a massive program to administer specially developed IQ tests to draftees into the United States Army during World War I. Many of the draftees were foreign-born and either unfamiliar with the English language or illiterate in English. Yerkes and a committee of psychologists devised two "group tests" of intelligence. "Alpha" was a written test that could be administered to large groups. "Beta" was a "nonverbal" test designed for men either unfamiliar with English or illiterate. Instructions for Beta were given in pantomime to groups of soldiers.

After the war, in 1921, the National Academy of Sciences published an analysis, edited by Yerkes, of the data collected during the army's testing program. This was the first large-scale demonstration that American blacks scored lower on IQ tests than whites. Given the stereotypes that prevailed at the time, however, that finding occasioned little surprise. The data with immediate political impact were the IQ scores of foreign-born

draftees. The Yerkes report indicated that the immigrants with the highest scores came from England, Scandinavia, and Germany. The lowest scorers were immigrants from Russia, Italy, and Poland, whose average IQs were not perceptibly higher than that of native-born blacks. The Army findings were supported in a 1923 textbook by Rudolf Pintner, who indicated that the median IQ found in six studies of Italian children in America was only 84—as low as the average of American blacks.

In 1923 Carl Brigham published a re-analysis of the Army data, concluding that the tests had demonstrated "a genuine intellectual superiority of the Nordic group" over "Alpine and Mediterranean blood." Yerkes, in a preface to Brigham's book, stressed the relevance of the Army data to "the practical problems of immigration." At the time, a flood of "New Immigration" from the "Alpine and Mediterranean" countries of southern and eastern Europe was replacing the earlier stream of immigrants from English-speaking and "Nordic" countries. Popular support for a new and restrictive immigration law was widespread. The Army



data were cited repeatedly in Congressional debates that ended in the passage of a racist immigration law in 1924. The new law imposed “national origin quotas” on future immigration. The design and effect of the quotas was to reduce sharply the proportion of “Alpine and Mediterranean” immigrants.

Forty-five years later, racial differences in average IQ again came to the fore in a political context, but this time the genetically inferior groups were no longer Alpines and Mediterraneans—they were blacks. Arthur Jensen, in an influential and widely publicized review article published in 1969, maintained that efforts at compensatory education were doomed to failure. He argued that children who did poorly in school did so because of their low IQs. Further, IQ was in large measure hereditary, and not very malleable. The gap between blacks and whites in educational achievement, like the gap in average IQs, was said to be largely due to genetic causes. That view was repeated by J. Philippe Rushton and Arthur Jensen (2005), who argued that the underrepresentation of blacks in “socially valued outcomes” was genetically determined, and that policies such as affirmative action should be reconsidered in this light.

To claim that IQ scores are largely hereditary is to denigrate the importance of educational and other environmental influences. Taken to an extreme, Rushton and Jensen have straight-facedly reported that the average IQ of sub-Saharan Africans is 70—meaning that about half of the people in this part of Africa are mentally retarded. The desperate environmental conditions and inferior education to which most Africans have been exposed are ignored as causes of any differential in performance.

The political usage of purported low scores for Africans is clearly illustrated by Richard Lynn and Tatu Vanhanen, who wrote:

Hitherto theories of economic development have been based on the presumption that the present gaps between rich and poor countries are only temporary and that they are due to various environmental conditions. . . . Because of the evidence we have assembled for a causal relationship between national IQ's and economic disparities, it has to be accepted that there will inevitably be a continuation of economic inequalities between nations. Intelligence differences between nations will be impossible to eradicate because they have a genetic basis (2002, p. 195).

Lynn and Vanhanen choose to interpret the correlation between IQ scores and ethnic and racial differences as a genetic effect, ignoring the obvious environmental and cultural differences between ethnic and racial groups.

**SEE ALSO** *Jensen, Arthur.*

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*Leon J. Kamin*

### **CULTURE, EDUCATION, AND IQ SCORES**

Differences in human behavior are overwhelmingly cultural not biological as anthropologists have understood since at least 1910. Known biological controls of subtle, sophisticated behavior (within the normal range) are trivial. Behavior patterns rarely match the visible biological variations or putative race categories.

Most anthropologists agree that “races” do not exist. People do not come in sharply bounded groups. Skin color, nose shape, lip form, hair color and form, length of limbs, and sickle cell anemia have distributions that do not match that of skin color, or of one another. Color is a graded variable, as are many of the others. The vast majority of the world's people, even those who are not blended, are neither black nor white, but a gradual continuum of shades that cannot be partitioned into sharply defined groups. Most important, genes are so thoroughly mixed among people, and so few correlate with color, that there is very little genetic unity beyond color itself to groups such as black Americans.

Culture is a much more complicated and powerful force than people realize. Culture is not merely composed of superficial things people do (art, music), it is a complex “grammar” that defines and controls every aspect of people's lives, including their actions, thoughts, identities, and self images. It defines appropriate behavior, values, morals, goals, and perceptions of cause and effect. It controls where people focus and what they selectively see and hear out of a stream of information otherwise too complex to comprehend. It controls methods of categorizing, analogies, and logic. It controls how and what people learn, and how they express what they have learned (e.g., medium, style, convention, meaning, and symbolism). It limits the available repertoire of thought and action, making behavior comprehensible and predictable within the group, while also enforcing group

identity, and thus defining and separating “us” from of “them.” One’s culture can promote a sense of superiority over others, inculcating patterns, perceptions, and ethnocentrism, a kind of patriotism, through some form of both formal and informal learning of shared cultural perceptions, whether they are accurate or not.

Cultures, like languages, are arbitrary designs. Any viable culture fulfills basic human needs but they do it in different styles. Any child can learn any culture in which it is raised; but learning a new culture becomes more difficult with age. Adults are prisoners of their culture because each culture limits people’s ability to understand others. Most people are not aware that there are other cultures, nor do they perceive what exists outside the blinders imposed by their own. Because fair-minded people rarely comprehend the power of cultural differences, they are easy prey for racist assumptions.

Intelligence quotient (IQ) tests, once designed to help individuals, have evolved to often act as cultural mechanisms to define an elite and to denigrate others. They purport to demonstrate the inherent abilities of certain individuals, in the process defending class, ethnic, and gender discrimination, segregation, and exclusion. For example, IQ tests can imply, erroneously, that blacks are inferior and that women lack essential abilities. If differences in IQ are assumed to be genetic and unchangeable, then privilege carries no guilt and no obligation to invest in closing the gap. It is thus a kind of “affirmative action” for the already advantaged.

IQ is defined as one’s position along a distribution of scores earned by taking various tests. The average (i.e., white middle-class) score is arbitrarily defined as 100. Scores range from below 50 (unintelligent) to 150 or more (intelligent). Black Americans score a mean of about 90. The test data can be used as one wishes, particularly if one can choose the form of the test, and manipulate and interpret the results. Some interpreters of some tests have estimated the mean IQ of sub-Saharan Africans at 70 (implying largely dysfunctional individuals and societies, and, incidentally, a figure once applied to Ashkenazi Jews). This is an extreme manipulation of the interpretation of poor test choices.

#### COMMON ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT IQ

The common discriminatory use of the tests demands a chain of assumptions. If any assumption is wrong, the chain breaks, regardless of the validity of the other assumptions. In fact, it shall be seen that all the links break. Nine such assumptions will be discussed here.

The first of these assumptions is that genes significantly affect or control differences in intelligence among individuals and groups. There is in fact no known causal

connection, and only one minor correlation between any gene (for an insulin-like growth factor) and intelligence within the normal range. Correlation does not prove cause because it may be indirect. For example, a gene may be shared by members of an ethnic group (e.g., Ashkenazi Jews), and members of this group may also, coincidentally, share a cultural commitment to education. Likewise, a particular gene may contribute to health, and only indirectly to higher IQ.

Estimates of genetic determination of IQ range from 40 to 80 percent. However, the power of genes is always context-specific and cannot be generalized, particularly not from individuals studied for group differences. Environmental and genetic factors are reciprocal variables. That is, the larger the environmental differences, the smaller the genetic factor appears. High concordance between identical twins reared separately partly reflects the fact that they are rarely reared in very different circumstances. If differences in their environments were greater, genetic concordance would be much less. If one twin were damaged, starved, malnourished, or raised amid deprivation (severe environmental differences), concordance would certainly be reduced, perhaps almost to zero. So marked differences in intelligence need not imply genetic differences at all. Environmental differences could account for all measurable differences in IQ between individuals or groups.

Moreover, IQs are increasing everywhere much faster than genes evolve (the widely recognized Flynn effect). The enormous increase in the IQs of Ashkenazi Jews through the late twentieth century is particularly striking. Such rapid changes are either cultural or a result of changes in the tests themselves.

A second assumption is that IQ tests actually measure innate, not learned, mental abilities that are important to the group. Even in Western society, success is obviously based on a large number of qualities that may have little to do with the “intelligence” measured on the tests.

A third assumption holds that intelligence is either one thing (a compendium of test scores referred to as “g”) or a small number of things (multiple intelligences), and that it has been successfully defined by Euro-American scholars and is rankable on linear scales. However, most cultures informally evaluate individuals for performance (not potential) in a wide range of skills, without assuming that the skills correlate with one another or that one person is best over all. The fact that the core of “g” or general intelligence as measured on written tests, is vocabulary, which is obviously largely learned rather than genetic, further undermines the idea that intelligence is significant controlled by genes.

The fourth assumption is that intelligence combines the same attributes in all cultures. But culture-bound IQ tests do not measure facility in other languages,

leadership potential, or social or organizational skills, although all are important in most other cultures.

It is also assumed that individuals who are tested have equal exposure to, and equal focus on, the content of the culture that constructs the tests and to the language in which the tests are given. Recent tests have eliminated some egregiously biased items (e.g., tennis courts), but poor inner-city children may have limited exposure to some obvious items. They may have never seen cows, fields, trees, free-standing houses, the horizon, many simple child's toys, and other items suburban children take for granted. Many questions on IQ tests also involve culture-biased visual stimuli, conventions, perceptions, and thought patterns. Cultural divides are far deeper than they first appear, but Americans, who wear cultural blinders, do not see them. IQ tests used across cultural boundaries are meaningless, but they still generate numbers.

The sixth assumption is that necessary skills can be measured by literate tests, even though human abilities (if genetic) obviously evolved in a nonliterate world.

Assumption number seven is that quick answers on simple questions, solved by isolated individuals, indicate "intelligence." Even in American culture, most significant problems are neither simple nor solved in isolation. Many cultures consider rapid, simple answers a sign of simple minds, and cooperative problem solving is often preferred.

The eighth assumption is that the biological conditions of all test takers are the same. But illness or malnutrition in the present, in childhood, or in utero are known to affect performance and are clearly related to class or "race."

The ninth assumption is that people taking a particular test are all equally motivated. Differences in motivation are obviously related to people's perception of the testing culture, their expectations of success, and their interpretation of the environment and process of testing. Oppressed classes may actually resist success on the tests (and pressure others to resist) as a mark of cultural solidarity and resistance to the culture that discriminates against them. Poor scores are common to minorities resisting involuntary inclusion in any society, regardless of their genes.

Most of the world's people take IQ tests across cultural boundaries and under inappropriate conditions. Black Americans are a culturally defined group, not a biological one, and their IQ scores must result from their common environment. Women, too, are culturally defined, despite a core of biological differences with men, and some of the same principles apply.

SEE ALSO *Scientific Racism, History of.*

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Mark Nathan Cohen

## CRITIQUES

A variety of critiques have been offered by eminent scholars regarding the use of IQ tests to draw conclusions about racial/ethnic (particularly black-white) group differences. Before detailing these critiques, however, it is necessary to consider the nature of the argument about IQ and race to which these rebuttals respond. Briefly, the main argument is that racial differences in IQ equate to innate racial differences in intelligence. Proponents of this position include Arthur Jensen, J. Philippe Rushton, Richard Herrnstein, Charles Murray, and Richard Lynn. Their position can be summarized as follows: (1) The black-white IQ gap is generally about 15 points on a standard IQ test (one standard deviation), (2) the IQ tests used are equally fair and valid measures of actual intellectual ability in both blacks and whites, (3) differences in IQ are largely genetic in origin, and (4) the 15-point gap cannot be explained by environmental factors, such as whites' greater access to high-quality schooling, nutrition, health care, and overall economic advantage.

This notion of a genetic or inherent inferiority of blacks is then extended to explain the less optimal living conditions of blacks, within individual countries as well as across countries, with black communities and entire African nations being seen as economically lacking due to the



**Louis Agassiz, 1861.** *Creationist biologists such as Louis Agassiz argued for the separate biological origin of distinct races of humankind.* THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

inherent intellectual deficiencies of their citizens. Another way to think of this argument is within the “nature-nurture” paradigm in science. The proponents of innate differences argue that the observed differences are due to genes or nature, whereas the opponents of this view argue that observed differences are a result of environmental deprivation, poverty, and racism. What follows is a selection of rebuttals to the “innate differences in intelligence” viewpoint, (this is not an exhaustive list, nor does it address the fundamental question of whether IQ tests measure true “intelligence,” whatever that may be).

#### CULTURAL BIAS

Anyone who has taken an IQ test (or related tests, such as the SAT or the GRE) recognizes that the types of questions on the test may be more familiar to some people than to others. Questions from the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children, 3rd ed. (WISC-III) referring to, for example, “advantages of getting news from a newspaper rather than from a television news program” (Wechsler, p. 138), “why it is important for cars to have license plates” (Wechsler, p. 137), “why you should turn off lights when

no one is using them” (Wechsler, p. 134), “what is an umbrella?” (Wechsler, p. 108), and “in what way are a telephone and a radio alike?” (Wechsler, p. 78), would not be equally difficult, even when translated, for individuals from more and less developed countries, or even for people coming from upper-middle-class, working-class, or impoverished families. To be culturally fair, people must be tested using questions that tap knowledge to which the people have been equally exposed—and which is equally valued in the cultures of these people. Unless test equivalence is assured, comparisons across people and groups of people with differing backgrounds can be meaningless.

In response to the above argument, it has been suggested that assessments of IQ that are not as overtly culturally and linguistically bound as the WISC-III, should be used. An example of a potentially more culturally fair test is called the Raven Progressive Matrices, which relies on complex geometric shapes and pictures to assess IQ. However, the cultural neutrality of these tests may be illusory. In a review of potential environmental causes for the worldwide systematic increase in IQs for all developed nations, Wendy Williams noted in 1998 that the contemporary visual world offers many children mazes and games on the backs of cereal boxes and on placemats at fast food restaurants, in addition to their omnipresence on the computer. For children not exposed to such stimuli, the Raven tests may be a much less familiar—and thus more difficult—experience. In fact, a 1998 review of the literature by Nicholas Mackintosh noted that there is “no reason to suppose that the ability to solve arbitrary abstract problems, such as those found in Raven’s tests, is any less a learnt skill than the ability to do mental arithmetic or answer questions about the meanings of words” (Mackintosh 1998, p. 171). Mackintosh cites a study (Sharma 1971) that showed that children’s scores on Raven’s Matrices varied as a function of how long they had been resident in Britain: Those still resident in India and those from the same district in India living in Britain for less than two years scored in the low 80s, while those originally from the same district who had been resident in Britain for more than six years scored more than 100 (Mackintosh 1998, pp. 171–172). Thus, the Ravens, like language-based IQ tests, may suffer from cultural bias.

An interesting parallel to the African-American situation is the historical experience of Caucasian immigrants to the United States. Richard Lynn’s data from 1978 show that every ethnic group, when tested upon entrance to the United States, scored relatively poorly—approximately one standard deviation below the mean. This is true for immigrants from India, Yugoslavia, Greece, Spain, eastern Europe, southern Europe, Portugal, Iran, and Iraq. Subsequent generations of their

offspring, however, show an increase in test scores, to the point where they equal or exceed the national average of the host country. In short, these immigrants came in with mean IQs of 85, while their children and their children's children have mean IQs of 103 (for people from India, for example). Clearly, this increase in scores is due to the effects of environmental factors (including cultural change and test familiarity) and not genetic factors.

On a broader note, the very concept of intelligence varies from place to place. For people from a culture that values scoring high on IQ tests, taking such a test is a different matter than it is for people who do not value high test scores. Robert Sternberg and colleagues summed up a discussion of the cross-cultural validity of IQ tests: "Scores from tests used in cultures and sub-cultures other than those for which the tests were specifically created are suspect, and probably of doubtful validity in many if not most cases" (Sternberg, Grigorenko, and Bundy 2001, p. 29).

#### NATURE AND NURTURE

Studies used to support claims of genetic causation of IQ differences often confound nature and nurture. This is a problem in adoption studies, both cross-race and within-race. Some studies of black and Asian infants reared by white families show intelligence consistent with the child's race rather than the race of the adoptive family, arguably providing support for innate racial differences. But there are problems with designing a perfect experiment using real adopted children. First, it is difficult to ensure that adoptive homes are truly randomly assigned and that the children are representative. For example, are adoption rights enforced at the same time (e.g., at birth or at identical ages) for adoptee-adoptee comparisons? Are the impacts of societal racism on the respective children's upbringing avoided? In such studies, race and environment are often confounded, rendering conclusions unclear.

Similar problems apply to within-race studies of identical twins adopted apart. The observed high correlation of identical twins has been used to argue for genetic causation, but this viewpoint ignores environmental interaction. Much attention has been paid to the extraordinary similarities of identical twins, even those who were separated at birth and meet up as adults, only to learn that they both collect balls of string and jiggle the toilet handle three times (Bouchard, et al. 1990). While these stories are fascinating and clearly reveal that genes are very important, it is essential to remember the dramatic similarity of the environments identical twins are generally raised in, even when they are adopted by separate families. Economic characteristics of these families are often very similar. They live in comparable communities, for example, and share a common

culture—even more so than one might expect, because many adoptions are arranged by religious organizations and social workers who seek similar values and attributes across adoptive families. Heredity surely controls part of how intelligent any one person will be, but extrapolation from these studies to explain racial differences in intelligence is problematic.

#### APPLYING HERITABILITY MEASURES

The "innate differences in intelligence" argument depends on notions of heritability (percentage of variance explained by genes) of IQ and genetic causality. There is no such thing as a universal "heritability of intelligence," only the heritability of intelligence in such and such a population at a particular time. For example, the environmental component of variance is likely to be much greater in a sample where some children attend school and some do not, than it is within a sample where schooling is universal (such as the United States). Heritability must therefore be regarded as "sample specific," varying with population and cohort. Heritability is lower among poor people than wealthy people, for example. Imagine two children, both with innate or genetic gifts for music, growing up in homes with very different economic circumstances. One child is given music lessons and access to musical instruments virtually from the time she can walk; the other child has none of these advantages. The former will thus have the opportunity to develop and display more of her genetically rooted talents, yielding higher heritability.

More generally, the variance of a trait within a group does not predict the variance between that group and another, because the differences in genes and environments within a group do not say anything about the differences in genes and environments between groups. Each measure of heritability applies only to the population from which it came, at a particular time and place.

#### IQ TEST SCORES AND ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS

Contrary to the "innate differences" argument, scores on IQ tests have been demonstrated to be affected by environmental factors, such as education, and by environmental changes over time. For example, exposure to schooling increases IQ, so that the more schooling an individual receives, and the higher the quality of this schooling, the higher the person's IQ score will be, on average (Ceci 1991). Schooling has been shown to increase IQ in studies of children tested before versus after school vacations (Jencks et al. 1972), of children leaving school early (Harnquist 1968) and starting school late (Schmidt 1967), of children with birthdays separated by a single day but whose number of years in school differs by a whole year due to

school admissions cutoffs (Cahan and Cohen 1989), and so on. Schooling and IQ have also been shown to increase individual income, which further contributes to the cycle of wealth resulting in higher IQs (Ceci and Williams 1997). How does schooling exert these positive effects on IQ? Basic familiarity with the types of questions on IQ tests is one key mechanism. Another is that schools specifically train students in the types of abilities that help a person answer IQ test questions correctly. Wealthy countries and wealthy communities obviously have more money to spend on schooling, and these communities tend more often to be white.

IQ test scores also change over time. IQs have been increasing at a steady rate for the last century (Flynn 1987; 1999; 2000). Because test manufacturers change the norms over time and keep resetting the average score to 100, it took some time before anyone noticed that the number of questions the average person was answering correctly was steadily increasing. The Raven Matrices, show the most dramatic increase across generations. For example, there was a gain of 20 IQ points in thirty years for Dutch men. The significance of this worldwide rise in IQ scores (known as the Flynn Effect) to the “innate differences in intelligence” argument is that it provides clear evidence for the strong impact of environment on IQ test scores. Given the economic conditions that African Americans have experienced, dramatic differences in IQ could thus be possible with economic enrichment. As one example, in 1998 Min-Hsiung Huang and Robert Hauser analyzed scores on a vocabulary subtest of the general social survey, in which the exact same vocabulary words have been used over and over, and found that black adults showed the largest gains in scores over time. This finding argues for the dramatic effects of improving environments, access to better schooling, and other changes that have accompanied blacks’ increased economic success. In sum, the Flynn Effect shows that an IQ score is not genetic destiny. Even within a given genotype, there is considerable room for IQs to increase substantially.

As a blue-ribbon panel of experts on intelligence concluded, “Heritability does not imply immutability” (Neisser et al. 1996, p. 86). Even highly heritable traits, such as height, can nevertheless change dramatically due to the environment. For example, the children of Japanese immigrants to the United States have usually been taller than their parents, due to better nutrition. Environment is an omnipresent contributing factor in every situation. For instance, it has been argued that racial IQ differences are due to differences between races in average brain size, and there is indeed a positive correlation between brain size and intelligence. But again, it is not clear whether any such differences are genetic or environmental in origin. It is simply not known if purported

racial differences in brain size or IQ would be eradicated by equalization of environments.

#### **RACES ARE NOT VALID BIOLOGICAL UNITS**

Finally, the notion that there are “pure gene pools” for blacks versus whites ignores the biological reality that humans are a blended species, and that they are becoming even more so. Attempts to explain IQ differences using blood markers for African versus European ancestry have been unconvincing, revealing only a negligible relationship between IQ and European genes, which is itself potentially attributable to differential treatment of lighter-skinned versus darker-skinned blacks—an environmental effect itself (Nisbett 2005). Some proponents of the “genetic differences in intelligence” argument rely on evidence linking observed “racial characteristics” with underlying genetic differences, suggesting that, if races differ on other aspects such as skin and hair color, it is likely that they would differ on the genes for intelligence. However, genetic differences on one dimension imply nothing about differences on others, particularly when some traits under consideration are caused by individual genes and others are polygenic (i.e., caused by multiple genes—a classic example being intelligence, a broadly polygenic trait). In sum, the picture of how IQ test scores are used to make comparisons between races is often unfocused or muddled, and it suffers from inaccurate and incomplete reasoning on multiple dimensions.

**SEE ALSO** *Heritability*.

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## IRISH AMERICANS AND WHITENESS

Throughout most of the eighteenth century, Ireland was governed under a series of codes known collectively as the Penal Laws, which regulated every aspect of Irish life and subjected Irish Catholics to a form of oppression that in another context would be labeled "racial." Judicial authorities in Ireland declared, "The law does not suppose any such person to exist as an Irish Roman Catholic?" A dictum whose similarity to the Dred Scott Decision, the 1857 U.S. Supreme Court ruling that denied blacks the rights of citizenship, is impossible to overlook. Indeed, the landlord system made the material conditions of the Irish peasant comparable to those of an American slave. The 1800 Union with Britain ruined Irish agriculture, creating a surplus population of farmers. Unable to find places in domestic industry, Irish agriculture workers were compelled to emigrate.

From 1815 to the end of the Great Irish Famine (1845–1850), between 800,000 and one million Irish went to America, where developing industry created a shortage of wage laborers. These displaced Irish peasants became the unskilled labor force in the free states. When they first began arriving in large numbers, they were, in the words of "Mr. Dooley" (the columnist Finley Peter Dunne), given a shovel and told to start digging up the place as if they owned it. They worked on the rail beds and canals for low wages under dangerous conditions. In the South they were occasionally employed where it did not make sense to risk the life of a slave.

As they arrived in American cities, they were crowded into districts that became centers of crime, vice, and disease, and they commonly found themselves thrown together with free Negroes. Irish and African Americans fought each other and the police, socialized (and occasionally intermarried), and developed a common culture of the lowly. Both groups also suffered the scorn of those better situated. Along with Jim Crow and Jim Dandy, the drunken, belligerent, and foolish Pat and Bridget were stock characters on the early American stage.

The Irish enjoyed one marked advantage over refugees from southern slavery, however: No one was chasing them with dogs. In spite of initial barriers, including



**Uncle Sam's Lodging-House.** Irish immigrants to the United States met with considerable discrimination. In this political cartoon from 1882, the Irishman is presented as the troublemaker while immigrants from other nations are peaceful. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

nativist hostility, they were able to make the transition from an oppressed race in Ireland to members of an oppressing race in America, that is, they became “white.” To the Irish, to become white in America did not mean that they all became rich, or even “middle-class.” Nor did it mean that they all became the social equals of the Saltonstalls and van Rensselaers; even the marriage of Grace Kelly to the Prince of Monaco and the election of John F. Kennedy as president did not eliminate all barriers to Irish entry into certain exclusive circles.

To Irish laborers, to become white meant that they could sell themselves piecemeal instead of being sold for life, and later that they could compete for jobs in all spheres instead of being confined to certain work. To Irish entrepreneurs, it meant that they could function outside of a segregated market. For all the Irish, it meant that they were citizens of a democratic republic, with the right to elect and be elected, to be tried by a jury of their peers, to live wherever they could afford, and to spend whatever money they managed to acquire without racially imposed restrictions. To enter the white race was a strategy to secure an advantage in a competitive society.

To the extent that color consciousness existed among newly arrived immigrants from Ireland, it was one of several ways they had of identifying themselves. To become white they had to subordinate county, religious, and national animosities (not to mention any natural sympathies they may have felt for their fellow creatures)

to a new solidarity based on color—a bond that, it must be remembered, was contradicted by their experience in Ireland. America was well set up to teach new arrivals the overriding value of white skin. The spread of wage labor made white laborers anxious about losing the precarious independence they had gained from the American Revolution. In response, they sought refuge in whiteness. The dominant ideology became more explicitly racial than it had been during the Revolutionary era. The result was a new definition of citizenship, with the United States becoming a “white republic.” Black skin was the badge of the slave, and in a perfect inversion of cause and effect, the degradation of the African Americans was seen as a function of their color rather than of their servile condition. The color-caste system meant that no black person could be free, even in the limited sense most whites were. It affected relations between employers and laborers, even in those areas where slavery did not exist.

In the decades following the War of 1812, as wage labor grew in the north, southern slavery became the foundation of world commerce and industry. The slaveholders strengthened their hold over the Republic, with the support of northern white laborers seeking to protect themselves from competition. As a consequence, the color line grew firmer in all parts of the country.

The Democratic Party was the chief instrument of the governing coalition, the party most strongly identified with white supremacy, and the Irish were a key element



in it. By 1844 they were the most solid voting bloc in the country, and it was widely believed that Irish votes provided James Polk's margin of victory in that year. The Irish voted Democratic because the party championed their assimilation as whites, and because, more than any other institution, it taught them the meaning of whiteness. The party rejected nativism, not because of a vision of a nonracial society, but because their vision was for a society polarized between white and black. Even as the bulk of the northern population began to turn toward Free-Soilism and, later, the Republican Party, the Irish remained loyal to the Democratic slaveholder-led coalition. They were less attracted than any other group to the promise of land in the West, primarily because they simply could not afford it. Free-Soil did not imply free soil. Taking into account the costs of land purchase, clearing and fencing, implements, seed, and livestock, as well as travel costs and the cash needed to survive until the first crop was brought in and sold, a minimum of \$1,000 was required to equip a family farm in the West; a sum so far beyond the reach of the savings possible on a laborer's wage that the available land for settlement might as well have been located on the moon.

"It is a curious fact," wrote John Finch, an English Owenite who traveled the United States in 1843, "that the democratic party, and particularly the poorer class of Irish immigrants in America, are greater enemies to the negro population, and greater advocates for the continuance of negro slavery, than any portion of the population in the free States" (quoted in Ignatiev 1995, p. 97), attributed the animosity between Irish and African Americans to labor competition between the two groups.

Citing "labor competition" without further specification raises more questions than it answers, however. Ideally, workers contracting for the sale of their labor power compete as individuals, not as groups. The competition gives rise to animosity among these individuals; but normally it also gives rise to its opposite, unity. It is not free competition that leads to enduring animosity, but its absence. Race becomes a social fact at the moment that group identification begins to impose barriers to free competition among atomized and otherwise interchangeable individuals. Competition among Irish and African-American laborers failed to form a mutual appreciation of the need for unity because the competition among these two groups did not take place under normal circumstances, but was distorted by the color line. Slavery in the United States was part of a bipolar system of color caste, in which even the lowliest of "whites" enjoyed a status superior in crucial respects to that of the most exalted "blacks." As members of the privileged group, white laborers organized to defend their caste status as a way of improving their condition as workers.

The initial turnover from black to Irish labor does not imply racial discrimination; many of the newly arrived Irish, hungry and desperate, were willing to work for less than free persons of color, and it was no more than good sense to hire them. The race question came up after the Irish had replaced African Americans in the jobs. Now it was the black workers who were hungry and desperate, and thus willing to work for the lowest wage. Why, then, were they not hired to undercut the wage of the Irish, as sound business principles would dictate? It is here that the organization of labor along race lines made itself felt. Only after the immigrants had established their place in America were they able to exert enough pressure on employers to maintain the factories as "white" preserves. In the labor market, "free" African Americans were prohibited by various means from competing with whites, in effect curtailing their right to choose among masters (a right that was pointed to by contemporary labor activists as the essential distinction between the free worker and the slave). Free black laborers were confined to certain occupations, which became identified with them. To be acknowledged as white, it was not enough for the Irish to have a competitive advantage over African Americans in the labor market; in order for them to avoid the taint of blackness it was necessary that no Negro be allowed to work in occupations where Irish were to be found.

Employment practices in the new industries had different consequences for African Americans, Irish, and native whites. Black workers were pushed down below the waged proletariat, into the ranks of the destitute self-employed. They worked as ragpickers, bootblacks, chimney sweeps, sawyers, fish and oyster mongers, washerwomen, and hucksters of various kinds. Native-born whites became skilled laborers and foremen. Irish immigrants were transformed into the waged labor force of industry. Access to the most dynamic area of the economy became a principal element defining "white" in the north.

There were several means by which the Irish secured their position as "whites." The Democratic Party was one. Another was the riot, in which mobs swept through the streets destroying property and attacking individuals. The year 1834 alone saw sixteen riots, and the following year there were thirty-seven. No less a witness than Abraham Lincoln warned in 1837 that "accounts of outrages committed by mobs form the every-day news of the times." The riots were often the work of "fire companies" organized along national or religious lines; it is significant that only black people were prohibited from forming such companies. In antebellum America a citizen (or potential citizen) was distinguished by three main privileges: He could sell himself piecemeal; he could vote; and he could riot. Among the causes of riots, antiblack

sentiments were prominent. In one case, a committee investigating a riot identified the widespread belief that some employers were hiring black laborers over white, and it proposed to leave the solution “to the consideration and action of individuals.” Sometimes the targets were abolitionists, who were hated not so much for their opposition to slavery as for their insistence on equal rights for Negroes.

Related to the riot was the police. At first, the police forces of large cities were drawn from the native-born population, and Irish immigrants were excluded. The Irish, with reason, regarded the police as nativist mobs with badges, and hostilities between them were common. As the Irish gained political influence, however, they were admitted to the ranks of the police, and were thus empowered to defend themselves from nativist mobs (while carrying out their own agenda against blacks, who, of course, were still excluded). The Irish cop is more than a quaint symbol; his appearance marked a turning point in the Irish struggle to become “white” in America. A pithy summary of the change in the racial status of Irish-Americans is found in the following ditty, which circulated in Philadelphia following the 1844 Kensington riots between nativists and Irish (which saw the burning of a Catholic Church, General Cadwalader’s troops firing into a crowd, and a mob firing back from a cannon dragged from a ship docked nearby):

Oh in Philadelphia folks say how  
Dat Darkies kick up all de rows,  
But de riot up in Skensin’ton,  
Beats all de darkies twelve to one.

An’ I guess it wasn’t de niggas dis time  
I guess it wasn’t de niggas dis time,  
I guess it wasn’t de niggas dis time,

Mr. Mayor,  
I guess it wasn’t de niggas dis time.

Oh, de “Natives” dey went up to meet,  
At de corner ob Second and Massa’ Street,  
De Irish cotch dar Starry Flag,  
An’ tare him clean up to a rag.

An’ I guess it wasn’t, etc.

De Natives got some shooting sticks,  
An’ fired at dar frames and bricks,  
De Pats shot back an’ de hot lead flew,  
Lord! what’s creation comin’ to?

Oh, guess it wasn’t, etc.

Cat-wallader he walk in now,  
An’ wid his brave men stop de row,  
Den wicked rowdies went in town,  
An burn de St. Augustine’s down,

Oh, whar was de police dat time,  
Oh, whar was, etc.

Oh, den de big fish ‘gin to fear,  
Dey thought the burnin’ was too near,  
Dey call’d a meetin’ to make peace,  
An’ make all white folks turn police.

If dey’d been a little sooner dat time  
If dey’d been a little sooner dat time,  
If dey’d been a little sooner dat time,

Mr. Mayor,  
Dey might a stopt all dis crime.

**SEE ALSO** *Dred Scott v. Sandford*; *White Racial Identity*.

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# J

## JAPANESE AMERICAN REDRESS MOVEMENT

Japanese immigrants began arriving in the United States in the 1880s. This first generation of Japanese immigrants, called the Issei, found assimilation into the American mainstream difficult at best. Cultural differences, xenophobia, and a quota system for immigrants served to stigmatize and subordinate the Issei. Life was little better for the first generation of ethnic Japanese born in the United States (the Nisei). Some Nisei were sent by their parents to Japan to be educated in the old ways. When these educated Nisei returned to the United States, they were known as the Kibei, and they achieved a degree of cultural status within the ethnic Japanese community. Although the Nisei were American citizens, they faced many of the same barriers to assimilation as their Issei parents. In the eyes of many white Americans, the ethnic Japanese represented an “otherness” that could neither be trusted nor respected. Out of this prejudice grew many forms of discrimination. The Issei, for example, were denied the right of naturalization and the right to purchase land. In 1924, further immigration from Japan was banned under the National Origins Act. This poisonous atmosphere set the sociopolitical stage for the extraordinary level of hostility visited upon Japanese Americans in the aftermath of the 1941 attack on Pearl Harbor.

## PEARL HARBOR AND INTERNMENT

On December 7, 1941, Japan attacked the American naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. After declaring war on Japan, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt issued an executive order that effectively denied the basic right of

due process to thousands of Japanese Americans. Issued on February 19, 1942, Executive Order 9066 directed the secretary of war to identify military areas from which “any or all persons” deemed to be a threat to national security, “by sabotage or espionage,” should be excluded. There was no requirement in the executive order that criminal charges be filed against the accused or that the accused receive a trial prior to his or her exclusion (evacuation and internment) from the designated areas. The right to be formally charged and the right to defend oneself from such charges were supposedly fundamental rights in this democracy. However, pursuant to the executive order, government officials and military personnel rounded up Japanese Americans on the West Coast and in western Arizona. Without indictment, trial, or conviction, they were forced to quickly sell or store their property, for they were taken away with little—and in many cases no—prior notice. They were taken first to assembly centers, and later to one of ten internment camps located in the western United States. More than 120,000 persons of Japanese ancestry, including over 77,000 American citizens, were confined to the internment camps under the authority of Executive Order 9066.

Life in the internment camps was harsh by any measure. The internees lived a highly regimented lifestyle in crowded, dilapidated quarters behind barbed-wire fences and watchtowers with armed guards. These conditions greatly affected the psychological state of the internees. A sense of being a POW or a convicted criminal pervaded the camps. Adding to this sense of incarceration was the attitude of the guards. To generate a little excitement in their monotonous job, the guards

would often terrorize the internees by shooting at them. Hence, not only were Japanese Americans uprooted from their homes, deprived of their property, denied due process, and stripped of their freedom, they were also psychologically terrorized—all at the hands of their own government.

#### POSTWAR INVESTIGATION

The sociopolitical forces that allowed Executive Order 9066 to be used as a means to deprive Japanese Americans of their fundamental constitutional rights and freedoms were later detailed in a congressional investigation prepared by the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (CWRIC). Established in 1980 to review Executive Order 9066 and its impact on “American citizens and permanent resident aliens,” the commission conducted a comprehensive series of hearings, which included testimony from over 750 witnesses. The commission concluded that Executive Order 9066 and its execution were not justified by military necessity or national security, despite claims to the contrary by officials in the Roosevelt administration. Rather, they were fueled by racial prejudice, war hysteria, and a failure of political leadership.

This conclusion is supported by the dramatically different treatment ethnic Japanese received in Hawaii after the attack on Pearl Harbor. Although residents of Japanese ancestry represented more than 35 percent of the Hawaiian population at the time, only 1 percent of them were detained in the aftermath of the attack. Given the fact that Hawaii was regarded as a strategically important area, the logical assumption would be that ethnic Japanese posed a great danger to national security in Hawaii. But government officials in Hawaii exercised better judgment than their mainland counterparts, due in large part to three factors: a history of greater racial tolerance, a larger percentage of ethnic Japanese in the population, and a restrained military commander who believed in a presumption of loyalty unless there was evidence to the contrary.

#### REDRESS

Despite the inherent injustice of interning innocent people, especially U.S. citizens, it seemed unlikely at first that Japanese Americans would receive any redress in the postwar years. Increasing numbers of the Nisei and their children (the Sansei, or grandchildren of the Issei) became members of the American middle class. The Issei became eligible for citizenship in 1952, and the ban on Japanese immigration was lifted (although a quota was instituted in its place). In 1959 Hawaii became a state, and Asian American legislators soon arrived in Washington. By the 1960s, Japanese Americans had become the

“model minority.” These developments made redress appear unnecessary and unwise.

Yet a sense of injustice remained for many Japanese Americans, especially the Sansei who participated in the civil rights movement of the 1960s. Conflicting attitudes about redress were largely drawn along generational lines. While the Nisei who experienced internment first-hand preferred to move beyond that traumatic experience, their Sansei children wanted to confront the past as a foundation for moving forward. These socially active children of the civil rights era wanted to restore ethnic pride to Japanese Americans. They also wanted to uncover the truth about the internment. As the myriad internal dialogues unfolded, one fact became clear: each group of Japanese Americans viewed internment as the central event in Japanese American history. It has often been said that internment is the event from which all other events in the lives of Japanese Americans are dated and compared.

This sense of shared history brought survivors of the internment forward to testify before the CWRIC. In addition, two sets of lawsuits were filed. The first was a *coram nobis* (Latin for “error before us”) litigation brought in 1983 by three former internees: Gordon Hirabayashi, Minoru Yasui, and Fred Korematsu. These plaintiffs sought to overturn their convictions, which were upheld by the Supreme Court in 1943 and 1944, for violating the wartime curfew and exclusion orders. The *coram nobis* lawsuits were successful in overturning these criminal convictions. “The courts issuing the writs declared an injustice and sought to redress it by correcting the historical as well as the legal record on which the Supreme Court had relied in its prior decisions” (Brooks 2004, p. 114).

The second set of lawsuits sought redress for all internees, not just those criminally convicted of violating the wartime exclusion laws. The most important of these cases is *Hohri v. United States* (1986), in which the plaintiffs sought monetary relief for violations of their constitutional rights and for losses to their homes and businesses. Like similar lawsuits that have sought monetary relief for past governmental injustice, this case was dismissed on grounds that it was barred by the statute of limitations and by the government’s sovereign immunity. The case was finally dismissed in 1988, the same year in which President Ronald Reagan signed the Civil Liberties Act into law.

The Civil Liberties Act of 1988 marked the successful culmination of the Japanese American redress movement. Among other things, the act contained: (1) a joint congressional resolution acknowledging and apologizing for the internment of Japanese Americans; (2) a presidential pardon for Japanese Americans who, like

Hirabayashi, Yasui, and Korematsu, refused to comply with exclusion orders; (3) the establishment of a foundation to sponsor educational activities; and (4) payment of \$20,000 to each surviving internee.

In 1988, when the reparations bill was signed into law, Japanese Americans were less than 1 percent of the population, politically passive as a group, and divided over whether to pursue a legislative or litigious path to redress. In addition, the redress movement reached its zenith in the 1980s, when the federal budget deficit was nearing an all-time high. By all accounts, the Japanese American redress movement should have failed, not unlike the African American redress movement for slavery and Jim Crow, or, at best, it should have gained only marginal success, similar to the Native American redress movement.

So why was the redress movement so successful? There were a number of factors that allowed Japanese Americans to break through the political barriers that had stymied other groups. First, the redress bill became essentially a “free vote” for members of Congress. This was made possible because veterans groups did not actively oppose the bill, primarily due to the remarkable war record of Japanese American veterans (Nisei soldiers), who fought valiantly for a country that held their relatives and friends captive. Second, Japanese American leaders were able to frame the legislative issue as a deprivation of equal opportunity rather than as a claim for preferential treatment. Third, Barney Frank (D-Mass.) made redress his top priority when he became subcommittee chair in 1987. And finally, four powerful Japanese American Republicans and Democrats in the House and Senate vigorously supported the bill, personalizing discussions with narratives of their own war experiences.

**SEE ALSO** *Civil Rights Acts; Immigration to the United States; Model Minorities; Reparations for Racial Atrocities.*

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Roy L. Brooks

## JENSEN, ARTHUR 1923–

Arthur R. Jensen was born on August 24, 1923, in San Diego, California. He joined the faculty of the University of California, Berkeley, in 1958 and became the center of a major controversy in 1969 when his article “How Much Can We Boost IQ and Academic Achievement?” was published in the *Harvard Educational Review*.

Jensen argued that Americans socially classified as black and white had, on average, different genetic potentials for intelligence, which he identified with IQ. He concluded that if black and white Americans enjoyed environments of equal quality, blacks would reduce their 15-point IQ deficit (compared to whites) to only about 10 points. In his later works he introduced the concept of “g,” sometimes called the “general intelligence factor,” which measures the tendency of some people to do better (or worse) than others on a whole range of mental tasks. This tendency becomes more marked as the cognitive complexity of the task increases and Jensen notes that blacks tend to fall farther below whites when the “g-loading,” or cognitive complexity, of an IQ test increases.

At Berkeley, the immediate reaction to Jensen’s views was several weeks of violent demonstrations, and protests continued to flare periodically throughout the 1970s. He defended himself against charges of racism with four arguments:

1. Setting race aside, “black” and “white” are socially significant groups in America. Blacks are identified for purposes of affirmative action (different standards of entry to universities) and public debate. For example, the principal of a school may be criticized if the children of black professionals do worse than most white students.
2. There can be average genetic differences between socially constructed groups. For example, if people with higher intelligence become professionals and less intelligent people become unskilled workers, and if like tends to marry like, then a genetic difference for intelligence will emerge among social classes. This theme was later developed by Charles Murray and Richard Herrnstein in *The Bell Curve* (1994).

3. The truth can never be racist, and whether two groups differ for genetic potential is a scientific question to be settled by evidence. Knowing the truth is important. If black and white children, on average, do have different genetic potentials for academic achievement, it may be unjust to criticize a school principal when an achievement gap exists.
4. An average difference between groups does not justify discrimination against individuals because of their group membership. Jensen stresses that, even if his hypothesis is correct, under conditions of environmental equality the upper 25 percent of blacks would overlap with the upper 50 percent of whites for intelligence. Indeed, the brightest individual in America might be black.

The emotion that has surrounded Jensen's hypothesis has largely overshadowed the evidence both for and against it. For example, after World War II, the children of black American soldiers and German women matched the IQs of children fathered by white soldiers and German women, irrespective of the g-loading of IQ tests. This fact is by no means decisive of the debate, but it illustrates that the debate can be carried on in terms of evidence rather than epithet. Jensen's assessment of the evidence from postwar Germany appears in *The g Factor* (1998).

Emotion has also obscured the fact that had the IQ debate not occurred, certain advances in psychology might also not have occurred. For example, Jensen (1972) noted that identical twins have IQs far more alike than randomly selected individuals, which seems to show that genes are dominant and environment weak in determining intelligence. He calculated that the impotence of environment was such that the magnitude of the black-white IQ gap was too large to be purely environmental.

William Dickens and James Flynn responded to Jensen's theories to this point with a model suggesting that people who are alike genetically tend to have environments that are atypically similar. Two individuals born with the physical traits of being fast and tall are both likely to be selected for basketball teams and get professional coaching. Similarly two individuals born with more mental ability than average are likely to have the benefits of greater teacher attention, honors classes, and attending good universities. In other words, even when identical twins are separated at birth, they will have more than genes in common: they will have life histories that show the same powerful environmental factors at work. They both will have enjoyed professional coaching, or both will have enjoyed highly superior educational experiences. The model's mathematics demonstrated that large group differences in either bas-

ketball skills or IQ-test performance could be primarily environmental in origin. If correct, this would illuminate areas as diverse as special education and how to remain mentally acute in old age. The Jensen debate shows that racism and the scientific examination of group differences are two different things, and also that banning scientific debate always inhibits the pursuit of truth.

**SEE ALSO** *Heritability; IQ and Testing.*

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*James R. Flynn*

## **JEWISH DEFENSE LEAGUE**

The Jewish Defense League (JDL) and its offshoots in the United States advocate a militant Jewish nationalism characterized by racism and violence against the perceived enemies of the Jewish people. Established by Rabbi Meir Kahane in 1968 in Brooklyn, New York, JDL's initial goal was to protect the local Jewish community from anti-Semitism through intimidation and violence.

Kahane taught his followers that all non-Jews, especially African Americans and Arabs, are potential threats to the American Jewish community. His preachings highlighted the perception of Jews as a defenseless and weak community, and he often denounced both the mainstream Jewish community and law enforcement agencies as unwilling or unable to protect Jewish neighborhoods. He concluded that only Jews could protect themselves.

In his writings and public appearances, Kahane echoed the rhetoric of the Black Power movement. He emphasized Jewish Power through the strength of arms and threats of violence to defend against anti-Semitism. In *The Story of the Jewish Defense League* (1975), he declared, "Vandals attack a synagogue? Let that synagogue attack the vandals. Should a gang bloody a Jew,

let a Jewish group go looking for the gang. This is the way of pride, not evil pride, but the pride of nation, of kinship—the pride of the mountain (p.143).”

Kahane’s vision was turned into reality in May 1969, when the JDL established training camps and schools in which young Jews learned militant Jewish nationalism, hand-to-hand combat, and how to use firearms. Pre-meditated violence and vigilante justice followed. In September 1970, armed JDL activists were arrested in an attempted hijacking of an Arab airline.

As the JDL gained national recognition and support, its violent activities escalated. Protests and terror attacks were staged, including bombings, kidnappings, and attempted hijackings. Soviet and Arab representatives were the most common targets, as JDL wanted to respond to the oppression of Jews in the Soviet Union and to participate in the Israeli-Arab conflict. However, anyone that the JDL believed was or could be a threat to Jews was threatened, including mainstream Jewish organizations, which denounced the JDL and its tactics.

In 1971 Kahane immigrated to Israel to establish the anti-Arab Kach Party. He continued to travel to the United States and direct JDL activities until he officially resigned from his position as the group’s leader on April 17, 1974. Although Kahane continued to inspire his American followers and traveled to the United States to participate in JDL activities, the organization was left to less charismatic leaders such as Victor Vancier and Irv Rubin, under whose guidance JDL support was reduced.

At the end of the 1980s, JDL’s significance declined. It had received some support from moderate American Jews for pressuring the U.S.S.R. to allow Jews to emigrate. When President Gorbachev finally permitted record numbers of Jews to leave in the late-1980s, Kahane’s focus shifted almost entirely to Israel. In addition, many JDL activists were arrested, including Vancier in 1986. However, the movement was dealt a crippling blow on November 5, 1990, when Kahane was assassinated in Manhattan by El Sayyid Nosair, an Egyptian Islamic fundamentalist connected to Al Qaeda.

Thus, the already weak JDL lost its founder. In addition, a split occurred within the Kach Party in Israel. Binyamin Kahane, Meir Kahane’s son, broke with Kach Party leader Baruch Marzel and founded Kahane Chai (Kahane Lives), based in the Israeli settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Kahane Chai also established operations in Brooklyn, encroaching on JDL’s financial and political territory.

After Kahane’s death, the JDL was overshadowed by the shocking actions of its ideological brethren in Israel, particularly the Hebron Massacre of dozens of Muslims while they were praying, perpetrated by Kahanist Baruch Goldstein on February 25, 1994, and the assassination of

Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin by Yigal Amir on November 5, 1995, in protest of the Oslo Peace Accords. The JDL leadership refused to condemn these crimes.

The JDL’s continued use of violence eventually led to its failure. On December 11, 2001, Rubin, its longest serving national chairman, and Earl Krugel, the group’s former West Coast coordinator, were arrested days before they were to carry out several terrorist attacks on Arab targets in retaliation for Islamic terrorism. While in jail, Rubin committed suicide in November 2002. Three years later, in November 2005, Krugel was murdered in jail. Following Rubin’s death, his widow Shelley Rubin feuded with JDL leaders Bill Maniaci and Matthew Finberg, which led to the JDL splitting into two rival camps.

In 2005, JDL rallies and protests rarely attracted more than a dozen supporters. Activities remain on a small scale and include rallies against Arab and Islamic interests and protests of white supremacists, antiwar protestors, and anti-Israel events. Maniaci has intimated that the JDL would like to shed its image as a violent extremist group. However, indoctrination and combat training camps are occasionally reported, and the JDL continues to threaten Arabs, Muslims, and others it deems dangerous to the American Jewish community and Israel.

SEE ALSO *Anti-Semitism*.

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Alexander M. Feldman

## JOHNSON, MORDECAI WYATT 1890–1976

Mordecai Wyatt Johnson was born on January 12, 1890, in Paris, Tennessee. His father, the Reverend Wyatt Johnson, was a former slave and mill worker, and his mother, Carolyn Freeman Johnson, was a housewife. In 1926 he became the first African-American president of Howard University in Washington, D.C., an institution with an enrollment of 2,268 students and 160 teachers. When he retired in 1960, the enrollment was in excess of 6,000. In 2006, benefiting from the momentum of Johnson’s guidance of thirty-four years, Howard

University had 11,000 students and more than 1,000 teachers. It offered degrees in ninety-three different fields, including law, medicine, business, nursing, education, and communication. This is a range of instruction unmatched by any other of the hundred predominantly black higher education institutions in the nation.

Mordecai's own eminence rested upon an unusually rich education. He earned a B.A. from Atlanta Baptist College (now Morehouse College) in 1911, another B.A. from the University of Chicago in 1913, a divinity degree from the same institution in 1920, and an M.A. in divinity from Harvard University in 1922. He gained distinction as a master orator while at Harvard, and over the years he became known as one of the nation's top preachers as well as the president of its premier black educational institution.

In his 1926 presidential inaugural speech, Johnson shared his vision of the social-uplift role Howard University should play as "the first mature university organization to come to pass among Negroes in the modern civilized world." In addition to a balanced undergraduate program, Johnson saw the schools of medicine, law, education and religion as having arisen "to meet definite needs of the Negro people." In subsequent years under his leadership, the medical school would turn out half of the nation's black physicians, nearly all of its lawyers, a disproportionate number of specialists in education, and trained ministers dedicated to "releasing their energies for constructive service to the common good."

Johnson also was responsible for hiring such prominent scholars as the Rhodes Scholar and philosopher Alain Locke, the sociologist E. Franklin Frazier, the political scientist and future Nobel Laureate Ralph Bunche, the medical school dean Numa P. G. Adams, the pioneer blood-bank researcher Charles Drew, the economist Abram Harris, the historians John Hope Franklin and Rayford W. Logan, the theologians Benjamin E. Mays and Wallace Thurman, the school of education giants Charles E. Thompson and Allison Davis, and the law school dean Charles Hamilton Houston. The achievements of these scholars solidified Howard's reputation as the "capstone" of black education. Thompson founded the *Journal of Negro Education*, Drew received international recognition for his work, and Mays's leadership placed the Howard University School of Religion in the vanguard of black religious education, an achievement that led to his presidency of Morehouse College.

In addition to supporting the work of individual scholars, Johnson saw that Howard's law school could be a national systemic catalyst in breaking the chains of "legal" racial discrimination and advancing African-American civil rights. Thus, Charles Houston, with Johnson's support, vastly improved the law school and

stressed that African-American lawyers should look upon themselves as "social engineers." Through mock trials, lawyers such as Thurgood Marshall and James Nabrit III developed and rehearsed the legal arguments crucial to the school integration cases of the 1950s, and the historic *Brown v. Board of Education* decision of 1954. Marshall went on to become the first African-American U.S. Supreme Court Justice. Laying the foundation for the successful attack on official racism, the law school became the nation's tutor in the field of civil rights. Nabrit was to succeed Johnson as president of the university.

Some were critical of what they termed Johnson's "autocratic manner" on campus and his "messianic" complex when dealing with Howard's adversaries off campus. Like most college presidents of his era, Johnson saw himself as the captain of a ship, with the faculty being his crew. His unrivalled authority was also a result of his success in 1926 in persuading the U.S. Congress to make Howard's federal appropriation an annual part of the federal funding cycle, a situation that enabled him to contain conflicts and rivalries among some of black America's most brilliant individuals. At the same time, Johnson's belief in academic freedom shielded his faculty from the efforts of some legislators to curb this freedom, especially during the "Red Decade" of the 1930s, at time when many intellectuals were accused of being admirers of Stalin and Communism.

Some of Johnson's outspoken political views also drew negative attention, but he was able to survive these attacks and become a world-recognized advocate for social justice, not only for African Americans but for the peoples of the underdeveloped countries of the world. For years he was the national leader and advocate for black education, and his sermons and public lectures were special events. He embodied in full measure Howard University's motto of "Truth and Service," and the university's central administration building bears his name.

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*George Tambllyn*

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## KENNEWICK MAN

The relevance of the Kennewick Man discovery to the issue of race is a consequence of semantic confusion over the meaning of the term *Caucasoid* between the scientist who initially inspected the find and the public media that reported it.

### THE DISCOVERY

In July 1996, two young men discovered a human skull on the banks of the Columbia River in Kennewick, Washington, on land owned by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. The county coroner enlisted the assistance of a local forensic anthropologist, who worked for the next month to recover the rest of the skeleton from the mud of the reservoir. Ultimately, he recovered a nearly complete skeleton in excellent condition.

Upon initial inspection, the skull and limbs appeared to more closely resemble those of a European than a local Native American; they were *Caucasoid*-like. The skull was long, high, and narrow, the mid-face projecting, and the chin prominent. The limbs were long, with proportionately longer lower arm and leg bones than are usually reported for Native American skeletal remains. These features, along with excellent preservation and association with late-nineteenth-century artifacts, led the anthropologist initially to suggest the remains might be from an early Euro-American settler. This inference came into question a few days later when, while cleaning the skeleton, he found a stone spearpoint embedded in the pelvis.

To resolve the apparent contradiction between the embedded artifact and the skeletal morphology, the coroner submitted a small bone for radiocarbon dating. The

carbon-14 dating found the skeleton to be between 9,300 and 9,500 years old. This made the skeleton one of the oldest and best-preserved examples of human remains ever found in North America. Some in the media, as well as some public figures, quickly jumped to the conclusion that “*Caucasoid*-like” features meant that the first Americans had been Caucasians. To anthropologists who study the earliest Americans, however, it simply joined other discoveries, such as the Spirit Cave Mummy from Nevada, in suggesting that the first people in the Western Hemisphere had differed phenotypically from the historic indigenous inhabitants and that the peopling of the Americas may have been a more complex process than the immigration of a single, small group of ancestral eastern Siberians. Multiple episodes of migration from Asia may well have occurred toward the end of the last Ice Age, when that region was populated by disparate, morphologically distinct populations, most of whom would not fit the modern image of “Asians.”

### POLITICAL FIRESTORM

The discovery set off a political firestorm and led to an important legal decision. Five Native American tribes—the Umatilla, Yakama, Wanapum, Nez Percé, and Colville—quickly claimed the remains, citing the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 (NAG-PRA). That act, intended to protect the remains of Native American skeletons from wanton desecration, and to facilitate the return of museum specimens to their probable descendants, requires a federal agency to turn over any inadvertently discovered Native American remains to an affiliated tribe or, without affiliation, to the tribe that the U.S. Court of Federal Claims had determined owned the

land in historic times. The various tribes asserted that because their religion dictated they had originated in the territory they occupied in the nineteenth century, which included the place where Kennewick Man had been found, he was certainly their ancestor and should be returned immediately for reburial. The Corps of Engineers concurred and published its intent to turn the remains over to the Umatilla tribe. The corps had concluded that the Umatilla tribe had occupied the region around the discovery site at the time of European contact, meeting one of the criteria established for repatriation under NAGPRA.

Scientific interest among scholars was high. Numerous biological anthropologists and archaeologists sought the opportunity to study these unique remains. Initially, they sent study requests to the Corps of Engineers and to the concerned native governments, but, after being ignored, eight of them (Robson Bonnicksen, C. Loring Brace, George W. Gill, C. Vance Haynes Jr., Richard L. Jantz, Douglas W. Owsley, Dennis J. Stanford, and D. Gentry Steele) ultimately filed suit in the Federal District Court in Portland, Oregon, to halt the scheduled repatriation. The case, known as *Bonnicksen et al. v. United States*, lasted eight years. Two other claimants, a Norse revivalist religion known as the Asatru Folk Assembly, and Joseph Siofele, a Polynesian who hailed Kennewick Man as an ancestor of his people, also filed suits, but the first dropped out and the second case was dismissed.

Both the Asatru and Siofele appeared to take the opportunity provided by Kennewick Man's distinctive physical characteristics—the Asatru his supposed “Caucasoid-like” appearance and Siofele the statistical similarity of the Kennewick skull to that of some Polynesian peoples—to legitimize their rights to live in the Western Hemisphere. By having a legally acknowledged predecessor of their race in the New World, they seemed to believe, their later “re-immigration” might give them claims at least equal to those of Native Americans.

#### THE LEGAL CASE

Federal Magistrate John Jelderks heard arguments for and against dismissal of the case in 1997, and ordered the government to vacate its initial decision and properly follow the procedures of NAGPRA—that is, methodically attempt to determine affiliation. Working with non-plaintiff anthropologists, many of them approved by the native governments, the federal government conducted its own studies of the skeleton, local archaeology, folklore, and language. Ultimately, the decision, for affiliation to the claimant tribes, came down to folklore. The case then went back to court.

Legal arguments hinged on the interpretation of the NAGPRA legislation. Plaintiffs asserted, among other things, that Kennewick Man was not Native American

under the statute; and if he were Native American, he could not be considered affiliated with any of the claimant tribes. Identity as Native American was the threshold issue. According to the statute, they noted, the term refers to “a tribe, people, or culture that *is* indigenous to the United States” (emphasis added). The law refers to the present, not all time. Living more than four hundred generations ago, Kennewick Man could not be a member of a present-day group, nor connected to them in any clear ancestor–descendant relationship. For its part, the government asserted the law meant that any person who predated Christopher Columbus's arrival is Native American. Tribes and Native American rights groups, who entered the case as *amicus curiae*, asserted verb tense did not matter; one never loses one's indigeness.

Ultimately, the court found in favor of the plaintiffs, ordering the government to enter into negotiations with them over the timing and content of studies. The government and tribes appealed the case to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, which unanimously upheld the initial ruling.

Studies by the plaintiffs' study team took place in June 2005 and again in February 2006, with more investigations planned. Kennewick Man is said to have been a well-muscled middle-aged man around 5 feet 9 inches tall who had survived head, chest, shoulder, and pelvic injuries before his death and possible burial. As with most of his North American contemporaries, his physical characteristics make him distinct from all modern “races.”

Kennewick Man was a case of confused identity. The legal interpretation of Kennewick Man's identity hinged strictly on the reading of legal language. Kennewick Man was not “Native American” under the law because no cultural or biological link between him and any modern tribe could reasonably be made. The decision had nothing to do with an assignment of his “race.” To the anthropologists who studied him, his distinctive phenotypic characteristics raised the intriguing question about greater diversity among America's earliest inhabitants, who arrived long before present-day “races” had evolved. Nonetheless, in the popular culture, the mistaken idea of Kennewick Man as evidence that Caucasians were the first Americans has taken a firm hold. Like the Asatru, many white Americans seemingly seek a moral right to live in America at a time when they feel embattled as illegitimate usurpers.

**SEE ALSO** *Folk Classification*.

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*James C. Chatters*

## KING, MARTIN LUTHER, JR.

1929–1968

Of political leaders, statesmen, and great figures with national and international influence during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. is in a class by himself. Before the twentieth century faded into history and time, King, because of his commitment to humanitarian principles and values, had elevated himself into a universal political icon admired and beloved by millions. Before his death, he was a living legend. The international community, in awarding him the Nobel Peace Prize in 1963, recognized the global significance of his work and life. Twenty years later, in 1983, the U.S. government honored him for this same commitment with a national holiday. Beyond these international and national awards, many states, counties, and cities have named streets, highways, parks, buildings, bridges, centers, fellowships, prizes, and endowed academic chairs in his honor. Cultural institutions and individuals have created plays, songs, poems, pageants, bronze busts, and statues as tributes to him. There have been theater movies, television movies and programs, radio programs and presentations, public school presentations, and countless readings of his speeches, as well as grand orations and speeches about him and his influence. Since his death, every U.S. president has issued presidential proclamations on his birthday to honor him on behalf of the nation. Words of honor and praise have been continuous. In point of fact, they have never stopped.

Beyond the words and visual images, there have been the printed thoughts. Doctoral dissertations, senior and master's theses, books, book chapters, scholarly journal articles, newspaper and magazine articles, and children's works are in constant flow to the public and to the political elites of the nation and the international community. No year passes without some new discussion, debate, and revelation about Reverend King. But this steady stream of accounts is not necessarily singing his praises. Critics and criticism abound in this ever-growing voluminous literature. Yet most of it is positive and commemorative. His legendary status in life has not only grown with his death but has in retrospect also pushed his critics to the margins and sidelines. His own papers, letters, and writings are now headed for their own special

archives for future generations of scholars and laypersons to study. He is becoming a man for the ages.

### BIRTH AND FAMILY

Martin Luther King Jr.'s parents, Michael King and Alberta Williams, were married on Thanksgiving Day 1926 in Atlanta, Georgia, at Ebenezer Baptist Church, where his wife's father, the Reverend A. D. Williams, was the pastor. The newly married couple moved in with the wife's parents. It was in this household that Michael Luther King Jr. was born on January 15, 1929. He was the second child in the family, preceded by his sister, Christine, and later followed by a brother, Alfred Daniel (A. D.) in 1930. Shortly thereafter, tragedy struck when Reverend Williams died of a heart attack in March 1931. The son-in-law, King's father, who was already associate pastor, with the help of his outspoken mother-in-law became pastor of Ebenezer after about seven months. In a short time span, Reverend King rescued the bankrupt church, reformed its internal structure, put it on a sound financial footing, and launched an outreach program for the sick and shut-ins. His ministry proved so successful that at the end of his first year, he was the highest paid minister in Atlanta. By the end of his second year, he asked his church to send him on a summer tour of the Holy Land, Europe, and Africa. They did, and part of the tour carried him into Germany and the village where Martin Luther had defied the Catholic Church in 1517. Upon his return home, the Reverend Mike King changed his name and that of his son to Martin Luther King, senior and junior.

As his father moved up in the social, religious, and political circles in Atlanta, "M. L." or "Little Mike," began elementary school first at Yonge Street, then David T. Howard School, and by the seventh and eighth grades he attended the Atlanta University Laboratory High School. However, it closed at the end of King's eighth-grade year, and he returned to public education at Booker T. Washington High School, where he skipped the ninth and twelfth grades. Morehouse College, the all-male college that his father had graduated from in 1930, found its student enrollment declining as a result of World War II and instituted an early-admission program—taking bright young tenth and eleventh graders as freshmen. King was admitted to his father's college after the eleventh grade and, with a major in sociology, graduated in 1948. During his junior year at Morehouse College, King gave his trial sermon at Ebenezer and was shortly thereafter ordained and made an associate minister in his father's church. Prior to graduating in 1948, King applied to and was accepted at Crozier Theological Seminary in Chester, Pennsylvania. After three years of study of the dominant theologians of his time, such as Walter Rauschenbusch, Paul Tillich, Reinhold Niebuhr, and Mohandas Gandhi, King decided to attend graduate

school and attain a Ph.D. in the philosophy of religion. During his last year at Crozier, he applied to Yale University, Boston University, and Edinburgh University in Scotland. Yale turned him down, and Edinburgh became less interesting. Thus, in September 1951 he began his doctoral studies at Boston.

Besides his study of more theologians, political philosophers, political activists, and the giving of guest sermons at churches where his father had connections, King kept an active social life, meeting once a week with his discussion group known as the Dialectical Society. During that first year, he met Coretta Scott, from Alabama, who was in Boston to attend the New England Conservatory of Music for training as a classical singer. The relationship grew to the point that he had her visit Atlanta and meet his mother and father. Things did not go well. When "Daddy King" and his wife visited their son in Boston to urge him to end the relationship, they discovered that King planned to marry Coretta. They were married on June 18, 1953, at the home of Coretta's parents near Selma, Alabama. King's brother served as best man and the affair went smoothly with the lone exception of Daddy King trying at the last minute to talk them out of it. He failed, and the couple spent their honeymoon at a local funeral parlor. Later they drove to Atlanta and moved in with King's parents.

King, with his wife, returned to Boston to finish up his coursework and find an agreeable dissertation topic as well as search for a job. His father wanted him to return to Atlanta and persuaded the president of Morehouse, Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, to offer him a teaching job at his alma mater, Morehouse College. The elder King wanted his son as a successor at Ebenezer. Before leaving school, King explored job possibilities at the First Baptist Church of Chattanooga, Tennessee, and Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama. In driving down to Montgomery, the previous pastor, Reverend Vernon Johns, hitched a ride with King to Montgomery from Atlanta. Once in the city, he dropped off Reverend Johns at the home of Reverend Ralph David Abernathy, who pastored the First Baptist Church. Johns was supposed to preach there while King was giving his trial sermon at Dexter. Instead of simply dropping off Johns, King stayed for dinner and struck up a friendship with the Abernathys that would last until his death.

Although one of King's best college friends was also up for the Dexter Avenue Church job, King accepted the church pastoral offer on April 14, 1954, agreeing to start that fall in September. On the fifth of that month King delivered his initial sermon. During that year he finished his dissertation and was awarded the Ph.D. in June 1955. Next came the birth of his first daughter, Yolanda Denise, on November 17, 1955. This was followed by the historic arrest of Rosa Parks on December 1, 1955, for refusing to

give up her seat on a bus to a white rider. The results of this arrest would change the history of the South forever.

#### THE MONTGOMERY BUS BOYCOTT

After Parks was arrested, three major overlapping organizations, the NAACP, the Women's Political Council, and the Montgomery Improvement Association, mobilized to launch a bus boycott to protest the blatant racism and segregation inflicted upon black passengers.

For several years the NAACP had been looking for an appropriate case arising from an arrest of an African American for violating the city bus segregation ordinance. Several had come up during the early years after King's arrival at Dexter, but E. D. Nixon, the leading civil rights activist in the city, rejected them as inadequate test cases. However, it was a different story with the universally respected Rosa Parks, and when approached she agreed to permit herself to become the test case the NAACP wanted. Concerning tactics, the Women's Political Council, headed by Mrs. Jo Ann Robinson, an English professor at Alabama State University, wanted to plan a simple one-day bus boycott in the aftermath of Parks's arrest to protest the unfairness of the city's segregation bus law. In order to activate the protest, Robinson worked all night at her office at the university, mimeographing a leaflet to be circulated through the churches and other council contacts. In addition to her conceiving the boycott, Robinson was a member of King's church. After speaking to Robinson, Nixon called King and asked for his support as well as requesting that the city's fifty top African American leaders meet in the basement of his church to organize and plan an extended boycott. Those attending the meeting agreed to the legal challenge and the bus boycott and condensed the leaflet prepared by Robinson, which called for a mass meeting to spread the details about it. On that Sunday both King and Abernathy announced to their congregations that the boycott was on. The leading white newspaper, the *Montgomery Advertiser*, got copies of both leaflets from white women who had received them from their maids and printed a story to warn the white community about what was coming, but the article also informed other African Americans who had not heard about the forthcoming boycott. The boycott meant that some 20,000 of the 40,000 African Americans in the city would not use public transportation, making it necessary for the leaders of the action to establish private transportation arrangements for participants.

Once the white police chief heard about the Monday morning boycott, he declared that it would be effective only if "Negro goon squads" forcibly kept people off the buses. Hence, he ordered policemen to arm themselves and ride behind the buses to keep the "goon squads" from being effective. But this heavy show of police force scared away the few African Americans who wanted to



**Martin Luther King Jr., 1956.** *Martin Luther King Jr. sits for his mug shot after his arrest for directing the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott.* DON CRAVENS/TIME LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES.

ride the buses but saw only trouble from such armed policemen. Parks was convicted in court; her lawyer, Fred Gray, filed an appeal; and Nixon posted her bond.

Just as they left the courtroom, a massive crowd of African Americans met them in the hallway and urged further action. Such an unexpected show of support led Nixon, Abernathy, and others to immediately assemble and call for a new mass meeting that evening. At that meeting, King was elected president of the organization and a name was voted on for the boycott organization. It was named the Montgomery Improvement Association. But before they decided on whether to make the one-day boycott a longer one, they decided to wait and see the actual turnout at the mass meeting that evening.

The first indication that the moment of decision had arrived was when King and his college friend, who was giving him a ride to the Holt Street Baptist Church, could not get within ten blocks of the church. Eventually, King had to exit the car and walk for nearly fifteen minutes to reach the church and push his way inside. He was called to

the pulpit and gave a stirring address. Afterward, it was clear that the long boycott was on and only the details needed to be worked out. However, the extension of the boycott forced it to move from a taxi-based system providing transportation to the participants to a volunteer car-pool arrangement. Such changes brought a host of problems and white pressures to cripple the MIA leadership and its system of helpful transportation. Scores of internal and external problems led Parks's attorney, Fred Gray, to file a suit in federal court on February 1, 1956, against the entire system of bus segregation in the city. This was two days after King's house was bombed with his wife and child in it.

On June 4, 1956, a panel of three federal judges voted 2 to 1 to declare bus segregation in Montgomery unconstitutional. Next came the Supreme Court decision on November 13, 1956, that upheld and affirmed the lower court decision. But the city had the right to ask the Court for reconsideration, which it did. On December 17 the Court rejected the city appeal, and the final court order to the city arrived on December 20. The successful boycott had lasted 382 days and in the process had made King a national figure.

#### THE CREATION OF SCLC

Out of the Montgomery protest came not only the ascendancy of King but also the creation of a new civil rights organization for African Americans in the South. During the wait for the final court order to the city, the MIA hosted a weeklong conference called Institute on Nonviolence and Social Change. A few notable outsiders and several ministers around the South who were leading bus boycotts in other cities or planning to set them in motion met on December 3–9. The meeting permitted the sharing of ideas and strategies and the creation of lifelong friendships.

Shortly after Christmas, King traveled to Baltimore to make a speech and met master march organizer Bayard Rustin and several of his friends. Rustin and a New York lawyer, Stanley Levison, told King that the now successful boycott showed that a regionwide movement against segregation was now possible. After discussing this with King, who was interested in a regional organization, Rustin and Levison drafted a memo of ideas and proposed a title: Southern Leadership Conference on Transportation. King moved to sell the idea and issued a call for the conference. On January 10 and 11, 1957, the Southern Negro Leaders Conference on Transportation and Nonviolent Integration held its initial meeting at Ebenezer Church in Atlanta and reacted to an agenda developed by Rustin. King and Abernathy left on January 10 after hearing that Abernathy's house in Montgomery had been bombed. They returned the next day when the conference approved a "Statement to the South and Nation" and made King the organization's temporary chairman.

On February 14 a second meeting of the conference was held in New Orleans, and King informed the group that President Dwight Eisenhower and his attorney general had failed to respond to their request for federal help and intervention. He told the conference that they should hold a prayer pilgrimage in Washington, D.C., at the Lincoln Memorial to put pressure on the Eisenhower administration to act. Before adjourning, the participants changed the organization's name to the Southern Leadership Conference.

Following the second conference meeting, King and his wife went to the independence celebration of the new African nation Ghana, where he met Vice President Richard Nixon and discussed a possible formal meeting with him. Back in the United States, he met with A. Philip Randolph, nationally known president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP, and began making plans for a prayer pilgrimage in Washington. After a second meeting, May 17 was chosen because it was the third anniversary of the *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision. Later, a third meeting of the conference was held on August 8 and 9 in Montgomery, and at that meeting the organization was renamed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). The SCLC would coordinate civil rights protests around the South, and when needed, King would arrive to help local leaders and local movements. The creation of this new organization angered the secretary of the NAACP, Roy Wilkins, for he knew it would attract monies that would otherwise have come to his organization. King was made the first president of this organization.

#### THE ALBANY MOVEMENT: 1961–1962

The successful Montgomery bus boycott created its own dynamism both inside the African American community and in white communities across the South. The civil rights gains in the black community of Montgomery, Alabama, were perceived by some in the white community as a loss. Nevertheless, there had been success in only one southern city, and numerous other southern cities were unaffected. Segregation in these cities stood firm. Such locales became targets for civil rights activists as well as rallying points for opponents of change. Albany, Georgia, was just such a place.

The Montgomery bus boycott not only illuminated these hamlets of white supremacy but also energized other groups in various African American communities. One of the first energized groups undertook the successful student soda fountain sit-ins in Greensboro, North Carolina, in February 1960. Their success led to another new African American student civil rights organization at Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina, known as the Student Non-violent Coordination Committee (SNCC). This group was

looking to mobilize in other locales, hoping to remove the shackles of the past. They got help from a new presidential administration. Democrat John F. Kennedy was elected in November 1960, and upon taking office he appointed his brother Robert Kennedy as his attorney general. Before they took office the Freedom Rides were under way.

The Supreme Court decision pertaining to Montgomery was supposed to lead the attorney general to forcing the Interstate Commerce Commission to set up new rules and regulations to integrate bus facilities across the South. Many southern locales ignored rules banning segregation, as they had ignored the Supreme Court decision in *Morgan v. Virginia* in 1946 that had banned racial discrimination in bus transportation. Local leaders and SNCC volunteers decided to test local compliance with the ICC ruling in the Albany bus terminal. Thus began a local protest movement that eventuated in a call to King for help because local white political resistance and intransigence and a creative and inventive sheriff had outmaneuvered the youthful and inexperienced leaders. Although King went to jail with the local leaders, many in the community, black and white, opposed inviting King from the outset and continued to do so even after he arrived. Shrewd white leaders who had stalled a settlement proffered one if he would leave. King exited the jail, and no settlement came. After more delays, Attorney General Kennedy, whose policy of "quiet persuasion" led to nonintervention, left the beleaguered protesters at the mercies of the local authorities. Eventually, they prevailed. The Albany Movement got little more than verbal promises and no implementation. From this event, King and his staff learned that it would be better if he selected his own sites to conduct battles rather than trying to rescue one that had already faltered and was in deep trouble. In addition, they learned that it was essential to have the federal government intervene rather than standing on the sidelines acting as a neutral observer. Thus, the stage was set for a new site and new struggle.

#### THE BIRMINGHAM PROTEST: 1963

The Birmingham protest began on April 3, 1963, just before the Easter shopping season. There, as elsewhere, marches and demonstrations led to the jailing of King, and from his cell he wrote the now famous "Letter from the Birmingham Jail." This letter garnered much national publicity for his efforts and attracted significant support from white churches and ministries, north and south. But the greatest generator of national and international publicity for the Birmingham protest was the police commissioner, Eugene "Bull" Connor. To protect segregation and white supremacy in the city, he unleashed dogs, fire hoses, billy clubs, cattle prods, police on horseback, police brutality, police beatings of women and children, and endless racial epithets and slurs.

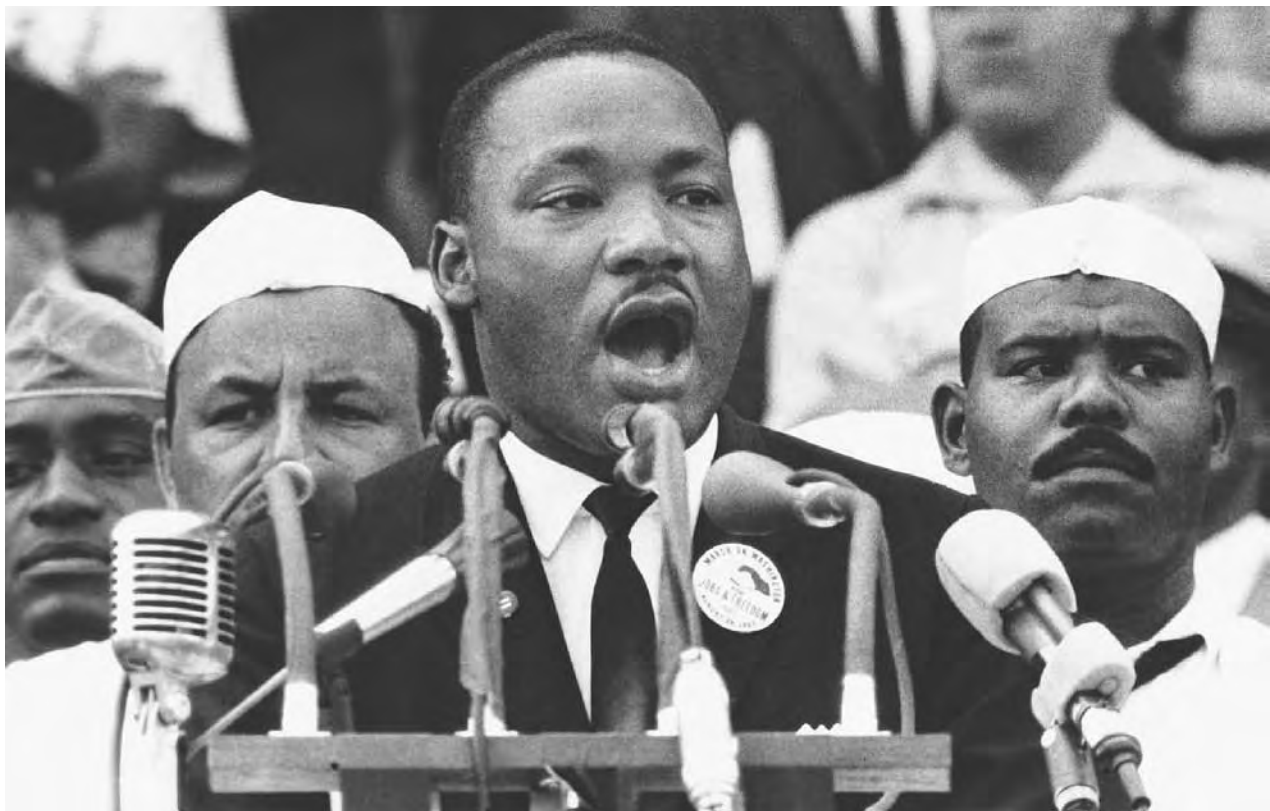
This use of brute force shocked the nation, its political elites, and the international community. Internationally, colonialism was being displaced by the rise of new nations in African and Asia. The United States and the Soviet Union were competing for the loyalty and alignment of these new nations and their allegiance in the cold war. King's aide, Wyatt T. Walker, who chose Birmingham for the next confrontation, did so precisely because of the presence of Connor and his reputation for vigorously defending segregation at all costs. In his plans, Walker had dubbed the city "C," for "confrontation." Connor's response to the marches and demonstrations was even more violent than anticipated. It turned out to be a major media attention getter and created a national crisis for the federal government. Connor's reaction moved the Birmingham protests from a local struggle for civil rights and human dignity into a national effort to attain new civil rights legislation. While King struggled in Birmingham, efforts by labor leader A. Philip Randolph to create and set into motion a march on Washington were coming to fruition.

#### THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON: 1963

Eventually, Randolph persuaded all the major civil rights leaders to back the march on Washington plan, and on

July 17, 1963, President Kennedy endorsed the march during a press conference. On August 28, 1963, in front of the Lincoln Memorial, King delivered his "I Have a Dream" speech and after the festivities were over, all the major leaders went to the White House for a meeting with the president to talk about how best to ensure the passage of his civil rights bill. Suggestions were made, and some were accepted by the president in the seventy-two-minute meeting. King had been in Washington before with his prayer pilgrimage in 1957, but this was even greater and much more was at stake. Unlike the 1957 march, this time King was not only a national figure but an international one.

Despite such lofty moments, there were numerous protests and endless acts of violence and resistance to attend to while the new civil rights bill worked its way through Congress. Throughout the South, local bastions of segregation still fiercely defended that institution. Albany still had not relinquished its stiff prosecutions of the protesters, hoping that their diehard resistance would reverse the favorable course of events for the protesters. The worst example of this violence came on September 15 when a bomb at the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in Birmingham killed four young girls attending Sunday



*"I Have a Dream" Speech, 1963. Martin Luther King delivers his landmark "I Have a Dream" speech in Washington, D.C., during the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.*



school, and a resultant riot killed another black youth. By October 15, King was called into Selma, Alabama, to help local activists against Sheriff Jim Clark. By the next month, President Kennedy was assassinated. To King and other civil rights leaders, the pressure placed on the White House by Birmingham and the March on Washington eventuated into nothing. Little did he know what Vice President Lyndon Johnson would do when he assumed the presidency. With Johnson in the White House, national civil rights legislation would advance further and faster than ever before.

#### THE SELMA-TO-MONTGOMERY MARCH

In the aftermath of Johnson's ascendancy to the presidency and his subsequent speech to support Kennedy's civil rights bill, King and the SCLC selected St. Augustine, Florida, as a new site to attack segregation. On May 18, 1964, King made his first visit and prepared to lead demonstrations and marches against the city, which had decided to hold out against any kind of concessions. Despite King's intermittent visits, violence not only broke out but also escalated, with no resolution in sight.

Elsewhere, the SNCC and several other civil rights groups in Mississippi had instituted the Freedom Summer in 1963 to register as many African Americans as possible to vote. This effort resulted in the creation of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) and in a major seating challenge to the regular Democratic Party in Mississippi at the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey. King was asked to intervene and help the challenge. He agreed, but before the challenge took place, the 1964 civil rights bill became law on July 2. There was a White House ceremony for the signing of this historic bill. Yet in other parts of the nation, race riots broke out and continued during what was called the long hot summer. At the Democratic National Convention, the MFDP challenge was heard by the Credential Committee, which was empowered to decide which delegation to seat, the MFDP or the regular party. King, despite a broken foot, stayed for the entire convention and was persuaded to talk with MFDP leaders to accept a compromise of two honorary seats. The compromise had been brokered by Senator Hubert Humphrey, whom President Johnson had sent to work out a settlement. Party member and cofounder Fannie Lou Hamer made an electrifying speech to the convention indicating that the party could not accept such a compromise given the terrible struggle in Mississippi simply to register her people to vote. This compromise of two seats was, as she saw it, only "token rights." In the midst of her speech, the national television coverage was abruptly cut off. Later, she would lead a demonstration

on the convention floor and engage in singing several freedom songs.

For many in the civil rights struggle, this repulse of the MFDP was a clear-cut window on the weakness and shortcomings of liberalism in America. Some of the participants in this challenge, particularly the youthful SNCC activists, afterward struck out on another path, which led them to embrace the "Black Power" slogan and drop the "non-violent" part of their name. King, in contrast, went on to win the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize and numerous other awards. Yet another fight lay ahead in Selma.

On December 31, 1964, the SCLC staff moved into Selma as its next protest site, and King followed on January 2, 1965, announcing to the people at Brown Chapel Church that the marches and demonstrations were about to commence. January 18 would become "Freedom Day." White officials in Selma decided to take a page out of Police Chief Laurie Pritchard's playbook in Albany, where quiet police action had stalled the movement. But Dallas County head Sheriff Jim Clark thought that Bull Conner had failed in Birmingham simply because he had not used enough force and violence to stop the marches and demonstrations. After more than a few arrests and jailings, King announced that he would lead a march from Selma to Montgomery to arouse public opinion and get more help and support. On March 7, in defiance of the courts, and against the wishes of the president and numerous civil rights leaders and activists, King began what is now called in the history books "Bloody Sunday," because the marchers were met on the Edmund Pettus Bridge just outside town on the highway to Montgomery. Although it had been prearranged with King that the marchers would go to the middle of the bridge, then kneel and pray, the sheriff and Alabama state troopers waded into the crowd with tear gas, billy clubs, and horses and proceeded to beat the nonviolent marchers for nearly two blocks back to Brown Chapel Church. This violent spectacle, viewed on television by millions of Americans, created a furor throughout the nation and in the international community. Sympathizers around the nation soon mobilized thousands of marchers who took buses to Alabama and completed the march from Selma to Montgomery on March 25, 1965, when 25,000 peaceable, orderly marchers gathered at the state capitol to hear a speech by King. President Johnson called a special session of Congress and submitted a Voting Rights Bill. On August 6 the Voting Rights Act became law.

#### THE CHICAGO MOVEMENT: 1965-1966

On June 28, 1965, when local protests in Chicago over the school system and its insensitive superintendent Benjamin Willis failed to budge Mayor Richard Daley, local leader Al Raby asked King to come to the city and assist

with marches and demonstrations to deal with the city's nonresponsive mayor. King agreed and arrived first on July 6, then came back for neighborhood rallies on July 24 and 25. With this action, many saw the civil rights movement moving north. Although King also considered other cities such as Cleveland, New York, and Philadelphia problems, he focused on Chicago. But because of numerous commitments elsewhere and his increasing attention to the Vietnam War, the Chicago effort of the SCLC did not get under way until January 5, 1966, with King calling his program the Chicago Freedom Movement.

Elsewhere, James Meredith started to lead a march against fear through Mississippi but was shot on the second day of the march, June 6. The SCLC, SNCC, and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) completed the march, where the slogan Black Power was introduced on June 17. During the next weeks, the NAACP and President Johnson denounced the slogan, but King refused to sign a statement condemning it. CORE, led by James Farmer, embraced the slogan. Many saw the slogan as being strongly opposed to an interracial society, and King was heavily criticized for not attacking and condemning "Black Power," which became quite popular and was clearly opposed to the idea of nonviolence.

From July 12 to 15, riots broke out on the west side of Chicago, and King led mass marches from July 30 until August 25. Some of these marches engendered great violence and angry responses and outrage. They also met with serious resistance from Mayor Daley and some of his African American aldermen. Things went less well than in some southern cities, but on August 26 a "Summit Agreement" ended the demonstrations in the city and King eventually moved back south. Once again many criticized him for achieving only a set of paper concessions and little else. King himself noted that after living in his apartment in the Chicago ghetto, the problems he encountered were greater than what he had prepared for and more than his southern experiences had taught him to expect. The northern movement was over hardly before it had started.

#### THE POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN:

1968

After the withdrawal from Chicago in the fall of 1966, King in January and February 1967 wrote his fourth book, *Where Do We Go from Here?* and on February 25 delivered his first speech attacking U.S. policy in Vietnam. In July, President Johnson increased the number of troops in Vietnam, while the ghettos in Newark, New Jersey, and Detroit, Michigan, witnessed large-scale riots. In Detroit federal troops had to be called in to restore order. Responding to these urban rebellions, Johnson created a presidential commission, the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, to explore the causes

and consequences and make recommendations to prevent them.

From September 12 to 17 King and his SCLC staffers held the first of their retreats to begin planning their Poor People's Campaign. A second retreat occurred in Frogmore, South Carolina, from November 27 to December 2. Although SCLC staffers James Bevel and Jesse Jackson spoke out against the campaign, a third retreat occurred in Atlanta on January 15–16, 1968. Before the end of the month, Bayard Rustin came out in opposition to the campaign. This new high-profile proposed action by King for the organization was running into significant opposition inside SCLC and among his trusted advisors.

At about the same time in Memphis, Tennessee, sanitation workers went on strike for recognition as a union and better wages. This occurred on February 12, 1968, and when they marched on February 23, the city police broke up the march. Within a month, on March 12, Senator Eugene McCarthy made a strong showing in the New Hampshire Democratic presidential primary, and four days later Robert Kennedy announced his candidacy for the Democratic nomination. Two days after Kennedy announced, King went to Memphis to meet with the striking sanitation workers and promised to lead marches in support of them. On March 28, King's first march turned into a riot, police had to disperse the crowd, and the governor of Tennessee sent in the National Guard. Two days later, the SCLC executive staff urged King to return to mapping out his Poor People's Campaign. One day later King, along with the rest of the nation, heard President Johnson announce that he would not run for reelection. King returned to Memphis on April 3 to lead a second march to prove to critics, skeptics, and cautious observers that nonviolence was still realistic and that he could keep his mass movement obedient and committed to this principal value.

However on April 4 King was assassinated at the Lorraine Hotel, where he had stayed during his first visit. His death forced the city to enter into an agreement with the union and approve it. His death also triggered the passage of the stalled 1966 civil rights bill, which now became the 1968 bill and contained a fair housing provision. Four days after King's assassination, Congressman John Conyers (D-MI) introduced the first bill to make King's birthday a national holiday. Shortly after Conyers's legislative initiative, numerous other bills were introduced to honor and commemorate the slain leader, with stamps, bronze busts, portraits, buildings, and national medals.

Ralph Abernathy succeeded King and led the Poor People's Campaign to Washington, DC, on June 19, but he proved ineffectual in managing the media spectacle surrounding the camp known as "Resurrection City." District police closed the city on June 24, and the campaign ended as a failure on July 16, 1968.

### NATIONAL HOLIDAY: 1983

King's leadership, along with that of other civil rights groups and activists, led to the passage of three major civil rights bills and the evolution of African Americans to full citizenship. Not only was this unprecedented, but it restored America's democracy to a new level in world affairs. Thus, Conyers's efforts to honor this distinguished citizen led him to try to mobilize grassroots support to pressure Congress and the president to pass his national holiday bill. Previous efforts to make holidays for Booker T. Washington, Black Mammies, National Freedom Day (Emancipation Day), and George Washington Carver all ended in failure or were reduced to special observations.

Conyers enlisted Stevie Wonder, who wrote a popular song. Conyers also held rallies in Washington in front of the Capitol and inserted numerous items in the *Congressional Record* as well as reintroduced his bill every year from 1968 until 1983, but failed to get passage and support from Democratic presidents Johnson and Jimmy Carter.

However, in 1982, a congressman from Indiana died, and it fell to Gary's mayor, Richard Hatcher, to handpick and support State Senator Katie Hall to be a candidate to assume the office. In a special election, Hall won the right to serve the remainder of the congressman's term and win her own term. Upon coming to the House of Representatives, she learned that the chairmanship of the Subcommittee on Population and Census had not been filled because no one wanted such a low-prestige committee post. Yet she discovered that this subcommittee was in charge of considering bills for national holidays. She accepted the chair's position and introduced her own King holiday bill, which eventually came to her own subcommittee for consideration. She held a public hearing on the bill, voted the bill out of her subcommittee, and sent it back to the full committee. She lobbied the full committee, and they voted it out and sent it to the floor of the House of Representatives. After Hall lobbied all 434 members of the House, her bill passed.

Next, Hall lobbied all 100 members of the U.S. Senate, and Senate majority leader Robert Dole (R-KS) introduced the House bill in the Senate and put it on the Senate calendar. President Ronald Reagan not only declared that he would veto such a bill but asked Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC) to stop the bill with a filibuster. Once Helms started his stalling tactics, Dole asked the White House to call Helms off. When it did not, Dole and his majority whip, Howard Baker (R-TN), successfully invoked cloture to stop the Helms filibuster. Thus, the bill passed, and when it reached the White House, Reagan held a Rose Garden ceremony to sign it into law.



**Legacy of Nonviolence Called Upon During Iraq War.** A man holds a portrait of Martin Luther King Jr. during a 2007 demonstration calling for President George W. Bush to bring U.S. troops home from Iraq. GABRIEL BOUYS/AFP/GETTY IMAGES.

In 1983, King's birthday became a national holiday, and a Federal Holiday Commission was created to implement it. As of 2007, but not at first, all the states recognize this holiday. As a consequence, the King legacy still lives.

**SEE ALSO** *Civil Rights Acts; Civil Rights Movement; Hamer, Fannie Lou; NAACP; Rustin, Bayard.*

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*Hanes Walton Jr.*

## KLANWATCH

SEE *Intelligence Project.*

## KU KLUX KLAN

The Ku Klux Klan is America's oldest domestic terrorist organization, and despite several cycles of growth and decline, it still exists and still commits violent acts in the early twenty-first century. With eight major groups and around forty minor ones, comprising roughly 110 chapters or "Klaverns," Klan groups are the most common type of hate group in the United States. An estimated 4,000 to 5,000 Klan members, with greater numbers of associates, sympathizers, and hangers-on, perpetuate its history.

Despite its age, the Klan has demonstrated amazing resiliency. This has allowed it to appeal to poor and working-class whites, addressing their economic and social frustrations, regardless of what those frustrations may be at any given point in history. Klan ideology and conspiracy theories provide members with scapegoats to blame for their failures and misfortunes, an enemy to absorb their attention, and activities on which to focus their energies. It also provides self-respect, pride, and empowerment.

The Klan's enemies are often minority groups in direct economic competition with the lower- and working-class whites who form the Klan's core constituency. Other perceived enemies are groups that threaten white control of society in some other way. At various times, Klan enemies have included African Americans, Jews, immigrants, Catholics, anti-prohibitionists, drug dealers, homosexuals, and others.

Klansmen (and Klanswomen) also have a strong sense of victimization. Many Klan members are motivated to commit acts of intimidation, murder, torture, and terrorism—and to rationalize these acts as "self defense" because of a twisted perception that they are under attack and have to protect their "way of life." In the minds of most Klan members, the Klan never attacks innocent victims—it simply responds with vigor and righteousness to encroachments on the God-given rights of whites.

## THE KLAN IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

In the early 2000s, the Ku Klux Klan is no longer a single entity. Instead, fragmentation and decentralization are the rule. Many of the approximately 110 Klan groups or chapters remain at least nominally independent, although some are attached to national organizations—Klan groups that claim a national or multiregional reach.

Various Imperial Wizards, who set the tone for their subordinate chapters, lead these national organizations. The larger Klans sometimes have an intermediate level of organization, called the "Realm," usually based within a state or a regional collection of states. Both independent local Klaverns and nationwide Klans tend to revolve around a central leader with a strong, charismatic personality, and the fortunes of the organizations typically rise and fall with those of their leaders.

Early twenty-first century Klans generally adopt one of two public stances. Some take a cue from David Duke. Duke was the Imperial Wizard of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan during the late 1970s. He changed his title to "national director," stopped "burning crosses" and instead held "cross lightings," and encouraged his followers to run for political office at the local level. Like Duke, some Klansmen use euphemisms instead of racial epithets and proclaim pride in their "heritage" rather than hatred of other groups. Others, however, consider themselves "old school" and take pride in the Klan's heritage as a terrorist organization. They take a confrontational approach to law enforcement and make no effort to disguise or tone down their beliefs.

## KLAN IDEOLOGY

Today's splintered Klan encompasses a wide range of beliefs. For the sake of clarity, the ideology is categorized into religious, political, racial, and anti-Semitic beliefs, but Klan members do not necessarily make the same categorical distinctions.

Klan ideology, at its core, is centered on the idea that white Americans are threatened by nonwhite minorities and that most of these threats are arranged or encouraged by a sinister Jewish conspiracy. The Klan promotes itself as a way for white Americans to right these perceived

## *Ku Klux Klan*

wrongs, protect themselves, and to strike back at their enemies. At the heart of Klan beliefs is the notion that violence is justified in order to protect white America.

### POLITICAL BELIEFS

One basic assumption behind the Klan's political ideology is that nonwhites and immigrants threaten whites. Klan members therefore seek to remove these threats, either by themselves or through government action. Another assumption is that, because Klan members believe that the government sides with minorities and immigrants instead of with whites, the government itself has become an enemy. Specific political issues that concern Klan members include immigration, free trade agreements, "racial purity," affirmative action programs, foreign aid, gun control laws, gay rights, and what they perceive as an unconstitutional separation of church and state. Because of its emphasis on an America "by, for and of" whites, the Klan is also extremely opposed to immigration and often calls for military forces to be deployed along U.S. borders.

"Taking back" America is an important theme in Klan ideology. The Texas Knights of the Ku Klux Klan's Web site makes this clear: "Enemies from within are destroying the United States of America. An unholy coalition of anti-White, anti-Christian liberals, socialists, feminists, homosexuals, and militant minorities have managed to seize control of our government and mass media... We shall liberate our nation from these savage criminals and restore law and order to America."

### RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

Traditionally, the Ku Klux Klan has held extremely conservative Protestant Christian beliefs. Since the early 1970s, many Klaverns have converted to strongly fundamentalist Protestant beliefs, Christian Identity beliefs, or an amalgam of the two.

**Christian Identity.** Christian Identity, which has become popular among many Klan groups, is a relatively obscure sect known primarily for its racism and anti-Semitism. Its core belief is that whites are actually descendants of the Biblical lost tribes of Israel, and are therefore God's "Chosen People." Most Identity adherents believe that Jews, in contrast, are descended from Satan and that other nonwhite peoples are "mud people" on the same spiritual level as animals.

One of the main teachings of Identity Christianity is that all other Christians are "false" Christians, followers of corrupt "Churchianity" and duped by a Jewish conspiracy. This is clearly explained on the White Camelia Knights Internet site: "I understand that most people have been educated to believe that the jewish [sic] people are God's chosen people. Christians have even gone as far



**KKK March, 2004.** Members of the Ku Klux Klan marched through the streets of Sharpsburg, Maryland in 2004. To prevent violence between the KKK members and spectators, police with riot gear were also present. AP IMAGES.

as to call themselves judeo-christians [sic], they become extremely hostile at the Klan whenever this subject is mentioned. But, we are followers of Christ and even if our beliefs are unpopular, they are still correct. I am constantly told that Christ was a jew [sic]. That Moses and Abraham were jews [sic], but, this belief is incorrect" (Lee 2005, White Camelia Knights Internet site).

In effect, this belief system teaches that, because they are animals, blacks are subhuman, do not have souls, and therefore do not deserve equality before the law, much less American citizenship. Jews, as the descendants and representatives of Satan, are considered the root of all evil in the world.

**Fundamentalism.** While many Klan members have converted to Christian Identity, others have merely adopted some of its tenets or practice one of several extreme variations of Christian fundamentalism. There are three primary facets of extreme fundamentalism that are important in understanding Klan ideology.

First, fundamentalists, in general, are millennialists and believe that the world is fast approaching its end. They believe that a final, major event of apocalyptic proportions will "purify" the Earth and leave only true

believers behind in a perfect world. Klan members intermesh these beliefs with their racism and anti-Semitism; thus, the final battles may be against racial minorities or Jews.

Second, extreme fundamentalism is an essentially dualist belief system that offers black-and-white answers to all questions. Anyone who does not share the fundamentalist view is wrong; compromises would be capitulations to evil.

Finally, and most importantly, fundamentalists are conspiracists. Their interpretations of history and society hold that there are secretive, manipulative, all-powerful entities operating behind the scenes.

**Anti-Semitism.** The Klan sees Jews as the source of virtually all evil in American society—as secretive, hidden manipulators operating behind the scenes to control government, education, banking, and the mass media. Most Klansmen refer to this supposed secret Jewish cabal as ZOG, or Zionist Occupied Government. Many Klansmen believe that Jews are behind the federal government's efforts to combat organizations such as the Klan. According to the White Camelia Knights' leader, Charles Lee, "the jews [sic] tried to entrap Jesus in a conspiracy against the government, just as they do to Christian Klansmen today" (Lee 2005, White Camelia Knights Internet site).

The ultimate goal of this alleged Jewish conspiracy, the Klan believes, is to first control and then destroy the white "race," primarily by encouraging miscegenation. Jews also serve another function by reconciling a glaring inconsistency in Klan ideology. Klan members believe that blacks are unintelligent, lazy, and inferior. But if whites are so superior to blacks, how can blacks be such a monumental threat? The Klan answer is that Jews control the blacks. Jews manipulate African Americans, encouraging them to commit crimes against whites, and they also manipulate the government to give blacks preference over whites. Therefore, if the "Jewish problem" could be solved, all of America's other minority "problems" would become easier to deal with. Klan leaders also insist that Jews are attempting to outlaw Christianity, and they often point to the Supreme Court's ban on mandatory prayer in public schools as proof.

## RACE

Race has always been the central issue in Klan ideology. Klan activists believe that all nonwhite races are a threat to whites; most of the organization's history has revolved around its attempts to exert or retain white control over minorities. In the early twenty-first century, many Klan leaders offer a perverse variation on this theme: Not only have whites lost control of their country, but the future of

the white race itself is now threatened. Only the Klan can save it.

**African Americans.** The typical Klan activist believes that African Americans are the cause of most crime in America. They also believe that blacks are intellectually inferior and have no moral sense, that they rely on welfare to survive, that they are drug users, and that black men are pathological rapists of white women.

Klan literature also blames the failure of whites to succeed or advance in their careers on "reverse discrimination." According to the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, for example, "anti-White discrimination is official government policy through 'affirmative action' schemes such as minority scholarships, minority business grants, contract 'set-asides,' and the hiring and force fed promotion of less qualified employees" (Ku Klux Klan Internet site). This is a key part of the Klan sense of victimization, especially its belief that white males are the "real" victims.

C. Edward Foster wrote in the November/December 1997 issue of *The Pennsylvania Klansman* that "the Pennsylvania Ku Klux Klan recognizes the simple fact that all African niggers are all savage, bloodthirsty Satanic beasts . . . In the last thirty years these cannibalistic apes have fiendishly murdered over 50,000 White Christians. A nigger cannot be a Christian. Voodoo is the only appropriate religion for these depraved, demonic, vile, ape-like creatures of jungle darkness" (p. 2). This sort of rhetoric attempts to dehumanize African Americans, to make them easier and more acceptable targets for violence and intimidation.

**Hispanics.** The fear of a foreign "invasion" is a source of great anxiety among Klansmen. This fear demonstrates the Klan tendency to hate those who might compete with lower-class whites in the job market, as well as the tendency to seek scapegoats to blame for economic and educational failures. Klan websites and newsletters are replete with calls for the military to "seal the border." Hispanics, of whatever background, are simultaneously and paradoxically seen as direct economic competition (stealing the jobs of white men) and as lazy welfare recipients.

## KLAN CRIMINAL ACTIVITY

The hallmark activity of the Ku Klux Klan is the perpetration of violence. From the early days of the original Klan when "night riders" terrorized former slaves, through the firebombing and murders during the civil rights era, to the present day, the Klan has been America's most notorious and well-known domestic terrorist movement. The Klan is known for terrorism, murder, and assault.

## *Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s*

Klan violence largely stems from a combination of Klan ideology combined with the lack of political power on the part of Klan members. Typical Klan members are poor, with low education levels and little or no access to political leaders. Thus, Klan groups rarely experience success using normal political and social means of achieving their goals. This makes violence a more attractive option for some Klan members.

Rather than being ashamed of the Klan's sordid past, many modern Klan members are quite proud of this history. As Grand Dragon C. Edward Foster once said of the Klan, "I'll tell you this, the Klan's here because we've been here for 131 years. The legacy is that, uh, we've had a lot of hangings, a lot of bombings, a lot of shootings. That don't bother me at all. If somebody wants to go out here and kill a nigger or something, I don't know . . . They're [African Americans] not our equal, they have got no right to breathe free air in America. This is not the Boy Scouts, this is the Ku Klux Klan . . . You know who we are and you know what our history is" (Brummel 1998).

### THE FUTURE OF THE KLAN

Despite its age and fragmentation, the Ku Klux Klan's presence in the United States is still strong. Though smaller than in the Klan's heyday in the 1920s, or its resurgence in the 1950s and 1960s, the Klan continues to be the most common type of hate group in America.

The Klan is likely to become even more decentralized. Large, hierarchical Klan structures are more vulnerable to collapse than are smaller Klan groups. The future may also see more "hybrid" Klan groups, such as the Aryan Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, that combine Klan traditions and goals with those of newer neo-Nazi groups. The level of Klan criminal activity is likely to remain high. In addition to their rallies and publicity-gaining stunts, Klan groups routinely engage in more sordid forms of

activity, from harassment and intimidation to hate crimes and acts of terrorism.

**SEE ALSO** *Anti-Semitism; Christian Identity; Duke, David; Hate Crimes; Intelligence Project; Second Klan; White Racial Identity.*

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*J. Keith Akins*

## KU KLUX KLAN OF THE 1920s

**SEE** *Second Klan.*

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## LA MALINCHE

Easily the most elusive, eminent figure in the history of the Americas, Doña Marina, “La Malinche,” defies basic biographical description. Indeed, very little is known about her, and nothing really of the date and place of her birth, the cause or place of her death, or even her very name. Some call her Malintzin Tenepal, based on deductive speculation pertaining to the birth sign *Malinalli* (twisted grass) found in the *tonalámatl* (the Aztec book of horoscopes) and the root word *tene* (sharp; cutting), which reflects a facility for language evident in Marina’s later life (she could speak Nahuatl, Chontal Maya, the tongues of Potonchan, and eventually Spanish). This gift for speech secured her role as the translator on the Spanish expedition to, and conquest of, Tenochtitlan.

### THE HISTORY OF LA MALINCHE

Doña Marina came to the attention of the Spaniards in March 1519, following the battle of Cintla, when the defeated Tabascans gave her and nineteen other women to the Spaniards as a token of friendship and alliance. The Spanish friar Bartólome de Olmedo baptized her “Marina” and later instructed her in the Catholic faith. As a Catholic convert and loyal campaigner, Marina held a pre-eminent role among the female *conquistadoras* of the European forces and their native allies. Both the Spaniards and Indians considered her important and indispensable to the colonial project. The Spaniards, for example, were overjoyed to learn that she had survived the debacle of *La Noche Triste* the evening of June 30, 1520, when they fled from Tenochtitlan losing hundreds

of lives and large quantities of treasure. A native account of the conquest, *El Lienzo de Tlaxcala*, depicts Marina as larger in scale than all others, and as the recipient of greater amounts of gold tribute than that given Cortés. Her name, too, marked those closely associated with her. Juan Pérez de Arteaga, her guard, became “Juan Pérez Malinche” and Cortés himself was known as “el Malinche” among the natives. By the end of the conquest, in 1521, Marina’s service and elevated status brought her considerable wealth and recognition.

Marina had settled in Coyoacán, just outside Mexico City, when she joined Cortés on his 1524 expedition to Las Hibueras (Honduras) in wasteful pursuit of the renegade Cristóbal de Olid. On route, she wed Captain Juan Jaramillo in Tultepec on the *encomienda* (estate) of the conquistador Alonso de Ojeda; as a dowry she received the *encomiendas* of Olutla and Xaltipan in the Coatzacoalcos region, allowing her the tribute and labor of the people of these towns. On the return trip, in 1526, Marina gave birth to a girl, her second child by a Spaniard. The first was Martín Cortés (Cortés’s son)—known as “el grande,” for his Spanish half-brother was given the same name.

Two years later, in 1528, Cortés departed for Spain with his mestizo son, but not with the boy’s mother. Nothing more is known about Marina and some authors speculate that she died that year, possibly of smallpox. Mention of her in the historical records surfaces on May 16, 1542, when Maria Jaramillo (Marina’s daughter) sued her father (who tried to disinherit her) for the valued *encomienda* of Xilotepec. Maria was granted half the *encomienda*, in part due to her mother’s distinguished achievements.



### MALINCHE'S CULTURAL AND DISCURSIVE SIGNIFICANCE

In his book, *The Discovery and Conquest of Mexico*, an eyewitness account of the conquest, conquistador Bernal Díaz del Castillo, presents the first historical account of Marina. Mimicking the immensely popular chivalric literature of the time, as well as aspects of Joseph's biblical story of redemption and forgiveness, his tale transforms Marina into a heroine. Borrowing stylistic traits from Spanish medieval narrative, Díaz del Castillo presents Marina as an heir of Aztec aristocracy and refers to her by using the honorific prefix *doña*. As a child, he says, Marina was robbed of her birthright when her mother gave her away to be raised as a Mayan slave. Despite this betrayal, Marina forgave all and exalted her newfound Christian faith and Hispanic culture. She is thus presented as the good and virtuous "Angel of the Expedition."

By the nineteenth century, Mexican patriots had revised this image. Mexico's independence from Spain in 1821 forged a national identity largely antipathetic to Spain and those associated with its legacy; Marina was subsequently cast as a traitor and whore. Not surprisingly, Mexico's first historical novel, *Xicotencatl* (1826), faults her for the Spanish defeat of indigenous Mexico and as the root of all that had gone wrong in the new republican nation. Two decades later, as his country fought to keep its land and sovereignty during the Mexican American War of 1846–1848, the dynamic orator Ignacio Ramírez incited nationalist sentiment by evoking the image of La Malinche as Cortés's mistress and identifying her complicity with foreigners as the cause of the fall of ancient Mexico. It was not until the last quarter of the twentieth century that Mexican feminists such as Rosario Castellanos and Elena Garro challenged the patriarchal discourse concerning La Malinche.

By 1973, Chicana feminists were challenging patriarchal authority through the appropriation and revision of Malinche's image. The mere mention of her in a poem by Adaljiza Sosa Riddell, who laments "*Pinche, como duele ser Malinche*" ("Damn, how it hurts to be Malinche"), initiated a collective process by Chicanas of remembering Malinche piece by interpretive piece in narrative and literary form in order to contest a politics of sexism and historical erasure. To Norma Alarcón, Malinche is a "paradigmatic figure in Chicana feminism," for Chicana feminist discourse began with her and continues to be preoccupied with her signification. In 1974, frustrated by the dearth of information on Malinche, Adelaida R. Del Castillo offered a social scientific discourse of Malinche's life and role in the conquest as if historical authenticity were possible. For the poet and author Cherrie Moraga, Malinche bequeathed Chicanas a sexual legacy, which in its most radical form (lesbianism) represents the ultimate

control of female sexual identity. To this day, Chicana discourse on the Malinche paradigm contests sexism, cultural nationalism, heteronormative sexuality, and patriarchal hegemony.

SEE ALSO *Chicana Feminism; El Mestizaje*.

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Adelaida R. Del Castillo

## LA RAZA

The term *La Raza* literally translates as "The Race," but it is more colloquially understood to mean "The People." It celebrates the multiracial and ethnic heritage of Latinos in the United States. The lineage of *La Raza* is the Spanish Conquest of the indigenous Indians of Mexico and the resulting *mestizaje*, or the mixed racial and ethnic identities, of indigenous, Europeans, and Africans unique to the Americas. The Raza Studies Department at San Francisco State University states on their Internet site: "In practical usage, the term *Raza* refers to mestizos or mixed peoples; we have the blood of the conquered and conqueror, indigenous (i.e., Aztec, Mayan, Olmec, Yaqui, Zapotec and numerous other Native Americans), European, African, and Asian."

The term became popularized during the Chicano movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s, but its roots lie in the philosophy of Jose Vasconcellos's "La Raza Cósmica." Vasconcellos was a Mexican educator, philosopher and writer, and he served as both the Mexican secretary of education and the president of the National University of Mexico. In his 1925 work *La Raza Cósmica*, Vasconcellos predicted the birth of a new race of people of multiple races and ethnic heritages—a "cosmic race"—that would take precedence over white Spanish or European hegemonic racial categories.

*La Raza Cosmica*, however, was an ideal that was far from real. At the time, people of mixed racial and ethnic

heritage in the Americas were the objects of miscegenation laws, segregation, indentured servitude, and poverty. Arguably, Vasconcellos made some impact with this term. Mexico and other South American and Caribbean countries used this concept and term to rename October 12 from Columbus Day, a celebration of the discovery of the so-called New World, to *El Día de la Raza*, a celebration of the anniversary of the birth of a new race. In many of these countries, October 12 is a national holiday celebrating the confluence of civilizations (European and indigenous) in the Americas. In 1928, México made *El Día de la Raza* a national holiday.

#### LA RAZA UNIDA

By the mid-1960s, particularly among Chicanos, children born in the United States of Mexican parents began rediscovering Vasconcelos and incorporating “La Raza” into organizational names. In Texas, Chicano youth formed the Mexican American Youth Organization (MAYO) in 1967, and they used the slogan “La Raza Unida” to sponsor conferences and organize and rally their supporters. By 1970, MAYO had formed a new political party that spread to nineteen states and the District of Columbia under the name La Raza Unida (LRU). This party lasted as an independent political party for a decade.

Other groups followed suit. The Southwest Council of La Raza was formed and headquartered in Phoenix, Arizona, in 1968. It eventually became National Council of La Raza (NCLR), the premier civil rights advocacy organization for Chicanos and other Latinos. In the early twenty-first century, NCLR is headquartered in Washington, D.C., with a multimillion dollar budget and hundreds of staff members. In Seattle, Washington, in the late 1960s, a Chicano community development group named its building El Centro de la Raza. In Los Angeles, California, a Chicano student group began a journal titled *La Raza* at about the same time. *Católicos por la Raza* was the name chosen by a group of religious practitioners protesting the building of a new cathedral far removed from the barrios in East Los Angeles in the late 1970s. Law students on many campuses across the country organized themselves under the name La Raza Law Students Association. Upon graduation and admission to the various state bar associations, these lawyers formed La Raza Lawyers. There is also a Committee on Raza Rights. At the Boalt Hall School of Law at the University of California, Berkeley, *La Raza Law Journal* has been published since 1981. At San Francisco State, a group of students pressed the university to form La Raza Studies, an academic course of study, in the late 1960s. In 1999 the department’s title was shortened to Raza Studies because of the redundancy of the article *La* in Spanish with “The” in English. In 2005, radio stations in Los Angeles and San Francisco began to advertise themselves as “Raza Radio.”

#### LA RAZA: THE PAN-ETHNIC UMBRELLA

From the 1960s to the 1980s, grassroots leaders of the Chicano movement—such as César Chávez (California), Reies López Tijerina (New Mexico), Rodolfo “Corky” Gonzales (Colorado) and José Ángel Gutiérrez (Texas)—frequently incorporated the term *La Raza* into their political rhetoric. La Raza became synonymous with persons of Mexican ancestry in the United States. From 1970 to the present time, Mexicans are the largest group among those labeled “Hispanic” by the U.S. government.

The U.S. government persists in pressing Spanish-speaking people or those of Latino heritage to identify themselves by “race” on the U.S. Census form, and then to also identify themselves ethnically as “Hispanic.” Hispanics are divided into racial groups and nationalities by the U.S. government, and thus essentially fractured from both within and without. Over the past four decades, La Raza has become an inclusive term that provides group shelter to those who reject the government-imposed term *Hispanic*, those that prefer *Latino* as a self-identifier, and many of the immigrants from Central America and the Caribbean who have arrived in the United States since the mid-1970s.

Ethnic labels for the diverse nationalities that have come to the United States blend into La Raza, an umbrella term of pan-ethnic identity and solidarity that promotes cohesion. Yet because of the racialized nature of U.S. politics, immigrants arriving in this society often learn to choose ethnic labels such as Latino and Hispanic, terms that lack meaning in their former countries of origin and that did not exist in the United States four decades ago. Such ethnic labels are U.S. products, and many people so labeled are rejecting them.

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José Angel Gutiérrez

## LABOR, CHEAP

Racial oppression and cheap labor have historically gone hand in hand. From colonialism to Jim Crow, and from slavery in the Americas to apartheid in South Africa, social systems of discrimination against people of color have typically accompanied economic discrimination in the form of substandard wages and benefits. Cheap labor, however, means more than low pay. To maximize profits, employers have historically subjected workers of color to unsafe and inhumane working conditions. They have also cheapened these workers' labor by cutting costs on factory maintenance, farming equipment, and a variety of other workplace improvements. While race is not the only factor determining which workers are treated as labor, workers of color disproportionately earn less for their labor than their white counterparts, just as immigrants have earned less than native-born workers and women have earned less than men.

### A RACE TO THE BOTTOM

In any society, employers drive the cost of labor downward by maximizing their control over the workforce. This is done in a variety of ways. First of all, employers must find the most vulnerable workers, those least able to pressure employers to spend more money on compensation or workplace improvement. Workers of color, for a variety of reasons, have often been among the most vulnerable. At the height of apartheid rule in South Africa, for example, black workers' average wage was one-fourteenth what their white counterparts earned. Although black South Africans were roughly 80 percent of the country's population, their share of the national income was less than 20 percent. Because apartheid law subjected blacks to severe punishment (from fines to whippings to indefinite imprisonment) for engaging in protest, their ability to fight for fair wages was severely hampered. In this case, the support of the apartheid government and a racist legal and political framework granted employers a great deal of power over black workers.

Displaced workers, from immigrants to slave laborers, have historically been among the most vulnerable and exploitable workers. Transplanted to new cities, countries, or continents, often lacking relevant language skills, knowing little of their new local legal systems and power structures, and lacking basic community support, displaced workers are easily isolated and exploited by their employers. Displaced workers are also often dependent upon employers for a variety of reasons. Employers may aid them in going through the immigration process or help them find housing, for example. While race and displaced status often intersect (as in the case of African slaves in the Americas or North African immigrants in western Europe), displaced status functions on its own to facilitate cheap labor for

employers. For example, Polish immigrants in Vance, Alabama, were earning roughly \$1,100 per month for working as much as 65 hours per week at an automobile factory (Dixon 2003). This was less than a third of what many of their native-born, unionized counterparts in the United States earned. Though these were white workers, their displaced status left them little leverage to demand better compensation and gave employers a great deal of control.

Another way that employers have driven wages downward is through "de-skilling," which literally means eliminating a particular skill required to perform a job so that workers become easier to replace. Deskilling is often accomplished through the introduction of new workplace technology. For example, the U.S. Postal Service (whose workforce has historically been dominated by workers of color) introduced sorting machines in the late 1950s that reduced postal sorting jobs to machine monitoring jobs. In the automotive industry, many skilled assembly jobs have similarly been reduced to "minding the machines," and the same holds true in agriculture. Workers of color have disproportionately been stuck in these unskilled positions, making them easily replaceable and leaving them with little leverage to demand improved working or living conditions. In 1970 an estimated 78 percent of black women workers and 74 percent of black men workers labored in unskilled jobs, compared to only 39 and 40 percent for their white counterparts.

In addition to removing skill from labor, new technologies often lead to job loss, which increases competition between workers for the few jobs that remain. This competition drives down the cost of labor, for workers who complain about poor compensation and working conditions are simply replaced. New technologies often also serve to fragment a workforce, isolating workers from each other. In modern auto plants, for example, robots now perform many of the functions formerly done by workers. As a result, workers have fewer opportunities to develop solidarity and collective strategies for achieving better pay and working conditions.

### SLAVE LABOR

Slave labor in the Americas is perhaps the best and most dramatic illustration of how cheap labor relates to racial oppression under capitalism. First, and most obviously, slave laborers were displaced and transplanted into circumstances of maximum vulnerability. Beyond the linguistic and cultural barriers they faced, African slaves were brought into a social and legal system that isolated them from local communities, fragmented their own already fragmentary communities, denied them any basic legal rights, and engendered a culture of oppression and contempt for black skin. In such circumstances, while rebellion was possible, the obstacles to collective action in support of any form of compensation of improved working

conditions were, to say the least, formidable. Beyond this social system of oppression, slave owners developed a tight system of workplace control. Dividing workers into “house” and “field” slave categories, demanding that they perform exhausting and humiliating labor, surveilling their workers closely, and maintaining a violent discipline system, slave owners did everything in their power to control their workers’ activity and consciousness. Plantation owners profited handsomely from this interlocking system of racial and workplace oppression, which can be seen as a prototype for the use of workers of color as cheap labor under capitalism.

### CONTEMPORARY WAGE DISCRIMINATION

Indeed, incidences of modern-day slavery illustrate how employers still use variations on the plantation model of slavery to drive labor costs down. Like former African slaves, in the early twenty-first century the cheapest laborers are usually displaced people, such as immigrants from developing regions, who often immigrate in response to economic pressure. While colonial and capitalist forces drove the Atlantic slave trade, contemporary migration is driven by neoliberalism and globalization. In North America, for example, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) has led to massive migration and the cheapening of labor standards from Mexico to Canada. By eliminating trade restrictions, NAFTA has allowed U.S. agriculture companies to flood Mexican markets with cheap, mass-produced corn, pushing local Mexican farmers out of the market. These farmers then often migrate to the United States in search of new work. Once there, they face legal obstacles to citizenship, anti-immigrant nativism and anti-Mexican racism, and exploitative employers eager to provide them with back-breaking farm work for substandard wages and few, if any, benefits. Meanwhile, U.S. employers lobby the government for more restrictive immigration policies that force immigrant laborers further towards the social margin and render them increasingly vulnerable.

Whereas workers of color have been pressed into lower-paying, low-skilled jobs, women workers have found themselves facing parallel pressures. Historically and across cultures, women have typically been consigned to service (as opposed to productive) labor, including domestic work, nursing, cleaning and maintenance, and child care. This labor has been culturally devalued as “women’s work,” and it has consequently received lower pay than productive labor in the manufacturing and distribution sectors. This cultural attitude has been reflected in labor costs, as traditionally female occupations such as nursing and teaching have been consistently lower paid than traditionally male work in areas such as trucking and auto manufacturing. With the onset of industrial capitalism, more and more women entered traditionally male sectors of the economy,

but they still received lower pay and found themselves excluded from supervisory positions as well as male-led unions. Indeed, some women workers, excluded from these unions, were forced to form women-only unions in shops where men had already won collective bargaining rights. As recently as 2003, women in the United States earned only 75 percent of the full-time salary of their male counterparts. Where gender and race intersect, wage discrimination is strongest. In 2002, black women earned just 68 cents for every dollar earned by a male worker, while Latina women earned just 56 cents for every male dollar.

Ultimately, the common determining factors for cheap labor (e.g., displacement, social vulnerability, low-skilled jobs, competition among workers) hold true across borders and are found in any Western, industrial, capitalist economy. The justifications for these exploitative labor practices are similarly universal—cheap laborers are consistently blamed for their circumstances, either due to innate, biological deficiencies or poor individual choices. These justifications skirt the plain truth, which is that cheap labor is actively pursued by the capitalist class, which uses racial, gender, and class prejudices to divide workers and render them vulnerable to employer coercion.

SEE ALSO *Workfare and Welfare*.

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William Johnson

## LABOR MARKET

Inequality in the labor market is an especially critical component of racial and ethnic relations in the United States. Virtually all aspects of peoples’ lives are affected fundamentally by what they do for a living, how much

they earn, and how much wealth they are able to accumulate. These factors have serious implications for the schools children attend and how long they stay in school, for their health and the kind of health care they receive, and for where and how long they live. The term *labor market* refers to the exchange of labor for a wage or salary, or to the matching of individuals to jobs. According to orthodox economic theory, the laws of supply and demand govern labor market processes in a capitalist economy. The race, ethnicity, or gender of a worker should not be of any consequence in determining whether he or she is hired or how much he or she is paid, yet, historically, women and members of subordinate racial and ethnic groups in the United States have not fared as well as their dominant-group counterparts in the labor market. Group differences, in fact, call into question the fairness of labor processes and the labor market.

One critique of orthodox economic theory is labor market segmentation theory, which states that the labor market is segmented into “primary” (core) and “secondary” (periphery) jobs (see Doeringer and Piore 1971). Secondary jobs pay lower wages, offer fewer possibilities for advancement and lower levels of job security, and require fewer years of education. In the primary sector of the economy, workers earn more, are better educated, are much more likely to have careers, are more likely to exercise discretion on the job, and are more likely to be unionized. Racial and ethnic minority-group members tend to fill secondary labor-market jobs disproportionately, and native-born white males predominate in primary jobs. Typical primary-sector jobs include most white-collar jobs, including teachers, engineers, managers, lawyers, and doctors. Examples of secondary-sector jobs include busboys, sales clerks, domestics, typists, and janitors. Meanwhile, the informal labor market has grown since the 1970s. This market involves the exchange of work and wages (between workers and employers) outside of the legal and regulatory context that regulates the formal economy, and it employs immigrant workers in disproportionate numbers.

#### INCOME AND EDUCATIONAL INEQUALITY

In the 2000 U.S. Census, 36.2 million people, or almost 13 percent of the population, reported they were black (12.2% of the population reported black as their only race). Latinos (or Hispanics), largely of Mexican descent, accounted for 12.5 percent of the population (35.2 million people). Latinos have since surpassed blacks in number. In 2004, the Latino population totaled almost 40.5 million and the black population was nearly 37.7 million, according to the U.S. Census Bureau. Both popu-

lations lag behind the white population in education, which accounts in some measure for the economic inequality between both groups and whites. In 2000 just over 80 percent of the total population were high school graduates, compared to 72.3 percent of blacks and 52.4 percent of Latinos. While 24.4 percent of the population had earned a bachelor’s degree or higher, according to 2000 Census data, only 14.3 percent of blacks and 10.4 percent of Latinos had achieved this level of education (see McKinnon and Bennett 2005, Ramirez 2004). In some respects, the picture is more dismal than these figures suggest, since another important difference between minority and majority groups is the quality of the education they receive. White students are more likely than black and Latino students to attend better-funded and resource-rich schools, and they are more likely to attend more prestigious institutions of higher education. The networks they form in these institutions can be critical when they enter the labor market.

The labor force participation rates of blacks and Latinos are comparable to those of the total population, but the nature of their participation is not. In 2000, for example, 63.9 percent of the total population and 60.2 percent the black population participated in the labor force, but compared to the white population, blacks (and Latinos) were much more likely to work in low-wage, low-prestige jobs, earn appreciably less on average, and accumulate much less wealth. While 33.6 percent of the total population was employed in management, professional, and related jobs in 2000, the corresponding figure for blacks was 25.2 percent, and it was even lower for Latinos.

Both black and Latino workers are much more likely than white workers to be employed in the service sector. In both categories, whites are more likely to hold the highest-paying and most prestigious jobs. For example, white managers are more likely than their black and Latino counterparts to hold high-level management positions, and they are more likely to be promoted. Blacks and Latinos are disproportionately concentrated in, and are more likely to languish in, mid- and low-level positions. These and educational differences account for a portion of the wage differential (see McKinnon and Bennett 2005, Ramirez 2004, Oliver and Shapiro 1995).

In 1999 the median family income of Latinos (\$34,397) was higher than that of blacks (\$33,255), but both were well below the \$50,046 median family income of the total population. However, the total population median family income for married couples (\$57,345) was only \$7,000 higher than the black median family income for married couples (\$50,690). Income and education gaps between black and white Americans have narrowed significantly since the 1950s, but since 1990 the

unemployment rate of blacks has been at least twice the rate of whites, with Latinos in the middle, and Asians closer to, but still higher than, whites. Furthermore, the return on education for whites and Asians is greater than it is for blacks and Latinos. Even when controlling for education, whites' average earnings are higher than those of blacks and Latinos (see McKinnon and Bennett 2005, Ramirez 2004, Reeves and Bennett 2004). In large cities, for example, one study found that for each year of education, whites chances of being employed in a position of authority increased by 9 percent, but for blacks they increased only 1 percent (see Mooney et al. 2002). An additional measure of inequality that is of growing concern to many is the racial wealth or assets differential.

### WEALTH DISPARITIES

Black households have barely one-tenth the net worth of white households. The black middle class has expanded substantially since the 1950s, but it is fragile, principally because its status rests principally on income rather than on assets or wealth. In their book *Black Wealth, White Wealth: A New Perspective on Racial Inequality* (1995), Melvin Oliver and Thomas Shapiro argue that the racial wealth gap is the "fundamental axis of racial inequality" in the United States. In this landmark study they found a wealth gap of \$60,980 in 1988. By 2002, however, the gap had increased to \$82,663. Furthermore, they contend, residential segregation, "the lynchpin of race relations" in the United States, prevents blacks from producing the housing wealth generated by white homeowners and providing their children with the kind of education that they will need to produce more wealth as adults. As a consequence, blacks cannot weather economic storms as well as whites, and they are more likely to fall into poverty in the event of an unexpected decline in income.

The 2000 poverty rate in the United States was 12.4 percent, but for blacks it was 24.9 percent and for Latinos it was 22.6 percent. The rate for the American Indian and Alaska Native population was even higher, at 25.7 percent. Every major American Indian group had a poverty rate above the national average, but the Apaches, Navajos, and Sioux had poverty rates of more than 34 percent. The poverty rate for the Sioux was 39 percent. Not unexpectedly, the American Indian and Alaska Native population lagged behind the total population in virtually every area discussed thus far. Only 71 percent of this population completed high school or higher, compared to 80 percent of the total population. On reservations, where roughly one-third of American Indians reside, the figures are more disquieting. On the Fort Apache reservation in Arizona, for example, 49 percent of the residents did not complete high school.



*Wage-increase Supporters Demonstrate in Chicago, 2006. In 2006 Chicago mayor Richard Daley vetoed the "big-box" living wage city ordinance that would require mega-retailers to pay higher wages. A group of supporters gathered outside City Hall as the city council decided whether or not to override the veto. AP IMAGES.*

In the labor force, Native Americans are underrepresented in the management, professional, and related ranks and overrepresented in service sector jobs. These educational and occupational differences are reflected in lower median earnings for American Indians relative to the total population (see McKinnon and Bennett 2005, Ramirez 2004, Ogunwole 2006).

### A HISTORY OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND EXCLUSION

Why are society's goods and services not shared equally by society's racial and ethnic groups? Some of the earliest explanations were biological and drew on Charles Darwin's work. At the turn of the twentieth century, social Darwinists argued that the fittest (intellectually and morally) were at the top of the social and economic hierarchy, and that the less fit were at the bottom. Slavery, for example, did not explain why blacks were at the bottom. Instead, they argued, slavery was simply evidence

of African Americans' inferiority. Eventually, biological deficiency theories gave way to cultural deficiency theories, and these theories remain popular in the early twenty-first century. Advocates of the "culture of poverty" theory blamed the poor for their poverty, arguing that they were poor because of their inability to embrace the proper values to pull themselves out of poverty. These theorists posited that it was the inability to defer gratification, the propensity to engage in criminal activity, fatalism, and other cultural values that resulted in poverty.

Conservatives employ versions of this theory to oppose government programs designed to assist the poor and racial and ethnic minority groups. Predictably, critics of this and other individual-focused theories shift the focus from the individual and place it instead on structural factors and institutional forms of racial and ethnic discrimination. The institutional racism explanation relies heavily on the cumulative effects of historical discrimination and exclusion. (For an explanation and critique of the culture of poverty theory, see Leacock 1971.)

After the abolition of slavery, the United States, on the brink of becoming the most industrialized and wealthiest nation in the world, could have integrated black workers into the industrial mainstream. Instead, the South and North collaborated to "reconstruct black servitude" in the South (See chapter 7 in Steinberg 2001, pp. 173–200).

Freed slaves in the South labored as farm workers, sharecroppers, and tenant farmers and were subjected to a system of apartheid known as Jim Crow well into the twentieth century. In 1896 the Supreme Court of the United States established, in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the doctrine of "separate but equal," which gave legal sanction to this system segregation. The ruling stood until the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954, but by then the damage had been done, and the effects are still evident in the twenty-first century.

Denied the same opportunities as whites in education, politics, and the economy, blacks were unable to provide their progeny with the same opportunities as whites for a better life. De jure segregation may have ended with *Brown v. Board of Education*, but de facto segregation persists. Blacks, however, were not alone in being denied the fruits of industrialization. "Like European overseas colonialism, America had used African, Asian, Mexican, and, to a lesser degree, Indian workers for the cheapest labor, concentrating people of color in the most unskilled jobs, the least advanced sectors of the economy, and the most industrially backward regions of the nation" (Blauner 1972, p. 62).

In the Southwest, the United States seized from roughly half of Mexico's territory. Initially, it was the border that crossed Mexicans in the new Southwest, but

subsequently it would be millions of Mexicans who would cross the border to perform the most menial and least desirable work in the mines, fields, and factories of the United States. Their contribution to the economic development of the Southwest was enormous, but they received very little of the wealth. They were denied, as were their African-American counterparts in the Southeast, full participation in the social, political, and economic life of the country, with similar effect. Indians fared no better. Uprooted from lands they and their ancestors had occupied for centuries, nearly wiped out by war and disease, their cultures decimated, and relegated to life on reservations as wards of the state, they remain in the early 2000s the poorest of the poor. Despite difficulties of their own, as Robert Blauner explains in *Racial Oppression in America*, European immigrants fared much better:

In an historical sense, people of color provided much of the hard labor (and technical skills) that built up the agricultural base and the mineral-transport-communication infrastructure necessary for industrialization and modernization, whereas the European worked primarily within the industrialized, modern sectors. The initial position of European ethnics, while low, was therefore strategic for movement up the economic and social pyramid. The placement of nonwhite groups, however, imposed barrier upon barrier on such mobility, freezing them for long periods of time in the least favorable segments of the economy. (Blauner 1972, p. 62)

The consequences of this history of exclusion and discrimination are reflected in the twenty-first century labor market.

#### INSTITUTIONAL RACISM

Stiff resistance to the implementation of the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* underscored how entrenched racial and ethnic bigotry and inequality were in the United States. The ruling nonetheless helped to spur a movement that eventually resulted in civil rights legislation, legal rulings, and executive orders that generally improved the lives of blacks and other minority groups and created new opportunities in the labor market. Within a few decades, blacks, Latinos, and other minority groups were represented in all occupations. The number of blacks, Latinos, and other groups graduating from high school and college increased markedly in a relatively short period of time, and the dual-wage system and other "legal" means to deny minorities a fair wage became illegal. But blacks and Latinos continue to lag behind whites in education and the economy.

Proponents of structural theories insist that the racial and ethnic inequality that exists in the United States in

the first decade of the twenty-first century in income, wealth, education, and jobs are best explained by the effects of a long history of discrimination and institutional racism, and by the persistence of overt and direct forms of discrimination. College admissions criteria that do not take into account conditions of poverty, for example, discriminate against blacks and Latinos, even if there is no intent to discriminate. This is an example of institutional racism. Refusing to hire an individual because she is Asian is an example of individual racism. Both of these forms of racism continue to be practiced in the labor market, and both reinforce economic and other forms of racial and ethnic inequality.

Employers continue to discriminate illegally against minorities in all phases of the employment process, including recruitment, the interview, the job offer, salary, and promotion. White males continue to hold the highest, most powerful positions in firms. Exclusion from exclusively or predominantly white male social clubs hamstringing minority and women professionals, because important business is conducted and important connections are made over drinks and during a round of golf. Attempts to reduce the effects of unintentional racial discrimination have met with some success. Affirmative action, for example, has markedly improved the lives of many minorities and women. By the end of the twentieth century, however, affirmative action was disappearing in many parts of the country.

Two other theories are worth noting. Marxist economic theory postulates that the capitalist class benefits from and acts to create or deepen divisions among workers along racial and ethnic lines. By discriminating against blacks, for example, employers create and maintain a reserve army of cheap labor. In the process, labor solidarity is undermined, employers can appropriate more surplus from black workers, and white worker militancy can be dampened by replacing or threatening to replace white workers with black workers. Edna Bonacich, a professor of sociology at the University of California, Riverside, has proposed a related but alternative explanation, the split labor-market theory, to explain ethnic antagonism. In a 2001 essay, Bonacich argues that employers are interested in hiring the cheapest labor, regardless of race or ethnicity. Because the labor market is split along racial lines, higher-priced white labor is threatened by cheaper black or immigrant labor and therefore acts to restrict black and immigrant labor participation in the labor market.

## GLOBALIZATION

Complicating (and worsening) the picture for minority workers in the United States is the globalization of the labor market. Because of globalization and trade and

immigration policies that facilitate outsourcing, segments of the workforce in the United States compete, usually unsuccessfully, with low-wage workers in the developing world. Low- and middle-wage black and Latino workers in the United States have been hit especially hard by these policies. Globalization has increased the demand for well-educated and highly skilled workers in the United States, good manufacturing jobs have left the country, and increased immigration has swelled the ranks of workers performing the least desirable manual and service jobs that cannot be outsourced. Many of the jobs that have not left the country have left the inner city for the suburbs, and the upper middle class, which is predominantly white, has gone with them. As a result, tax revenue needed to support the city's services and infrastructure has been diminished. Left behind in the cities are poor people with deteriorating schools and high rates of unemployment. Between 1967 and 1987, for example, 65 percent of manufacturing jobs in Philadelphia disappeared (Kasarda 1995). The cost of transportation, discriminatory real estate practices, and the high cost of owning a home in the suburbs have made it all but impossible for many of the cities' poor to follow the jobs. Thus, globalization has sealed the fate of many of the cities' poor, who are disproportionately members of racial and ethnic minority groups.

The effects of historic discrimination are lasting, and they are aggravated by contemporary racial and ethnic discrimination in the labor market. The exclusion of racial and ethnic minority-group members from participation in the economic mainstream, especially during the late nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, when the economy was expanding at a rapid pace and the demand for labor was unprecedented, resulted in disadvantages for these groups in virtually every area of social life, including education, housing, and health care. Despite legislation, executive orders, and court decisions protecting the rights of individuals in the labor market, discrimination persists. Along with the effects of prior discrimination and globalization, this makes it difficult for minority-group members to improve their labor market position.

**SEE ALSO** *Braceros, Repatriation, and Seasonal Workers; Day Laborers, Latino; Labor Market, Informal; Occupational Segregation.*

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## LABOR MARKET, INFORMAL

In the contemporary global capitalist economy, labor represents a commodity that is bought and sold. The labor market can be divided into two distinct spheres: the formal labor and the informal. State agencies monitor the formal labor market by tracking all income-generating activities that require routine censuses, regulation, and taxation. However, when the formal market fails and unemployment rises the informal sector can become the best available option for people, who either lack credentials (e.g., education, legal status) or have other types of

barriers to entering the formal labor market (e.g., discrimination, age, care-work responsibilities). In *Affluent Players in the Informal Economy* (1997), Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo found that the informal economy is "synonymous with survival strategies used by the poor, the underprivileged, and those outside of the class system" (p. 134). Hence, the growth of the informal labor market becomes a survival mechanism for disenfranchised and vulnerable groups, such as people of color, undocumented immigrants and women.

Also known as the shadow economy, sub-economy or underground economy, the informal sector involves the production of legal goods and services in an unregulated system. It usually involves indiscretions such as tax evasion and unlicensed businesses, given that most transactions involve cash exchange to escape detection or records. Manuel Castells and Alejandro Portes posit that the informal labor market constitutes "the process of production and income-generating activity outside of regulatory institutions and the formal market system" (1989, p. 12). The informal economy is distinct, however, from the illegal economy, which includes activities such as prostitution, gambling, and drug-dealing. People labor in the informal labor market for a variety of reasons. Informal workers often do not have the legal means of obtaining secure employment or earning a living wage in the formal sector because they do not have legal documents or a valid social security card to secure employment. Nevertheless, the formal and informal labor markets function interdependently and are co-dependent. At times, an increased share of informality derives from subcontracts from the formal market, resulting in a greater need for informal workers increased profit.

The informal labor market is both an overt and covert activity where cash becomes the standard of exchange. This is commonly referred to as being "off the books" and "under the table." Some people who labor in the informal sector work within the private sphere of their own homes. This allows them to conceal offering services (e.g., babysitting) or the production and selling of goods, while at the same time minimizing detection. In the public sphere businesses are visible to the public eye and income generation takes place in open locations, such as the streets. In other instances people participate in the informal sector barter in exchange for goods and services. For example, an auto mechanic may barter labor expended on a vehicle in exchange for landscaping work on his or her yard. Ivan Light and Steven J. Gold characterize the informal labor market as "an industry that lacks a permanent mailing address, a telephone, regular business hours, tax identities, and inventory" (2000, p. 40). Day labor, housecleaning, gardening and landscaping, street vending (food and merchandise), and child care are all forms of work within the informal labor market. The changing face of the informal

sector derives from the state's imposed constraints and opportunities enforced by the formal labor market. The formal economy rarely generates sufficient employment, which funnels surplus laborers into the informal labor market; this, in part, explains the persistence and expansion of the informal sector. There are three critical themes within the broad area of the informal labor market: self-employment, participants, and the social ramifications.

### SELF-EMPLOYMENT

In the informal labor market, numerous individuals are self-employed in a range of activities. Informal enterprise often allows laborers and vendors to achieve a sense of agency, autonomy, and self-sufficiency by giving them the full control of their business operations. Some self-employed persons sell prepared fruits, clothes, crafts, pillows, or jewelry at conventional street locations by setting up stands on sidewalks or empty parking lots, or by transporting and peddling goods. Other vendors establish unlicensed businesses at local flea markets or swap meets that charge a daily fee for the use of an assigned space. Still others convert their living room spaces into pseudo-convenience stores where chips, sodas, and candies are sold. Taken together, self-employment in the informal sector takes various shapes and involves multiple forms of income-generation activities.

For some participants in the informal sector, self-employment is the principal source of income for people who are unauthorized to work in the United States. For others, informal income-generating activities are a viable way of supplementing wages from unstable jobs (e.g., temporary and part-time employment) in the formal sector. In this way, some people participate in both labor markets. In some instances, workers have regular employment in the formal sector and sell sodas and seafood cocktails at the local park to help them make a living. The formal economy often does not generate economic opportunities for all workers, and surplus labor gets funneled into the informal labor market, which contributes to the persistence and expansion of the informal sector. The informal sector is central to the economic subsistence of undocumented migrants, whose particular circumstances hinge upon a sort of anonymity, especially with regard to immigration and law enforcement officials, and to government agencies generally. Abel Valenzuela explains that some undocumented laborers undertake self-employment to regular wage work as a due to "labor force disadvantages such as physical disability, ethno-racial discrimination, unrecognized educational credentials, and exclusion from referral networks" (2001, p.349). In the same vein, Elaine L. Edgcomb and Maria Medrano Armington argue that "working in one's own business allows one to be more invisible. There is no need to be

constantly showing documents to agencies or other prospective employers, and be at risk of being discovered to have fraudulent ones" (2003, p. 27). Therefore, the informal market empowers people to become economically sufficient without adhering to formal employment conventions.

### PARTICIPANTS IN THE INFORMAL LABOR MARKET

While the formal labor market benefits those who control and own the means of production, the informal labor market attracts marginalized people of color, women, and undocumented immigrants who must innovate to achieve subsistence. In many instances the formal sector excludes undocumented laborers by forcing them to negotiate with employers for job provisions and pay without a contract. Immigrants often lack legal documentation required by employers. In other situations, corporations and businesses subcontract their labor to intermediaries, who later employ unauthorized workers for low wages. This arrangement is pivotal in the accumulation of huge profits for it allows people to do business in cash and to avoid taxes and record-keeping. Edna Bonacich and Richard Appelbaum in *Behind the Label* (2000) show how apparel industry elites contract small Korean garment factory (sweatshop) owners, who hire numerous undocumented Latinas, especially Mexicans, "under the table," thus avoiding both paying federal and state taxes and providing health and unemployment benefits that are more readily available to workers from the formal sector. This type of informal employment is actually connected to the formal sector but it can reduce labor costs and achieve higher profit margins, while also providing a cheap and expandable labor force. This organization of labor shows the interdependence between the informal and formal labor markets, which becomes central to the profit making machinery of certain industries.

Informal work often takes place in remote areas that are predominantly unregulated and in the private sector (e.g., homes), where detection is unlikely and the opportunity to benefit from an exploitable workforce increases. The sociologist Ivan Light argues that discriminatory practices in the labor market can force recently arrived immigrants to accept undesirable jobs with little lucrative payoff. Some of these jobs are also occupied by U.S. natives who have little human capital (e.g., education, job skills). Thus, the informal sector pits people of color, women, and undocumented immigrants against each other in fierce competition for low-status jobs.

It is important to keep in mind that the informal market provides economic opportunities for people from different backgrounds. For example, in his book *Day Laborers in Southern California* (1999), Abel Valenzuela notes that the overwhelming majority of day laborers in Los Angeles

are undocumented male Latinos, with Mexicans being the single largest group of informal workers. Most of these unauthorized laborers experience overwhelming discrimination on the job. They wait on street corners or hiring sites hoping that employers will pick them up for work in construction, roofing, or landscaping. Undocumented Latinas and Chicanas participate in the informal labor markets as well. Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotello (2001) observes that Mexican undocumented immigrant women often become employed in the domestic sector of the informal economy, performing live-in and live-out housekeeping or nanny duties. Most domestic work is obtained through informal and personal networks consisting of family, friends, or acquaintances. Some women who participate in the informal sector prefer the flexible schedule that gives them ample time to perform household chores and spend time with their families. Both Valenzuela and Hondagneu-Sotelo demonstrate how undocumented Latinos become part of an exploitable and racialized enclave in both the public and private sphere.

Similarly, African-Americans are another racialized and exploited group within the informal sector. Mitch Duneier, in his book *Sidewalk* (1999), highlights how a group of low-income, often homeless black men participate in the informal labor market by selling used books and magazines on the sidewalks of Greenwich Village, New York City. For these men, the informal labor market has become a survival strategy and coping mechanism. Likewise, Yvonne V. Jones (1988) depicts how inner-city African-American men engage in two forms of street peddling involving the sale of clothes, food items, and household products. Jones found that peddlers relied on mobile peddling, in which their vehicles became a means of transporting products to communities of color, and sedentary peddling, in which they stay in one location and rely on pedestrian traffic. Most business transactions involving sedentary activities take place in different busy sectors of the community. In this case, informality is a viable and necessary option that benefits the vendor and the larger community. Finally, Paul Stoller and Jasmin Tahmaseb McConatha (2001) focus on undocumented West African traders who participated in the informal sector by selling counterfeit goods. Taken together, the informal labor market becomes instrumental in helping disenfranchised men and women achieve economic betterment in a system that traditionally keeps them in the fringes of society.

#### **SOCIAL RAMIFICATIONS IN THE INFORMAL MARKET**

For participants in the informal labor market, achieving economic success is too often accompanied by substantial risk factors for undocumented immigrants, women, and people of color. Thus, achieving economic success in the

informal sector comes with consequences. In particular, informal sector work does not provide health or disability benefits, and continued employment is dependent on remaining injury-free. The informal labor market makes undocumented men and women run the risk of injury due to their participation in poorly paid, unskilled, physical and hazardous jobs where occupational regulations are often disregarded and workers receive inadequate training. In such settings, certain workers perform work that fails to conform to health and safety standards. The lack of social protections corresponds to the risks of injury, disability and untimely death. When an undocumented worker becomes injured on the job, the incident is often not reported because the worker's family depends on the day-to-day earnings. Other informal sector workers who get injured on the job may refuse services in order to conceal their undocumented status; these persons do not want to be stigmatized as "illegal aliens," and they fear deportation. Finally, informal sector workers may not have enough income to pay for services and medication, and they may instead turn to unconventional means of healing.

Some informal sector workers run the risk of not getting paid at all because most transactions are established through verbal agreements. In certain situations, the worker may complete a shift or assignment, but the employer will not pay the worker because there is no paper trail or timesheet that proves work was performed. The worker has little recourse in such a situation. Harassment and humiliation is also commonplace occurrence for street vendors as a result of clashes with local merchants and law enforcement personnel. Public displays of humiliation, as well as the destruction or confiscation of processed goods and materials are means by which law enforcement attempt to expel vendors from certain public spaces. People participating in the informal sector encounter constant threats from the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) officials and police repression because they are seen as a law-breaking and uncivilized group. The constant dehumanization of undocumented workers influences law enforcement personnel to react with repulsion and conflict.

With the continued expansion of a global economy, the displacement of people from peripheral nations, and the oppression of American ethnic and racial communities, most developed-capitalist nations will continue to simultaneously experience both increased migration and informal economic activities. In fact, formal and informal labor markets can not survive without an exploitable workforce of immigrants and people of color. It is likely, however, that anti-immigrant and nativist groups will continue to publicly express opposition to immigrants and people of color who participate in the informal sector by scapegoating these marginalized groups.

Thus, U.S. society will maintain and reproduce a racialized labor force and rhetoric that legitimizes hate and inequality.

SEE ALSO *Capitalism; Day Laborers, Latino; Immigrant Domestic Workers.*

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*Xuan Santos*

## LANGUAGE

The relationship between language and power, or more specifically, domination and racism, dates back to the colonial period when the colonial language became an aspect of cultural production that established dominance as well as cultural and linguistic superiority of one language group over the other (Pennycook 1998). In the

case of the expansion of the British Empire, English was used to paint the world from the perspective of superior over inferior, culture over nature, and civilized over savage. It produced the constructions of "self and other" as superior and subhuman.

Many of these constructs continue in the early twenty-first century, specifically in the centrality English assumes in language policies that produce and reproduce ideologies and structures of inequality, a characteristic Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1990) call "linguicism." Closely associated with the biological form of racism—that is, the basing of superiority on racial traits—linguicism reproduces "unequal division of power and resources (both material and non-material) between groups which are defined on the basis of language" (p. 110). These structures of power grow out of the nature of language itself as a group identifier and the ideological discourses that produce and are produced by exclusionary legislation, news media, and pedagogical beliefs.

Language, for example, is a social phenomenon that shapes one's humanity and one's group membership. Like racism, it is not neutral. Rather, it is "dialectically related to society, and not an independent, isolated linguistic system" (Fairclough, quoted in Hruska 2000, p. 1). Rather, it is heavily weighted with the socioemotional experiences of the individual and the group, the history of intergroup relations, and the embodiment of power dynamics. Language is emblematic of identification, and as Fishman (1985) points out, is part and parcel of the "authentic doing and knowing of a particular kind of people" (p. 9) that generates a profound distinction between "us" and "them" in intergroup relations. This distinction is experienced at two levels of language contact: (1) the point at which the social, psychological, and linguistic features of language use affect the individual, the context, and the language itself and, (2) the point at which a particular language is culturally and politically legitimized, learned, and/or expanded (Appel and Muysken 1987).

Vulnerability to racist ideologies and structures—that is, the potential for evaluation of difference in terms of better or worse and the subsequent unequal access and distribution of resources based on that evaluation—is possible at either of these levels of language contact. Social and institutional conventions exert pressure on the individual or the group to shift to the dominant language and give up their identification with a non-dominant language and its beliefs, values, and worldview, often without the same benefit accorded to members of the dominant group. The compulsion to shift to the national language is conveyed in multiple ways: (1) in the dearth of institutional information available in the minority language to facilitate the acquisition of health

care, social services, and justice; (2) the exclusion of the minority language as a viable tool for intellectual work; and (3) the promulgation of the primacy of English by the media. The highly publicized directive to immigrants made by California's governor Arnold Schwarzenegger to "turn off the Spanish television set" so they could learn English is an example of the chauvinism surrounding the value of English (Salinas 2007).

Intentional and unintentional—as most would classify Schwarzenegger's comments—language forms that racialize groups has a differential impact on inequality than language ideologies. For example, it is a common assumption that the use of racially charged language is intended to disparage the "other." It is inflammatory, marginalizing, and basically racist; however, individuals who use presumably harmless linguistic forms from a minoritized language such as "Hasta la vista, baby" (Spanish for "see you later," typically used for "good riddance"), "nappy-headed hos" (whores with naps in the hair), or "chinito" (Spanish for "little Chinese," a term used by Spanish speakers to refer to all Asians) in a state of innocence, also disparage the minority language and its speakers, at the same time they elevate the dominant language speaker and culture (Hill 2001). The use of language to racialize an individual or a group is implicated in the promotion of racist ideologies and structures of inequality and voices the hierarchical nature of the society (Asante 1998). However, offensive language does not have the direct impact on language rights and equal opportunity as does cultural and political ideologies and structures.

Language-based structures of inequality privilege the dominant language to the detriment of the minority language and its speakers. The imposition of monolingualism, seen as "a reflection of linguisticism" by Skutnabb-Kangas (1988, p. 13) also comes at considerable cost to the sociohistorical legacy of the minority language speaker. In addition, these policies have an added disadvantage of diminishing the viability of the monolingual speakers to perform on the world stage where bilingualism is a social reality. The imposition of the dominant language—in the case of the United States, English—destabilizes, deculturates, and domesticates non-European groups (Wiley 2000). Shrouded in ideological rationality, the pressure to shift to the dominant language and abandon the native tongue is touted as the most logical thing to do given the circumstances. Reasons given for shifting to the dominant language such as the lack of resources, the economic necessity to learn the dominant language, or the importance for social mobility are typically taken as commonsensible without question. The common refrain "Speak English, you are in America!" is one of these seemingly rational imperatives that is loaded with ideological connotations about which language is valued and more tragi-

cally, which language is to be forsaken. These practices produce and reproduce exclusive and arbitrary systems of awards and access that establish, reaffirm, and promote structural inequality based on language. They also lay the burden of learning a second language, negotiating mainstream bureaucracies, and scaling the opportunity ladder squarely on the disempowered and dispossessed minority language speaker.

Such complex processes of linguistic privilege and favoritism shape and are shaped by legislation and the news media. Both ideological fields reflect the dominant perspective of the hegemonic language. Both base their formulations on uninformed, incomplete, and "linguistic" assumptions of what is "good" and "bad" language and what is "right" for the country (Goldstein 2001). The media circulates national views on language at the same time that it racializes language in what Hill (2001) calls "language panics"—"intense public attention to 'language problems.'" (p. 249) It is the sheer intensity of these episodes, the low level of the discourse, and the maligning of the minority language speaker that classifies these media eruptions as racist. Gutiérrez and colleagues (2002) concur that these panics and "backlash politics" have little to do with language and more to do with race, specifically with the threat that the minority language and its speakers pose for national identity. In the discourse surrounding the proposed use of Ebonics by the Oakland School District in California and the consequent series of propositions in California between the 1980s and the 1990s (Hill 2001, p. 245), language became the proxy for race, facilitating a recategorizing of its speakers as deviant and semilingual (having an incomplete working knowledge of either the native or the second language) and their language as underdeveloped. The more recent media outburst in 2007, caused by former U.S. House Speaker Newt Gingrich's comments that "English is the language of progress" and bilingual education is teaching "the language of living in a ghetto" (Sanchez 2007), illustrates that the connection between language and national identity at the expense of the minority language and its speakers continues to have a major sway in the ideological discourses in the United States.

Nowhere is the connection between language and racism more potent than in the schooling process where income, class, ethnicity, and gender are interlinked with language into a synergistic process of inequality. The schooling process typically excludes the minority language and culture from the curriculum content, medium of instruction, and interpersonal communication cultivating long-lasting ideas of self as unfit and the world as unfair. This process creates a disequilibrium in which the individual is confronted with his or her language as unsuitable for personal expression or intellectual work,

an experience best described by Adrian Rich as looking into a mirror and not seeing oneself. Thus, language is often used as a proxy for race to sort students into ability and interest groups, freeing the school to speak of deficiencies and rankings according to academic and social needs without repercussions. This is particularly true in states that have passed antinative language legislation such as California's Proposition 227, euphemistically called "Language for the Children." These types of legislation shape the educational content and curriculum to privilege the dominant language and deny access to the children's complete linguistic resources (Gutiérrez et al, 2002). As a result, minority language speakers are subjected to an education that is undemocratic, theoretically weak, and out of sync with the social and multilingual realities of an increasingly globalized and multilingual world.

**SEE ALSO** *American Colonization Society and the Founding of Liberia; Cultural Deficiency; Education, Racial Disparities; Slavery, Racial; Slavery and Race.*

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Olga A. Vásquez

## LANGUAGE, INCENDIARY

On April 4, 2007, signing off his CBS morning radio program, popular "shock jock" Don Imus apparently had no idea that he had just incited a firestorm of controversy. A cross between radio/TV shock jock Howard Stern and a bright, hard-driving investigative reporter, Imus often stated that he took special pride in offending everyone. But one typically derogatory remark made on that April day ultimately resulted in his downfall. In an on-air conversation with producer Bernard McGuirk, Imus described the Rutgers University women's basketball team, which consisted mostly of African American women, as "nappy-headed hos."

#### THE CONTROVERSY

Like other radio talk-show hosts such as Michael Savage and Rush Limbaugh, Imus had made a name for himself by being outrageous and making cruel, crude jokes. Audiences apparently loved him, driving his ratings up, which attracted generous sponsors. They could tune in weekdays for a blistering diatribe against politicians, celebrities, athletes, religious groups, and ethnic minorities—no one was safe. Frequent targets were New York Roman Catholic Cardinal John O'Connor ("a vulgar Irishman") and football players ("knuckle-dragging morons"). A *Washington Post* reporter and frequent guest was called a "beanie-wearing Jew boy," and Gwen Ifill, correspondent with the Public Broadcasting Company was the "cleaning lady." He and his sidekick had shticks playing off one another. (Impersonating poet Maya Angelou, an eloquent and dignified African-American writer, poet, and playwright, producer and sidekick McGuirk spoke

in a lazy southern drawl, saying they should “kiss my big black ass.”)

But “Imus in the Morning” was a major draw for guests as well as listeners. Guests were alternately flattered and ridiculed, but they were willing to put up with this trash talk because Imus gave them an opportunity to talk about political and global issues important to them. Journalists, authors, and politicians earned a kind of cachet for visiting the show, and every appearance boosted their celebrity status and helped put their books on best-seller lists.

No one might have noticed the remark about the Rutgers team if it had not been for a media-watch group called Media Matters for America. The group posted a recording of the remark on its Web site and on YouTube and notified civil rights and women’s groups via e-mail. After the story was e-mailed to the National Association of Black Journalists, the association demanded an apology, then demanded that Imus be fired. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) denounced him. National Organization for Women (NOW) encouraged its members to e-mail CBS, MSNBC, and individual radio stations with the message, “Dump Don.”

At first, the network only suspended the media giant—essentially a slap on the wrist for bad-boy behavior—and Imus dutifully apologized. But when the public outcry continued, NBC executives met with their African American employees via satellite conference to hear their concerns. Al Roker, weatherman on the *Today* television show, was particularly outspoken: “That could have been my daughter Imus was joking about” (Kosova 2007, p. 24). The last straw for network executives was the withdrawal of support for the show from advertisers. Eight days after Imus made the racial/sexist remarks, he was fired.

## THE DEBATE

Weeks were spent debating the issues in the media. Imus was criticized for using racially and sexually demeaning language—for criticizing decent, hard-working young scholar-athletes who had done nothing wrong. Some claimed a white male had no right to use those racial terms. Others countered that those words were standard fare for hip-hop rappers and black comedians, and they decried the double standard. Noted black journalist Bill Maxwell wrote that, with their acceptance of a gangsta rap music that insults black people, African Americans “have only ourselves to blame for the mainstreaming of ‘nappy-headed hos.’” (Maxwell 2007, p. 3P). There was debate over whether the comments were primarily racial or gender slurs. Many defended Imus by calling up the tenets of freedom of speech, stirring up fears of media censorship.

Up to that point, criticism of the black cultural phenomenon, hip-hop, had been largely ignored. The Reverend Al Sharpton was one early critic, but most considered such trash talk in black music to be simply part of the act. TV talk-show host Oprah Winfrey dedicated two hours to the issue. Black women professionals began to speak out against rappers’ derogatory behavior toward women, and a few rap executives and rappers seemed ready to change. Months after the incident, it seemed as though the Imus affair would blow over with time. Imus and his supporters insisted he will be brought back to radio. Imus was still popular and had brought in millions of advertising dollars to the networks. As Rutgers coach C. Vivian Stringer said pointedly, the affair was not about the color black or the color white—it was about the color green.

Hate talk over the airways and racial slurs by celebrities are nothing new. In the 1930s, Father Charles Coughlin, the so-called father of talk radio, routinely made anti-Semitic remarks in his American broadcasts—this in a climate of growing Nazism in Europe—often inciting violence against Jews. With the 1960s civil rights movement, the era of “political correctness” toned down bigoted comments, at least in public. The Fairness Doctrine of the U.S. Federal Communications Commission mandated that stations give airtime to opposing political views, effectively cutting off much divisive talk. But when that law was abolished in 1987, trash talk began to take off.

Broadcasters reacted in different ways to public complaints as talk-show hosts grew bolder. Howard Stern’s career took off in the mid-1980s, although he was once fired from NBC radio for a “Bestiality Dial-A-Date” sketch. In the early 1990s in New York, a black-owned radio station was told to stop letting callers and guests make anti-Semitic and other racist remarks. For years, noted talk-show personality Bob Grant regularly targeted liberals, civil rights workers, and African Americans. He called then-president Bill Clinton a “sleazebag,” Martin Luther King Jr., a “scumbag,” a NOW president an “ugly dyke,” and black mayor David Dinkins a “washroom attendant.” In 1996, Grant went too far: He was fired for his tasteless sarcasm regarding the air-crash death of black U.S. Secretary of Commerce Ron Brown. But in the press Grant was considered a “consummate showman,” “a man of wit and erudition.” He had a million listeners every week and, at that time, generated around \$7 million annually for his radio station. Within weeks of Grant’s firing, he was hired at another New York radio station where he was treated as a superstar.

Celebrities caught making racial comments on- or off-air became a regular news item with their public apologies. White actor Ted Danson, known for the TV

show *Cheers*, made racial jokes in blackface at a 1993 banquet and had to apologize, even though his then girlfriend, black comedian Whoopi Goldberg, claimed she had written the skit. In 2007, Michael Richards, from the TV show *Seinfeld*, shouted the word “nigger” and other epithets to a surly audience during a comedy routine. That same year, actor/director Mel Gibson, known for his academy-award winning movie *Braveheart* and the critically acclaimed *The Passion of the Christ*, railed against the “f—ing Jews” when pulled over for drunk driving.

### THE CONSEQUENCES

In the immediate wake of the Imus affair, a few other “shock jocks” were suspended or fired for racist or sexist jokes, including JV and Elvis in New York for their slurs against Asian Americans, and Gregg Hughes and Anthony Cumia for “jokes” about raping black Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice. Disc jockey Luis Jiménez of Univision Radio sparked controversy for reportedly making homophobic comments on his radio talk show. But “shock jocks” are, as the term indicates, supposed to be shocking and outrageous. In his own defense, Imus claims that controversy—tasteless humor and all—was what he was hired to promote, and he hired a lawyer to sue the networks for breach of contract.

In the twenty-first century, North American societies tend to be multicultural and diverse, and once-taboo subjects can be discussed frankly. Despite freedom of speech, most people believe that there is a line between talk that is acceptable and talk that is not. Society tends to accept profanity when it is used for socially redeeming purposes. Social critics such as the late black comic Dick Gregory used language that was intended to make people uncomfortable and make them think. Lenny Bruce, a white comic and satirist repeatedly arrested in the 1950s and 1960s for using profanity in his performances, wanted to repeat the “N word” over and over until it had no meaning. The difference between acceptable and unacceptable use of language is defined by some as a matter of hostility—whether given with a smile or not, the difference is between social critique and cruelty.

The issue is complex. Fear of censorship and loss of free speech are real concerns of U.S. citizens. But in an increasingly uncivil society where name-calling, racism, homophobia, and misogyny are the norm, there are increasing calls for government intervention, such as a return of the Fairness Doctrine—a real fear of radio executives supervising talk shows.

In the case of restraining the trash talk and bigotry of talk-show hosts, it appears that corporate profits make the difference. Tasteless humor, it seems, is lucrative. The media caved in to criticism of Imus, but his firing came

only after advertisers such as General Motors and American Express pulled their ads from the show. *Adweek* magazine claimed that advertisers never intended to kill Imus’s show and they are amenable to sponsoring him again. With an annual sum of \$11 million taken by Imus’s radio station owners, \$33 million for MSNBC on which the show was simulcast, and \$15–\$20 million for CBS Radio, the name Imus meant high profits. Perhaps Don Imus will be able to put this episode behind him and follow the path of the once-fired Bob Grant, the talk host who made a quick comeback and still regularly appears on New York radio. Ranked as one of the greatest talk-show hosts of all time, Grant proved to be a major influence on the careers of many current high-profile shock jocks.

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Shelley Arlen

## LATIN AMERICAN RACIAL TRANSFORMATIONS

The term *ethnogenesis* refers to the emergence of a people within recorded or oral history. Throughout the Americas, people have surged into history as independent nationalities or ethnicities, sometimes as allies in wars between colonial powers or, later, wars of independence. In the late twentieth century, waves of previously unrecognized people—in cultural alliance with others—appeared in Latin America in protest movements and in performances that celebrated a new, alternative modernity, as historical peoples in new contemporary places. People have also been placed in various categories historically, whether or not they wanted to be in such categories or deserved to be there. In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, cultural systems have emerged to confront nationalist ideologies of “racial hybridity” that signify the oneness of the *mestizo* body of the nation, and



to reject or transform stereotypic categories such as the Spanish *indio* (Indian) and *negro* (black). In such rejections, aggregates of people with multicultural or intercultural orientations often come to the forefront of ethnic resurgence. During such resurgence, emphasis is placed on culture as interethnic, and on ethnicity as intercultural.

In his edited book *History, Power, and Identity: Ethnogenesis in the Americas, 1492–1992* (1996), Jonathan D. Hill writes: “ethnogenesis can be understood as a creative adaptation to a general history of violent changes—including demographic collapse, forced relocations, enslavement, ethnic soldiering, ethnocide, and genocide—imposed during the historical expansion of colonial and national states in the Americas” (p. 1).

In a 2000 article in the journal *Current Anthropology*, the archaeologist Alf Hornborg argues that ethnogenesis was prevalent throughout prehistoric America, but as destruction and devastation occurred during the European conquest and the subsequent extended colonial period, ethnogenetic processes became increasingly important in response to the catastrophic disruptions that occurred in the varied lifeways of the vanquished. *Transculturation* is part of the process of ethnogenesis. It refers to the appropriation of cultural features by people in one system from those in another for specific purposes. Such purposes include trade, alliance against enemies, and religious conversion.

#### NAPO RUNA: MODERNITY, ETHNOGENESIS, AND TRANSCULTURATION

In the Quichua language, a variant of Incaic Quechua, *runa* means “people,” or “fully human beings.” Napo is a province in Ecuador named for the Napo River, which has its headwaters in the Andes mountains and runs down through Ecuador and part of Peru into the Amazon River. While Quechua is an Andean language, the Napo Runa are Amazonian people in an Andean nation. The origins of their language, spoken by perhaps 100,000 Amazonian people in Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru, remains obscure, but “conservative” features in it negate migration theories from the Ecuadorian Andes to Amazonia. In his book *The Napo Runa of Amazonian Ecuador* (2004), Michael Uzendoski offers a dramatic illustration of historical cultural emergence (in the sixteenth century, and again in the eighteenth century) that manifests a twenty-first century cultural resurgence oriented to the establishment of self-determination in a known territory (the Napo river region of Ecuador) and general recognition in the Ecuadorian nation-state.

The drama of transculturation is documented in the sixteenth-century revolt of shamans (called *pendes*) led by the indigenous leader Jumandy. In his chapter “The Return of Jumandy,” Uzendoski writes about the indig-

enous uprising of 2001, during which Quichua concepts of transformation of space-time and power generated a collective sense of ancient resistance to conquest and colonialism, thereby strengthening an affirmation of oneness by a people in intercultural interaction with other Andean and Amazonian people. During the 2001 indigenous uprising, Napo Runa people blocked the airport and bridge in Tena, in northern Ecuador. Even after one person was shot and killed, waves of indigenous people came to replace one another, and in the face of death proclaimed a victory modeled on the historical revolt led by Jumandy.

The sixteenth-century uprisings in the Quijos territory of what is now Napo Runa cultural territory was nearly coterminous with another great uprising, that of the Shuar people to the south. Both rebellions spread to the Andes, where they were viciously crushed by the Spanish, but the former is commemorated in the early twenty-first century in north Andean Ecuador in a major festival of the Otavalo people, who still celebrate the “revolt of the shamans” in their annual ritual of the Pendoneiros.

On the southern fringe of Quito, the capital of Ecuador, there are indigenous people who have thus far not participated in the sporadic indigenous uprisings that well up in the countryside and flow into the capital. These people celebrate cultural diversity and interculturality in two extended annual festivals, the Day of the Dead, celebrated throughout Latin America, and the local festival that is dedicated to Saint Bartolomé. Although as yet unpublished, important research by the anthropologist Julie Williams demonstrates that the people of Lumbisí, who speak Spanish and work as lower- and middle-class people in Quito, regard themselves as multicultural and indigenous, separate from all processes of *mestizaje*. In their celebrations they build ties to other indigenous communities as they celebrate “the future’s past,” itself a metaphor for the emerging identity referent of the Ecuadorian people.

To understand the early underpinnings of ethnogenesis and transculturation more fully, it helps to look at the Caribbean region, the area that took the first brunt of the conquest and suffered the brutal changes of the colonial era. This is the region where the miracle of interculturality, often known as *créolité*, uniting indigenous people with African and African-descended people, first emerged in the Americas.

#### COLONIAL ARAWAK AND CARIB PEOPLE

Probably nothing captured the interest of Europeans in the Americas like the image of the “savage cannibal.” This image of man-eating people, long existent in European thought, became codified into a Spanish religious and secular canon in a royal proclamation, signed by Queen Isabella in 1502, that created what Michael

Palencia-Roth calls “The Cannibal Law of 1503.” This extraordinary law established the people who became known as the “Carib” as veritable cannibals. These people were also called *indios* (Indians), and because of their alleged cannibalism they became legal victims of “Just Wars.” Anyone named as “Carib” could be legally enslaved and sold at a profit—no proof was needed of anthropophagy. To “be Carib” was to be fair game for legal servitude or annihilation. In many cases, indigenous people with long hair were taken to be Carib and treated as subhuman eaters of other humans.

The idea of Caribs apparently came to Columbus from people he encountered in his first voyage. They called themselves Taíno (meaning talented people, crafts people) and spoke an Arawak language of the greater Antilles. On his second voyage in 1493 Columbus, at the suggestion of his Arawak peons and slaves, took a more southerly route across the Atlantic and the flotilla made landfall in islands in the lesser Antilles. There, in an island household, human bones were found. At this point the living legend of the savage cannibals, dangerous to “peaceful” Arawaks and Europeans, was born, and it has been maintained right up into the present century.

Arawaks, or those said to be Arawaks, were recruited by European powers such as the Spanish, who regarded them as malleable to European needs, but those who resisted the Spanish were called Caribs. These latter people, whatever language they may have spoken, were recruited by the enemies of the Spanish, such as the Dutch and the English, in a system known as “ethnic soldiering.” In the early twenty-first century, learned scholars still debate relationships, historical and contemporary, among the Caribs and the Arawaks. The languages still exist in the mainland of South America, and a mixture of Carib and Arawak is spoken on the Caribbean Island of Dominica. But the actual ethnic affiliations and cultural characteristics of this great dichotomy in history, as well as the present lifeways of these peoples’ descendents, remain very controversial.

#### BLACKNESS, ZAMBAJE, AND COMPLICATIONS WITH INDIGENOUS CULTURES

The characterization of Caribs and Arawaks—as fierce and friendly, respectively—became complicated in the Americas almost from the outset due to the presence of African-descended peoples in the same region, and due to the phenomenon of *cimarronaje*, self-liberation by African-descended and indigenous-descended people who mixed, merged, and defended their traditional and new territories on the fringes of the growing capitalist enterprise. Two people who became known (and feared) in early colonial times are the Garífuna and the Miskitu. Each is the repre-



**Garífuna Celebration, 1999.** *The Garífuna are blacks who came to Honduras, Nicaragua, Belize, and Guatemala to escape slavery in the Caribbean.* AP IMAGES.

sentative of a segment of the population of Central America in the early twenty-first century, and each has been studied from a variety of scholarly perspectives. The Garífuna are usually regarded as African American, and the Miskitu as indigenous American, but both share a deep history of *cimarronaje*, ethnogenesis, transculturation, and emergent cultural orientations. Many of these features speak against the facile, racialized Western contrast of African and Indian.

The Garífuna of Honduras, Nicaragua, Belize, and Guatemala have large local populations with specific cultural organizations in Los Angeles and Chicago. They were first known in the seventeenth century as the “Black Carib” because they came into historical view on St. Vincent Island in the Lesser Antilles through interbreeding between native people (known as “Island Carib”) and black Maroons (and perhaps enslaved Africans). The name *Garífuna* (plural *Garínagu*), which these Central American people call themselves, derives from “Kalinago,” the name Christopher Columbus learned as the plural of the “Carib” of Eastern Venezuela and the Guianas. All Carib speakers, and other native peoples who resisted Columbus’s profitable advances, were called “Cannibals” (from whence came the name “Caribbean”).

The Miskitu people of Honduras and Nicaragua became famous during the U.S. sponsored Contra war against the Sandinista government of Nicaragua. They got

their name through their colonial alliance with the British, from whom they obtained muskets that they used against the Spanish. The name for the weapons they used (muskets) was applied to the weapon bearers in the form “mosquitoes” (like “musketeers”), which then became “Miskitu.” Missing the major point of *zambaje*—the mixture of African-descended and indigenous-descended peoples without European “admixture”—many anthropologists and historians have debated whether the Garífuna and Miskitu, among many other similar people, should be studied “as Africans” or “as Indians.” Once such a debate is engendered, the tendency is to see what is “retained” from African heritage and what is “retained” from indigenous heritage. When this happens, a colonial mentality prevails, and people living their ways of life are stifled in expressing their existence, presence, and emergent cultural systems to a global audience. To use the Spanish vernacular, they become *negreado*—darkened, blackened, diminished, and silenced by a spurious hegemonic, racialized, diffusionist debate.

#### ALTERNATIVE MODERNITIES AND EMERGENT CULTURES

Two concepts that relate specifically to ethnogenesis are *alternative modernity* and *emergent culture*. A third idea, which has become prevalent throughout Latin American nation-states, is that of *interculturality*, which contributes to the process of transculturation. Emergent culture confronts racial categories of the conquest and colonial era of Latin America, drawing upon previous moments of ethnogenesis for strength and self-assertion. This idea of emergent culture refers to how people present themselves in various settings, ranging from everyday greetings to stylized ritual performances for varied audiences. In the 1980s, for example, indigenous people in many nations organized themselves into nationalities to reflect their individual cultures grounded in specific localities, as well as their common identity through specific histories of oppression. By 2001, more than twenty different nationalities had emerged in Ecuador, and they have coalesced into regional organizations located in the coastal, Andean, and Amazonian regions of that country. With such emergence, regional commonalities are stressed that may clash with other commonalities in different regions. Nonetheless, with all this diversity, coastal, Andean, and Amazonian people have arisen as one group to confront national leaders in Ecuador, even contributing to the ousting of several national presidents.

Alternative modernity is the idea that one can live in the contemporary world but adhere to cultural values and social practices at odds with the dictums of dominant modernity, where racial stratification, profit seeking, and

forced conformity define an ideal way of life. Indigenous nationalities reflect the notion of alternatives in modern life, as do celebrations of Kwanzaa by North American African Americans near the time of the winter solstice. Indigenous nationality is an alternative to standardized, Western nationalist life, and Kwanzaa is an alternative to Christmas and Hanukah.

In Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador, many Andean indigenous peoples present themselves as Inca (or Inka), not as remnants of a conquered people, but as people transformed in the twentieth and twenty-first century as self-determined peoples in control of their own lives. In Andean Ecuador, for example, indigenous festivals of Corpus Christi, once a blending of Catholic and local indigenous (not Incaic) traditions, have been reconfigured into a celebration of Inti Raymi, the Festival of the Sun. This festival has come to be promoted in Ecuador, the United States, Canada, and European nations as “authentic” Ecuadorian indigenous performance, and it is being adopted outside of Ecuador as essential Ecuadorian culture by people identifying as nonindigenous.

In the Amazonian region of Ecuador, however, indigenous Quichua-speakers generally reject any Incaic heritage, lumping the conquering Inca with the conquering Spanish and identifying “Andean” with a clear hierarchy, in contradistinction to individualistic and egalitarian Amazonian values. However, Andean and Amazonian people, together with various peoples of the coast, have allied repeatedly since the indigenous uprising of 1990 to proclaim themselves as united, intercultural, indigenous people opposed to the national ideology of “blending” and “hybridity.” These peoples are opposed to a national, hierarchical socioeconomic system that places them together with Afro-Ecuadorians at the bottom of the social ladder of power, privilege, and life chances. In such movements, the twin phenomena of interculturality and transculturation stand in strong relief.

#### INTERCULTURALITY AND TRANSCULTURATION

As a vibrant ideological and educational motif in many Latin American nations, interculturality lies just beneath the surface of public publications, radio broadcasts, and television presentations of the oneness of the people of a nation-state and on the vestiges of indigenous and African-descended cultures. Emerging in the 1980s and early 1990s, interculturality represents an indefatigable social movement called *interculturalidad*, which is conjoined with its seemingly paradoxical complement of reinforced cultural and ethnic boundaries. Interculturality is very different from an ethos of hybridity or social or cultural pluralism. It is multicultural, but it is also intercultural.

Interculturality stresses a movement from one cultural system to another—the phenomenon of transculturation—with the explicit purpose of understanding other ways of thought and action. Social and cultural pluralism, by contrast, stress the institutional separation forced by the *blanco* (white) elite in Latin American nations on its varied and diverse peoples. The ideologies of hybridity and pluralism are national, regional, and static, while a formal consciousness of interculturality and transculturation is local, regional, diasporic, global, and dynamic.

The transformations of ethnicity and cultural systems in the twenty-first century in the Americas have roots in the European conquest and colonization of the New World. Now, as then, people throw off their stereotypical otherness to affirm and reaffirm their own dynamic life-ways. In their assertions one finds revolt and rebellion as well as celebration and festivity. The significance of ethnogenesis and interculturality must be sought in the symbolic and pragmatic systems of people themselves, and not in the oppressive categories that continue to reflect conquest and colonial mentality.

**SEE ALSO** *Blackness in Latin America; El Mestizaje; Racial Formations.*

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## **LATINA GENDER, REPRODUCTION, AND RACE**

Race, fertility, and immigration have formed a fearsome trinity for much of United States history. During each wave of immigration, "natives" have feared that the new immigrants would have deleterious impacts on American culture and society. Predominant among these fears was that of immigrant fertility levels, which a wary public often perceived as dangerously high, and thus as a threat to the education, welfare, and medical care systems. Immigrant fertility has also been viewed as a harbinger of demographic shifts that would lead to the diminishing power of the dominant racial/ethnic group, however it was conceived at the historical moment. During the most recent wave of immigration, commonly referred to as post-1965 immigration, Latina reproduction and fertility, especially of Mexican immigrant women, has become ground zero in a war not just of words but also of public policies and laws. Indeed, anti-immigrant sentiment during the last decades of the twentieth century focused specifically on the biological and social reproductive capacities of Mexican immigrant and Mexican-origin (U.S.-born) women. This trend continued into the first decade of the twenty-first century.

### **LATINA FERTILITY AND THE "BROWNING OF AMERICA"**

The post-1965 period witnessed a continuous fertility decline among U.S. women, which has contributed to a demographic shift in which white, non-Hispanic Americans have declined as a proportion of the overall population. The concept that emerged in popular discourse in response to this demographic shift was "the browning of America." Latina reproduction and fertility has been center stage in the often vitriolic public debate over the meaning of this demographic change. National magazines, for example, have consistently represented the fertility levels of Latinas, especially Mexicans and Mexican Americans, as "dangerous," "pathological," "abnormal," and even a threat to national security. These representations of Latina fertility have been evident in two interrelated themes prevalent in the public discourse on

immigration: (1) high fertility and population growth, and (2) invasion and reconquest (Chavez 2001).

#### HIGH FERTILITY AND POPULATION GROWTH

The demographic changes to the nation's racial and ethnic composition began slowly after 1965, and they did not therefore become a central component of public discourse in the 1970s. Latina reproduction and fertility, however, were becoming an object of social-science inquiry and public concern. In the 1970s, the contribution of Latino immigrants and their children to population growth was particularly problematic for some environmental and population groups, such as Zero Population Growth, Inc. Academic researchers noted that "the fertility of Mexican Americans is substantially higher than other groups," with the average size of Mexican American families (4.4 persons) about one person larger than that of all Americans (3.5 persons per family) in 1970 (Alvarez and Bean 1976, pp. 280–281).

National magazines also warned readers of the threat of Latina reproduction. *U.S. News & World Report's* July 4, 1977, cover carried the headline: "Time Bomb in Mexico: Why There'll be No End to the Invasion of 'Illegals.'" The accompanying article clarified that the "time bomb" was Mexico's population and its expected growth rate. The article stressed that the fertility of Mexicans, combined with Mexico's inability to produce jobs for its population, would lead to greater pressure for immigration to the United States in the future. Although the story drew the reader's attention to the external threat posed by the reproductive capacity of Mexican women, the internal threat posed by their U.S.-born children's high fertility levels were also implicated in the rapidly growing U.S. Latino population.

In the 1980s, stories about the growth of the U.S. Latino population were often paired with stories about the decline in immigrants from Europe and the declining proportion of whites in the U.S. population. For example, *Newsweek's* January 17, 1983, issue reported that the number of Latinos in the United States grew by 61 percent between 1970 and 1980. This growth was attributed to immigration and higher fertility rates, and to the fact that since the mid-1960s there were 46.4 percent fewer immigrants from Europe. The fertility rates of immigrant Latinas and U.S.-born Latinas were characterized as "high" and responsible for demographic changes occurring in the nation's racial composition. For example, John Tanton—an ophthalmologist from Michigan who had been president of Zero Population Growth, a cofounder of the Federation for American Immigration Reform in 1979, and an ardent promoter of population control, restricting immigration, and making English the

official language of the United States—wrote a now infamous memorandum in 1988 about Latina fertility and "the Latin onslaught." He asked, "Will Latin American immigrants bring with them the tradition of the *mordida* (bribe), the lack of involvement in public affairs, etc.? Will the present majority peaceably hand over its political power to a group that is simply more fertile? . . . On the demographic point: Perhaps this is the first instance in which those with their pants up are going to get caught by those with their pants down!" (Conniff 1993, p. 24).

By the 1990s, "race" and "multiculturalism" had become dominant themes in U.S. public discourse about the changing composition of the nation's population. For example, in its April 9, 1990, issue, *Time* magazine focused on the implications of the United States becoming a multi-racial and multicultural society, with no single social group demographically dominant. As *Time* put it: "The 'browning of America' will alter everything in society, from politics and education to industry, values and culture. . . . The deeper significance of America becoming a majority non-white society is what it means to the national psyche, to individuals' sense of themselves and the nation—their idea of what it is to be American." (Henry 1990, p. 31).

Public concern over Latina reproduction has led to changes in public policy. Proposition 187, the "Save Our State" initiative on the 1994 California ballot, sought to control undocumented immigration by eliminating education, certain social services, and medical care for pregnant undocumented women and their children. Bette Hammond, one of the organizers of Proposition 187, explained the reason for the initiative: "They come here, they have their babies, and after that they become citizens and all those children use social services" (quoted in Kadetsky 1994, p. 418). Proposition 187 was passed overwhelmingly by the California voters, but most of its key components were later deemed unconstitutional by the courts. At about the same time, California's governor, Pete Wilson, made denying undocumented immigrant women prenatal care a top priority of his administration. The 1996 federal welfare reform law also denied many medical and social services to immigrants, including women.

In 2004, Samuel P. Huntington, a professor at Harvard University, repeated what had become a three-decades-long national narrative about the threat posed by Latina fertility. Writing in *Foreign Policy*, Huntington noted: "In this new era, the single most immediate and most serious challenge to America's traditional identity comes from the immense and continuing immigration from Latin America, especially from Mexico, and the fertility rates of those immigrants compared to black and white American natives" (Huntington 2004, p. 32).

## INVASION AND RECONQUEST

The threat posed by Latina biological and social reproduction is central to the second theme in the public discourse: the Mexican “invasion,” or “reconquest,” of the southwestern United States. Key to this theme is evoking the ideology of the Quebec separatist movement, whereby French-speaking Canadians sought separation from English-speaking Canada. The Quebec separatist movement has provided the lens through which Mexican-origin population growth has been viewed (and its threat elaborated) over decades of public discourse. It is important to note that although the reconquest theme is repeated over and over, no empirical evidence for such a movement is provided.

The reconquest theme surfaced in the *U.S. News & World Report's* December 13, 1976, issue, which featured the headline “Crisis across the Borders: Meaning to U.S.” The cover’s image is a map of North America with two arrows, both beginning in the United States, one pointing to Mexico and one pointing to Canada. The problem in Canada was Quebec, where many French-speaking residents were pushing for greater sovereignty and even separation from the English-speaking provinces. The problem in Mexico was the economic crisis and the pressure for increased migration to the United States.

The “Mexican invasion” theme has often been intertwined with Latina biological and social reproduction and the overuse by this population of social services. Both *U.S. News & World Report* (March 7, 1983) and *Newsweek* (June 25, 1984) published covers that serve as examples. *U.S. News & World Report's* cover announced: “Invasion from Mexico: It Just Keeps Growing.” The image on the cover was a photograph of a line of men and women being carried by men across a canal of water. At the head of the line was a woman being carried to the United States on the shoulders of a man. *Newsweek* had a similar cover, a photographic image of a man carrying a woman across a shallow body of water. The woman is wearing a headscarf and a long shawl. The man carries the woman’s handbag, which suggests she is traveling somewhere, moving with a purpose and intending to stay for an extended amount of time. She holds a walking cane. The caption states: “Closing the Door? The Angry Debate over Illegal Immigration.”

Featuring women so prominently on the covers of these two national magazines and warning of an “invasion” sends a clear message about fertility and reproduction. Rather than an invading army, or even the stereotypical male migrant worker, the images suggest a more insidious invasion, one that includes the capacity of the invaders to reproduce themselves. The women being carried into U.S. territory carry with them the seeds of future generations. The images signal not simply a concern over undocumented workers, but also a concern

with immigrants who stay and reproduce families and, by extension, communities in the United States. These images, and their accompanying articles, allude to issues of population growth and the use of prenatal care, children’s health services, education, and other social services related to reproduction.

Reproduction, immigration, and “reconquest” come together in *U.S. News & World Report's* cover of August 19, 1985. Its headline announces: “The Disappearing Border: Will the Mexican Migration Create a New Nation?” The accompanying article provides a fully embellished rendition of the “reconquest” theme:

Now sounds the march of new conquistadors in the American Southwest... By might of numbers and strength of culture, Hispanics are changing the politics, economy and language in the U.S. states that border Mexico. Their movement is, despite its quiet and largely peaceful nature, both an invasion and a revolt. At the vanguard are those born here, whose roots are generations deep, who long endured Anglo dominance and rule and who are ascending within the U.S. system to take power they consider their birthright. Behind them comes an unstoppable mass—their kin from below the border who also claim ancestral homelands in the Southwest, which was the northern half of Mexico until the U.S. took it away in the mid-1800s. (Lang and Thornton, p. 30)

In 2000, Samuel P. Huntington repeated the alarm of a Mexican reconquest when he wrote the following: “The invasion of over 1 million Mexican civilians is a comparable threat [as 1 million Mexican soldiers] to American societal security, and Americans should react against it with comparable vigor. Mexican immigration looms as a unique and disturbing challenge to our cultural integrity, our national identity, and potentially to our future as a country” (Huntington 2000, p. 22).

The persistent focus in popular discourse on immigration is on Latina fertility and reproduction (both biological and social). U.S.-born Latinas and Latin American immigrants, according to this discourse, have extreme, even dangerous, levels of fertility in comparison to an “imagined” native population.

## LATINA FERTILITY RECONSIDERED

The racialization of fertility and reproduction reinforces a characterization of white Americans as *the* legitimate Americans who are being supplanted demographically by less-legitimate Latinas. The characterization of Latina reproduction and fertility as a threat to U.S. society, culture, and demographic stability is one that has been repeated often and developed along various dimensions over many decades. These characterizations are propelled by powerful stereotypes that can make it difficult to

perceive contrary evidence. Indeed, empirical data on Latina reproductive behavior may not be able to refute the deeply-held beliefs upon which these cataclysmic stories of threat, doom, and destruction are based.

However, it must be noted that Latinas are not static when it comes to fertility. Like other women in the United States, Mexico, and the world in general, Latinas have sometimes experienced rather dramatic declines in fertility. In Mexico, for example, fertility rates declined from 7 to 8 children per woman in the pre-1970 period to 4.4 children per woman in 1980, to 3.8 children in 1986, to 3.4 in 1990, and to 2.4 in 2000 (Hirsch 1998, pp. 540-541; Zuniga et al. 2000). In addition, declines in fertility are undoubtedly greater for younger Mexican women than these averages indicate.

In the United States, the fertility of Mexican-origin women has also declined dramatically. David Alvarez and Frank Bean associate this trend with urbanization and social mobility. The average size of Mexican-American families in 1970 was about one person larger than the 3.5 persons per family for all Americans at the time. By the late 1990s, all Mexican-origin women in the United States between 18 and 44 years of age had 1.81 children, well below the zero population level. Non-Hispanic white women between the same ages had 1.27 children at this time (Bean et al. 2000; Chavez 2004). When examining the fertility of the children of immigrants, second-generation, Mexican-American women had 1.4 children per woman in the late 1990s, much closer to the fertility of non-Hispanic white women (Bean, Swicegood, and Berg 2000). Moreover, research has shown that age, education, marital status and increasing facility with English are better than ethnicity (i.e., being Latina or non-Hispanic white) as predictors of whether women will have more or less children (Chavez 2004).

Despite such information, Latino reproduction is often viewed in the popular imagination as a threat, mainly because it is conflated with the decline in the reproduction of the white population. The specter of fewer white Americans and more Latinos in the United States is represented in ways that play to the fears of the general population. It is as if races are buckets, and that as one fills up the other drains out. The social and cultural construction of "races" posits firm boundaries between categories. But such boundaries are increasingly porous, intermixing, and disappearing. Perhaps the real threat of Latino reproduction is that it exposes the limitations and contradictions of racial categories that evolved during previous economic, social, and demographic contexts, but which no longer fit the realities of the early twenty-first century.

SEE ALSO *Caribbean Immigration; Day Laborers, Latino, Illegal Alien; Immigrant Domestic Workers; Immigration, Race, and Women; Immigration Reform*

*and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA); Immigration to the United States; Mexicans; Motherhood; Nativism.*

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## LATINO SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Latinos in the United States have been involved with numerous social movements over the past 150 years. Despite legislation that granted them full legal, political, and social rights, Latinos (mostly Mexicans during this particular time period) became "second-class" citizens after the U.S.-Mexico War ended in 1848. They faced widespread discrimination in housing, education, and employment, which severely limited their opportunities for social mobility. These harsh conditions (which came close to those that African Americans encountered in the South after the Civil War) sparked the establishment of various labor, immigrant rights, feminist, and political organizations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

### LULAC, MENDEZ, AND THE STRUGGLE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

The League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) was founded in Corpus Christi, Texas, in 1929 (Kaplowitz 2005). LULAC might be best understood as the Chicano/Latino version of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), an interracial organization that African-American scholar, writer, and activist W.E.B. Du Bois helped form in 1905 (Jonas 2004). The NAACP challenged segregation through legal means, largely eschewing civil disobedience and nonviolent direct action. It also did not critique nor call for the abolition of capitalism, nor did it openly question U.S. foreign policy before and after World War II, though some black scholars and activists claimed these policies were racist and imperialist (Von Eschen 1997). The

NAACP also included many middle-class individuals who favored segregation's demise but rejected calls for more radical social change.

These positions generally mirrored LULAC's political orientation. LULAC actively resisted segregation through the courts, playing a key role in the landmark 1946 *Mendez v. Westminster School District* decision that ruled that California's segregated public school system was unconstitutional. NAACP lead counsel Thurgood Marshall later cited *Mendez* as a precedent when and he and his fellow colleagues argued the *Brown v. Board of Education* case before the United States Supreme Court in 1954 (Johnson 2005; Robbie 2002). The *Mendez* case thus helped reshape the entire nation.

### SECOND-CLASS CITIZENS

Mexicans were called "greasers," "*cholos*," "bloodthirsty savages," and other demeaning epithets for decades after the U.S.-Mexico War. Vigilante groups regularly hunted down Mexicans and lynched them without any legal proceedings. The legal system was largely based on "gringo justice," and the implicit assumption was that Mexican Americans constituted a separate, inferior "race" that did not deserve equal treatment under the law. The United States used this same ideology during the U.S.-Mexico War, claiming it was their "Manifest Destiny" to take territory controlled by "uncivilized people" (Horsman 1981).

LULAC believed that Mexicans-Americans were neither inferior nor uncivilized. They flatly stated that they were American citizens and should receive equal, fair, and just treatment. To achieve that goal, LULAC's leaders pushed for incremental social change through legal reforms, but it distanced itself from more militant positions. LULAC implicitly assumed that Mexican Americans would become assimilated and accepted over time by becoming more Americanized. English, therefore, became LULAC's official language. LULAC also called for stricter immigration controls and, unlike the Spanish-Speaking People's Congress, a much more radical Mexican-American organization that maintained close ties with the Communist Party in the late 1930s, it did not play an active role in organizing the labor unions that included mostly Mexican-American workers. LULAC also did not challenge political repression (e.g., McCarthyism), and it supported an anti-immigrant program called Operation Wetback in the mid-1950s. The organization also largely excluded women from leadership positions, even though some, such as Alice Dickerson Montemayor, fought for greater inclusion (Orozco 1997).

Most Chicano scholars and activists in the 1960s criticized LULAC for taking these fairly conservative positions, asserting that the organization was too tepid and





**LULAC President Hector M. Flores, 2006.** *The League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), founded in 1929, was one of the first organizations established to address Latino issues.* AP IMAGES.

mainstream. Some even called LULAC members “*vendidos*,” or “sell-outs.” This assessment was probably too harsh, however, because LULAC helped dismantle school segregation and racially based jury discrimination, though it did very little to transform the harsh lives of working-class Mexican Americans who faced sweatshop conditions in factories and fields all over the United States.

#### MEXICAN AMERICANS AND UNIONS

Between the 1930s and 1950s, two organizations—the Spanish-Speaking People’s Congress (also known as *El Congreso*) and the *Asociacion Nacional Mexico-Americana* (National Association of Mexican-Americans [ANMA])—focused on organizing and supporting union campaigns that primarily involved Mexican Americans. Luisa Moreno and Josefina Fierro de Bright were *El Congreso*’s two most notable activists. Moreno, a native-born Guatemalan, focused her efforts on organizing agricultural workers in California and Texas, while Fierro de Bright concentrated on fighting racial discrimination in Los Angeles (Ruiz 2004). Moreno helped organize, for instance, the Sleepy Lagoon Defense Committee (SLDC) to fight for the release of eleven Mexican Americans and one Euro American who had been falsely prosecuted for the murder of José Diaz in August 1942. The SLDC was a multiracial coalition that

received financial support mostly from labor unions affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), a progressive labor federation that emerged in the 1930s (Barajas 2006).

CIO-affiliated unions spearheaded numerous campaigns involving Mexican Americans in the Midwest and Southwest in the middle and late 1930s. The United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing, and Allied Workers of America (UCAPAWA), for example, targeted workers in pecan-shelling plants in San Antonio, Texas. Emma Tenayuca, a young Mexican-American woman, led this campaign, organizing a strike that included 10,000 workers in 1938. Tenayuca and her Euro-American husband, Homer Brooks (who both were Communist Party members), wrote a crucial pamphlet during that two-week strike called “The Mexican Question in the Southwest.” They claimed that Mexican Americans were not an “oppressed national minority” within the United States, and that they should, therefore, form alliances with working-class people of all racial backgrounds to create a “united front against fascism” (Vargas 2005).

These various elements indicate that the historical period that preceded the Chicano movement was ideologically and politically diverse. Moderate groups such as LULAC and the American GI Forum, which was created in the late 1940s to protest the interment of the World War II veteran Felix Longoria in a segregated cemetery in Texas, resisted racial discrimination, but they generally overlooked issues such as economic and class exploitation (Carroll 2003). The International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers opposed this trend, however. “Mine-Mill” (as many called it) was one of eleven Left-leaning unions that the CIO purged in the late 1940s (the federation became increasingly conservative as the cold war between the United States and the Soviet Union, erstwhile allies during World War II, heated up). Despite being ousted from the CIO, Mine-Mill remained active, organizing a miners’ strike in Bayard, New Mexico, that was immortalized in the classic blacklisted 1954 film *Salt of the Earth*. The National Association of Mexican Americans (ANMA) supported the strike and the making of the film, but McCarthyism and the ensuing “Red Scare” dramatically weakened Mine-Mill and ANMA (Lorence 1999). Political repression effectively drove *Salt of the Earth* underground over the next two decades and virtually wiped out the Mexican-American Left, leaving more politically mainstream organizations such as LULAC and the American GI Forum intact.

#### THE CHICANO MOVEMENT

LULAC and the American GI Forum were the most influential Mexican-American civil rights organizations in the late 1950s and early 1960s, but their prominence

soon faded. The Mexican American Political Association (MAPA), Viva Kennedy clubs, the Political Association of Spanish-Speaking Organizations (PASSO), the National Farm Worker Association (NFWA), and *Alianza Federal de las Mercedes* were all established between 1959 and 1963. George Mariscal, the director of the Chicano/Latino/Arts and Humanities Program at the University of California, San Diego, contends that these groups marked the emergence of a new “more militant ethnicity-based politics throughout the Southwest” (Mariscal 2005, p. 7). The United Farm Workers (UFW) probably symbolized this trend more than any other organization.

Back-breaking conditions, very low pay, no bathrooms or drinking water, and an overall lack of respect and dignity for workers, among other factors, sparked the union’s formation in 1965 (Ferriss and Sandoval 1997). Filipino and Mexican farm workers, harvesting table grapes, launched the UFW’s first strike—the infamous *huelga* and eventual boycott that lasted five years and resulted in contracts that guaranteed better wages and working conditions. Larry Itilong, Phillip Vera Cruz, Dolores Huerta, Jessie de la Cruz, Gilbert Padilla, Eliseo Medina, Marshall Ganz, and César Chávez were some of the union’s key leaders (Scharlin and Villanueva 1997). Chávez was a former farm worker himself, and he was an organizer with the Community Service Organization (CSO) for ten years. He left the CSO in 1962 and helped establish the NFWA, the UFW’s predecessor.

Much has been written about César Chávez and the UFW. Chávez was not a fiery or charismatic speaker, but he was a deeply spiritual person who moved people through his humble demeanor and savvy organizing skills. He understood quite well how culture and memory could facilitate social movements. Chávez therefore suggested that the UFW be established on September 16, Mexican Independence Day (Ferriss and Sandoval 1997). That strategic decision tied together, in a rather subtle manner, Mexico’s struggle for independence from colonial rule and the farm workers’ struggle for independence from exploitative working conditions. Chávez also personally helped create the UFW’s trademark red-and-black eagle flag. He purposefully chose the eagle because it closely resembled the indigenous pyramids outside Mexico City, while the colors were chosen because most Mexican-based unions used them while they were on strike. Red and black also symbolize revolution and anarchy, respectively.

Despite these connotations, the UFW was not a radical organization. The union struggled for better wages and working conditions through strikes, boycotts, marches, fasts, and improvisational (“guerrilla”) theater, particularly through *El Teatro Campesino* (the Farm

Workers’ Theater). The UFW consistently displayed banners depicting the Virgen de Guadalupe during their demonstrations, including the 250-mile pilgrimage from Delano to Sacramento held in 1966. The El Teatro Campesino leader, Luis Valdez, famously stated that the images showed the public that the union’s members were “followers of the Virgin Mary, not Karl Marx” (Ferriss and Sandoval 1997). The UFW also formed close alliances with liberal Democrats such as Robert F. Kennedy.

The UFW was thus militant, but it was also a fairly reformist, organization. The Crusade for Justice, Alianza Federal de las Mercedes, La Raza Unida Party, Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (MEChA), and the Brown Berets, in contrast, were seen as more radical than the UFW. They gained that reputation because they rejected the label “Mexican American” as being too closely associated with “conservative” groups such as LULAC and the American GI Forum. “Chicano” was the collective identity that these new organizations preferred. Most older and middle-aged Mexican Americans shunned the label “Chicano,” however, because they associated it with backwardness, inferiority, and indignity. But younger Chicanas and Chicanos transformed those meanings into something that connoted cultural pride, militancy, and political engagement (Munoz 1989). In the same way that lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender activists took the epithet “queer” and turned into a positive, politicized, and self-affirming identity, Chicanas and Chicanos transformed “Chicano.”

These new groups were also seen as more radical because they claimed that Chicanos were a people or nation that had a shared history, culture, and language. They asserted that Chicanos had been historically oppressed for decades, if not centuries, and that they had bravely resisted and struggled for their liberation. The Crusade for Justice leader Rodolfo (“Corky”) Gonzales excavated that “genealogy of resistance” in his epic, masculine-oriented poem *Yo Soy Joaquín* (I Am Joaquín). *Joaquín* and *El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán* (The Spiritual Plan of Aztlán) implicitly claimed that Chicanos were “brown-eyed children of the sun” who would obtain their freedom once they “reclaimed Aztlán” (Mariscal 2005). Aztlán was the mythical homeland of the Aztecs who migrated from the U.S. Southwest to Mexico City in 1325. The United States, of course, captured the Southwest from Mexico in the 1840s during the U.S.-Mexico War.

In 1967, taking the story of Aztlán literally, a group of Chicanos (or *Hispanos*, as they are sometimes called) associated with Reies López Tijerina’s New Mexico-based Alianza Federal de las Mercedes (or La Alianza for short) walked into a courthouse in Tierra Amarilla, New Mexico, with guns to claim lands granted under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. For the Denver-based

Crusade for Justice, “reclaiming Aztlán” meant controlling local school boards, community-based organizations, police review panels, city councils, businesses, and so on. For still others, “reclaiming Aztlán” became associated with resisting police brutality, tracking students into non-college prep courses, high drop-out (or “push-out”) rates, and Eurocentric history. Ten thousand Chicano high school students from East Los Angeles were focused mostly on the latter three issues when they walked out of their classes in March 1968, chanting “blow-out” and “Chicano power” (Bernal 1997; Haney-López 2003).

Those demonstrations took place alongside growing dissatisfaction with the Vietnam War. Chicanos, like African-Americans and working-class whites, were disproportionately drafted at high rates into the armed services and suffered high casualty rates (Oropeza 2005). To protest these conditions, and partially to express solidarity with the Vietnamese people and their struggle for national liberation, activists organized the Chicano Anti-War Moratorium in East Los Angeles on August 29, 1970. This peaceful march included 25,000 people. It ended tragically, however, when the Los Angeles Police Department shot and killed three people, including the Chicano journalist Ruben Salazar, who worked as a reporter for the *Los Angeles Times* and had criticized the Vietnam War (García 1994).

Salazar’s death, combined with the Black Power, anti-war, and student movements in the United States and the national liberation, anti-imperialist struggles outside the United States, radicalized the Chicano movement. Some activists started questioning cultural nationalism, the *movimiento*’s prevailing ideology, for focusing too heavily on race while virtually ignoring class. Those who held this viewpoint turned towards Marxism and suggested that there was no fundamental difference between Mexican Americans and Mexicans. They therefore rejected the “Chicano” label and maintained that Mexican Americans and Mexicans were all “Mexicans” who faced a common foe—capitalism (Pulido 2005).

This was the ideological perspective behind Centro de Acción Social Autónomo (The Center of Autonomous Social Action, or CASA). CASA’s key slogans were “*el pueblo unido, jamás será vencido*” (the people united, will never be divided) and “*sin fronteras*” (without borders). CASA activists focused on labor-organizing campaigns that mostly included undocumented workers in Southern California, and they opposed anti-immigrant legislation. CASA was also heavily involved with cases involving police brutality and the forced sterilization of Mexican women (E. Chávez 2002; M. Chávez 2000). Bert Corona, a former labor organizer with the CIO in the 1930s, a socialist, and a member of the SLDC, was one of CASA’s founding members (García 1994).

CASA and the August Twenty-Ninth Movement (ATM—a small, Maoist-inspired organization that claimed Mexican-Americans were “Chicanos” and that they constituted a “nation” struggling against capitalism and colonialism) represented the Chicano Left. These organizations gained many committed followers, but they clashed ideologically and never really expanded their activities very far outside the greater Los Angeles area. Both groups eventually disbanded—CASA in 1978 and ATM in 1982.

Most scholars maintain that the *movimiento* ended around 1975, the same year that the Vietnam War ended. They also primarily focus on the so-called four horsemen—César Chávez, Reies López Tijerina, Corky Gonzalez, and José Angel Gutiérrez—and the organizations that they led—UFW, Alianza Federal, Crusade for Justice, and La Raza Unida Party, respectively. These scholars also largely view the Chicano movement through a binary ideological lens; that is, as being either liberal or nationalist. These assumptions have been challenged, however.

The Chicano movement lasted until the late 1970s and early 1980s, and it included both socialist organizations (CASA and ATM) and religious ones (Católicos por la Raza, Priests Associated for Religious, Educational, and Social Rights [PADRES], and Las Hermanas). Research done since the early 1990s (e.g., E. Chávez 2002; Mariscal 2005; Medina 2004; R. Martínez 2005) demonstrates that the Chicano movement was actually a “movement of movements” (to borrow language from the contemporary global justice movement) that included many different actors, ideologies, organizations, and regional or spatial locations. These studies should be praised for making these contributions, but with one exception, they overlook gender and sexuality.

#### WOMEN AND THE MOVIMIENTO

Much has been said about the sexism and heterosexism that were embedded within the movements that made up the larger Chicano movement. Drawing upon pioneering Chicana scholars, writers, and activists such as Gloria Anzaldúa, Cherrie Moraga, Anna Nieto-Gómez, Chela Sandoval, Emma Perez, Carla Trujillo, and many other U.S. “Third World women,” Maylei Blackwell persuasively contends in *Geographies of Difference* (2000) the movement’s dominant ideology, cultural nationalism, privileged heterosexual masculine subjects, and heroes. When Chicanas were represented, they were portrayed either as traditional mothers, holding together overly romanticized notions of *la familia* (the family), or as brave *soldaderas* (soldiers) fighting during the Mexican Revolution in the 1910s. These images existed alongside ones depicting Chicanas as helpless Aztec goddesses being

carried by strong Aztec gods. These patriarchal representations were extremely problematic because they circumscribed Chicana agency, but even more troubling were the numerous texts that never even mentioned Chicanas. Blackwell calls this process the “mechanics of erasure.”

Mexicanas, Mexican-American women, and Chicanas have been, until quite recently, literally erased from most Chicano movement-oriented texts. Despite being virtually forced into cooking, typing, and even making love, numerous studies have showed that Chicanas were deeply involved with the UFW, Brown Berets, the East Los Angeles high school blow-outs, CASA, La Raza Unida, MEChA, and the Crusade for Justice (Bernal 1997; M. Chávez 2000; Espinoza 2001). This participation was often divided: Either Chicanas submerged gender-based concerns and worked alongside Chicanos in order to “reclaim Aztlán,” or they claimed that racism and sexism should be challenged simultaneously. The women who fell into the first category were called “loyalists,” while those who fell into the latter group were called “*vendidas*,” or “sell-outs” (Ruiz 1998). These Chicana activists often faced tremendous harassment from some of their male counterparts.

The Chicana student leader Anna Nieto-Gómez, for example, was the “democratically elected” MEChA president in 1969-1970, but some male activists opposed her, holding clandestine meetings and hanging women activists in effigy. Dionne Espinoza’s research documents the mass resignation of every single Chicana member of the East Los Angeles chapter of the Brown Berets because of its sexist practices. Marisela Chávez similarly found that most men within CASA retained public leadership roles, while women did behind-the-scenes tasks such as fundraising and writing newspaper articles. During the April 1969 *El Plan de Santa Barbara* conference, Yolanda García helped type the actual plan (a blueprint for creating Chicano Studies programs and incorporating Chicanas/os into institutions of higher education), but the text never mentioned her name.

These incidents, and many more just like them, demonstrate that various organizations or movements within the larger *movimiento* marginalized women. Despite these activities, Chicana activists did not back down. On the contrary, some established new organizations that challenged race, class, and gender inequality. Anna Nieto-Gómez and her female colleagues at California State University, Long Beach, for instance, formed a Chicana feminist group called *Hijas de Cuahutémoc* (and created a newspaper with the same name) in 1971. *Hijas* (the newspaper) became *Encuentro Femenil* two years later. Other Chicana organizations founded in the late 1960s and early 1970s include the Chicana Welfare Rights Organization, *La Adelitas de Aztlán*, and *Comisión*

*Femenil Mexicana Nacional* (Blackwell 2000). Chicanas were also critical in community papers such as *El Grito del Norte* and *Regeneración* and feminist journals like *La Comadre*, *Hembra*, *Imágenes de la Chicana*, and *La Cosecha* (Blackwell 2000).

These organizations and publications laid the foundation for extensive writings published by Chicanas (straight and queer) in the late 1970s and early 1980s, the most notable one being Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa’s classic co-edited anthology, *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings By Radical Women of Color* (1981). The publication of *This Bridge*, combined with the establishment of *Mujeres Activas en Letras y Cambio Social* (MALCS, Women Active in Research and Social Change) in 1983 and community-based groups such as the Mothers of East Los Angeles (who successfully blocked the construction of a prison and a toxic incinerator plant) in 1984, provides evidence against the widely accepted assumption that the Chicano movement declined in 1975. Seen from a masculine viewpoint, this analysis may seem valid, but seen from various feminist and queer standpoints the movement did not end in the mid-1970s.

On the contrary, while many scholars bemoan the movement’s demise in the mid-1970s, feminist and queer writers and activists emphasize that it “took off” at that time. Horacio Roque Ramírez’s research on the San Francisco-based Gay Latino Alliance (GALA) illustrates this point quite clearly. GALA was established in 1975, the very year the movement was supposedly falling apart. Luis Aponte-Páres and Jorge Merced, in “Páginas Omitidas: The Gay and Lesbian Presence” (1998), and Horacio Roque Ramírez, in “That’s My Place!” (2003), note that groups such as Third World Gay Liberation, *El Comité de Orgullo Homosexual Latino-Americano*, *Comunidad de Orgullo Gay*, and Greater Liberated Chicanos also emerged before and around the same time period as GALA. In the 1980s, *Latinas Lesbianas Unidas*, *Ellas*, and the National Latina and Latino Lesbian and Gay Organization (LLEGO) were created (Chávez-Leyva 2000).

## MARGINALIZED MOVEMENTS

Chicana feminist and queer movements and writings have occasionally sparked a negative backlash. Some scholars apparently long for the “good old days” when gender and sexuality were not substantively addressed and the movement was militant and male-centered. Maylei Blackwell criticizes this approach because while militancy is still sorely needed, women and queers can no longer be excluded.

Nor, one might add, can “other” Latinos be marginalized any longer. For many years, and in the early twenty-first century, most Chicana/o studies scholarship

and activism has largely ignored Latino-based social movements such as the Young Lords Party. There are several studies on the Young Lords, which was patterned after the Black Panther Party and existed in Chicago, New York City, and Philadelphia in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Melendez 2003; Morales 1998; Torres and Velásquez 1998). The Young Lords challenged racism through programs that “served the people” (e.g., conducting tuberculosis testing, establishing a free breakfast and clothing program), and rhetorically called for gender equality, but sexism and ideological conflicts plagued the organization. The Young Lords also embraced the Puerto Rican independence movement, and the group was later infiltrated by COINTELPRO, the FBI’s notorious counterintelligence program. Puerto Rican activists also formed the Puerto Rican Student Union, the Puerto Rican National Left Movement, and the U.S. branch of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (*Partido Socialista Puertrorriqueño*, or PSP), in the 1970s. The latter organization formed close ties with CASA, but it did not address sexuality and gender, leading some PSP members to form their own organizations within the party or leave it altogether.

Some writers have also examined the Central American solidarity movement of the 1980s. This movement emerged from the United States’ support for authoritarian, right-wing governments in Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Honduras in the late 1970s and early 1980s (Davidson 1988; Golden and McConnell 1986; Nepstad 2004; Smith 1996). Based on cold-war, anticommunist logic, the United States provided these countries with extensive military aid, despite the fact that it was used to brutally massacre, torture, and disappear hundreds of thousands of people during this time period.

Many Central Americans fled to the United States and Canada, where they sought refuge inside progressive Protestant and Catholic churches. A number of activists (mostly white, but also some Chicana/o activists such as Father Luis Olivares) were involved with this movement, which operated like a modern-day underground railroad (Davidson 1988; Golden and McConnell 1986). Whereas various groups such as *El Rescate*, the Committee in Solidarity with the Salvadoran People (CISPES), and the Central American Resource Center (CARECEN) emerged in the 1980s, not much has been written about Central Americans who participated in the solidarity movement. Central Americans have been rather extensively examined, however, in novels such as Demetria Martínez’s *Mother Tongue* (1994) and films including Gregory Nava’s *El Norte* (1983), *Mi Familia* (1995), and Cheech Marin’s *Born in East L.A.* (1987).

## LATINO MOVEMENTS IN THE 1990S AND BEYOND

In the 1990s, Latina/o social movements emerged around numerous issues; the most notable ones seemingly being immigration, globalization, and gender violence. In 1994, three events took place simultaneously—the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) went into effect, Operation Gatekeeper was introduced, and the Zapatista National Liberation Army came out into the open. These issues were all interrelated. NAFTA deepened the economic crisis in Mexico that started in the early 1980s, sparking significant migration throughout the decade and into the 1990s. Operation Gatekeeper was designed to curtail that migratory wave through an increase in border patrol agents and high-technology equipment. The Zapatistas challenged NAFTA because they understood how U.S. policies were driving *campesinos* off their lands and pushing them north as migrants looking for work.

The debate over NAFTA intersected with the “femicide” in Ciudad Juarez, Mexico, in the 1990s. Over a ten-year period, about 500 women, many of whom worked in *maquiladora* factories making products for U.S.-based corporations, were brutally murdered. These cases have not yet been solved, and a vibrant transnational social movement involving Chicanas, Latinas, and Mexican women has been established. The Zapatistas have also attracted tremendous attention from Chicanas/os and Latinas/os, and especially white social-justice activists.

The broader movement that the Zapatistas are loosely affiliated with has gained great momentum since 2001, when activists from all over the world met in Porto Alegre, Brazil, for the first World Social Forum. The Forum’s motto is “Another World Is Possible.” With war raging across Iraq and the Middle East and billions living in poverty and misery, one can only hope that this slogan will become a reality, and that, in the Zapatistas’ words, a “world where many worlds fit” will finally be established.

**SEE ALSO** *Anzaldúa, Gloria; Chávez, César Estrada; Corona, Bert; La Raza; Labor Market, Informal; Zapatista Rebellion.*

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Ralph Armbruster-Sandoval

## LATINOS

The rapid growth of the Latino population was one of the key features of the American landscape in the last part of the twentieth century. All population projections show that the Hispanic population will continue to grow rapidly. Latinos do not fit easily into the racial framework as it is socially constructed in most of the United States, especially outside the Southwest and California. Most of the country has a bipolar racial structure—black and white. Secondarily, the bipolar structure is white and nonwhite (the latter including Asian, Native American, and African American, in that order from highest to lowest status). The construction of race differs between the United States and Latin America in terms of fluidity, degrees and social recognition of race mixture, and the mitigation of racial discrimination by social class. Many Latinos are mestizos—the result of the mixture of European colonizers and the indigenous population. Phenotypically, their appearance ranges from light “white” skin with European hair types and facial features to very dark skin with indigenous characteristics. Many Latinos have African ancestors and a few have immediate Asian ancestors. Many Latinos can phenotypically be distinguished from Anglos (white non-Latinos) on the basis of their physical appearance, as well as other identity markers.

### THE RACIALIZATION OF LATINOS

Michael Omi and Howard Winant define racial formation as “the process by which social, economic and political forces determine the content and importance of racial categories, and by which they are in turn shaped by racial meanings” (1994, pp. 61–62). “The meaning of race is defined and contested throughout society. . . . In the process, racial categories are themselves formed, transformed, destroyed and re-formed.” Importantly, race is a social and historical construct. The term *racialization* describes “the

extension of racial meaning to a previously racially unclassified relationship, social practice or group” (1994, pp. 64–65). This process describes the racial situation of Latino immigrants in new receiving areas. Even though they exhibit a range of appearances, birthplaces, and legal statuses, through the process of racialization they are lumped together as “Mexicans”—a subordinate, nonwhite group who, because of their frequently presumed illegal status, have been denied claims to the rights and privileges that Anglos take for granted. The label *Mexican* appropriately applies to Mexican citizens, and the fact that many Latinos have had this label applied to them even if they were U.S. citizens or the U.S.-born children of U.S.-born parents confirms their racialization. The meanings attached to their distinguishing characteristics have been key in determining where they lived, what work they could do, their privileges as citizens, and the educational opportunities available to their children.

### DISCRIMINATION

Latino civil rights have faced severe restrictions since the mid-nineteenth century. Observers of that period found that the Mexican-origin residents of Texas were subject to prejudice and contempt. This ignominious beginning of restricted Latino civil rights in the United States was the foundation for other gross civil rights violations in the twentieth century, such as blocked access to the ballot box, de jure segregation into inferior schools, residential segregation, and widespread employment discrimination.

Such violations of civil rights are not only part of Latino history. There are several instances of late-twentieth- and early-twenty-first-century social science research that provide very strong evidence of present-day discrimination against Latinos in many areas. For example, researchers have found that among defendants, sentences of Hispanics resemble those of blacks and tend to be harsher than the sentences of whites (Demuth and Steffensmeier 2004; HRW 1997). A number of matched-pair “audits” where Anglos and Latinos with substantively identical credentials apply for jobs, housing, or mortgage loans convincingly show a high degree of discrimination against Latinos (Bendick et al. 1992; Cross et al. 1990).

Latinos are far from attaining equal access to higher education. Since the early 1970s, the Latino proportion of the U.S. college-aged population—those between eighteen and twenty-four years old—has more than doubled. However, the proportion of Latinos among all B.A. degree recipients has increased at a much lower rate. Jorge Chapa and Belinda De La Rosa found, for example, that in 2002, 43 percent of all Latino adults had less than a high school education, compared with 16 percent of all adults. Similarly, 8 percent of Latino adults had a bachelor’s degree and 3 percent had an advanced degree,

compared to 18 percent of the total population with a bachelor's and 9 percent with advanced degrees (Chapa and De La Rosa 2004). Similarly, the percentage of Latino high school graduates ever enrolled in college has decreased since the mid-1970s. In 1975 the proportion of Latino high school graduates attending college was within 2 percent of that for the total U.S. population. Since that time, the Latino proportion has decreased so that among high school graduates, 15 percent fewer Latinos went to college. At each successive step or level, the higher education pipeline is increasingly leaky, and it is losing and leaving out larger numbers and proportions of the rapidly growing Latino population. In spite of increased opportunities that may have resulted from earlier lawsuits to increase Latino access to public education, like the Edgewood and League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) suits, the low levels of Hispanic parental educational attainment, high poverty levels, and a number of other demographic characteristics all work to create severe educational barriers. The low levels of attainment and high school completion are not merely artifacts of high levels of immigration. U.S.-born Latinos have much lower educational levels than non-Latinos. This is true even when different generations among the U.S.-born are distinguished and analyzed separately. While *de jure* segregation of Latinos may have been eliminated, *de facto* segregation in public education has continued to grow. In many states, Latinos are the most segregated group.

#### HISPANIC/LATINO IDENTIFIERS

The U.S. Census concept of Hispanic ethnicity and the various identifiers by which the conceptualization was made concrete have changed many times since the first crude effort of the 1930 Census to conceptualize and identify Hispanics who were not immigrants or the children of immigrants. These changes reflect the substantial shifts in the composition of this population that occurred over the course of the twentieth century. They also reflect the increase in Latino population size and in the Census Bureau's and the nation's awareness of this group. During the early part of the twentieth century, almost all of the population now identified as Hispanic were people of Mexican origin who were largely concentrated in a few southwestern states. In contrast, the 2000 Census reports data on more than twenty categories of national origin groups of Hispanics who are to be found in increasingly large numbers in all fifty states.

**Conflating Immigrants, Race and National Origin.** The U.S. Census has counted by race since its inception and has kept track of immigrants since 1850, and their children from 1880 to 1970, by the use of nativity and

parentage questions. Censuses from 1910 through 1970, excluding 1950, determined the language spoken by respondents at home as a child, also known as their mother tongue. The mother tongue questions were typically reported only for immigrants or the children of immigrants. Thus the enduring Census concerns with race and immigration excluded many U.S.-born Hispanics from enumeration. The first significant population of Hispanics in the United States was found among the residents of Texas when it became a state in 1845. The lands annexed in 1848 as a result of the Mexican War added substantially to the total Hispanic population. This population grew again when many Mexicans came to the United States as refugees from the Mexican Revolution (1910).

The current Census concept of race (black or white) has not worked well. Motivated by generally xenophobic concerns, the 1930 Census attempted to enumerate Hispanics by using the concept of a Mexican race. There were many serious problems with this approach. Many Hispanics were U.S. citizens and the U.S.-born children of U.S.-born parents. The *Mexican* identifier appropriately applies to citizens of Mexico. Additionally, many Hispanics did not want to be identified as members of a socially subordinate group commonly referred to as Mexicans, regardless of their nativity or how many generations their ancestors had resided in the United States. The preferred and polite term used as an alternative at the time was Latin.

For example, the name of the organization known as LULAC, the League of Latin American Citizens (founded in Texas in 1929), is an example of this preference. The name also emphasizes the U.S. citizenship of many Hispanics. One of the clear indications of the inadequacy of the Mexican race approach is that many people were identified as being of Mexican birth or parentage, but not of Mexican race. This highlights another problem, that this identifier depended on the judgment of the enumerator, which apparently was neither consistent nor reliable. Finally, and perhaps most important, being racially designated as Mexican excluded the possibility of being classified as white. At the time, many rights and privileges, including the right to become a U.S. citizen, were explicitly available to whites only. Because of these problems and in response to protest and litigation, the Census Bureau dropped the use of the Mexican race identifier after 1930. This experience also set the precedent for the current practice of separating race and Hispanic ethnicity into two items on the census questionnaire.

**Standardizing Subjective Self-Identification as Spanish/Hispanic Origin.** The 1970 Census long-form questionnaire, administered to five percent of the population,



asked, "Is this person of Spanish/Hispanic origin?" The possible responses were "Mexican," "Puerto Rican," "Cuban," "Central or South American," "Other Spanish," and, "No, none of these." Extensive analysis of several Hispanic identifiers used in 1970 showed that this identity question produced the most consistent responses and distinguished between Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and other major Latino populations as well as included Latino respondents who were neither foreign born nor of foreign parentage. The demographic advantages of this question coincide with political and legal considerations. In 1976, Congress passed Public Law 94-311, known as the Roybal Resolution, requiring the use of a self-identified Hispanic question on federal censuses and surveys. The use of such a question was further promulgated in the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) Directive 15, first released in 1977. However, it is worth noting that Directive 15 permits the use of a combined race and Spanish origin question. The data collected from a combined question are significantly different from data collected using separate race and Hispanic questions. Self-identification has now become the accepted standard for determining Hispanic origins. Slightly modified and improved versions of the question were part of the standard Census questionnaire in 1980, 1990, and 2000. One modification in these subsequent censuses was to make the "Mexican" origin response category more inclusive by changing it to "Mexican, Mexican American, Chicano."

#### WILL LATINOS BECOME WHITE?

Some of the most interesting recent books on the history of European immigrants in the United States are the works that elucidate the process by which European immigrants became white. Many European immigrants were initially seen as outcasts who were not fit to be part of mainstream American society. They achieved white identity as they advanced economically and educationally.

One of the key concerns in the policy debates concerning Latinos focuses on the future incorporation or lack of incorporation of the children of immigrants. Both institutional barriers and perceptions of discrimination may explain the apparent low levels of educational and economic mobility of second- and third-generation Latinos. This lack of mobility and more pronounced indigenous features may prevent many Latinos from ever being accepted as white. In a "country of immigrants," as the United States has so often been called, achieving the status of white has been the hallmark of the full incorporation into the mainstream of U.S. society. At this point in time, it seems likely that only some Latinos will be accepted as white. The question is, will American

society be open to the complete incorporation of a people who are not white?

**SEE ALSO** *Central Americans; Mexicans; Puerto Ricans; Sweatshops.*

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## LEAGUE OF REVOLUTIONARY BLACK WORKERS

Few organizations have challenged racism as creatively and systematically as the League of Revolutionary Black Workers and its affiliate organizations, the various Revolutionary Union Movements (RUMs) of the late 1960s and early 1970s. Based in Detroit, Michigan, the league fused the local fight against racism with broader social struggles in the areas of workers' rights, economic justice, public education, and municipal political power. The league grew from African-American workers' struggles in Detroit's teeming automotive manufacturing plants. Because of this, in all the league's work the struggle for racial justice was connected to the struggle against what the league saw as worker exploitation.

Though the league is less well remembered than another group of the period, the Black Panthers, it challenged what it saw as the racist practices of some of the world's most powerful corporations. In the United States and abroad, activists looked to the league's work in Detroit as a model for strategies and tactics in the fight against racism and injustice.

### A CITY IN FLAMES

To understand the league, one must understand the city from which it emerged—Detroit in the late 1960s. Many American cities experienced serious racial unrest and rioting in the 1960s, but none matched the scale and ferocity of the Detroit race riots of 1967, known at the time to many of the city's African-American residents as the Great Rebellion.

For five days in July 1967, large swaths of Detroit burned to the ground in an explosion of racial violence. Stoked by anger over what black residents saw as persistent police harassment and racial injustice, the Great Rebellion could only be subdued by a major mobilization of the National Guard. By the time the smoke had cleared, forty-one people had died, 1,300 buildings had been leveled, and \$500 million in damage had been done. Late-1960s Detroit was a powder keg of racial tension that seemed ready to blow at any moment.

Unrest among the city's 600,000 African-American residents—roughly 40 percent of the city's population—

was mirrored by unrest in the Detroit area's many automotive plants. Detroit, long known as the "Motor City," relied heavily on the Ford, Chrysler, and General Motors (GM) automobile companies as the chief suppliers of jobs for the city's residents. There were some 250,000 black workers at these "Big Three" automakers, and they were almost always relegated to the lowest-paying, most dangerous jobs. At Chrysler's Dodge Main plant, for example, 95 percent of all foremen were white, 90 percent of all skilled trades workers (higher-paying, higher-skilled jobs) were white, and 100 percent of superintendents were white.

Autoworkers, and disproportionately African-American autoworkers, were regularly injured or maimed on the job at Big Three plants. Nor were workplace deaths uncommon;—a 1973 study of the U.S. automotive industry found a rate of sixty-five workplace deaths per day. Temperatures in the plants rose to well over 100 degrees in the summer and fell close to freezing in the winter. Heart attacks were the most common cause of workplace death.

Anger and frustration mounted among African-American workers, who continually saw white workers promoted ahead of them into more desirable jobs. In one famous 1970 incident, James Johnson, a black worker at Chrysler's Eldon Avenue Gear and Axle plant, one of the most dangerous manufacturing plants in the United States, shot and killed two of his foremen and one other coworker. He was acquitted, largely due to a legal defense that placed responsibility for his actions in the persistent racism and abominable working conditions he had encountered. Though such extreme cases were rare, violent tensions were in the air at Detroit's auto plants.

### THE REVOLUTIONARY UNION MOVEMENTS

When frustrated black workers turned to their union, the United Auto Workers (UAW), for support or protection, they usually found their frustrations exacerbated. Though the UAW had a reputation as a strong advocate for workers' rights and racial equality, the union in many ways reflected the same problems workers saw in their workplaces and in their city.

The UAW, which sprang up in Detroit in the 1930s as a militant expression of workers' demands for justice, had by the 1960s become a calcified, bureaucratic institution. In most cases, the union's function was more to keep the auto plants running smoothly than to advocate for their workers' interests. Workers' grievances would gather dust for months and years, and workers who rocked the boat were targeted by a tandem of union and management, who operated more like business partners than adversaries.



*National Guardsman at the Detroit Riots, 1967. Unrest among the city's 600,000 African-American residents—roughly 40 percent of the city's population—was mirrored by unrest in the Detroit area's many automotive plants. AP IMAGES.*

Although by the 1960s about one-third of the UAW's one million members were African American, workers of color were almost completely excluded from leadership or even staff roles in the union. Black workers, fed up with both management and the union, sought other avenues to demand justice on the job. From this dissent and the broader social unrest in Detroit grew the Revolutionary Union Movements (RUMs), the League of Revolutionary African American Workers' predecessor organizations.

The Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM), the first of the RUMs, was born at the Dodge Main plant in May 1968. DRUM exploded onto the scene during a one-day, 4,000-worker strike at the Dodge plant on May 2, protesting management's speed-up of the assembly lines. By speeding up the lines, Chrysler not only produced more cars per hour, but it also produced a greater risk of injury and a more stressful work environment.

The strike brought operations at Dodge Main to a halt. This was a wildcat strike, one not called or sanctioned by the union's leadership, but it clearly had substantial support within the plant. Management responded quickly: Several workers were fired and disciplined, and punishment for the strike was meted out disproportionately to African-American workers, even though white workers had also been involved. This inequity fueled support for DRUM, whose supporters now saw

that they had enough power to stop production at a Chrysler facility.

In the days and weeks that followed, DRUM began distributing a weekly newsletter called *DRUM*. This newsletter publicized instances of workplace racism and rallied African-American workers to DRUM's cause—namely, Black Power in the auto plants. The newsletter also attacked the UAW for its failure to represent black workers, and DRUM proposed that black autoworkers should struggle for power independently of the UAW.

#### BEYOND DODGE MAIN

Writings in the newsletter also focused on racism outside the plant gates. Particular attention was paid to incidences of police brutality, a hot-button issue for blacks in Detroit. As the newsletter became more and more visible, support for DRUM grew. Emboldened, DRUM next targeted two bars frequented by Dodge Main workers. These bars, both close to the plant, served African-American customers but would not hire them. DRUM called for a boycott of the bars and received overwhelming support. The bars quickly acquiesced to DRUM's demands, and DRUM leaders decided they would try to carry the momentum to Chrysler, presenting the company with a list of fifteen demands. These included fifty black foremen and ten black general foremen at Dodge Main, black medical and security personnel at the plant, equal pay for South African workers, and an African-American head of Chrysler's board of directors. If their demands were not met, DRUM threatened a series of demonstrations and another work stoppage at Dodge Main.

When Chrysler failed to respond, DRUM took a series of actions that illustrated their uniquely systematic and militant approach. On July 7, 1968, DRUM and more than 300 of its supporters rallied in the parking lot across the street from Dodge Main. The demonstrators marched to the hall of UAW Local 3 (which represented Dodge Main workers), where the union's executive board was meeting. Hoping to pacify the workers, union officials agreed to hear their grievances and demands. Unimpressed with the officials' responses, the workers announced they would defy the union and strike at Dodge Main.

The morning of July 8 found DRUM activists picketing outside Dodge Main. In addition to the 3,000 black workers who gathered to picket outside the plant gates that morning, many white workers also participated in a show of solidarity. Dodge Main's assembly lines slowed to a snail's pace. Within a few hours, police arrived in riot gear, prepared for a confrontation, but when they ordered the demonstrators to disperse, most of the strikers left the line, with some 250 quickly departing for a demonstration at Chrysler headquarters. When police arrived to break up

this second demonstration, DRUM's car pool took the demonstrators home.

The strike lasted three days and cost Chrysler 1,900 cars. DRUM's approach—causing maximum disruption without taking unnecessary risks or submitting to law enforcement—differed radically from many protest groups who sought confrontations with police for either symbolic purposes or media attention.

### THE LEAGUE IS BORN

Though it looked like a spontaneous uprising of angry workers, DRUM's rapid emergence was the product of a great deal of planning and organizing by a core group of leaders, some of whom would later be leaders of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers. These included Dodge Main workers General Baker and Chuck Wooten, as well as black radicals who did not work at Dodge Main. This core group's first collective work was on the Detroit-based newspaper *Inner City Voice (ICV)*. First appearing just months after the Great Rebellion in October 1967, *ICV* was in many ways a testing ground for the RUM's approach to workplace organizing. *ICV* covered local community struggles against racism and injustice, but it always placed these struggles in the context of a broader, revolutionary perspective. The skills this core group developed working on *ICV* served them well as DRUM continued to grow.

In September 1968, DRUM ran a candidate for UAW Local 3 executive board. DRUM's candidate, Ron March, won the initial vote, but lost a runoff election fraught with irregularities and police harassment of DRUM supporters. As word of DRUM's successes spread, black workers at other plants followed their lead. FRUM (at Ford's River Rouge complex), JARUM (at Chrysler's Jefferson Avenue plant), CADRUM (at Cadillac's Fleetwood plant), and a number of other RUMs sprang up around the city. ELRUM, at Chrysler's Eldon Avenue plant, emerged in the winter of 1968 and soon had more members than DRUM.

The RUM movement spread beyond the auto industry. UPRUM represented United Parcel Service (UPS) workers, and NEWRUM was founded by workers at the *Detroit News*.

It became clear that a body would be needed to coordinate all this work, and the League of Revolutionary Black Workers was formed in June 1969. Aside from Baker and Wooten, the league's core leadership included former *ICV* editor John Watson, the lawyer Kenneth Cockrel, two former leaders of the Detroit Black Panther Party, and another of *ICV*'s original founders.

Though the league emphasized workplace organizing, it also coordinated other areas of activity. In the fall of 1968, Watson had maneuvered himself into the editor-

ship of the *South End*, the student newspaper at Detroit's Wayne State University. Watson and the league used the *South End*, with its daily circulation of 18,000, to promote their work and political perspective. The league's media activities were not limited to the printed word, however. In 1969 the league began work on a documentary film about its activities. *Finally Got the News* was completed in 1970 and distributed (on a very small scale) throughout the United States and parts of Europe.

As it grew, the league became a presence in Detroit politics. Watson and other league members took the lead in a battle with the Detroit Board of Education over community control of public schools. In addition, the Black Student United Front was formed to serve as a youth wing of the league, and branches were established in twenty-two high schools.

### POLITICAL DIRECTION

Beyond coordination, the league's leadership provided political vision and coherence. Baker, Watson, and the league's other leaders had been devoted Marxists since well before the league's inception, and Marxist revolutionary thought permeated their work. This was most evident in their emphasis on the workplace as the point where black workers could leverage the most social and economic power. In 1969 the word *revolutionary* was not just grand sloganeering—the league's ultimate goal was to overthrow capitalism and replace it with a more just economic system.

The 1960s had seen a rush of political movements aimed at overthrowing colonial governments throughout the developing world, and league members were inspired by these international developments. Anticolonial uprisings in Vietnam, Algeria, and elsewhere galvanized league members, who saw African-Americans' struggles in the United States as an anticolonial struggle.

Central to the league's ideology was their assertion that company, union, and government formed an interconnected system of oppression, each supporting the other in efforts to maintain dominance over minorities and working people. To combat this system, the league worked in coalition with community groups, Arab-American groups, and groups of white activists. Though the league remained an African-American organization, they encouraged other groups to organize themselves and work with the league in coalition.

There were, however, political differences among the league's leaders. Some, like Baker and Wooten, believed that the league should focus the vast majority of its resources on workplace organizing, expanding and consolidating their network of RUMs. These leaders thought that the emphases on media work and education were spreading the league's resources too thin and diluting

their political message. Others, like Watson and Cockrel, believed that media work had the potential to grow the pool of African-American supporters. Only focusing on workers, they pointed out, excluded the many African Americans not in workplaces with league members, as well as those not in workplaces at all.

As the league expanded, these divisions grew deeper and internal tensions increased. Activists from groups such as the Black Panthers and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) joined up with the league, bringing their own agendas and ideologies and increasing these divisions. Pressures also increased from employers, as workers involved in RUMs were disciplined and fired. In June 1971, the league's leadership split over these political differences, though by that time its activity had already begun to diminish. This was likely due in equal parts to internal political divisions, external pressures (from employers and law enforcement), and a lack of adequate financial resources.

Though it was short-lived, the league's impact can be measured by the response it generated. Organizations as powerful as the Chrysler Corporation and the UAW went to great lengths to destroy the league, targeting its members for harassment and unjust disciplinary action. Though often compared to the Black Panthers, whose flair for dramatics gave them more visual appeal, the league's message was ultimately different. Dressed not in leather and berets, the league's leaders were blue-jeaned working-class revolutionaries; they sought to create a movement of working African Americans, fighting to transform a society they saw as fundamentally racist, exploitative, and unjust.

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## LESBIANS

The word *lesbian* is derived from the poet Sappho of Lesbos, who lived in the sixth century BCE and is renowned for her lyric poetry praising romantic love between women. Lesbians are women who have same-sex desires or engage in same-sex relationships. The term *lesbian* has also, at times, been extended to include political lesbianism, in which women choose primary relationships with women and place primary importance on these relationships. This construction of the political lesbian was popularized by Adrienne Rich in her essay *Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence* (1980), in which she discussed society's role in making heterosexuality the norm.

A diverse array of lesbian communities have been active in constructing a safe haven for lesbians, creating both social spaces and political spaces. Lesbian bars have existed since the early 1800s in France and the late 1800s in the United States. Political groups have been a more recent phenomenon with the establishment of the organization Daughters of Bilitis in 1955 and still further after the Stonewall riots of 1969. Some of these are virtual communities via the Internet, which can reach lesbians in rural communities. In addition, lesbian studies has been a growing field in academia, adding to the work done on lesbianism within women's studies and queer studies.

#### LESBIANS OF COLOR

In "Multiple Jeopardy, Multiple Consciousness" (1988), Deborah King describes the "triple jeopardy" of racism, sexism, and homophobia faced by lesbians of color. This triple jeopardy can lead to a separation of lesbians of color from both their racial/ethnic communities and from the lesbian community. Every culture has norms about appropriate sexual behavior for women, and many cultures also have a history of oppression based on how the dominant society views the sexuality of women and men. In many communities of color, lesbians are close to their families of origin, and they live close to their families, so that the threat of estrangement is a serious one. Immigrant families that do not speak English at home may not have a word for "sexual orientation," or they may know only negative terms for lesbianism. Thus, lesbians of color may be closeted to their families of origin, and they might not use the term *lesbian* in identifying themselves. Finally, communities of color may view lesbianism as a Western or American concept, when in fact there is a rich tradition of same-sex relationships among women across the world (see, for example, both Gloria Wekker's [2006] research on same-sex relationships in Latin America and the work of Will Roscoe and Stephen Murray [2001] on same-sex relationships in Africa).

### AFRICAN-AMERICAN LESBIANS

African-American lesbians have a long history within popular culture, and they have ensured their own visibility at various times throughout history. Many African-American blues singers of the early 1900s, including Gertrude “Ma” Rainey and Bessie Smith, were not only known to engage in same-sex relationships, but they also sang about it in their music. Lesbianism was also a recurring theme during the Harlem Renaissance, as seen in Nella Larson’s novella *Passing* (1929).

In the 1970s, the discussion of lesbianism within the African-American community became more visible, due in part to both the Black Power movement and the women’s movement. Audre Lorde’s biomythography, *Zami: A New Spelling of My Name* (1983), examined the intersections of sexism, racism, and antilesbian attitudes. The authors Alice Walker and Toni Morrison have also included descriptions of intense relationships between African-American women in their works, including overt lesbian relationships.

African-American women often have more flexible gender roles, and a large percentage of African-American women work outside the home. Because of this, African-American women are often depicted as independent and “masculine,” similar to the stereotypes of lesbians. Over the years, the African-American family has developed as a protective barrier and survival tool, so it can be hard for African-American lesbians to “come out” and risk alienation from their families. This may mean that families are less likely to disown or reject a lesbian daughter, though they may not want to talk about her sexual orientation or acknowledge her lover.

### NATIVE AMERICAN LESBIANS

Native American cultures have a long history of fluid gender roles. In these cultures, people could change their gender, become transgendered, have multiple gender identities, or marry someone with the same gender. European-American anthropologists first used the term *berdache* to describe a Native American with a fluid gender, but today the term *two-spirit* is often used. The anthropologist Sabine Lang, in *Men as Women, Women as Men* (1998), describes how in the past the status of two-spirits varied from tribe to tribe, noting that sometimes they had special powers or served as healers or leaders. For example, if only women were healers in a tribe, then a man would become a “woman-man” in order to be a healer. Two-spirit social roles were still part of Native American culture in the 1940s, and they are still honored in some tribes. Carrie House, a lesbian of Navajo/Oneida descent, writes:

Our oral traditions acknowledge that the he-shes and she-hes (those who hold in balance the male and female, female and male aspects of them-

selves and the universe) were among the greatest contributors to the well-being and advancement of their communities. They were (and we are) the greatest probes into the ways of the future, and they quickly assimilated the lessons of changing times and people. (1997, p. 225)

Despite the positive history of fluid gender roles, lesbianism is not accepted on many current Indian reservations due to the historical influence of colonizing Europeans. As a result, Native American lesbians may feel torn to leave their community for a new lesbian community that may be racist or refuse to address their specific needs. Paula Gunn Allen is a Native American poet and one of the first scholars to discuss the tradition of lesbianism within Native American culture. She argued that Native American lesbians existed and were an integral part of tribal life, though silenced to serve the patriarchal interests of the European colonization, and thus are systematically forgotten in most contemporary history.

### LATINA LESBIANS

Latina and Chicana women are also a very diverse group, encompassing Mexican American, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Caribbean, and Central and South America women. Latino communities often have defined gender roles for women and men, with strong expectations of heterosexuality. Many Latino communities are also Catholic, and unmarried women are expected to remain virgins. Yet the psychologist Beverly Greene has described the close relationships that develop among Latinas in this gender-segregated society.

There is a thriving literature about Chicana lesbians. Gloria Anzaldúa identifies herself as a “Chicana dyke-feminist, tejana patlache poet, writer, and cultural theorist” (Anzaldúa 2006, Internet site). Cherrie Moraga identifies as a lesbian and Chicana; as a Chicana she hid her sexuality and it was not until she confronted her lesbianism that she became aware of the need to be vocal to open the doors of understanding about herself and others.

### ASIAN-AMERICAN LESBIANS

Asian Americans include Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, Korean, and Pacific Island Americans. In many Asian languages there is no word that means “lesbian,” and open discussions about sex are frowned upon. The family is highly valued and gender roles are based on tradition and stereotypes. Thus, because their culture requires that a daughter become a wife and mother, Asian-American lesbians may be blamed for tarnishing their family’s honor. However, outward appearance may be more important than private acts, so women may be allowed to have same-sex relationships as long as they are married to men and do not discuss sex. Asian-American families



**Gay and Lesbian Carnival.** Every culture has norms about appropriate sexual behavior for women. Here gay members of the Australian Jewish community join in a celebration of gay pride. © JOHN VAN HASSELT/CORBIS SYGMA.

who are not Christian may have fewer religious taboos against lesbianism.

There has been very little focus from scholars and writers on U.S. lesbians from India and other South Asian countries. India is a vast country with many languages, religions, and cultures, so it can be hard for U.S. lesbians from India to find each other and communicate. Cultures in which men and women are separated (e.g., Moslem cultures) give women the opportunity for close, intimate contact even if this contact is not sexual or not considered lesbian.

Asian-American lesbians are becoming more outspoken, and they are publishing articles, making films, and establishing activist groups to ensure their continued existence. Yau Ching, for example, produced the film *Ho Yuk (Let's Love Hong Kong)* in 2002. Films about Indian and Indian-American lesbians include the critically acclaimed film *Fire* (1996) by the heterosexual Indian-Canadian director Deepa Mehta, and Indian-Canadian filmmaker Nisha Ganatra's "Chutney Popcorn" (1999), which is set in the United States.

#### WHITE LESBIANS

Studies in the early part of the twentieth century on "deviant" same-sex desires were conducted by medical researchers and focused almost entirely on lesbians of European descent. This focus on white lesbians was due in part to the construction of normative female sexuality as white, heterosexual, and passive. In the early to mid-1900s, these socially normative white women were assumed to have little or no sexual desire, so that any suggestion of female same-sex desire was viewed as a psychological illness and a desire to be male. Beginning with the removal of "homosexuality" as a mental illness from the American Psychological Association's *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* in 1973, research became more affirmative for lesbians. A large body of research since then has focused on the coming-out process, lesbian relationships, lesbian mothers, lesbians in the workplace, and lesbian health and mental health.

Nevertheless, the vast majority of research on lesbians continues to focus on white women, so it is important to remember that white lesbians are not necessarily the norm.

For example, white lesbians tend to be more removed from their family of origin and from religion than lesbians of color. Research done by Jessica Morris and Esther Rothblum in 1999 found white lesbians to be less cohesive on dimensions of lesbianism (e.g., the interrelationship of self-identity, sexual behavior, degree of “outness”) than African-American, Latina and Native American lesbians. Finally, lesbians of color often find that lesbian communities are racist or ignore the needs of lesbians of color, leading them to form their own communities.

**SEE ALSO** *Gay Men; Heterosexism and Homophobia; Lorde, Audre; Sexuality.*

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*Joselyn Leimbach  
Lisa Chavez  
Esther Rothblum*

## LIBERIA

**SEE** *American Colonization Society and the Founding of Liberia.*

## LIFE EXPECTANCY

Race is widely understood as a sociocultural phenomenon, not a biological one. This view is based on evidence that conventional racial categories fail to capture global patterns of human genetic variation. Yet severing the link between race and human biological variation may create an unintended blind spot: Race is biological in the sense that racial differences in life experiences are linked to biological outcomes, including death and disease. Historically, these health inequalities were interpreted as evidence of innate biological differences between racially defined groups. But researchers increasingly seek to understand them as the biological consequences of social inequalities among racialized groups.

Racial inequalities in health are often summarized by reference to life expectancy, a standard indicator of population health. This entry first defines life expectancy and then presents evidence for current and historical racial inequalities in life expectancy in the United States. It then reviews explanations for the persistent gap in life expectancy and identifies key needs for research to improve our understanding of racial inequalities in health.

### RACIAL INEQUALITIES IN LIFE EXPECTANCY

Life expectancy is calculated on the basis of age-specific death rates for a population at a given point in time. It estimates the average number of years people who have reached a particular age would continue to live, if current death rates at each age remained constant over time. Because death rates do not remain constant, life expectancy does not measure the longevity of actual birth cohorts. Rather, it summarizes the overall mortality profile of a population at a particular point in time.

Life expectancy can be calculated for any age, but the most common summary of a population’s health status is life expectancy at birth. However, this measure is heavily influenced by rates of infant and child mortality, especially if these rates are high. When researchers wish to exclude the impact of early mortality on population health, they typically calculate life expectancy at ages five or fifteen.

**Black and White Americans.** In the United States, research on racial inequalities in life expectancy focuses largely on inequalities between black and white Americans.



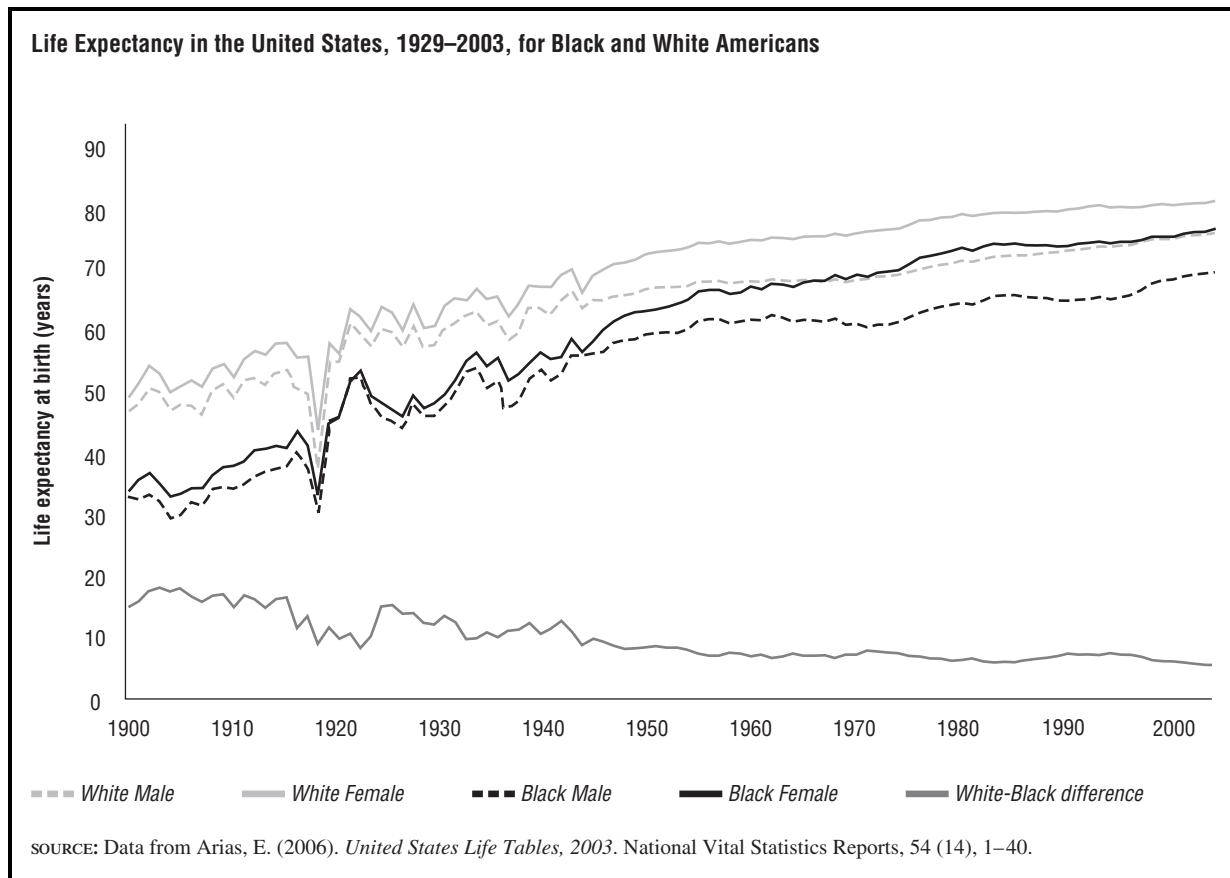


Figure 1.

Figure 1 shows how these inequalities persisted over the twentieth century. At the beginning of the century, the black-white gap in life expectancy at birth was 14.6 years. This gap reached a peak in 1903 (17.8 years) and declined through World War II. (It narrowed considerably but temporarily during the “colorblind” 1918 flu pandemic.) By 1955, the black-white gap in life expectancy had fallen to less than seven years.

However, during the second half of the century, racial inequalities in life expectancy scarcely changed, despite substantial gains in life expectancy for the population as a whole (Figure 1). Indeed, in 1995 the black-white gap in life expectancy was the same as it was in 1956 (6.9 years). Only in the last few years has this gap narrowed again, reaching a historic low of 5.3 years in 2003.

The apparent stability of this inequality masks the diverging fortunes of black men and women, as Figure 1 shows. From 1950 to 2003, the gap in life expectancy between black and white women fell from 9.3 to 4.4 years, such that black women’s life expectancy at birth now exceeds that of white men. During the same period, the gap between black and white men climbed to a peak

of 8.5 in 1982, before falling again to 6.3 years in 2003. This gap between black and white men is still greater than it was in 1955.

The historical depth of inequalities between black and white Americans explains the usual focus on black-white comparisons of health and life expectancy. But these comparisons are limited in at least three ways. First, crude black-white comparisons neglect the diversity of health and mortality profiles within racial categories. Second, they ignore the changing racial demography of the United States in the wake of increasing immigration from Asia and Latin America since the 1960s. Third, they imply that race per se is the most important determinant of health disparities, rather than identifying the specific causal influences on racial inequalities of health.

“**Eight Americas.**” One group of researchers addressed these concerns by dividing the U.S. population into eight distinct groups based on race and the socioeconomic attributes of counties where people lived (Murray et al. 2006). The resulting “Eight Americas,” shown in Table 1, capture the striking range of inequalities in life expectancy in the United States.

Life Expectancy and Socioeconomic Inequalities across "Eight Americas"						
America	Description	Population (millions)	Average income per capita	Percent completing high school	Male life expectancy at birth	Female life expectancy at birth
1	Asian	10.4	\$21,566	80	82.8	87.7
2	Northland low-income rural white	3.6	\$17,758	83	76.2	81.8
3	Middle America	214.0	\$24,640	84	75.2	80.2
4	Low-income whites in Appalachia and the Mississippi Valley	16.6	\$16,390	72	71.8	77.8
5	Western Native American	1.0	\$10,029	69	69.4	75.9
6	Black Middle America	23.4	\$15,412	75	69.6	75.9
7	Southern low-income rural black	5.8	\$10,463	61	67.7	74.6
8	High-risk urban black	7.5	\$14,800	72	66.7	74.9

SOURCE: Reprinted from Murray et al. (2006). "Eight Americas: Investigating mortality disparities across races, counties, and race-counties in the United States." *PLoS Medicine* 3: e260.

Table 1.

Relative to global inequalities in life expectancy, racial disparities within the United States are massive. The gap between Americans with the longest and shortest life expectancies—Asian-American women and black men in high-risk urban settings—is an astonishing 21 years, more than the difference between Japan and Bangladesh, for example. Within sexes, the gap between the longest and shortest life expectancies is 13.1 years for women and 16.1 years for men. These gaps are 2.6 to 3 times greater than the inequalities between black and white women in the United States as a whole. They also rival the nearly 14-year gap in life expectancy between high-income OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development) countries and low-income developing countries (United Nations Development Programme 2005). Indeed, the life expectancy of high-risk urban black men in the United States is more typical of life expectancy in developing countries than it is of high-income countries like the United States (Figure 2).

Table 1 also highlights diversity within conventional racial categories. Murray and colleagues identify three black and three white Americas. Across the white Americas, the gap in life expectancy is 4.0 years for women and

4.4 years for men. Across the black Americas, the gaps are smaller but still substantial—1.3 years for women and 2.9 years for men. These gaps cannot be attributed simply to socioeconomic inequalities. Despite low per capita income, rural whites in the northern plains and Dakotas have a significant mortality advantage over high-income whites in America. Likewise, despite greater poverty, rural black men in the South have a slight edge in longevity over black men in high-risk urban environments.

Murray and colleagues emphasize that inequalities in life expectancy across the eight Americas are not the result of differential mortality among children or the elderly. Although racial inequalities in infant mortality persist, the largest mortality differences are among young (ages 15–44) and middle-aged (ages 45–64) adults. These differences are the result primarily of noncommunicable causes such as cardiovascular disease, diabetes mellitus, cancer, and liver cirrhosis. Injuries and HIV/AIDS also contribute significantly to excessive mortality among young adults. In separate analyses, Wong and colleagues (2002) estimate that eliminating hypertension, or chronic high blood pressure, would have the largest impact on reducing racial differences in life expectancy, followed by HIV,

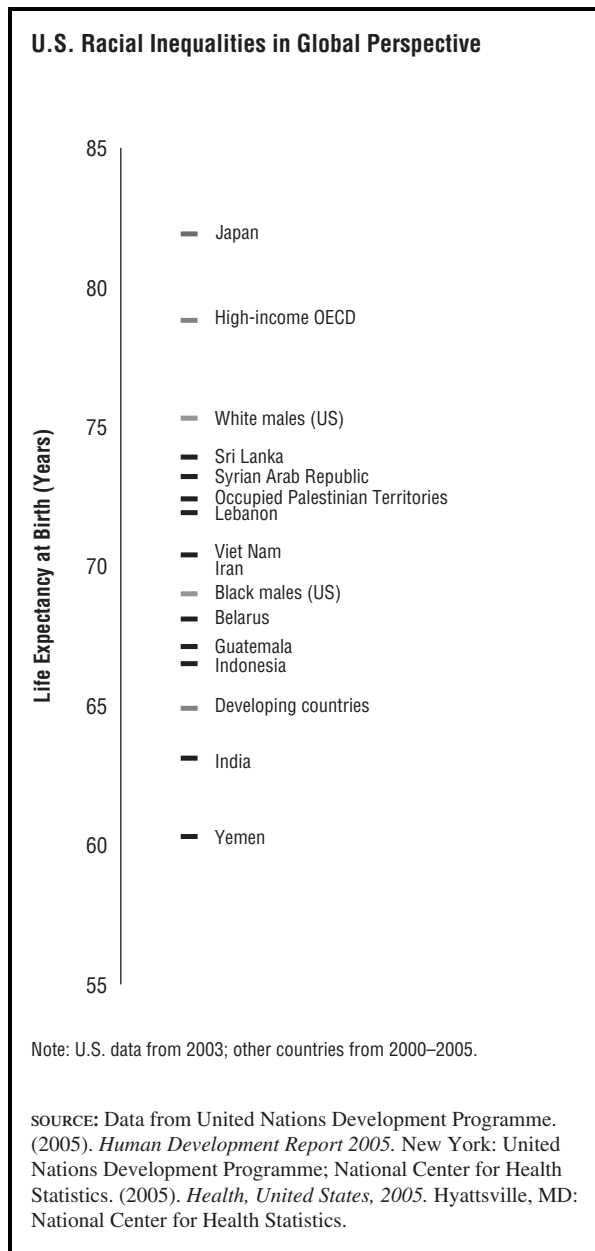


Figure 2.

homicide, diabetes, colon cancer, pneumonia, and ischemic heart disease.

### EXPLANATIONS FOR RACIAL INEQUALITIES IN LIFE EXPECTANCY

There remains debate about why these inequalities exist. Many critics note that the debate often ends prematurely with the assumption that race is biology and that racial differences in health are largely determined by genetic differences. However, in the last twenty years, clinicians

and health researchers have become increasingly aware of the problems with race as a biological construct, and there is growing emphasis on the social and cultural factors that shape racial inequalities in health.

In a recent review, Dressler, Oths, and Gravlee (2005) identify five models for explaining racial inequalities in health:

1. A racial-genetic model
2. A socioeconomic model
3. A health-behavior model
4. A psychosocial stress model
5. A structural-constructivist model.

Although the review focuses largely on infant mortality and high blood pressure, the five models apply to explanations for racial health inequalities in general.

The *racial-genetic* model holds that racial inequalities in health are primarily genetic in origin. This view has a long history in American medicine (Krieger 1987). Indeed, many key figures in the history of scientific racism were physicians and medical scientists who asserted the natural biological inferiority of blacks as the basis of their greater susceptibility to disease and premature death. For example, during the first years of Reconstruction, as many as one-quarter to one-third of former slaves may have died in parts of the southern United States. Many white physicians interpreted this trend as evidence of African Americans' innate biological inferiority, not of fundamental social inequality.

The basic assumptions of this period remain surprisingly common today. Whereas social scientists generally take it for granted that race does not correspond to meaningful genetic differences, many physicians and biomedical researchers still assume that there are innate racial differences in the susceptibility to disease. Some prominent researchers explicitly defend race as a useful framework for identifying the genetic basis of common diseases (Risch et al. 2002). Yet there remains little reason to think that genes are to blame for racial inequalities in life expectancy (Goodman 2000).

Most research on the nongenetic basis of racial inequalities in health has focused on the role of *socio-economic status* (SES), usually defined as some combination of education, occupation, and income. The rationale is that race and SES are confounded, such that controlling for differences in SES should either eliminate racial disparities in health or reveal the true causal effect of race. As a rule, accounting for SES reduces but does not eliminate racial inequalities in health. This pattern also holds for life expectancy, as the Eight Americas study suggests (Table 1).

Some researchers have interpreted the residual relationship between race and health, after controlling for SES, as support for the racial-genetic model. But this interpretation is untenable because race cannot be reduced to class; racial inequality affects health through mechanisms other than socioeconomic deprivation. Thus, controlling for SES, even when it is measured well, does not eliminate differences between racially defined groups in noneconomic factors that influence population health (Kaufman, Cooper, and McGee 1997).

The *health behavior* model is in part a response to the limitations of the socioeconomic model. One possible reason that SES does not account for racial inequalities in health is that it does not capture the unequal distribution of health-related behaviors across racially defined groups. The health behaviors most often discussed include dietary intake and physical activity (resulting in excessive weight and obesity), alcohol consumption, and smoking. These factors clearly impact health and longevity. However, there is little evidence that they account for the relationship between race and health (Dressler, Oths, and Gravlee 2005).

The incomplete success of socioeconomic and health-behavior models has stimulated research on the contribution of *psychosocial stress* to racial inequalities in health. Research in this tradition begins from the premise that institutional and interpersonal racism create stressful life circumstances that adversely impact the health of racially oppressed people. The literature in this area is enormous and growing. Dressler and colleagues (2005) distinguish three streams of research on psychosocial stress, including (1) studies that measure general markers of stress exposure such as depression and anxiety, (2) studies that assess the perceived experience of discrimination, and (3) studies that adapt general models of the stress process to the unique stressors and coping resources in African-American communities.

Each approach has produced novel insights, confirming the importance of psychosocial stress in the origin of racial inequalities in health. Yet much research in this tradition remains vulnerable to the limitations of stress research in general. First, many stressors, including exposure to racism, are difficult to measure apart from individuals' efforts to cope with those stressors. Second, research on psychosocial stress traditionally focuses on individual experience, with too little consideration of how stressors and coping resources are socially distributed and culturally constructed.

The *structural-constructivist* model addresses these limitations. This approach seeks to explain racial inequalities in health at the intersection of social structure and cultural meaning. For example, Dressler (2005) shows that racial inequalities in mental and physical health are associ-

ated with one's ability to obtain culturally valued resources, which is partly constrained by structural inequalities. Gravlee, Dressler, and Bernard (2005) show that the association between skin color and blood pressure in Puerto Rico is shaped both by the meaning people attribute to skin color and by access to socioeconomic resources. These examples illustrate the promise of research that examines how social structural forces condition exposure to culturally defined stressors and coping resources.

#### RESEARCH NEEDS

Racial inequalities in life expectancy pose three critical challenges for the social and biomedical sciences. First, given the persistence of racial-genetic determinism, it remains necessary to clarify the fallacy of race as a framework for understanding human biodiversity. Second, there is a need for research on how hidden assumptions about race shape biomedical research and clinical practice and how clinical practice and biomedical research, in turn, perpetuate prior beliefs about race. Third, researchers need to integrate multiple levels of analysis—sociocultural, environmental, behavioral, physiological, molecular—to understand how the sociocultural phenomena of race and racism become embodied in biological outcomes over the life course.

**SEE ALSO** *Demographics and Race; Diseases, Racial; Hypertension and Coronary Heart Disease; Infant Mortality and Birth Weight; Infectious Disease, Susceptibility, and Race; Social Class and Mortality.*

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Clarence C. Gravlee

## LORDE, AUDRE 1934–1992

The author and activist Audre Lorde was born in Harlem on February 18, 1934, the youngest child of West Indian immigrants. Lorde viewed art and social protest as inseparable, although *The First Cities* (1968), her first volume of poems, is not as overtly political as the fourteen books that followed. Among her best-known works are *The Black Unicorn* (1978), a poetry collection with a strong African emphasis; *The Cancer Journals* (1980), a feminist perspective on Lorde's struggles with breast cancer; *Zami: A New Spelling of My Name* (1982), an experimental memoir; and *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches* (1984), which includes "Uses of the Erotic: The Erotic as Power," "The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House," "Age, Race, Class, and Sex: Women Redefining Difference," "The Uses of Anger: Women Responding to Racism," and several other examples of Lorde's persuasive rhetoric.

In *Zami*, Lorde details how her parents tried to protect their three daughters from American racism by warning them not to trust white people, but without giving them any reasons. Because Lorde's mother and aunts were light-skinned, prohibitions based on color confused the children, as did the odd excuses their mother made to explain the behavior of white adults who avoided sitting near the Lorde family in crowded buses. On a trip to Washington, D.C., to celebrate her grade school graduation, Audre was enraged when the family was refused service in a segregated restaurant across the street from the Supreme Court. She felt betrayed by the nation, but also by her father's failure to prepare her for the shock of rejection.

Lorde worked at several blue-collar and pink-collar jobs to support her undergraduate studies at Hunter College. A book lover who believed in the power of language to change social systems, she earned a master's degree in

library science from Columbia University while she was employed by the Bureau of Child Welfare. In 1968, a pivotal experience as a creative writing teacher at Mississippi's historically black Tougaloo College convinced her to focus on a career as a poet and teacher. Lorde said that this first trip to the Deep South, working with African-American students for the first time, made her feel that a library career was "not enough" (Hall 2000, p. 95). At Lehman College and John Jay College of Criminal Justice in New York, she developed courses on racism. During the 1970s and the 1980s, she lectured in Australia, Africa, and other places. In the United States she helped to found Kitchen Table Women of Color Press, and in Berlin she encouraged the Afro-German women in her writing workshops to publish an anthology.

As a "black lesbian feminist mother poet warrior," Lorde said she was always an outsider, even in the major movements for equal rights. She argued that sexism and racism were both rooted in white male authority; she exposed race prejudice within the predominantly white and middle-class women's movement; and she criticized African Americans who denied sisterhood to black lesbians. Lorde concluded that these various forms of injustice kept women from achieving the erotic power of female creativity and a true depth of feeling. According to the biographer Alexis De Veaux, Lorde gradually came to see "the necessity for linking analyses of racial, class, and sexual oppressions" (De Veaux 2004, p. 170), and as her "multiple identities" evolved, eroticism became essential to her "self-actualization" (p. xi). Two years before her death on November 17, 1992, Lorde was honored by more than 2,000 people from twenty-three countries at a conference titled *I Am Your Sister: Forging Global Connections across Difference*.

SEE ALSO *Black Feminism in the United States; Feminism and Race; Heterosexism and Homophobia; Lesbians*.

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Joan Wylie Hall

# M

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## MACHISMO

The concept of “machismo” is a culturally defined attribute associated with U.S. Mexican and other Latino men. It has come to have a number of negative connotations, such as a chauvinistic and tyrannical male character, an exaggerated masculine posture, extramarital sexual activity, involvement in physical abuse and violence, displays of physical courage or daring, heavy drinking, and the imposition of restrictions on women’s freedom of movement. However, there is a contrasting view holding that machismo embodies the desirable combination of fearlessness, self-sufficiency, and courage. In this view, a macho is a *hombre noble* (noble man) who sacrifices to economically support and protect his family at all costs. This article explains the etiology and veracity of these two views of machismo and suggests how it may be used analytically.

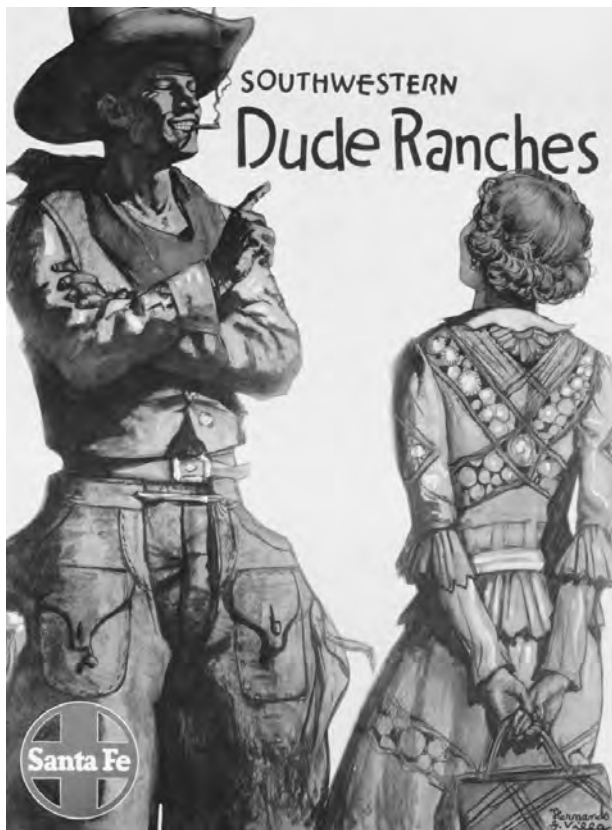
### MACHISMO’S ETIOLOGY

In the social sciences, the words *macho* and *machismo* have become shorthand for labeling male characteristics in Mexican and other Latino cultures. Machismo is thought to be more dominant among U.S. Hispanic groups than non-Hispanic populations. However, these gender role characteristics are more likely to be attributed to men from more traditional cultures. The cornerstone of machismo is the traditional Mexican family, stereotyped as having a patriarchal structure characterized by the unquestioned and absolute supremacy of the husband and the self-sacrifice of the wife. Within this family structure, major decisions and privileges flow from the male patriarch to all others, from whom he demands unquestionable allegiance, respect, and obedience.

Mexican women and other Latinas are seen as submissive women who are not only forced into this type of situation but also accept this position. *Marianismo* defines the Hispanic female ideal. Like the Virgin Mary, the ideal woman in Hispanic culture is regarded as morally and spiritually superior to men. She is seen as centering her life around her husband and children; she is unfailingly submissive and obedient; she avoids self-indulgence and sensuality; she is expected to be chaste before marriage and accept her husband’s *macho* behavior when married; and she is expected to endure whatever suffering men may impose on her. The family is perceived as the institution in which these clearly delineated gender roles are perpetuated and reproduced from one generation to the next. In contrast, the woman who does not adopt these characteristics is labeled “*la mujer mala*” or “the bad woman.”

Traditionally, social scientists tend to reinforce these images by imposing an assimilationist paradigm on this population. This paradigm promotes the perspective that Mexican Americans immigrated to the United States from rural agricultural regions of Mexico with strong traditional cultures and values. These images are based on early anthropologists such as Robert Redfield, whose description of Mexican rural society in the mid-twentieth century was transferred to Mexicans living in the United States. This paradigm was reinforced by early settlement patterns, which found Mexicans living in rural areas of the Southwest. Even though most Mexican Americans were living in cities by the 1960s, the existing literature on this population was heavily weighted by studies of rural and traditional life.

The cornerstone of the assimilation model is that a minority group’s disadvantaged status decreases as it



*Southwestern Dude Ranches (Hernando G. Villa, 1938).*  
This poster portrays the exaggerated masculinity of Mexican and Latin American men. SWIM INK 2, LLC/CORBIS.

adopts the values of the majority society. In the case of Mexican Americans, the model assumes that what impedes the advancement of this population is that they stubbornly adhere to a deficient traditional culture that is incompatible with modern urban societies such as the United States. One of the most pejorative cultural characteristics ascribed to this population is that of machismo, which is assumed to permeate all aspects of family life. The family places a great emphasis upon children learning submission and strong obedience to the dictates of the father and other authority figures, and the family is seen as orbiting the strong domination of the male in the family. This idea, however, conceptualized as “machismo,” was accepted without any empirical verification, resulting in a distorted view of the family and gender roles.

Although some social scientists have challenged the portrayal of Mexican American (and other Latino) machismo (Baca-Zinn 1982), research has found that gender roles within the family are more egalitarian than previously presented. For instance, the women’s role is more independent and assertive than previously described,

and decisions are shared by both the husband and wife (Cromwell and Cromwell 1978; Vega 1990). These findings support a view of Latino husbands and fathers as caring individuals who have an active role in their children’s upbringing. Contrary to the stereotypes and the popular view of machismo, the bond between fathers and children is one that is inherent in the culture, independent of the child’s relationship to the mother. In this more sympathetic view, a macho is the protector of the family and defender of family honor.

A result of current empirical evidence, a less pernicious and nuanced view of machismo has emerged in some social-science literature. More recent research suggests that—just as in the broader area of family sociology—marital power, division of labor, and kinship orientation are found to be influenced not only by culture but also by structural factors such as class position, employment status, and residential patterns.

#### THE CONSEQUENCES OF MACHISMO

Despite this contemporary research, the association of machismo with Mexican Americans and other Latinos has endured as a major stereotype of these populations. These exaggerated and prejudicial views are reinforced by societal institutions (e.g., religion, education) and, in particular, by the mass media. In the first half of the twentieth century, films and literature largely portrayed Mexican males as sleazy bandits, sleepy peons, Latin lovers, fun-loving buffoons, or some variation of these characterizations. These images have been modernized for twenty-first century audiences and have evolved into urban versions of these earlier portrayals. The new imagery of Mexican Americans is dominated by the gang member, drug user, dealer, and illegal immigrant, and they tend to be men that are violent, sexual predators, criminals, or cowards. Mass media researchers have proven that long-term exposure to misrepresented stereotypes can have what is called a cumulative effect, leading persons to believe that the dominant image is the norm.

These negative machismo stereotypes result in prejudice and discriminatory behavior towards Mexican American and other Latino men. Regardless of whether these characterizations are true or false, the stereotype leads to what Robert Merton identified in 1957 as a *self-fulfilling prophecy*. For example, if Mexican American men are widely believed to be sexist, people will behave toward them, have certain expectations of them, or interpret their behavior in such a manner that fulfills their stereotype. Even if these beliefs are false, they become real in their consequences.

Further, the prescribed male roles associated with machismo among Mexican Americans and other Latino

men have various negative consequences. One of these is that these characteristics become internalized by Latino males themselves. The relationship between these stereotypes, self-image, and subsequent behavior needs further exploration. However, it is clear that Mexican-American youth are highly influenced by their exposure to the mass media. In particular, the urban life culture promoted in the hip-hop and rap music subculture has had a pervasive influence on young urban Latino males. Many of this musical genre's lyrics promote an oppositional culture centered on a lifestyle expressed through distinct clothing styles, tattoos, language, and body jewelry. Of more concern is that some artists involved in this genre condone violence and crime by promoting a "gangsta" way of life. Some of the most vociferous critics of this musical genre argue that it also promotes a hypermasculinity, sexism, and an objectification of women.

When this message is delivered to Mexican-American (and other Latino) males living in economically disadvantaged urban Mexican-American communities, it reinforces an already established predisposition to machismo. As Elijah Anderson (1999) points out, in many economically depressed areas of inner cities, the rules of civil law have been replaced with what is identified as a "code of the streets." Here, youth and adult subcultures are involved in street violence, drug use, crime, and confrontational behaviors toward authority. Specifically, this subculture revolves around a street socialization process that emphasizes the development of collective and individual coping strategies that use violence as a means of resolving conflicts, especially among males. The repercussions for Latinos may be more severe than among blacks or whites. In this regard, machismo is highly embedded in situated activities and an environment that is based on a male-dominated patriarchal hierarchy.

#### MACHISMO AS ANALYTICAL CONCEPT

Mexican-American culture, reinforced by social context, magnifies the differences between gender roles to a greater degree than the culture of many other groups. The magnification of gender reflects a family-ethnic community complex tied to structural features of the family, and to more general conditions of social solidarity that stem from Mexican Americans' subordinate status. There is a complex intersection of patriarchy (male domination/female subordination) and machismo with class and ethnicity. As Denise Segura (1999) notes, patriarchy refers to the development and institutionalization of male dominance over women in society. Machismo is how a patriarchal ideology is operationalized by males of Mexican descent or other Latinos. When using machismo as an analytical construct, class and ethnicity need to be theorized together

because they emerge at the points at which stratification articulates structure. Christopher McCall (1999) has shown that class privileges are maintained by a pervasive social control made possible by ethnic labeling. Within ethnic communities, however, the structure of opportunity often operates through the mediations imposed by a patriarchy, which, in turn, may derive legitimacy from class and ethnicity. This is important to consider when using machismo as an analytical tool.

An illustration of how this approach can be used is taken from a recent study of intimate-partner violence. In this 2005 study, Avelardo Valdez and Raquel Flores attempted to understand the situational processes that contribute to the escalation of an argument to a physical and violent confrontation between Mexican-American gang-affiliated adolescent females and their dating partners. They found that "disrespect" was one of the precursors to the unfolding of a violent incident. This precursor implies that one of the partners has demonstrated a lack of good will, esteem, or deference to the other partner through behavior, symbolic gesture, or language. What is important here is that one party has perceived the other as engaging in behavior that is disrespectful. Differences in what is perceived as disrespect is influenced by gender and culture. For instance, a male will escalate the violence if the incident results in a "loss of face," as dictated by the "code of the street." Similarly, the inability to dominate one's female partner is a challenge to a socially structured male hierarchy, particularly within a male gang subculture with clearly defined gender barriers. The violent response of a man in this position will be interpreted as somewhat instrumental and rational. On the other hand, a female will more likely escalate the violence if she perceives a threat to an emotional relationship or connection. For women, this is often based on witnessed behavior (i.e., seeing the man flirting with another woman) or validated behavior. For men, jealousy is often based merely on suspicion. This type of violence on the part of women is often interpreted as emotional or expressive, while the men's violence is seen as more rational or instrumental. This is just an example of how the concept of machismo can be used as a construct in conducting research on Latino populations.

Machismo is a socially constructed concept that needs to be used judiciously when applied to Mexican-American and other Latino males. The degree of machismo associated with these men will vary depending on a constellation of variables, such as income, generation and education. Nonetheless, it would be a fair statement, considering culture and class variables, to say that machismo may be more salient among Latinos than other groups. This is certainly the case among young men living in disadvantaged communities, where it is a socially valued ideal that emphasizes aggression and control, venerates dominance, and has wide currency



on the streets. However, this street machismo may be different than that represented in the home that is associated with prosocial characteristics. As a cultural model for male behavior, machismo provides important standards and motivations for the attainment of social goals. In the application of this construct, however, researchers must recognize the importance of considering structural factors, including economic marginality, in explaining these phenomena.

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*Avelardo Valdez*

**MAGIC FLUTE, THE**

The sublime music of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte* (*The Magic Flute*) is frequently contrasted with the banal philosophy, purloined symbolism, obvious misogyny, and crude racism of its libretto, attributed to German librettist Emanuel Schikaneder (1751–1812). The series of contradictions between noble music and offensive text is of signal importance, not only as it relates to Mozart but as it relates to other operatic composers, notably Richard Wagner (1813–1883). Some of the most exalted music in opera is tied to the least attractive characters and most offensive situations. Indeed, the most interesting music of *Die Zauberflöte* is associated with words in the libretto that are not only embarrassing to modern ears, but that were completely unacceptable to the best minds of the Enlightenment.

Does this mean that Mozart was, in the words of his contemporary William Blake (1757–1827), "of the devil's party?" The least generous interpretation is that he was, in fact, aware of and intentionally endorsed racist and sexist ideas in the libretto. This refocuses attention on the problem raised by Aristotle and Plato of whether music can communicate philosophical intent. The problem is furthermore related to the question raised in Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's *Laokoon* (1766): "How it is possible to derive aesthetic pleasure from works of art that embody painful, horrifying, or disgusting subjects?"

While the opera was first performed in September 1791, its origins have been traced to a story by August Liebeskind, *Lulu, oder Die Zauberflöte* (*Lulu, or the magic flute*), which was published in a collection of fairy tales by Christoph Martin Wieland in 1789. The text is usually attributed to Emanuel Schikaneder, although shortly after its appearance Karl Ludwig Giesecke claimed authorship, and some historians safely assign coauthorship. Regardless, the libretto is no masterwork

of artistic integrity, but rather an incoherent semiplagiarized text. It provides no definitive evidence, however, as to Mozart's attitudes on gender, race, and class.

The text of *Die Zauberflöte* celebrates human brotherhood in lyrics similar to those of Friedrich Schiller's *Ode to Joy*, which Ludwig van Beethoven used in his Ninth Symphony, another expression of Enlightenment values. The opera's text, like the writings of Thomas Jefferson, reveals the moral paradoxes and intellectual inconsistencies of Enlightenment attitudes on race. The "Age of Reason," was also an age of romantic nationalism, religious enthusiasm, and maudlin sentimentality. Mozart composed in an age dominated by the madness of crowds and the febrile passions of gender, race, and class. His music is the epitome of crystalline regularity, but in the *Magic Flute* it is set in a plot that is disruptive and irrational. The philanthropy and interpretive Freemasonry, with its preachments of liberty, fraternity, and equality, are blandly superficial. They fall miserably short of the more inclusive philanthropy of William Blake, whose *Songs of Innocence* (1789) and *Songs of Experience* (1794) are critiques of Enlightenment hypocrisy.

Mozart made no pretensions to being a philosopher, nor did he leave behind a corpus of writings on the social, political, religious controversies of his time. Indeed, in both the stage and screen versions of Peter Schaffer's *Amadeus*, he is portrayed as a case of arrested development, as an infantile prodigy struggling for independence from a dominant father, and this portrait has not helped his reputation.

In contrast to *Die Zauberflöte*, Mozart's great Italian operas, including *La nozze di Figaro* (*The Marriage of Figaro*), for which Pierre de Beaumarchais provided the ideology and Lorenzo Da Ponte wrote the libretto, demonstrate enlightened, even revolutionary attitudes towards gender and class. Susanna, the heroine of *Figaro*, is not the passive victim of Count Almaviva, but a shrewd calculator, who exposes the clumsiness of his passions, and repeatedly makes a fool of him. *Don Giovanni* is an undisguised commentary on the meanness of the aristocracy, for the Don is not portrayed as a man of refinement, but as a pig whose insatiability at the dining table recapitulates the theme of his sexual gluttony. *Die Zauberflöte* contains no such obvious elements of political satire or social protest.

The serpentine structure of *Die Zauberflöte* recoils on itself through numerous illogical twists and turns, justifying the long-held view that it was wantonly assembled from a hodgepodge of incoherent ideas. In the opening scene, Prince Tamino, shrieking for help, is chased on stage by a serpent and he faints without putting up a fight. This unlikely *Heldentenor* is rescued by three spear-bearing women who cut the snake to pieces with their *Walküre* spears. On awakening from his swoon Tamino encounters Papageno, a comic figure attired in bird feathers, whom

he mistakenly believes to be his savior. Papageno willingly allows him to persist in the delusion until the women reappear to set matters right. The *Walküres*, it turns out, are servants of the Queen of the Night, who enters in a thundercloud to charge Tamino with the task of rescuing her daughter Pamina from Sarastro, whom she describes as an evil priest. Eventually, the plot changes direction when it turns out that the Queen is merely a misguided and spiteful woman who foolishly attempts to upset the natural order by her unwillingness to submit to masculine authority.

The overt sexism of the opera is accompanied by acute racism located in the character of Monostatos, Sarastro's cowardly and lascivious black servant. Monostatos contemplates raping Pamina in the second act, but he is interrupted by the thunderings of the wrathful Queen. Later, however, Monostatos woos the Queen and teams up with her to oppose Sarastro. In the meantime, Tamino decides to join Sarastro's priesthood and submits to a rite that, by all accounts, resembles a Masonic initiation. By the end of the opera, Tamino is betrothed to Pamina, the Queen's plottings have been foiled, and Papageno has happily discovered his feminine counterpart, Papagena, a bird-woman with whom he will sensibly settle down and raise a family.

The opera's racism is most excruciating in the aria Monostatos sings in the second act, as he creeps toward the sleeping Pamina with loathsome intent. Monostatos is repugnant, not only because of the cowardice and fawning subservience that mark his character, but because he intends to violate the helpless innocence of Pamina:

Everyone feels the joy of love; bill and coo, flirt, and squeeze and kiss. But I'm supposed to do without love because a black man is ugly! Is there no heart set aside for me? Am I not flesh and blood? It would be hell to live forever without a woman! And as I live and breathe, I want someone to rub noses with, and feel some tenderness. I'll get myself a white girl. Whiteness is beautiful; I must kiss her! Hide yourself, oh Moon! If you find this sight too vexing, then shut your eyes!

The music of this aria, composed in Mozart's celebrated mock-Turkish style, certainly deserved better than these sentiments. But it is unclear whether the opera, with its misogynistic slurs and racial derision, should be considered a guide to Mozart's thoughts on any subject. While the lyrics of *Die Zauberflöte* range from the banal to the opprobrious, some of them reveal an inadvertent comic wisdom. Papageno is a wise fool, and he seems to be the only character endowed with common sense. His famous aria, *Ein Mädchen oder Weibchen*, seems artless, unless one pays attention to the complicated glockenspiel accompaniment. Papageno's music in contrast to his clownish, cowardly, and hedonistic manner, is the essence of classicism, if by

classicism is meant strophic integrity and Pythagorean symmetry.

The racism and sexism that undermine the egalitarianism of *The Magic Flute* display both the strengths and limitations of Enlightenment philanthropy. The clichés about all men being created equal, mouthed by Sarastro and his council of priests, is crippled by embarrassing racial and sexual stereotypes. While its idealism is inspiring and its arcane symbolism superficially linked to an ostensibly enlightened Freemasonry, *Die Zauberflöte*, with its inconsistent character development and ideological defects, hardly represents the best that was thought and said about human brotherhood in the world of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment.

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Wilson J. Moses

## MALCOLM X 1925–1965

Malcolm X was a minister, orator, American Black Muslim, and a prominent leader of the Nation of Islam until his break with the organization. He was born Malcolm Little in Omaha, Nebraska, on May 19, 1925, and he was also later known by his Islamic name, El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz. Along with other African Americans in Omaha, he and his family lived in segregated North Omaha. His mother, Louise, was a homemaker who looked after the family's eight children, of whom Malcolm was the fourth. She was a Grenadian by birth, the daughter of a white man. Her son Malcolm acquired the nickname "Red" because of a reddish tinge to his hair in his early years. In his youth, Malcolm regarded his light complexion as a status symbol, but he later said that he came to hate the white blood he inherited from his maternal grandfather. Malcolm's father, Earl, was a fiery Baptist lay preacher, a proponent of the ideas of Marcus Garvey, and a founder of the Omaha chapter of Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association.

#### EARLY LIFE

Malcolm's early life was one of turmoil. Because of his outspokenness on matters of civil rights, Earl Little

attracted the hatred of the local chapter of the Ku Klux Klan, which harassed the family and on two occasions forced them to move to escape threats. Thus, before Malcolm was four years old, his family relocated first to Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and then to Lansing, Michigan. In 1929, however, the family's Lansing home was burned. Earl Little and the black community believed that the fire was the work of a white supremacist group called the Black Legion. In 1931 Earl Little was run over by a streetcar, and after his mutilated body was found, the family was convinced that he died at the hands of the Black Legion, but the police ruled the death a suicide. Although Earl Little had two life insurance policies, the company that had issued the larger of the two refused to pay the family because of the finding of suicide. Later, in 1938, unable to cope with her grief over her husband's death, Louise Little had a nervous breakdown and was institutionalized for twenty-six years. The eight children were split up and placed in various orphanages and foster homes.

Malcolm was a bright student and, in fact, was at the top of his class in junior high school. In the eighth grade, however, one of his favorite teachers told him that his dream of becoming a lawyer was "no realistic goal for a nigger" (Malcolm X 1965, p. 36). At that point he lost interest in formal education and dropped out of school. He moved to Boston to live with his half-sister (one of Earl's children by a previous marriage) and he worked there in an assortment of odd jobs. His "street" education began in the early 1940s, when he moved to Harlem, New York, and embarked on the life of a petty criminal. Using the nickname "Detroit Red," he was involved in running drugs, gambling, racketeering, burglary, and prostitution. He also became addicted to cocaine. From 1943 to 1946 he lived intermittently in Harlem and Boston, often accompanied by his close friend Malcolm Jarvis. He escaped the military draft by telling the examining officer that he could not wait to organize black soldiers so that he could "kill some crackers."

Malcolm X returned to Boston in January 1946. On the twelfth of that month he was arrested for burglary, and he was quickly convicted of grand larceny and breaking and entering. He was sentenced to ten to twelve years in prison and he began serving his sentence on February 27, 1946. In prison Malcolm acquired the nickname "Satan" because of the inveterate hatred he expressed for God, religion, and the Bible. He used those years, though, to further his education by reading extensively from the prison library and pursuing a course of self-enlightenment. He became so absorbed in his studies that, he later claimed, he lost awareness that he was in prison and felt spiritually free. When he entered prison, he was barely literate, but he developed his ability to read and write by



*Malcolm X at a Harlem Rally, 1963. Malcolm X became one of the most important icons of twentieth-century African American life after his 1965 assassination, but stirred tremendous public debate about racial injustice in the United States in the years just before his death. AP PHOTO.*

copying the pages of a dictionary, one at a time, until he had copied the dictionary in its entirety. He requested and received a transfer to a prison with a larger library, and he said that after lights out at 10:00 p.m., he continued to read by sitting on the floor near the door of his cell, where light filtered in from a bulb in the corridor. When the prison guards conducted their hourly rounds, he would climb back into bed and feign sleep until they passed, then read for another hour, often continuing this ruse until 4:00 AM. His reading program was broad, including the works of Socrates, Gandhi, Herodotus, W.E.B. Du Bois, and numerous other philosophers and scientists. He used their works to test his own emerging religious beliefs.

#### THE NATION OF ISLAM

While he was in prison, Malcolm X received letters and visits from his brother Reginald, who was a recent convert

to Islam and a member of the Nation of Islam, an organization that promulgated the teachings of its founder, Elijah Muhammad (1897–1975). Often referred to as the Black Muslims, the Nation of Islam believed that white society achieved social, economic, and political success while acting to deny such success to African Americans. The Nation of Islam rejected integration, but perhaps its most controversial belief was that blacks should form a separate state of their own, free of white domination and white religious, economic, political, and cultural institutions.

While in prison, Malcolm extensively studied the teachings of Elijah Muhammad and maintained contact with him. Committed to the organization's goals, he began to gain a measure of fame among his fellow prisoners for his growing convictions. Prison authorities regarded him as a potential troublemaker, however, and refused to grant him

an early release, as would have been customary after five years. Finally, after serving nearly seven years of his sentence, he was paroled in 1952. At that time he took the name Malcolm X, believing that "Little" was a slave name. The "X" represented not only the brand that was often burned into the upper arms of slaves, but also the unknown tribal name he would have had but was lost to him. Numerous members of the Nation of Islam followed his example and took X as their surname.

Malcolm X was highly intelligent and a forceful orator. After meeting with Elijah Muhammad, he gained appointment as a minister in the Nation of Islam at its Boston mosque, and in 1954 Elijah Muhammad gave him the task of establishing mosques in Harlem, Philadelphia, Detroit, and other cities. He also served as the Nation of Islam's national spokesman. Throughout the 1950s and early 1960s he used the radio, newspaper columns, and the new medium of television to spread the message of the Nation of Islam. He typically relied on fiery rhetoric, such as his frequent assertion that whites were "devils" who had been created in a misbegotten breeding program established by a black scientist. The media could always count on him for a provocative quotation, such as his famous statement, when asked about the assassination of President John F. Kennedy in 1963, that it was a matter of "chickens coming home to roost." In 1959 he took part in a television documentary with the journalist Mike Wallace titled "The Hate that Hate Produced." He was also sharply and publicly critical of the 1963 March on Washington led by Martin Luther King Jr. Whereas King advocated nonviolence in his approach to race relations, Malcolm X believed that "turning the other cheek" led nowhere and that violence was sometimes necessary. Blacks would attain their freedom, he said, "by any means necessary."

By the early 1960s, Malcolm X was eclipsing Elijah Muhammad as the most prominent member of the Nation of Islam. In 1952 the organization had only 500 members, but by 1963 it claimed some 30,000 members, and many historians credit this exponential growth to Malcolm X and his powers of persuasion. His growing prominence drew the attention of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), which labeled him a communist and infiltrated the organization. One of Malcolm X's bodyguards was in fact an FBI agent, and the FBI conducted wiretaps and other forms of surveillance. In time, the bureau's file on him would run to 2,200 pages. Meanwhile, in 1958, he married Betty X, born Betty Sanders, and the two had six daughters, all with the surname Shabazz. Malcolm himself later adopted Shabazz as part of his Islamic name, and it became a popular surname among American Black Muslims. According to Malcolm X, it was the name of a black African tribe from which African Americans descended.

#### BREAK WITH THE NATION OF ISLAM

Malcolm X, despite being the Nation of Islam's brightest rising star, broke with the organization in the early 1960s. He had begun to hear rumors that Elijah Muhammad was committing adultery with young organization secretaries and that some of these liaisons had produced children. Islam strictly forbids adultery, and Malcolm X, deeply committed to the teachings of Islam, had remained celibate himself until his marriage. At first, Malcolm X did not want to believe the rumors, but when they were confirmed by Muhammad's son and several of the women involved (and later by Muhammad himself, who asked him to keep the matter quiet), his disillusionment with the Nation of Islam and its message of religious (as opposed to economic) nationalism was complete.

Malcolm thus believed that the Nation of Islam was fraudulent, for its chief prophet had betrayed Islam's teachings. On March 8, 1964, he publicly announced his departure from the Nation of Islam, and just a few days later he founded his own organization, Muslim Mosque, Inc. Later that year he founded the Organization of Afro-American Unity, which was built around four major goals: (1) the restoration of connections with Africa; (2) reorientation, or learning about Africa through reading and education; (3) education, to liberate the minds of children; and (4) economic security.

A number of Malcolm X's followers urged him to become an orthodox Sunni Muslim. He acquiesced, but to complete his conversion he decided to make a pilgrimage to the city of Mecca in Saudi Arabia, Islam's holiest site. Every able-bodied Muslim who can afford to do so is required to make such a major pilgrimage to Mecca, a journey known as the *hajj*, at least once during his or her life. He departed for Mecca in April 1964, but when he arrived in Saudi Arabia the authorities detained him because they did not believe he was an authentic Muslim and because he was traveling with an American passport. After some twenty hours in detention, he was released with the help of a friend. Later, Prince Faisal of Saudi Arabia met with him at his hotel and declared him a state guest. In this way he was allowed to make his pilgrimage to Mecca. His journey, however, was not *hajj* but *umrah*, referring to a "minor" rather than a "major" pilgrimage.

Malcolm X performed all the rituals associated with the *umrah*. These included making seven circuits around the Kaaba, a large cubical monument contained within Mecca's mosque that Muslims believe was built by the prophet Abraham. He drank water from the well of Zamzam, located near the Kaaba and believed to be the well provided to Hagar, Abraham's wife, when she was in desperate need of water for her infant son Ishmael. He completed the ritual running between the hills of Safah

and Marwah seven times, an act that commemorates Hagar's frantic search for water until she found it in the well of Zamzam. In short, Malcolm X carried out all of the rituals that any Muslim would be expected to carry out on a minor pilgrimage to Mecca.

Malcolm X's trip to Saudi Arabia had a transforming effect on him. For two decades or more, he had been angry and bitter, filled with hatred directed at whites for centuries of injustice and exploitation of blacks. He had called himself the "angriest black man in America." After his trip to Mecca, though, he softened his rhetoric considerably and adopted a new attitude to race relations, one that he admitted his followers would find surprising. For example, while he was in Mecca he wrote a letter to his followers in Harlem in which he stated:

Never have I witnessed such sincere hospitality and overwhelming spirit of true brotherhood as is practiced by people of all colors and races here in this ancient Holy Land, the home of Abraham, Muhammad and all the other Prophets of the Holy Scriptures. For the past week, I have been utterly speechless and spellbound by the graciousness I see displayed all around me by people of all colors... There were tens of thousands of pilgrims, from all over the world. They were of all colors, from blue-eyed blondes to black-skinned Africans. But we were all participating in the same ritual, displaying a spirit of unity and brotherhood that my experiences in America had led me to believe never could exist between the white and non-white. (Malcolm X 1965, p. 340)

When he returned to the United States, Malcolm X was again a media magnet. Reporters and the public were interested in whether his trip to Saudi Arabia had changed him in any way. At a press conference on his arrival, he made the following statement, which indeed did come as a surprise to many:

In the past, yes, I have made sweeping indictments of *all* white people. I never will be guilty of that again—as I know now that some white people are truly sincere, that some truly are capable of being brotherly toward a black man. The true Islam has shown me that a blanket indictment of all white people is as wrong as when whites make blanket indictments against blacks. Yes, I have been convinced that some American whites do want to help cure the rampant racism which is on the path to destroying this country! (Malcolm X 1965, p. 362)

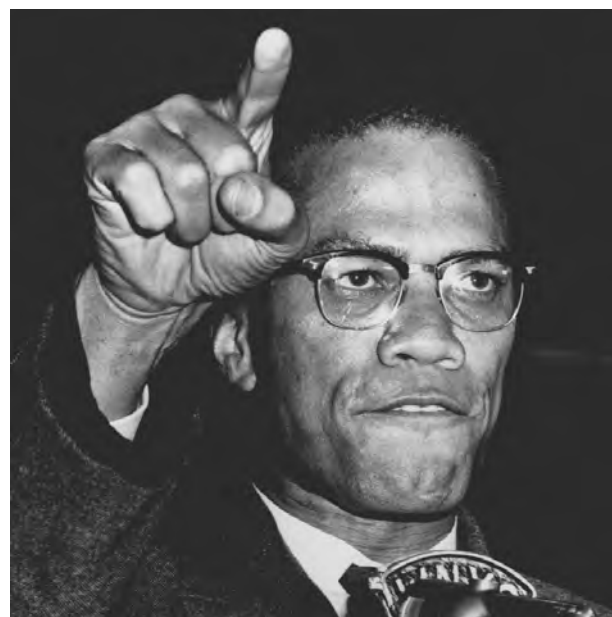
In the year before his death, Malcolm X became an international ambassador. Chief among his activities was an eighteen-week trip to Africa, during which he addressed African heads of state at the first meeting of the Organization of African Unity. He also spoke in Paris

and in Birmingham, England, on issues having to do with race relations; in Birmingham, he paid a visit to a pub that held to a "non-coloured" policy.

#### ASSASSINATION

Malcolm X's break with the Nation of Islam was marked by animosity. One member of the group confessed to Malcolm that he had been given orders by Nation of Islam leaders to kill him. In March 1964, *Life* magazine published a picture of Malcolm X holding a rifle and peeking out from curtains in his home, resolved to defend himself and his family against the death threats he had received. The Nation of Islam used the courts to reclaim his home in Harlem, which the group claimed was its property. He received an eviction order, but the night before a court hearing to postpone the eviction, the house was burned to the ground. No one was ever charged with the crime.

On February 21, 1965, Malcolm X was assassinated. He had just begun giving a speech at the Audubon Ballroom in New York City when a disturbance erupted. He and his bodyguards tried to restore order, but at that point a man rushed forward and shot him in the chest with a shotgun. Two other men, armed with handguns, pumped bullets into his body; in all, he was shot sixteen times. He was taken to Columbia Presbyterian Hospital, where he was pronounced dead. Eventually, three men were charged with the crime: Malcolm 3X Butler, Thomas 15X Johnson, and twenty-two-year-old Talmadge Hayer. All three were convicted, although Hayer was the only one to



*Malcolm X.* Malcolm X was legendary during his lifetime. In death, he ascended to mythic status. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

confess to the crime. Hayer stated in affidavits that Butler and Johnson had taken no part in the crime and were not even present, but he named two other men who, he said, had participated in the crime. To this day, questions remain about who was behind the murder.

#### LEGACY

For many Americans, particularly white Americans, Malcolm X was and remains a frightening figure. He was outspoken and incendiary, and he held that violence was acceptable when other means of achieving respect and racial equality failed. He fell under the watchful eye of the J. Edgar Hoover's FBI—though in that respect, so did Martin Luther King Jr. and a host of other black activists. He used the language of religion and the cadences of the Christian Bible to announce to Americans that a day of judgment for three centuries of exploitation was at hand. His words often seemed prophetic during the turbulence and racial unrest of the 1960s.

Time, however, has softened the image of Malcolm X, at least to some extent. His 1965 *Autobiography of Malcolm X* was written with the help of Alex Haley, himself the author of *Roots*, which entered American homes, both black and white, as a television miniseries about the history of slavery. The *Autobiography* is commonly read in schools. A popular 1992 movie, *Malcolm X*, directed by Spike Lee, won its star, Denzel Washington, an Academy Award nomination for best actor. In 1999, this once feared black militant earned a mainstream honor when his picture was placed on a U.S. postage stamp.

The chief legacy of Malcolm X is that he sharpened and clarified the racial debate in America during the 1950s and 1960s. Like Martin Luther King Jr., he has become an icon of the debate, but whereas King, from Malcolm X's point of view, advocated turning the other cheek, Malcolm X believed that turning the other cheek only meant getting the other cheek slapped. Thus, he was a caustic critic of exploitation, poverty, racism, oppression, and violence against blacks. His militancy, feared at the time, is admired by many in the early twenty-first century. He spoke to the collective consciousness of the African diaspora, giving it a sense of economic, political, and social independence from dominant white America.

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*Michael J. O'Neal*

## MANDELA, NELSON 1918–

Rolihlahla Mandela was born on July 18, 1918, in the village of Mvezo, a Thembu tribal area that was part of the Xhosa nation in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa. At the age of seven he was given the name "Nelson" by an African teacher who insisted on English nomenclature, thereby establishing a moniker that was to surpass in world renown the English naval officer after whom he was named. Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela was to become the leader of the African National Congress (ANC), the world's most famous political prisoner (1962–1990), and the overseer (along with F. W. de Klerk) of the political and constitutional negotiations that ended apartheid in South Africa.

The acknowledged "father" of the "new" South Africa, Mandela became president of the country (1994–1999) following its first democratic elections in 1994, when the ANC won 62 percent of the vote. For their role in helping to dismantle South Africa's racial formations, Mandela and de Klerk won the 1993 Nobel Peace Prize. Mandela's achievements in encouraging both a peaceful transition to nonracialism and an acceptance of black majority rule will prove his lasting legacy.

Mandela had a relatively privileged upbringing as a minor member of a royal household. His father died when

Mandela was nine years old, and he was brought up under the guardianship of Chief Dalindyebo, Regent of the Thembu people. The Grand Palace in Mqhekezweni was next to a Methodist Mission School, where the young boy excelled under what was, for the time, the very best of education available to Africans. While at school, Mandela converted to Methodism, and he was encouraged to challenge the boundaries that colonialism and apartheid imposed on South Africans. He encountered a number of people who seemed to exemplify this challenge to the status quo, being taught, for example, by the first female African graduate, Gertrude Ntlabathi.

Around 1937, Mandela went on to attend the University of Fort Hare (originally known as the South African Native College), which was established in 1916 as the first university for black South Africans. But his experience there only served to impress upon him some of the paradoxes of apartheid. The widening of educational and socioeconomic opportunities to a small African elite made him aware of how further development for blacks was restricted by race laws, while simultaneously heightening his awareness of the gulf between him and the rest of the African population. This awareness radicalized Mandela, ultimately forcing his expulsion from Fort Hare for organizing student protests.

After leaving Fort Hare, Mandela moved to Johannesburg—partly to escape a traditional tribal arranged marriage—and he found work as a guard at a mine (he was suited to this work because he was also an amateur boxer). He then drifted into law, not on the basis of formal qualifications but as a result of assisting miners to negotiate their way through apartheid's iniquities. Mandela eventually entered a law firm as a clerk, during which time he obtained a law degree by correspondence. He then went on to study law further at the University of Witwatersrand.

While practicing law, Mandela became involved with the African National Congress (ANC), which had been established in 1912, and he helped to reinvigorate the organization. There was a sense among many younger radicals that the ANC needed to expand recruitment and broaden the base of its coalition to include Communists and community opposition groups, who were themselves mobilizing against the progressive creep of apartheid's restrictions to Indian and Colored peoples. In addition, many of these radicals thought the group was misguided in putting its faith in white trusteeship, whereby blacks relied on the paternalism of liberal whites to assist them. Under such a system, blacks unwittingly endorsed subservience to white leadership. In 1943, the newly formed ANC Youth League was at the vanguard of these challenges, with Oliver Tambo as secretary, Walter Sisulu as treasurer, and Mandela as a member of its National

Executive. The broadening nonracial coalition within the ANC was reinforced in the 1950s by the imposition of even more repressive legislation following the victory of the Afrikaans National Party in the 1948 election. This legislation deepened the level of suffering and intensified the effects of racial discrimination in the country, and it led to the famous Freedom Charter of 1955, a declaration of human and civil rights established by political opposition and community groups in South Africa, deliberately couched in terms redolent of the American Declaration of Independence, outlining the case for freedom and political liberty for South Africans irrespective of race. Despite opposition from radicals who wished to continue with an exclusive form of African nationalism, which would lead eventually to the formation of the rival Pan African Congress, Mandela helped maintain the ANC's historic commitment to nonracialism.

Periods of detention and arrest followed for Mandela, including a long period spent out on bail, along with 194 other defendants, for the charge of high treason. While he was eventually found not guilty, Mandela was temporarily detained under emergency powers imposed in response to growing political unrest, and he decided to go on the run in 1960 after the ANC was banned. In November 1961 the ANC decided to establish an armed wing, *Umkhonto we Siswe* (Spear of the Nation), or MK for short, with Mandela as its leader. Mandela would later admit that he never fired a gun in anger, so making him the leader of an armed struggle seems, in retrospect,



**Mandela and de Klerk Accept Nobel Peace Prize, 1993.** For their efforts toward bringing an end to South African apartheid, Nelson Mandela and South African president F. W. de Klerk were jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. AP IMAGES.



an odd choice. Indeed, the relative ineffectiveness of MK's sabotage campaign between 1961 and 1962 lies in part in Mandela's reluctance to commit the organization to terror. Nevertheless, the threat of such actions ensured that massive energy was expended in an attempt to arrest him, and Mandela was eventually captured in August 1962. He later ridiculed the speculation that the CIA tipped off the South African police, admitting to having become lax about his own security.

In July 1963 most of the prominent ANC leaders were captured near Rivonia, and the suburb of Johannesburg lent its name to their treason trial, in which Mandela was also a defendant. Those still at large fled overseas (Tambo escaped to London to lead the ANC in exile) or went so deep underground that the ANC essentially had no presence inside the country until at least after the 1976 Soweto uprising. Mandela went to Robben Island, to be freed on February 11, 1990, nine days after the ANC was reinstated as a political entity. He refused early release in 1985, insisting that his freedom had to be part of a comprehensive freeing of the country from racism, one part of which had to be the legalization of the ANC.

Mandela's commitment to the twin pillars of non-racialism and nonviolence did much to slow the descent into conflict that occurred between 1990 and 1994. There was a political vacuum during this period, and the number of deaths due to political violence was greater than during the worst apartheid years. Mandela's role in keeping the violence from escalating even further won him respect around the world. He came to be revered as a peacemaker, and he involved himself in many peace processes and issues of conscience throughout the ensuing years. Life-long personal commitments affected other parts of the new South African government's policies as well, for Mandela resisted economic policies that were anticapitalist or anti-Western, ensuring that tight monetary and fiscal policies would prevent the massive redistribution of wealth that seemed to cripple the economies of other postcolonial societies in Africa. The legitimacy of the man among many white South Africans—founded ironically on the stoicism and dignity with which he bore twenty-eight years of imprisonment imposed in their name—did much to ensure the acceptance of black control of the political system. Likewise, his position as the unrivalled leader of the campaign against apartheid did much to help Africans reconcile themselves to lowered expectations of economic redistribution from the new ANC government. As the figurehead for a moral cause against apartheid, Mandela served as a beacon that shone light around the world and into the hearts of most South Africans. His charisma and steadfastness guided the country during its most difficult period of transition.

**SEE ALSO** *Anti-Apartheid Movement; Apartheid; South African Racial Formations.*

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*John D. Brewer*

## MARINA, DOÑA

**SEE** *La Malinche.*

## MARSHALL, THURGOOD 1908–1993

Thurgood Marshall was born in Baltimore, Maryland, on July 2, 1908. Later known as "Mr. Civil Rights," Marshall devoted his life to advancing individual rights for African Americans, the poor, and the disadvantaged. He served as legal counsel for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, and as solicitor general; and he became the first African American Supreme Court justice. A talented advocate and jurist, Marshall argued for decisions striking down "white primaries," which prevented southern blacks from voting in primary elections; "restrictive covenants," or agreements not to sell land to blacks; and segregation in schools, transportation, parks, and other public accommodations. Former Supreme Court justice William Brennan Jr. described Marshall as "probably the most important legal advocate in America and the central figure in this nation's struggle to eliminate institutional racism" (Davis 1994, p. 14). Marshall believed that lawyers can be social reformers and that equal protection was a right guaranteed to all regardless of race. His mission, according to Marshall, was to make "the law a reality for those to whom it is now largely meaningless" (Ball 1998, p. 382).

Marshall was born into a society that practiced racial segregation of people by law or custom in employment, housing, schools, parks, and stores, especially in states of the ex-Confederacy. Segregation meant inferior treatment, limited educational and job opportunities, and legal and social harassment on the basis of race. The lines were strict and rigidly drawn in the South, and Marshall was influenced by the arbitrariness and violence of racism that resulted in restricted opportunities, violations of equal rights, threats, violence, and death.

Marshall attended historically black Lincoln University in Chester, Pennsylvania, graduating with honors. He then matriculated at the historically black Howard University School of Law, where he met his lifelong mentor and friend, Charles Hamilton Houston. Houston believed that black lawyers were to be “social engineers” who had a responsibility to advocate to advance the interests of the group. Houston’s influence bolstered Marshall’s conviction that the U.S. Constitution could be a powerful tool against discrimination and to advance and protect the rights of African Americans.

After graduating magna cum laude in 1933, Marshall opened a private practice in Baltimore, Maryland. During this time he began his successful civil rights practice. In 1935, he filed suit against the University of Maryland Law School for its failure to admit Donald Murray based on his race. With Houston’s counsel, Marshall won the first case to require the admission of a black student to an all-white school. Marshall argued that Murray’s exclusion from the Maryland law school violated the “separate-but-equal” doctrine because Maryland did not offer an “equal” law school for its black citizens. *University of Maryland v. Murray* (1935) became one in a series of cases that relied on constitutional principles to topple the “separate-but-equal” system. In response to the *Murray* decision, a fellow civil rights lawyer said of Marshall, “He brought us the Constitution as a document like Moses brought the people the Ten Commandments” (Davis 1994, p. 18).

Marshall was appointed as the NAACP assistant special counsel in New York City in 1936. He later became director counsel of the NAACP, serving in that position for twenty-one years. While at the NAACP, Marshall implemented the legal strategy for the Legal Defense and Educational Fund, which involved attacking segregation in housing and education and racial discrimination in the judicial process and voting. Marshall also traveled throughout the United States talking to people about the unjust system of white supremacy that denied opportunity and justice to African Americans. During his employment at the NAACP, Marshall argued thirty-two cases before the

Supreme Court and won twenty-nine of them. Through his work as a tireless advocate for equality, he became known as “Mr. Civil Rights.” Marshall successfully argued against excluding blacks from primary elections and convinced the Court that the enforcement of “restrictive covenants,” or private agreements not to sell land to blacks, violated the Constitution. In a series of cases beginning with *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), Marshall’s work led to findings that segregation in public education, transportation, parks, and swimming pools is unconstitutional.

The 1954 decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* is perhaps the single most important case in which Marshall participated. Marshall and his team eloquently argued the unconstitutionality of “separate but equal,” relying heavily on scientific and sociological research that challenged the concept of race and racial distinctions. Grounded in research by noted historians and psychologist Dr. Kenneth Clark, Marshall argued that separate was inherently unequal and, therefore, offended the Constitution’s guarantee of equality. Clark’s work demonstrated that segregation by race resulted in psychological and emotional harms to blacks, who were stamped with a “badge of inferiority.” Marshall argued that segregation violated the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution. The Court agreed with Marshall and his cocounsel and unanimously ruled that “in the field of public education the doctrine of ‘separate but equal’ has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.”

His influence on the country and Supreme Court jurisprudence gained significant praise and attention. In 1961 President John F. Kennedy appointed him to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit. Faced with a broader spectrum of cases than he argued as a civil rights advocate, Marshall wrote ninety-eight opinions as an appellate court judge and, in many, continued to express concern for the poor and underprivileged in America. In 1965, President Lyndon B. Johnson appointed Marshall as the solicitor general of the United States. Marshall won fourteen of the nineteen cases he argued for the government, many of which involved civil rights and privacy.

Marshall was nominated to the U.S. Supreme Court in 1967, becoming the Court’s first black justice. He served on the Court for twenty-four years until he retired in 1991 at the age of eighty-two. During his time on the bench, Marshall was a tireless supporter of the rights of the poor, opposing governmental action that unfairly or disproportionately affected the poor. In addition, he embraced First Amendment right of free speech and consistently opposed capital punishment as excessive. Marshall worked to protect the privacy and civil liberties of Americans and believed firmly in race and gender equity, as well as the need to remedy the ongoing effects of discrimination.

A champion for civil rights, Marshall was one of the country’s greatest advocates for racial justice and was

responsible for a transformation of the American system of racial segregation. He believed firmly in the potential of the Constitution to protect the rights of the underserved, and after retirement from the Court he noted: "Americans can do better. . . . America has no choice but to do better to assure justice for all Americans, Afro and white, rich and poor, educated and illiterate . . . Our futures are bound together" (Davis 1994, p. 369). Marshall died on January 24, 1993. His death was mourned and his life was celebrated by thousands. At his funeral Vernon Jordan, former head of the National Urban League, remarked, "He was a teacher who taught us to believe in the shield of justice and the sword of truth, a role model whose career made us dream large dreams and work to secure them, an agent of change who transformed the way an entire generation thought of itself, of its place in our society, and of the law itself" (Davis 1994, p. 388).

SEE ALSO *Bates, Daisy; Brown v. Board of Education; Houston, Charles Hamilton; NAACP.*

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*Deseriee A. Kennedy*

## MAYAN GENOCIDE IN GUATEMALA

Genocide is the physical destruction of an ethnic group and the most extreme expression of racism. During the 1970s and 1980s, the Mayan people of Guatemala experienced a brutal genocide, perpetrated mainly by the Guatemalan state under a racist and terrorist policy designed to protect and strengthen the political and economic power of an embattled social elite.

This episode of genocide was part of the "Silent Holocaust" in Guatemala, which grew out of thirty-six years of internal armed conflict between different guerrilla organizations and the Guatemalan Army. The Commission for Historical Clarification, set up in 1996 to investigate "human rights violations and acts of violence linked to the period of armed conflict," has pointed out that this military confrontation had a high human cost

for Guatemalan society as a whole. Nevertheless, 83 percent of the victims were Mayan civilians, predominantly older adults, children, and women.

The Guatemalan state forces were responsible for 91 percent of the total human rights violations and genocidal acts, while guerrilla organizations accounted for around 3 percent. A trilogy of genocidal campaigns—named "Scorched Earth," "Model Villages," and "CPR Persecution"—were introduced by the Guatemalan Army between 1981 and 1983. These campaigns clearly demonstrated the racism and cruelty inherent in the application of counter-insurgency forces.

In December 1996, a peace accord was signed by the government of Guatemala and the *Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca* (Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity, or URNG), and a fragile peace process began, which at least stopped the prolongation of the conflict. The two sides committed to resolving the causes that triggered the conflict and initiating the painful process of reconstructing and understanding the recent historical events.

#### BACKGROUND

Guatemala is a small Central American country characterized by its extraordinary geography and great ethnic and linguistic diversity, reflected in its indigenous populations of Mayan, Xinca, and Garífuna people. This cultural mosaic comprises more than half of the population of Guatemala, estimated at 12 million inhabitants. The Ladino population (mixed Amerindian-Spanish heritage) constitutes the other half. The multicultural composition of Guatemalan society is the fruit of a millennial civilizing process, which had its beginnings with the splendor of the Mayan civilization that flowered about 1500 BCE. The European invasion of America, beginning in the sixteenth century, began the first genocide in this region, destroying Mayan peoples and cultures and putting their societies under a colonial system.

Yet after three centuries of Spanish colonization, the indigenous peoples miraculously survived the genocide and ethnocide perpetrated by both the conservative and liberal states of the nation, which had excluded them from the national project and reduced them to laborers on the great plantations.

The triumph of the 1944 "October Revolution" in Guatemala began a democratic, national modernization process that implemented deep social reforms, such as the promulgation of a new constitution, labor legislation, and agrarian reform. However, agrarian reform adversely affected North American economic interests and invited retaliation, especially from the United Fruit Company.

The North American intervention in Guatemala in June 1954 marked the beginning of the first U.S. Central

Intelligence Agency (CIA) operations in Latin America, which were in line with the general anticommunist policy adopted during the cold war. The Commission for Historical Clarification points out that following the counterrevolutionary triumph of General Carlos Castillo Armas on July 8, 1954, Guatemala began a period of historical regression that provoked the causes of the genocidal violence of the late twentieth century.

The first guerrilla attacks in Guatemala began during the 1960s in the East, on the South Coast, and in Guatemala City, all nonindigenous regions. The first guerrilla organizations, such as the *Movimiento Revolucionario 13 de Noviembre* (November 13th Revolutionary Movement, or MR-13), *Frente 12 de Octubre* (October 20th Front), and later the *Fuerzas Armadas Rebeldes* (Rebel Armed Forces, or FAR), implemented a *guerrilla focus* strategy, inspired by the Cuban revolution of 1959.

In 1965, the Guatemalan army initiated a ferocious counterinsurgency campaign that prevailed against the guerrillas. The new *Doctrina de Seguridad Nacional* (National Security Doctrine, or DSN) implemented a new and more modern counterinsurgency method that resulted in more than 8,000 victims, mostly civilians.

#### WAR IN MAYAN LANDS

The Commission for Historical Clarification has concluded that the beginning of the violence in Guatemala was the result of racist and exclusionary national policies, which made it impossible for the state to achieve a social consensus in Guatemalan society.

During the 1970s, a number of guerrilla groups emerged in the Mayan region, including the *Organización del Pueblo en Armas* (Organization of the People in Arms, or ORPA), which appeared in 1971. The following year, the *Ejército Guerrillero de los Pobres* (Guerrilla Army of the Poor, or EGP) arose in the Guatemalan Highlands. The FAR was decimated in the 1960s, but resumed its military actions in 1979. After suffering ferocious political persecution and kidnappings, the *Partido Guatemalteco del Trabajo* (Guatemalan Labor Party, or PGT) decided to participate in the armed warfare in 1979.

The military-political strategy adopted by the new guerrilla groups sought to incorporate the indigenous masses into what was becoming a war of national liberation. They considered that the previous guerrilla experience had largely failed, partly because they had been forced to limit their operations to discrete geographic areas in eastern Guatemala, a region populated mostly by Ladinos.

A major earthquake struck Guatemala in 1976. This natural disaster caused a social cataclysm that demonstrated the corruption of the state, as well as its limited capacity to respond to a disaster and organize a response.

In the following years, numerous social organizations arose in Guatemala, mainly cooperatives and unions that mobilized protests of various kinds against the violence and repression and that fought for better labor conditions, wages, and benefits.

#### THE MAYAN EARTH GENOCIDE

In response to this emergent social movement, the state unfolded a counterinsurgency plan that intensified repression and violence. Beginning in 1980, state forces increased the practices of “kidnappings” and “disappearances” against union leaders, university students and faculty, and political candidates. Violence against the Mayan people took the form of “selective murders” of community leaders. The Commission for Historical Clarification has provided evidence that at least 100 Mayan community leaders were assassinated in Chajul, Cotzal, and Nebaj between February of 1976 and November of 1977.

As this repression increased, the first massacres of Mayan communities began. In 1980, in Panzós, a Q’eqch’í community in the department of Baja Verapaz, 150 *kai-biles*, or military elites, assassinated more than 300 farmers in the town square. This action was in response to Q’eqch’í peasants making claims to lands that had been alienated by military officials and plantations owners.

The *Comité de Unidad Campesina* (Campesino Unity Committee, or CUC) founded in the mid 1980s by Mayan farmer leaders and poor Ladinos, soon initiated a series of strikes, both as a strategy to gain better labor conditions and as a protest against the violence. By January 1981, CUC leaders had peacefully occupied the Spanish Embassy, enabling them to make their protests heard outside the country. This mobilization ended when state forces burned the embassy killing more than thirty people. That same year, CUC members organized a meeting in Tecpán, in the department of Chimaltenango, and wrote the Declaration of Iximche, which denounced the oppression, exclusion, racism, and cultural intolerance in Guatemala. At about this time, the Catholic Diocese of the El Quiché department was closed due to acts of repression against its members.

In 1980 the four guerrilla organizations, encouraged by the triumph of the 1979 Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua and the apparently weak position of the Guatemalan Army, spread its military operations over a vast geographic area. This move has since been viewed as a serious military mistake, for the army was well prepared to confront the guerrilla organizations and had already planned its genocidal military campaigns in response. Previous to the military counteroffensive (between July and August 1981), the Guatemalan Army managed to capture all the “secure houses” of the ORPA and the EGP in Guatemala City. Although military aid from the

United States had been suspended indefinitely due to increased human rights violations, the Guatemalan Army still managed to receive military aid approved years before.

#### FIRST MILITARY CAMPAIGN: SCORCHED EARTH

In the middle of 1981, the government of President Lucas García began a military counter-offensive plan designated “Ash 81.” This operation was in fact a well-planned genocide against the Mayan peoples, who were accused of being “communists” and supporting the rebel groups, thereby justifying the campaign called “Scorched Earth.”

The main objective of this genocidal campaign was to “drain the water to the fish”—that is, to isolate the guerrillas from the civil population, and thus from their base of support. The anthropologist Robert Carmack, in *Harvest of Violence: The Maya Indians and the Guatemalan Crisis* (1988) points out that the military intelligence was used to draw a map demarcating the different communities with different colors. Each color designated the military actions to be made, depending on the political proximity of each community to the guerrillas. The “Green” communities were considered “free” of the “internal enemy.” Those communities where some persons or leaders were believed to be supporting the guerrillas were designated as “Pink” or “Yellow.” In these areas the army applied a selective repression, including “kidnappings,” “disappearances,” and “killings” of social leaders and “suspects.” “Red” communities were selected for total destruction because there was intelligence information that they were fully supporting the guerrillas.

The racism and code colors significantly helped the Guatemalan Army, mostly directed by Ladinos, in the conception and planning of this genocide. The “Scorched Earth” military campaign that followed began with the taking of the city of Chimaltenango and other strategic places in order to surround the “internal enemy.”

The guerrillas were not able to stop the bloody military counteroffensive of the Guatemalan Army, despite the fact that they had about 6,000 combatants and a base of support exceeding 250,000 people. Forty-five massacres were committed by the Guatemalan Army from March 1981 to March 1982, with 1,678 victims. The average number of victims per massacre was 37.29 people.

The “Scorched Earth” military campaign was directed by the High Guatemalan Commander using “kaibiles,” or elite forces, and Mayans that were forcibly recruited. Once military control had been gained over the populations that had not been destroyed, the Guatemalan Army organized the *Patrullas de Autodefensa Civil* (Civil Self-Defense Patrols, or PACs) in order to “take care of” the population and defend the community from the threat of communism.

The army intelligence apparatus and a mechanism of social control were increased, using military commissioners, the police, customs guards, and secret agents, who conducted a “witch hunt” against those who protested the violence. The G-2 (military intelligence) used paid informants, or “orejas,” to gain intelligence about the guerrilla groups.

#### SECOND MILITARY CAMPAIGN: MODEL VILLAGES

In 1982 the government of Lucas García was overthrown in a coup d'état that made General Efraín Ríos Montt the new president. Ríos Montt then inaugurated a new military plan, “Victory 82,” with well-directed and improved military actions. This genocide campaign promised to “eliminate,” “annihilate,” and “exterminate” the “internal enemy” very quickly and “gain the hearts of the population.”

From March 1982 to March 1983, thirty-two selective massacres were carried out, killing 1,424 people. The massacre in Plan de Sánchez in Rabinal, Alta Verapaz, claimed the lives of children, women, and the elderly. The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights in its Report 31/99, Case 11.763 Plan de Sánchez, Guatemala, describes this massacre as follows:

... early on the morning of July 18, 1982, two grenades fell to the east and west of Plan de Sánchez. A group of approximately 60 men dressed in military uniforms and armed with assault rifles, and four “judiciales” allegedly arrived in Plan de Sánchez between 2:00 and 3:00 p.m. Those four judiciales were identified by witnesses, and the two officials in charge were identified as Lieutenants Solares and Díaz. The petitioners report that soldiers monitored points of entry into the community, while others went house to house rounding up the population. Girls and young women were held in one location, while older women, men and children were gathered in another. Approximately 20 girls between 12 and 20 years of age were taken to one house where they were raped and then killed. The rest of the population was forced into another house and the adjoining patio. The petitioners allege that, at about 5:00 p.m., soldiers threw two hand grenades into that house, and then sprayed it and the patio with sustained gunfire. Small children were hit or kicked to death. Shots were reportedly heard in another location, where four bodies were later found. The petitioners describe the soldiers as having subsequently set fire to the house where the majority of the victims had been killed before leaving the community some hours later. (Inter-American Commission on Human Rights 2007 Internet site)



**Mayan Protest March.** A Mayan woman holds an anti-Efraín Ríos Montt sign during a protest march in 2003. During the dictatorship of Efraín Ríos Montt, 200,000 people were assassinated or “disappeared.” AP IMAGES.

The extreme cruelty of these military actions against a noncombatant population, as well as various atrocities, such as the extraction of the viscera of victims who were still alive or the opening of the wombs of pregnant women, demonstrate the genocide and racism of this period. Thousands of Maya fled from Guatemala seeking refuge in Mexico, while others fled from the army into the mountains to join the *Comunidades y Pueblos en Resistencia* (Communities of Populations in Resistance, or CPRs).

Ríos Montt’s military campaign was more selective than its predecessor, and the number of victims per massacre was increased. Victoria Sanford, in her book *Buried Secrets* (2003), has pointed out that the percentage of victims per massacre was increased from 37.29 during Lucas García’s regime to fifty. Ríos Montt introduced new military projects for civilians, the “Model Villages.” These were very similar to the “Strategic Hamlets” program implemented by the U.S. Army during the Vietnam War. Thousands of Mayans were forced to live in the model villages, which were under permanent military control by the Guatemalan Army.

The government of Ríos Montt also implemented the “Fusiles y Frijoles” (guns and beans), and “Techo, Trabajo y Tortillas” (roof work, and tortillas) policies as part of the counter-insurgency project. Through these policies, the Guatemalan Army offered protection and assistance to Mayan civilians in exchange of their incorporation to the PACs. In addition, the Special Privilege Tribunal was created to punish the political opponents in summary judgments. As a result of these policies, the guerrilla organizations, realizing their weakened condition, saw the urgent necessity to reorganize. In February of 1982, the four guerrilla organizations reunited to form *Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca* (Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity, or URNG).

### THIRD MILITARY CAMPAIGN: PERSECUTION OF THE CPRs

The genocidal atrocities committed during the Ríos Montt regime ended in August 1983, when Montt was deposed by another coup d’état. The new president, General Oscar Mejía Víctores, promised a transition to democracy and

## Mayan Genocide in Guatemala

the end of armed conflict. Nevertheless, his government implemented another military plan, denominated "Firmness 83," whose main objective was the removal of the last "resistance focus" of the guerrillas and the destruction of the CPRs, who still miraculously survived in the mountains and jungle. The Guatemalan Army succeeded by isolating the civilian population from the guerrillas and by "annihilating," "exterminating," and "destroying" several Mayan communities. The "Scorched Earth," "Model Villages" and "Persecution of the CPRs" genocide campaigns helped the army dominate the military confrontation with the guerrillas.

Reduced in number, without their support base, and crowded into a reduced geographic area, the guerrillas also suffered a "surgical attack" from the Guatemalan Army. Though they still maintained a considerable number of members, there was no real possibility that they could challenge the army.

The control of the population through the Civil Self-Defense Patrols (PACs), the Model Villages program, military commissioners, and military intelligence was also crucial in this process. The Commission for Historical Clarification points out that at least a million Mayan people were forced to belong to PACs by 1983. In 1984, under the military plan known as "Re-Encounter 84," a new Constitutional Assembly was created that initiated the work of elaborating a new constitution.

In 1985, the plan "National Stability 1985" was implemented, allowing a new presidential election to be held. The victor was Vinicio Cerezo, the Christian Democratic Party candidate. The Guatemalan leftist organizations did not participate in this election, however, and the URNG actively boycotted it. In an effort to end military hostilities, Cerezo initiated a dialogue with the guerrillas in Madrid in October 1987. The Esquipulas I and II meetings, held under the mediation of the Mexican government, gave an impulse to the peace process. During the dialogue process, numerous nongovernmental organizations arose and began to demand land, respect for human rights, a search for "disappeared," the return of refugees, and indigenous peoples' rights. They formed the *Coordinadora Nacional de las Viudas de Guatemala* (National Coordination of Guatemalan Widows, or CONAVIGUA), the *Grupo de Ayuda Mutua* (Mutual Support Group, or GAM), the Vicente Menchú and Myrna Mack foundations, and the *Academia de Lenguas Mayas* (Mayan Languages Academy, or ALM), among other groups.

Peace accords between the government of Guatemala and the URNG were finally signed in December of 1996 after years of negotiation. Since then, advances in the peace agenda have been minimal, despite efforts by the United Nations Verification Mission in Guatemala (MINUGUA) and the *Secretaría de la Paz* (Secretariat for Peace, or

SEPAZ), creating conditions for new social conflicts, particularly in the matters of land, human rights, and labor.

## AFTERMATH

The Commission for Historical Clarification has provided evidence that the human cost of this tragedy includes the 626 Mayan communities destroyed by fire, 200,000 people assassinated or "disappeared," 1.5 million people displaced, 150,000 refugees who fled to Mexico, and several hundred people exiled into other countries.

There is evidence that 91 percent of the violations to the human rights and genocidal acts were committed by the state forces and that 83 percent of the victims were Mayan people. This evidence comes from first-hand accounts, such as that of Rigoberta Menchú, a survivor of the massacres and a Nobel Prize winner in 1992; from the human rights report *Guatemala: Nunca Más* (*Guatemala: Never More*, 1998); from the Interdiocesan Project for the Recuperation of Historical Memory (1998); and from the Commission for Historical Clarification, with the support of the United Nations.

The Guatemalan state participated in genocide, a crime against humanity forbidden by the UN Convention for the Prevention of the Crime of Genocide. The massacres perpetrated against noncombatant populations demonstrates the barbarity and racism of the state during this period. The state also participated in ethnocide, the destruction of Mayan culture in the form of ceremonial centers, language, dress, systems of authority, and exercise of spirituality.

Lamentably, public knowledge of this truth has provoked more victims. For example, Monsignor Juan Gerardi, a Catholic archbishop and the main force behind the report *Guatemala: Never More*, was assassinated two days after the publication of the report. In addition, as of 2007, none of those responsible for these acts has yet faced justice, despite the judgments that have been made against them.

**SEE ALSO** *Genocide; Zapatista Rebellion.*

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*Carlos Salvador Ordóñez*

## MAYS, BENJAMIN E. 1894–1984

One of the most influential religious black intellectuals of the twentieth century was Benjamin Elijah Mays. Born in South Carolina, Mays grew up in the system of Jim Crow that mistreated African Americans by denying them equal public services and restricting them to inferior segregated schools that were barely funded by state governments and municipalities—in short, denying them justice under the law. Mays was born two years before the U.S. Supreme Court in 1896 rendered its doctrine of separate but equal in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, legalizing the practice of racial segregation. Under these conditions it is not surprising that racial issues became a central concern in his life. His autobiography, *Born to Rebel* (1971), opens with the story of a crowd of white men with rifles surrounding and cursing his father. The episode was not uncommon for blacks in the South. Mays declared, “Since my earliest memory was of murderous mobs, I lived in constant fear that someday I might be lynched” (p. 49).

Mays was raised in abject poverty by ex-slave parents who eked out a living as tenant farmers. Despite poverty, racial injustice, and economic inequality, Mays was determined to succeed in life. He credited his parents for his strong work ethic. As a child he had a craving for education. However, he had to overcome separate and unequal educational opportunities and the opposition of a father who wanted him to work on the farm. Despite these obstacles, at the age of twenty-one Mays graduated as valedictorian of his high school class in 1916.

Mays spent one year at Virginia Union College before he transferred to Bates College in Lewiston, Maine. He excelled in academics at Bates, ranking fifth in his graduating class in 1920. While at Bates, Mays became an ordained minister and decided to pursue graduate work

at the University of Chicago’s School of Religion. However, after a short time there, he accepted a position at Morehouse College in Atlanta to teach mathematics and psychology. He spent six years at Morehouse before going back to the University of Chicago and earning his master’s degree in 1925. After receiving his graduate degree, he took a position teaching English at South Carolina State College from 1925 to 1926. He served as executive secretary of the National Urban League in Tampa, Florida, from 1926 to 1928 and as student secretary for the National Men’s Christian Association.

One of Mays’s greatest accomplishments occurred when he, along with Joseph W. Nicholson, was commissioned by the Institute of Social and Religious Research to carry out a national study of black churches. After two years of research and writing, Mays and Nicholson completed their study, entitled *The Negro’s Church*, which was published in 1933. It was the most comprehensive work on black churches in the United States, examining more than 600 black churches in twelve urban cities and close to 100 churches in rural areas of the South.

Mays eventually went back to Chicago and earned his Ph.D. However, before he received the degree in 1935 from the University of Chicago’s School of Religion, Mordacai Johnson, president of Howard University, offered him the deanship of the School of Religion at the university. Mays spent six years at Howard’s School of Religion and was able to increase graduate enrollment and strengthen the faculty. Under his leadership, the school received accreditation by the American Association of Theological Schools, becoming the second historically black college to receive such accreditation. He also increased the number of volumes in the library.

In 1940 Mays became president of Morehouse College and went on to transform the institution into one of the nation’s premier historically black colleges. He increased the number of black faculty and faculty with doctorates. He also increased the number of buildings from eight to twenty-five. Additionally, Mays was responsible for the growth of the number of graduates who went on to medical schools, law schools, and Ph.D. programs, and under his leadership the college attracted major donors, thereby increasing the college’s endowment.

Besides becoming one of the leading educators in the nation, Mays also was a crusader for civil rights. As a graduate student at the University of Chicago, he challenged housing and other forms of racial discrimination on campus. Represented by Thurgood Marshall and other attorneys of the NAACP’s Legal Defense Fund, Mays took the Southern Railway Company before the Interstate Commerce Commission after he was refused service in one of the company’s dining cars in October 1944. He contended that his actions were not motivated



## Medical Experimentation

by personal concern but “for the sake of justice.” Working along with a “roving editor” for *Reader’s Digest*, Mays helped reveal patterns of discrimination in hotels, restaurants, and other places of public accommodation in Chicago. Moreover, President Harry Truman appointed him to the National Committee of the Mid-Century White House Conference on Children and Youth. President John F. Kennedy considered Mays for a seat on the Commission on Civil Rights, but southern segregationists red-baited the Morehouse president and he was never appointed. It was Mays’s outspokenness against segregation that galvanized southern opposition to his appointment to the commission. He was the chair of the national conference on religion and race in 1963, and also became vice president of the Federated Council of Churches, the first African American to hold that position.

One of Mays’s greatest talents was to inspire generations of young people to work for social justice. Martin Luther King Jr. was one of several Morehouse students who asserted that Mays became a role model for him. After Mays retired as president of Morehouse in 1967, he became a close adviser to President Jimmy Carter. Throughout his career, he published seven books and numerous scholarly articles. In 1982 the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) awarded him the coveted Spingarn Medal, its highest award recognizing outstanding service in the fight against racism. Mays died in 1984.

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Clarence Taylor

## MEDICAL EXPERIMENTATION

Throughout history, humans have routinely used other human beings for scientific research and medical experimentation. Vivisection was practiced for centuries by ancient civilizations to augment their knowledge of anatomy. Physicians in the Middle Ages honed their craft not only on cadavers and animals, but also on condemned criminals. By the eighteenth century, Europe and the United States had ushered in the scientific revolution, with prisoners, heretics, and slaves providing a steady

stream of bodies to help researchers better understand their fields of science.

During the last 200 years, human experimentation has added its own chapter to a long and nefarious history. Deadly medical procedures, eugenics programs, chemical and radiation exposure, mind-altering drugs, and dubious vaccine trials have been part and parcel of what many historians believe were the seeds that ultimately took root in the experimental race and genetics programs of Nazi Germany. As technology and medicine advanced at breakneck speed, at no time in history had there been such a willingness to exploit human life for the benefit of scientific progress.

It did not take long after the first slaves reached the shores of the New World before physicians started using them as a ready source of material. Beginning in the 1800s, radical surgeries and vaccinations were performed to test medical treatments and to verify the safety of new vaccines. Dr. J. Marion Sims (1813–1883), considered a pioneer in gynecological surgery, performed numerous operations on slaves to perfect his techniques. Robert Jennings (1824–1893), credited with the development of a typhoid vaccine, did so only after experimenting with dozens of slaves. And Dr. Crawford Long (1815–1878), one of the first physicians to use ether as a general anesthetic, used slaves in many of his early experiments, the rationale being that blacks were thought to be biologically inferior both physically and mentally.

### TUSKEGEE SYPHILIS STUDY

Although the end of slavery greatly diminished the practice of medical experimentation on African Americans, it did not eliminate it. In 1932 the Tuskegee Institute, in conjunction with the U.S. Public Health Service, initiated “The Tuskegee Study of Untreated Syphilis in the Negro Male.” Six hundred African-American men, most in various stages of syphilis, were recruited for the purpose of recording the natural history and progression of the disease. Records describe the painful and often debilitating effects of spinal taps followed by treatment with mercury for what was called “bad blood,” a local term used to describe severe ailments. In exchange for their participation, the men received small cash payments, free medical exams, and burial insurance. What they were not told was that even though the study had officially ended six months after it began, it would continue for another forty years with no one receiving treatment, even after penicillin became the drug of choice for treating syphilis in 1947. Dr. Raymond Vonderlehr, one of the Tuskegee researchers who became director of the Division of Venereal Disease, argued that should the cases be followed over a period of five to ten years, many interesting facts

could be learned regarding the course and complications of untreated syphilis.

Once the decision was made to continue, the men who had previously been diagnosed with syphilis were recruited with official letters that enticed them back for further treatment. The deception was brilliant. A living laboratory was assembled in which men with a progressive yet treatable disease could be observed through their terrible stages until the final autopsies were done. Brought to Macon County, the unsuspecting victims would gather for their annual examination and treatment with aspirin and tonic. The incentive for young doctors was a chance to learn diagnostics in a clinical setting and to participate in a once-in-a-lifetime experience.

As the years went by, the men's health worsened. An increase in eye disorders, headaches, and other discomforts grew into unbearable pain due to invasion by microbes into vital organs and bone marrow that was gradually eaten away. In the worse cases, in which patients survived long enough to reach the tertiary stage, syphilis infected the brain and spinal cord, causing excruciating pain that was described as electricity surging through their bodies. For these victims there was often paralysis, seizures, mental deterioration, toxic psychosis, convulsions, and dementia. The final months brought horrible personality disorders that reduced patients to helpless vegetables with little or no brain function.

During the forty-year study, subjects were allowed to grow progressively sicker until they died. Had it not been for a 1972 *New York Times* front-page story, the study would have continued even longer. The fact that penicillin was purposely withheld in order to encourage the disease to spread is one of the most shameful examples of racial medicine in U.S. history. Though a formal apology was issued, the Tuskegee study would forever be linked to subsequent human experiments throughout the twentieth century.

#### NAZI GERMANY

The atmosphere of racism and racial hygiene gained momentum and reached an epidemic in 1930s Germany, where the eugenics torch was passed from moderates seeking birth control to zealots wanting nothing less than to eliminate the unfit from the human population. Adolf Hitler, a student of the American eugenics movement, assumed that many in the West shared his philosophy that only healthy individuals reproduce, when editors of the prestigious *New England Journal of Medicine* wrote in a 1934 article that "Germany is perhaps the most progressive nation in restricting fecundity among the unfit."

In the beginning, it was simply a matter of sterilization; the disabled, the mentally ill, and those with genetic disorders were targeted. But soon euthanasia was added

to eliminate anyone who placed an undue burden on society. The final step was human experimentation, in which individuals or races thought inferior were used in medical research for the benefit of superior races. The horror of experiments in places such as Auschwitz was so shocking that it would eventually halt the eugenics movement.

The medical blocks were areas within concentration camps where prisoners were kept and special medical procedures done. In one of the blocks, victims were submerged in vats of water and ice until they froze into unconsciousness before awakening to screams of pain as their limbs thawed out and felt as if they were being torn off. In an adjacent block, other victims had blistering hot water injected into their stomachs and intestines. In another, subjects whose intentionally administered wounds were infected with gangrene cultures had their blood vessels tied off and shards of glass, mustard gas, and sawdust placed into open wounds to see how quickly the lethal gangrene would set in. Still other blocks were used for mass sterilizations, where caustic agents were injected into the uterus to see how much they would obstruct the oviducts.

Two of the blocks were especially frightening. Block 41 in Birkenau was notorious for vivisections, in which prisoners were used for surgeries, often without anesthesia, and limbs were cut open to expose muscles and apply medications. In block 28 of Buchenwald, victims had toxic chemicals rubbed into their bodies to cause severe abscess, infection, and painful burns, or were forced to ingest toxic powders to study stomach and liver damage. Virtually every medical block was manned by SS doctors who viewed their subjects as less than human and justified their experiments in the name of improving the lives of German citizens. The atrocities committed were a culmination of a eugenics movement that crossed the line from birth control to mass murder. Because the Nazis had destroyed many of the documents, laboratories, and evidence before Allied forces liberated camps such as Auschwitz, the world would never know the full extent of Germany's medical experiments.

#### POST-WORLD WAR II EXPERIMENTATION

Not long after the horrors of World War II, American physicians began a decades-long foray into human medical experimentation. In a 1963 study, for instance, physicians at the Jewish Chronic Disease Hospital of Brooklyn injected live cancer cells into twenty-two unwitting African-American patients. A few years later, African-American women were receiving abortions with experimental devices that caused such severe bleeding that they required hysterectomies. By the 1970s, developing nations throughout the world, financed by the U.S. Agency for International

## Medical Racism

Development, were using a host of experimental drugs and medical procedures on their own populations.

Mass sterilization, an outgrowth of the earlier eugenics movement, was also common throughout the 1960s and 1970s. In Puerto Rico, as much as 35 percent of the female population was sterilized during the 1960s, ostensibly as a way to moderate growth and maintain economic development. Similar programs were started at the same time in most Third World countries. In the United States, family planning and abortion clinics greatly expanded in black and Hispanic communities, with some women being refused abortions or welfare benefits if they did not consent to sterilization. As recently as the 1990s, public health officials encouraged a disproportionate number of African-American women to have themselves and their teenage daughters sterilized as a means of controlling population growth among select minorities. In a 1970s program exposed by Senator James Abourezk, more than 25,000 Native American women were sterilized, many without their knowledge or permission. In all these cases, race played a key role in determining who would be sterilized.

Human experimentation, often justified in the name of science, began as a blight on humankind and was allowed to grow like a cancer because of racism, nationalism, and paranoia. From early medical research to modern human experiments, history is replete with examples of inhumanity that took root simply because few stood up until it was too late. Many who witnessed these events later feared that unless those in positions of power became vigilant protectors against such abuses, it could very well happen again.

SEE ALSO *Forced Sterilization; Forced Sterilization of Native Americans.*

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Andrew Goliszek

## MEDICAL RACISM

Racist ideologies are the foundation for the belief that human biological/genetic diversity among racially defined groups is the reason for social and cultural differences between these groups. Racism emerges when racist ideologies are used to claim that biological differences are a legitimate reason for differential treatment of human populations. Racism is based on the belief that *Homo sapiens* are composed of distinct biological groups (races) with biologically based cultural characteristics and that races can be ranked.

Medical racism is prejudice and discrimination in medicine and the medical/healthcare system based upon perceived race. Racism in medicine can occur in at least four ways. First, on a conceptual level, it can occur as members of a society learn about races and racism as well as the validity of white privilege. Healthcare providers are a product of their social environment. They learn negative attitudes and beliefs about human biological diversity from society that may be brought to the work/health setting. They may be unaware of this racism, and it can be subtle or overt. Second, collective racial discrimination, based on shared cultural beliefs, can result in differential medical treatment and health care. Third, experiences with racism in society and the medical setting can result in stress that negatively impacts health. Lastly, institutional racism in the medical/healthcare system can affect the quality and quantity of health care for minorities.

### RACE AND HEALTH

Genes linked to skin color have not been shown to be determinants of disease. Genes “are almost always a minor, unstable, and insufficient cause” of disease (Goodman 2000, p. 1700). Rather skin color (race) is a centrally determining characteristic of obligations and social identity and a determinant of access to desirable resources.

Medical studies include race in the demographic triad of age, sex, and race, where race is considered a biological trait and a predictor of health in the same way as age and sex. It is assumed that any association with the race category is the result of genes, although there is no evidence that genetic markers for race or geographic region of origin are linked to those that determine health. Rather than race being used as a risk factor, it should be viewed as a risk marker. Race is a risk marker for

exposure to health risks such as occupational health hazards, environmental toxins, and poor quality of medical care.

From a biological perspective, races do not exist in nature. Human biological diversity does not conform to groups described as races. For example, physical criteria for assignment to racial groups such as skin color, facial features, and hair texture are inconsistent and discordant. That is, a person with blond hair may or may not have blue eyes. Also, there are no qualitative differences between groups. Rather, one finds a clinal distribution, or overlapping gradients, for traits in nature without boundaries between populations. In any population, individual variability overwhelms group differences. It may seem easy to identify characteristics perceived to represent races, but the differences dissolve when one scans the genome for deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA) hallmarks of race. Data from the Human Genome Project indicate that the percentage of genes contributing to physical differences between populations account for only 0.1 percent of the human genome (Angier 2000). Since there is greater variation within populations than between them, group differences are very small.

Race is a social rather than a biological construct. Characteristics chosen to identify races are subjective and can vary over time and among countries. For instance, race can change between birth and death. In addition, individuals may change their racial classification over time. For example, using NHANES I data, it was reported that 42 percent specified different ancestries at different interviews (Hahn, Truman, and Barker 1996).

The contemporary idea of race is not based in nature or biology but is the product of U.S. colonization and slavery. With increased desire for profits from agriculture, settlers wanted more slaves. And with ideas of freedom and equality written into the Declaration of Independence, a justification and legalization of the institution of slavery and simultaneously a way to legitimize racism, especially institutional racism, was needed. To increase and maintain a large, cheap labor force, the rights of blacks and other people of color were eliminated. A legacy of this chapter in U.S. history is continued beliefs about minorities as diseased populations with lowered mental abilities.

While race is not real from a biological perspective, racism still exists and is harmful. In epidemiological surveillance, medicine, and public health, race as a variable suggests a genetic basis for the differences in prevalence, severity, or outcome of health conditions. This leads readers to assume that specific races have a certain predisposition, risk, or susceptibility to the illness or behavior under study. Since such assumptions are not substantiated, this type of comparison may represent a

subtle form of racism because “racial differences in mortality are in all likelihood not due to fundamental biological differences, but are in large part due to racism and discrimination” (Herman 1996, p. 13).

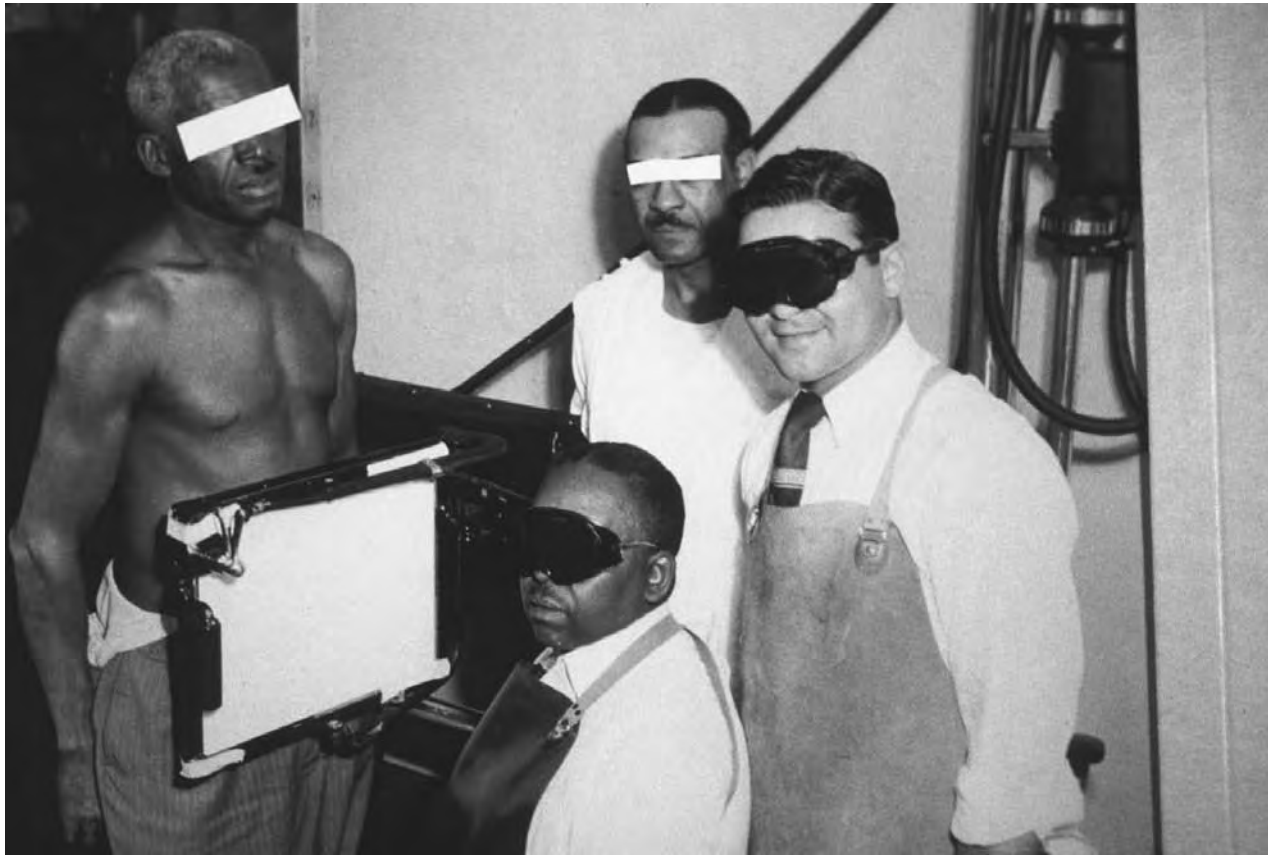
#### **RACISM AND MEDICAL/HEALTHCARE PROVIDERS**

Since at least the colonial period, health providers conformed to a model of health that viewed race as a function of biological homogeneity and black-white differences in health as mainly biologically determined. This model is based on the belief that race is a valid biological category and that genes that determine race are linked to those that determine health. Although no scientific evidence supports these assumptions, in the medical community and in public health, a genetic etiology for disease is equated with racial-genetic susceptibility to that disease.

Physicians’ perceptions of patients are influenced by gender, socioeconomic status, and race/ethnicity. These perceptions affect physicians’ behavior in medical encounters. For example, Wilson et al. (2004) reported that perceptions of unfair treatment in health care varied among medical students and physicians. They found that first-year medical students were more likely to perceive unfair treatment in health care compared to fourth-year medical students, who were more likely to perceive unfairness relative to physicians. The process of acculturation into the medical profession may account for perceptions of unfair treatment. In other words, during the educational process, medical students become less likely to view health disparities as the result of unequal treatment by their peers and the health-care system. Medical students and physicians are less likely to accept the possibility that their peers harbor prejudice and practice discrimination in health care, although physicians are aware that inequalities in treatment exist.

Barbee (1993) argued that racism is unacknowledged in nursing education to avoid conflict and to emphasize empathy, where all patients are treated the same. Also, a nursing population similar to the faculty is perceived as efficient, and nurses are geared toward an individual paradigm that does not focus on societal structures that impact health. She argues that these factors result in racism being ignored in nursing education.

Examination of third-year medical students’ perceptions of social and cultural issues in medicine showed a lack of awareness. Canadian medical students either failed to recognize or denied the importance of race, class, gender, culture, and sexual orientation in their medical encounters with patients and colleagues. Those who acknowledged social differences denied social inequality and their own privilege in society (Beagan 2003).



*Tuskegee Syphilis Study, 1947. The Tuskegee Syphilis Study took place over a 40-year period and was meant to discover how syphilis affected blacks as opposed to whites. The test subjects were never told what disease they were suffering from or its seriousness. Nor were they given treatment for the disease. © CORBIS SYGMA.*

In another study, medical students viewed ethnic groups as discrete and “well defined” groups, and they had difficulty with issues of cultural diversity in medical practice. White medical students did not consider themselves advantaged, were less likely to believe that doctors harbor prejudices, and had problems believing that racism exists in the United States (Dogra and Karnik 2003). Training as a physician, nurse, or other health-care provider does not prepare one to interact with people of other races/ethnicities. Physicians, nurses, and other health-care workers are part of society and subject to the same biases and prejudices that are found in society.

#### RACISM IN MEDICINE

The previous discussion described the conceptual underpinnings of medical racism. In this section racism in medicine is examined from a structural and institutional perspective. In order for racism to operate in medicine and the medical care system, institutions must collaborate in a systematic way. Carmichael and Hamilton (1967) stated that institutional racism occurs when one

or more of the institutions of a society function to impose more burdens on and give less benefit to members of one racial or ethnic group than another on an ongoing basis. Bowser and Hunt (1996) stated that racism is an expression of “institutionalized patterns of white power and social control that were rooted in the very structures of society” (p. xiii). The medical care system is an institution and like other institutions reflects the racial culture of the wider society.

**Experimentation.** Historically, since blacks were viewed as a separate species that were biologically, mentally, and morally inferior, they were considered appropriate subjects for experimentation. Although the Tuskegee Syphilis Experiment illuminated the enormity of problems in the recruitment of disenfranchised people in medical research, this type of racism has a long history. For example, James Marion Sims, the father of gynecology and president of the American Medical Association (1875–1876), experimented on slave women between 1845 and 1849 in an attempt to find a cure for vaginal

fistula. Experimentation on these women was considered acceptable because of their “inhuman” status.

Experiments on disenfranchised people continue into contemporary times. For instance, Jones (1993) and Brandt (1978) examined the Tuskegee Syphilis Experiment (1932–1972) and its sponsorship by the United States Public Health Service (USPHS). From the beginning it was assumed that blacks in Macon County, Alabama, constituted a “natural” syphilitic population. The USPHS believed the study might show that treatment for syphilis was unnecessary for blacks and that existing knowledge concerning treatment for latent syphilis did not apply to them. To the USPHS, syphilis was a different disease in blacks as opposed to whites (Jones 1993). Even in the early 2000s one finds evidence of this logic in medical journals; for example, in 2001 the *American Journal of Surgery* included an article titled “Is Breast Cancer in Young Latinas a Different Disease?”

By the mid-1970s the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) report suggested that failure to provide penicillin (by 1947 the treatment of choice for syphilis) was the major ethical problem with the study, but Brandt (1978) suggested that lying to the men about treatment was the major problem. The fact that a comparative sample of whites was not included in the research design shows the racial orientation of the USPHS. Nothing scientifically useful resulted from this experiment.

Racial underpinnings of this experiment are shown by the fact that the study was widely reported for almost forty years without evoking widespread protest within the medical community and at the USPHS (Brandt 1978). Examples of these publications include: *Environmental Factors in the Tuskegee Study of Untreated Syphilis* (Public Health Reports 1954); *Untreated Syphilis in the Male Negro; Background and Current Status of Patients in the Tuskegee Study* (*Journal of Chronic Disease* 1955); and *The Tuskegee Study of Untreated Syphilis: The 30th Year of Observation* (Archives of Internal Medicine 1964).

**Access to Health Care.** A number of epidemiologic studies reported differences in access to health care and differential treatment based on race. Giachello (1996) examined the sociodemographic disadvantages of Latinos in the United States, especially women. Latina access to health care is restricted by lack of health insurance, white male orientation of health services, institutionalized sexism and racism, and the inability of the medical system to recognize and adapt to the needs of the poor and those of diverse cultures and languages.

Numerous studies report differences in recommendations for specific medical treatments by race and sex of patient. After adjustment for clinical status and health

insurance, whites were more likely than blacks to receive coronary angiography, bypass surgery, angioplasty, chemodialysis, kidney transplants, and intensive care for pneumonia. Blacks and women were less likely than whites and males to receive cardiac catheterization or coronary-artery bypass graft surgery when they were admitted to the hospital for myocardial infarction or chest pain. Although blacks and whites had similar hospitalization rates for circulatory disease or chest pain, whites were one-third more likely to undergo coronary angiography and were twice as likely to receive bypass surgery or angioplasty. This disparity persisted after controlling for income and severity of disease (Wenneker and Epstein 1989).

In a study of physicians, Schulman et al. (1999) found that women and blacks were less likely to be referred for cardiac catheterization than men and whites, respectively. The authors suggested that the race and sex of a patient independently influenced the decision-making process for physicians’ management of chest pain. In other words, after adjustment for symptoms, the physicians’ estimates of the probability of coronary disease and perceptions of the personalities of the patient, along with clinical characteristics, race, and sex, still affected the physicians’ decisions about whether to refer patients with chest pain for cardiac catheterization. This suggests a bias on the part of the physician that may represent overt prejudice or subtle racism.

Individual racism can operate as aversive or subtle racism when individuals of the dominant group unknowingly or without intent express prejudice and discrimination against subordinate groups. Prejudice, negative stereotypes, ethnocentrism, and discrimination can be incorporated into individual racism, the negative attitudes and behaviors expressed by members of the dominant group toward the minority group. With this type of racism individuals believe that biological traits are determinants of morality, intellectual qualities, social behavior, and health. Ultimately, it is assumed that biological differences are a legitimate basis for differential treatment.

## BIOLOGICAL CONSEQUENCES OF RACISM

**Stress.** The state of stress alerts physiological mechanisms to meet the challenge imposed by stressors (stimuli that produce stress). One of the first responses to stress is an increase in sympathetic activity. Sympathetic fibers innervate blood vessels and stimulate the secretion of epinephrine, which increases blood sugar, blood pressure, and heart rate. Denial of racism, experiences with racism, and acceptance of racist ideology may serve as stressors that adversely impact mental and physical health.

Numerous studies show a positive association between racial discrimination and mental distress. Racism can lead to self-hatred and impact how individuals view themselves relative to the dominant group. For instance, experiences with discrimination, as measured by being Mexican American, have been associated with depression.

Racial discrimination is related to decreased measures of personal life satisfaction and more psychological distress. Using data from the National Survey of Black Americans, Jackson et al. (1996) found that unfair treatment because of race was inversely related to subjective measures of well-being. Perceived racism (whites want to keep blacks down) was associated with increased psychological stress and lower levels of subjective well-being. Perceived racism and discrimination resulted in poorer mental health but over time better physical health. They posit that life satisfaction and psychological distress are transitory and situational, whereas physical health problems are chronic with intervening and mediating factors that modify the relationship between racism and health. For instance, those who perceive whites as "holding blacks down" may be more vigilant about their own physical health. Alternatively, recognizing racism and discrimination may be a protective mechanism for combating stress related to racism (Jackson et al. 1996).

Studies indicate that racial discrimination is associated with increased cardiovascular responses (CVR). Exposure to and attributions of racial discrimination can increase CVR and maintain a heightened CVR among African Americans. Racist stimuli have been associated with significantly elevated CVR among African Americans. In another study, African Americans who viewed racist scenarios had increased electromyography (EMG) and heart rates (Sutherland and Harrell 1986; Jones et al. 1996).

Numerous studies show a relationship between racism and blood pressure. For instance, denial of racism may lead to higher blood pressures. Black women who did not report discrimination and who were passive when treated unfairly may have higher blood pressures, but those who reported discrimination may have lower pressures (Krieger and Sidney 1996). In another study, African Americans who viewed scenes of racial harassment by white police officers had elevated systolic and diastolic pressures (Morris-Prather et al. 1996). James and colleagues (1984) found higher diastolic pressures among successful black men who worked hard to overcome obstacles, their race (John Henryism), compared to those who saw their race as helpful. These studies indicate that experiences with racism can impair the cardiovascular system.

Aversive racism, a subtle form of racial discrimination, commonly experienced by blacks, was examined in

a laboratory stress test. Black men who perceived aversive racism had higher systolic and diastolic blood pressures compared to those who did not acknowledge racism and those who considered it a blatant form of racism. Since blacks show more vascular responses to laboratory stressors, these situations, aversive racism, may be important in black-white disparities in CVR. It is also important because blatant forms of racism are giving way to more subtle forms in U.S. society.

Dressler (1993) suggested a social structural model to explain health inequalities. This model incorporates the concept of incongruence. For example, in a study of African Americans, variation in skin color was used as a proxy for socioeconomic status, where it was hypothesized that darker skin color is equated with lower social class regardless of education or lifestyle. He found that African Americans with darker skin color had higher blood pressures than lighter-skinned blacks. He theorized that this was the result of incongruence, where darker-skinned blacks with a high-status lifestyle have more negative interactions because they are not treated in a way commensurate with their social status (Dressler 1991).

**Amputation.** A variety of studies indicate an association between race/ethnicity and lower extremity amputation. For instance, the NHANES Epidemiologic Follow-up Study (1971–1992) found that while blacks were 15.2 percent of the cohort, they were 27.8 percent of the subjects with amputations (Resnick et al. 1999). In a national study of veterans, being black and Hispanic were independent risk factors for lower extremity amputation after controlling for atherosclerosis in veteran patients with peripheral artery disease (Collins et al. 2002).

**Organ Transplants.** Racism is found in patterns of organ donation. Blacks wait for a first kidney transplant twice as long as whites. In a review of patients who received long-term dialysis in the United States, nonwhite dialysis recipients were two-thirds less likely as white patients to receive a kidney transplant. Also, whites were disproportionately on waiting lists for transplants. Many observers believe that there is a two-tiered health-care system.

## HEALTH CONSEQUENCES OF MEDICAL RACISM

Health disparities between minorities and the majority population in the United States are well documented. Such health gaps are demonstrated in, for instance, higher mortality rates among blacks than whites in the United States. In 1900 the life expectancy at birth for whites in the United States was 47.6 years compared to nonwhites (mainly blacks), who had a life expectancy at birth of only 33 years. Life expectancy at birth for black

men in 1992 was 65.5 years compared to 73.2 years for white males. For black and white women the figures were 73.9 years and 79.7 years respectively.

Health disparities between whites and other minorities continue to exist. Death rates for heart disease are more than four times higher for African Americans than whites. Hispanics are almost twice as likely to die from diabetes as non-Hispanic whites. While Asians and Pacific Islanders are among the healthiest populations in the United States, there is great diversity within these groups. For example, women of Vietnamese origin suffer from cervical cancer at nearly five times the rate for white women (National Center for Health Statistics 1999).

Medical racism is based on stereotypical folk beliefs about minority groups that have been socially transmitted from one generation to the next. Those who use genetics to explain health disparities between groups ignore alternate explanations. Race/ethnicity should be used to understand individuals' lived experience. It is a risk marker for life experiences and opportunities as well as access to valued resources. Medical racism is the antithesis of the medical motto: First, Do No Harm.

**SEE ALSO** *Aversive Racism; Clines and Continuous Variation; Diseases, Racial; Hypertension and Coronary Heart Disease; Institutional Racism; Life Expectancy; Medical Experimentation; Mental Health and Racism; Skin Color.*

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## MENTAL HEALTH AND RACISM

President Bill Clinton's 1997 Initiative on Race identified racism as one of the most toxic forces in society, with detrimental consequences on racial and ethnic minorities in education, employment, income, housing, and access to health care. Within the field of mental health, the deleterious effects of racism for people of color have been well documented. A survey of studies examining racism and mental health concluded that racism is a major cause of unhappiness, lower life satisfaction, poor self-esteem, and feelings of powerlessness (Williams, Neighbors, and Jackson 2003). African Americans and Latino/Hispanic Americans report higher levels of global stress, experience greater physiological distress, and have more trauma-related symptoms than do white Americans. Racism has also been found to be associated with depressive symptoms and stress for Asian Pacific Americans as well. Racism not only predisposes an individual to socio-emotional disorders, but it can also result in a depletion of cognitive and emotional resources. The inevitable conclusion is that racism is a social risk factor for mental illness among people of color.

### UTILIZATION PATTERNS

Unfortunately, racism not only causes emotional distress for people of color, but it may infect the delivery of mental-health services as well. Significant racial and ethnic disparities in health care for racial and ethnic minorities, when compared to their white counterparts, are remarkably consistent in studies (Smedley and Smedley 2005). In brief, racial minorities (1) receive an inferior quality of health care across many diseases, including mental disorders, (2) receive less desirable services, (3) are more likely to receive an inaccurate diagnosis, and (4) suffer higher mortality. In a major report, *Mental Health: Culture, Race, and Ethnicity* (2001), the U.S. surgeon general concluded that major disparities in the delivery and utilization patterns of mental-health services for people of color were due to bias and cultural insensitivity.

In one study cited in this report, only 16 percent of African Americans with a diagnosable mood disorder saw a mental health professional, and less than one-third saw a health provider of any kind. When sociodemographic factors such as income and insurance coverage were controlled for, the percentage of African Americans receiving

any mental-health treatment was half that of whites. Less than 25 percent of Asian Americans who experienced symptoms of a mood or anxiety disorder, and 32 percent of Native American/Alaska Natives with a diagnosable mental disorder received treatment from a mental-health professional. Among Latino/Hispanic Americans, only 11 percent with a mood disorder and 10 percent with an anxiety disorder utilized mental-health services.

However, although minimal numbers of racial and ethnic minorities seek mental health treatment from private providers and treatment centers, they are often overrepresented in public mental health treatment facilities, such as hospital emergency rooms. Perhaps this is due to ease of accessibility or because the person waited to treat a problem due to mistrust of mental health providers until it was unavoidable. Because African Americans are significantly more likely to have inpatient psychiatric care than are whites, and because African Americans and Native Americans are more likely to receive emergency care, these groups are greatly overrepresented in inpatient settings. Ironically, among the small numbers of African Americans, Asian Americans, Latino/Hispanic Americans, and Native Americans who do seek mental-health services, the majority are more likely to prematurely terminate treatment than are whites. This high drop-out rate can be directly attributed to the person of color's experience of mental-health care, which is often invalidating and antagonistic to their life experiences and cultural values.

Societal, community, and organizational biases often make mental-health services unavailable and inaccessible to people of color. For example, in rural communities inhabited by many Native Americans and Alaska Natives, there is a dearth of mental-health services. In addition, psychologists and psychiatrists in private practice tend to be inaccessible to those in lower socioeconomic classes, due to high hourly rates and a tendency not to accept government-funded programs such as Medicare. Further, people of color are significantly less likely to have adequate insurance than whites.

Not only is treatment less available to many people of color, but research supports the idea that mental-health services for people of color are often inferior to the treatment received by whites. For example, many African Americans and Latino/Hispanic Americans feel that providers have judged them unfairly or treated them with disrespect because of their race or ethnic background. African Americans were found to be less likely to receive appropriate care than whites for depression and anxiety and African Americans and Latino/Hispanic Americans experiencing a mood or anxiety disorder are less likely to receive good guideline-adherent treatment.

The prescription of psychotropic medication is also distributed unevenly among whites and people of color.

In a trial study of Medicare recipients, African Americans were less likely than whites to be prescribed an antidepressant medication, and African Americans were significantly more likely to be prescribed antipsychotic drugs, even when indications for this treatment did not exist. Misdiagnosis of people of color is a pervasive issue in mental-health-care settings. Oftentimes, the mental-health provider will mistakenly see differences in cultural determined behaviors as pathology. Clinicians have been shown to be predisposed to diagnosing African Americans as schizophrenic, whereas widely held stereotypes of Asian Americans as the “model minority” may prompt clinicians to overlook their mental-health problems.

#### BARRIERS TO EFFECTIVE MENTAL HEALTH SERVICES

Various factors act as barriers to mental-health treatment for people of color. The culture-bound and class-bound values of therapy may work against minority clients from seeking such treatment. For example, researchers have shown that the under-utilization of mental-health resources by Asian Americans can be attributed to a mismatch between Asian cultural values and the values inherent in Western mental-health services. In particular, Asian Americans were significantly less likely than whites to discuss their mental-health problems with a mental-health specialist because of the shame and stigma associated with disclosing family and personal issues. African Americans have described such a stigma and the “cold,” “detached,” and objective manner of professionals as affecting their willingness to seek help. Indeed, therapists who are unaware of how cultural values influence the helping process are likely to misinterpret and misdiagnose racial and ethnic minorities in a pathological manner.

Cultural mistrust is also a major barrier to mental-health treatment. Mistrust of white clinicians by people of color derives from historical persecution and continuing experiences of racism. The field of psychology has a history of exploiting people of color and utilizing racist and culturally ignorant practices. The alienation and lack of trust felt by people of color toward mental-health services is well documented and is considered to be compounded by cultural misunderstanding (Sue 2003). Clients of color are likely to approach the helping professional with a healthy suspiciousness about whether the clinician’s biases, preconceived notions, and lack of cultural understanding will prevent them from obtaining the help needed. Unfortunately, they often conclude that they will not receive the help they need and fail to return for sessions.

The heavy reliance on the use of Standard English and “talking” may also serve as barriers to mental-health services for people of color. It is estimated that access to mental-health care is limited for approximately half of

the Asian-American population due to lack of English proficiency, as well as to the shortage of providers who have the necessary language skills. Among Native Americans and Alaska Natives, cultural differences in the expression of distress often compromises the ability of both clinicians and assessment tools to capture the key signs and symptoms of mental illness. For example, the words “depressed” and “anxious” do not exist in some American Indian and Alaska Native languages. Further, many cultural groups rely heavily on nonverbal rather than verbal communication to transmit information about themselves and their problems. A culturally unaware provider may miss or misinterpret important nonverbal messages being imparted by the client.

The limited availability of mental-health professionals who can be ethnically matched with clients is problematic, especially as it often relates to language barriers. For example, there are very few African American, Latino/Hispanic American, Native American/Alaska Native, and Asian American mental-health professionals, so making an ethnic match between therapist and client is difficult at best. Studies have shown that both an ethnic match between therapist and client and services that respond to the cultural needs of the client can prevent early termination of treatment and lead to better outcomes for racial and ethnic minorities.

In conclusion, there is overwhelming evidence supporting the notion that racism is a risk factor for mental illness among racial and ethnic minorities. Unfortunately, research also suggests that mental-health systems are often inappropriate, antagonistic, inferior, and inaccessible to populations of color and may only serve to marginalize them. Only if society and the mental-health professions begin to address these disparities in a serious way will we be able to improve the mental health of populations of color and provide culturally relevant services. In general, it is important for mental-health professionals to acknowledge the insidious effects of racism in their profession and themselves. No helping professional is free from racial or ethnic bias, and only if racism is honestly acknowledged and confronted will the profession begin to minimize the psychological harm of racism, enhance physical and psychological well-being, and increase access to health care for all minorities.

**SEE ALSO** *Health Care Gap; Medical Racism; Model Minorities.*

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## MEXICANS

Beginning with the conquests of the sixteenth century and the subjugation of the indigenous population, race and racism have been a major stratifying dynamic in Mexico. Throughout this history, the Native peoples of the land have been made to feel inferior because of their physical appearance and cultural traditions. After hundreds of years of adjustments and struggle, this colonial legacy persists in Mexico. The Zapatista resistance, which began in the 1990s, is living testimony to the continuing significance of this problem.

This tradition of race and racism has also affected the Mexican American, not only as a result of the legacy of the earlier experiences in Mexico, but also as a consequence of the annexation of northern Mexico by the United States after the Mexican-American War of 1846–1848. In the early twentieth century, immigration to the United States from Mexico reinforced these animosities and racial conflicts. Moreover, Mexicans who appeared "Indian" in appearance were treated much the same as Americans had traditionally treated Native peoples, so that segregation, discrimination, and a denigration of race and culture were the order of the day. These older practices were added to in the late twentieth century, when increasing waves of immigration fanned other racist practices. Mexicans became "illegal aliens" and, ironically, outsiders in the land of their ancestors.

Race and racism are critical and related social constructions. In the United States, racism is a social construction of the dominant Euro-American elite who have exerted power to subordinate other groups who are physically or culturally distinct, particularly Native Americans, African Americans, and Hispanics, in an effort to justify inequality in wealth, power, and prestige.

## THE MEXICAN CASE

The social construction of racism in Mexico has informed the way racism toward Mexican Americans has been expressed in the United States. Both countries inherited miscegenation laws from the colonial era. In Mexico, a *mestizo* (mixed-race) population developed and ranged from Indian to Spanish (and later African) in physical attributes and appearance. Strict racial barriers and laws were in place throughout the colonial period, with the darker-hued groups held in lower esteem. The hierarchical ordering of races was intensified by the arrival of Africans, who further complicated the racial mixing then underway. The skin color and phenotypic traits of the white ruling elites set the standard to which all others had to measure up, and this generated a new strategy among the mestizo population, who attempted to "pass" if they had lighter skin or were European in appearance. In both Mexico and the United States, many adopted this strategy in order to increase their chance of upward mobility.

In Mexico, being a mestizo helped blur class and cultural differences, as many could claim that the country was mostly mestizo. The notion of *La Raza Cós mica* (the Cosmic People) made the mestizo heritage a popular one and took hold after the 1910 Mexican Revolution. The ruling elites favored building a mestizo ideology around nineteenth-century notions that racial problems had been resolved because intermarriage was transforming the population into a hybrid people. Problems persisted, however, and were exacerbated by indigenous people migrating to cities both at home and abroad. With the rise of the Zapatistas in 1994, the term *dignidad* (dignity) came to the fore as a principle to generate pride in an indigenous struggle for rights and recognition.

Nevertheless, the outcome of some of these developments is that acculturation and integration into the mainstream of Mexico by Indians have been mediated by racial appearance, and the customs of a region and people have helped to guide and direct acceptance based on race. Cultural transformations have thus been an aid in escaping one's racial heritage. For example, many Indians pass themselves off as mestizos and not of pure Indian heritage. (Because females are usually the transmitters of indigenous culture, this path is more often taken by males.) Thus, a large portion of the Mexicans are not only dark in appearance but actually have Indian ancestry. The additional pressures of urban migration, communal land privatization, and population growth among the indigenous have only compounded Mexico's "Indian problem" in modern times.

The indigenous population began to be taken more seriously by elites after the Mexican Revolution of 1910, if for no other reasons than the Indians were key participants and many revolutionary goals were grounded in their

experiences. In the aftermath of this conflict, the Mexican government and people initiated programs of language and cultural integration, and great strides were made in integrating the Indians and darker mestizos. A more pluralistic model of diversity began to emerge in Mexico as much-neglected problems were addressed. However, the unspoken government policy has been to rate all citizens equal but treat Indians differently.

Racial discrimination always takes its psychological toll. Most Indians who assimilated and learned to dislike (or hate) their phenotype were left with psychological trauma. They repressed and despised their own indigenous (and Mexican) heritage in order to conform to the ways of the larger society. The result is a commonly traversed path of marginality, conflict, and ambiguity for many people who must reconcile two cultural (and, in reality, racial) worlds.

It is no surprise, then, that in Mexican society there is a social myth of the superiority of white skin. This myth is promulgated by the media and often reinforced by physical threats to the well-being of darker skinned individuals. Internal and external migration have acted as both a safety valve and as an integration strategy for the Indian problem, but these movements have also brought deep and old racist sentiments to the surface. Nevertheless, indigenous migration to urban places had become commonplace by the end of the twentieth century. There have also been attempts to “deport” indigenous people to the interior, where much of the general public believes they belong. Even border town leaders often take a position against Indians, and they encourage the U.S. police to “clean up” the area around the border crossings on the pretense of protecting the Americans. Such actions can subject Indians to human rights violations, however.

The proximity of this region to the United States (sometimes referred to as “Mexiamerica”) helps generate feelings of shame among the population there. Most Americans cannot claim an Indian heritage, but the view Americans have of Mexico is of both an Indian past and present: The people look and act like Indians. Many Mexican border residents, who are largely mestizo, feel that this association does them a disservice, and they feel disgraced “by association” as a result.

#### THE SITUATION IN THE UNITED STATES

In the United States, race and racism take on another dimension. Margarita Melville defined racism as “pejorative social discrimination based on phenotypic (observable biological) characteristics” (1994, p. 92). In the aftermath of the Mexican-American War, conditions and practices of racism permeated Anglo-Mexican relationships, and racial attitudes and practices from the colonial era played a role in this new context. But as Mexican immigration increased

to become a critical factor, there was a regeneration of Mexican culture in the United States. Yet large-scale immigration in the late twentieth century also served to reawaken the Anglo racism of the past, creating an intense anti-immigrant sentiment.

Attitudes based on prejudices shape discriminatory behavior. To situate Mexicans in the lowest positions, the dominant U.S. group prejudged their behavior negatively and set up social barriers to their inclusion in good neighborhoods, schools, and jobs. Thus, their social aspirations were dampened and their paths to success were curtailed. In a very short time, the subordinate status of Mexicans became socially constructed as being a consequence of their own inadequacy. Up until the 1960s, Mexican workers in the United States were seen to be careless, lackadaisical, and poorly disciplined. Since then, there has been some relaxing of these stereotypes. There is still, in the early 2000s, a ready association between Mexicans and functionary service labor.

Throughout the twentieth century, the strain of gaining social acceptance made Mexicans in the United States always want to catch up and rid themselves of such stereotypes. Passing as Spanish, especially among light-skinned Mexicans, was one strategy Mexicans used to “elevate” themselves. This strategy was based on racial ideologies that held that darkness signified inferiority. Anglo feelings of superiority to people of color were so deep-rooted that only lighter-hued Mexicans might avoid negative treatment, and even “swarthy” Spaniards were looked down upon (see Almaquer 1994). Yet American leaders often fought against such attitudes and practices. The civil rights movement and the 1964 Civil Rights Act exemplify this type of striving for equality. However, successes were slow and hard won, as overt racism gave way to covert versions, such as disparities in school district budgets and the elimination of job training programs. In short, the structure of society in the late twentieth-century was imbued with racist feeling and actions. As in the earlier colonial confrontation, the struggle over resources and social power is an important motivating factor in modern racist behavior, and racist ideology has been used to prevent the acquisition of land and wealth among minority groups. Impoverished in this manner, Mexicans and others have been blamed for their own poverty and socioeconomic failures. As recently as the early 1960s, the police departments in various southwestern cities held negative views of Mexicans just for being darker and speaking a foreign language. Such reasoning translated into policies that were extremely detrimental in most heavily populated Mexican regions of the Southwest. Later, when other parts of the United States such as the East and Southeast, experienced an influx of Maya, Mixtec, and Zapotec Mexicans, the police



***Justice and Dignity for All Immigrants Rally, 2006.*** A Mexican woman waves the U.S. and Mexican flags at a rally protesting proposed immigration legislation that many Latino groups consider discriminatory. AP IMAGES.

departments in these areas displayed similar attitudes (see Escobar 1998).

There were occasional successes, though, especially in the celebrated cases involving segregated schools, including the successful desegregation of the Lemon Grove (California) School District in the 1930s and the 1946 *Mendez v. Westminster* case, in which separate schools for Mexican students were held to be unconstitutional under the Fourteenth Amendment. Most other societal sectors were interwoven with racial standards that were implicitly or even explicitly aimed at the exclusion of ethnic minorities. In some regions and cities, racism continued in social realms outside the school as late as the 1950s. Swimming pools, recreation centers, movie theaters, shopping districts, and restaurants were considered off limits to Mexicans. In certain heavily racist towns, even something as mundane as a haircut was touched by racism. In the 1930s, a barber in Texas stated: “No, we don’t wait on Mexicans here. They are dirty and have lice, and we would lose our white trade. The Mexicans also have venereal diseases, most of them, but of course some whites do, too. The Mexicans go to their own barbershop. The Negroes barber each other”

(Taylor 1934, p. 250). While some individuals internalized this type of treatment to nurture feelings of self-hate, there were others who resisted in different ways.

#### RESISTANCE

Chicano resistance against racism erupted in the nineteenth century. It took such forms as social banditry (e.g., armed combat against police and vigilante authorities) and has continued to recent times, as in the Los Angeles riots of 1992 in the aftermath of the Rodney King verdict. In the early twenty-first century, marches and protests associated with immigrant rights have been packed with racial overtones. The national hysteria in the United States regarding the overwhelming presence of undocumented Mexicans and the problems with the border regions are also loaded with racist motifs.

One major example of this propensity for resistance against racism is the so-called Zoot Suit Riots of the early 1940s in Los Angeles. This was a clear, united stand against racist persecution. Chicanos grouped together for defensive purposes, as both the police and civilians subjected the community to angry attacks, and the

rioting continued for several days. Mexican Americans were held responsible for the entire affair, but public attention eventually zeroed in on the barriers and obstacles affecting Mexican Americans, especially the ones that were based on racism, and some programs were introduced to counter them.

Mexican-American veterans also took a stand against racist institutions. As first-class citizens in the front lines of both world wars, they could not accept second-class citizenship when they returned home. Steadfast in their resolve, they organized as the American GI Forum and fought to eliminate racist practices. Institutional discrimination was reinforced, however, by the proliferation of derogatory images of Chicanos, and by labels such as “greaser,” “Mec-skin,” “wetback,” and “beaner.” Negative stereotyping was also a common practice among social-science writers and other academicians, who needed to rationalize the experiences of the ethnically defined underclass. Mexicans were described as being unable to delay gratification, fatalistic, too collective in nature, lazy, dumb, immoral, and culturally deficient. These and other disparaging stereotypes were still popular in the 1950s and 1960s. While many social scientists subsequently rid their work of such imagery, the legacy lives on elsewhere. One need only look to Hollywood movies and television programs to document the occurrence of stereotyping. In films, Mexican female and male characters (as well as Indians) are often depicted as mostly a bad sort, and they are generally associated with gangs, terrorism, illegal immigration, and drug trafficking.

Over time, Chicanos have adjusted to this treatment and fashioned a self-protective shell. Many have become “reverse racists,” even toward other racial minorities. As an adaptive mechanism, this racist attitude has helped Mexican Americans survive the onslaught and reclaim some sense of self-dignity. Even after immigration to the United States, however, intragroup racism persists among Mexicans, with the darker-skinned people treated more shabbily. Generational distance from Mexico has also affected intragroup relations. To some degree, Mexicans in the United States have mistreated and verbally abused Mexican immigrants on the basis of cultural attributes, calling them *mojados* (wetbacks), *chuntaros*, and T. J.s (meaning “from Tijuana”). Occasionally, Chicano leaders have tried to stop this name-calling.

In the United States, hiring practices have often been racially based. In addition, socioeconomic variation among Mexicans has contributed to intraethnic relations and conflicts. Mexican immigrants compare their socioeconomic status to the status they had in Mexico, whereas Mexican Americans born in the United States compare their status with that of Anglos. Darker-skinned Mexicans have sometimes sought a status change through intermarriage. Thus, up to the early 2000s, the Mexican-American community

has faced tremendous problems stemming from racial discrimination. In employment and social standing there have been major barriers for advancement.

Thus, many race-based problems still persist in the United States. In the past, racial discrimination was blatantly practiced. The breaking down of the most extreme barriers has come faster in urban areas, due to the successes of the civil rights movement and the increase in minority populations in these areas. As racial and cultural myths are challenged and eliminated, Chicanos have made advances in mainstream America, but individuals and groups still struggle to gain some level of parity.

### IMMIGRATION AND RACISM

Discrimination toward indigenous people in Mexico proper has often been carried north into the United States as well. Mexican immigrants to the United States are both non-indigenous and indigenous, forcing these two groups to live and work side by side. As in many societies, people who are darker skinned are also more susceptible to harassment. There seems to be a paradoxical mentality that exists in Mexico and in the United States among nonindigenous Mexicans. Mestizos like to identify with the glorious past of the indigenous people, such as their Aztec cousins of five hundred years ago. On the other hand, they see the living indigenous Mexicans as being inferior to themselves.

Some people are confused and saddened that they are treated badly by the people who are supposed to be their countrymen. One of the effects of this discrimination is that people from indigenous regions have become ashamed of who they are. To be Indian is a stigma in some quarters of American society, although with the resurgence of Indian rights this attitude is changing somewhat.

One strategy used to deal with this ambiguous situation is to become bilingual and bicultural, a strategy that has worked for many Indians in Mexico. Recent cultural and ethnic reclamation efforts, as part of a general pan-Indian movement, have assisted in making Indians more autonomous. Indigenous dictionaries, novels, and poems have been written, and indigenous organizations have sprung up, heralding a renaissance in Native culture. Ethnic identity is being reaffirmed as Indians strive to achieve what was once ascribed to them.

Indian Mexico has changed for the better and recent political and social disturbances reflect this ascendancy. Jan Rus, the director of the Native Language Publishing Project, maintains that discontent among the indigenous population goes back decades, to when the Mexican government failed to deliver on the promises made after the 1910 Revolution and capitulated to landowners. Nevertheless, the initial Zapatista thrust in January 1994 caught many citizens and observers by surprise. Remarkably, with each political episode, more defenders and supporters have

materialized. This is one instance where “identity affirmation” has bolstered a self-esteem with definite political overtones.

#### LEGACIES OF RACISM

The legacies of the racial hierarchy that was introduced to Mexico by the Spaniards include discrimination and racism toward indigenous people. In its neo-caste form, this hierarchy still functions to create barriers to integration and acceptance. Worse yet, postcolonial and neoliberal regimes have reformed rather than eliminated such practices. To speak of racism in Mexico is to be “unpatriotic,” and racism and discrimination are seen as existing only in the minds of indigenous people. Yet the historical record and the recent Zapatista movement suggest a different picture.

In spite of the Indians’ presence in Mexican life, to many they are to be glorified as a dead culture that represents the seeds of the modern Mexican state. Those who have used indigenous ideologies to create a Mexican identity have manipulated the Indian identity to empower themselves under a *mestizocracia*. Indigenous people are thus in a double bind: they are losing their culture in the process of acculturation and assimilation, and yet they are not accepted in the mestizo society.

There is constant friction between Mexican social scientists who wish to accentuate Spanish culture and those who want to emphasize indigenous culture. This push to take on a new identity has persisted in the twentieth century, as the Mexican government has tried to incorporate indigenous people into mainstream life through the educational system. Given the complexity and intractability that exists in Mexico, a more inclusive strategy needs to be formulated to expedite race relations studies in Mexico, one that takes into account all the disparate facets of the realities of old and new forces.

The Spaniards who conquered Mexico neither accommodated nor appreciated Indian culture. Later, Anglos were similarly disdainful of Mexican culture. Almost without exception, the subordinate culture was forced to assimilate to the culture of the aggressor. In both Mexico and the United States, this shift required a glorification of the dominant culture and a vilification of other cultures. Despite this pressure to assimilate, many Native people took the creative bilingual-bicultural approach of amalgamating their culture with that of the dominant group. Thus, they innovated a new cultural style, a blend of elements generating a new cultural orientation and identity. Although feelings of inferiority and acts of socioracial “passing” are still prevalent, it appears that a more confident and accepting attitude is emerging to underscore recent improvements in self-image. Notwithstanding these advances, and to reiterate,

racism has generated a pronounced impact on almost every single facet of Chicano life.

Mexicans are not one homogeneous group, however, nor will there be any overnight changes in the way indigenous people are perceived and treated in Mexican society (or in the way Mexican Americans are treated in the United States). Acknowledging the issue of racism will initiate a much-needed dialogue to assist in unraveling the many issues marking the inequality within Mexican society. Debates over issues of discrimination and power relations within the Mexican community are still lacking because of a number of interrelated factors, such as who determines the research that gets undertaken and who has the social status, power, and access to institutions of higher learning. In the United States, the mounting hysteria over immigration and the rights of immigrants has taken a very negative turn, eroding some of the gains of past decades. Racism fades slowly, and it recurs when seemingly intractable problems arise as a reminder of how deeply rooted it can be.

SEE ALSO *Citizenship and “the Border”*; *Colonialism, Internal*; *Immigration, Race, and Women*; *Nativism*; *Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo*; *Zapatista Rebellion*.

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## MILITARY

SEE *Black Civil War Soldiers; Soldiers of Color*.

## MISSIONARIES AMONG AMERICAN INDIANS

The loss of Native homelands through the movement of tribes by means of warfare, treaty, and political policy, coupled with the strategy to "civilize" Native peoples through religious conversion, represents the common experience shared by First Peoples in what is now North America. Political and religious attempts to dismantle the cultural and spiritual existence and the familial structures of Native tribes varied from place to place, whereas the timeline and severity of these efforts were connected to the unfolding of European contact experienced by each tribe. The enactment and enforcement of European and subsequent U.S. federal policy are clearly marked both in time and experience. Religious conversion efforts, however, varied significantly among tribes and bands.

The identification and labeling of Native people as "less than human," "heathen," "neophytes," "soulless," "wild," "uncivilized," or "pagan" by those charged with

the efforts to religiously convert and educate them solidified the racialized construct of Indian people. Family structures that deviated from biblical charges, such as polygamy, gay relationships, and matriarchal systems, were marked for genocidal, or at the very least, ethnocidal policies that have impacted Native life ever since.

## CHRISTIANITY AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

To fully understand the complexities of the contemporary American Indian situation, one must consider how Christianity was used by Europeans to further their goals of conquest and capitalism. The so-called Doctrine of Discovery, which had its origins in the Crusades and the papal bull *Romanus Pontifex* issued by Pope Nicholas V, was tantamount to a declaration of war on all non-Christians. This carte blanche understanding of the rights of conquest was furthered by papal documents issued to Spain and Portugal by Pope Alexander VI in 1493. Subsequent decrees from European monarchs, such as the English Charters, also utilized the language of conquest that originated in these papal documents. In other words, Christian nations believed that they had God's blessing to lay claim to all "discovered" lands and their non-Christian peoples. These documents and their supporting ideology laid the groundwork for the largest and most violent land grab in the Western Hemisphere.

The resulting dehumanization of Native peoples was grounded in the Europeans' archetype of "humanity," which they defined as white and Christian. Both of these components—being white and being Christian—are inherently intertwined and must be understood as such. This dehumanization process allowed Europeans to wage extreme violence and brutality against indigenous peoples on both the North and South American continents. The historical record includes numerous examples of Europeans hunting and killing Native people for sport, including playing sword games in which they tried to kill a Native child with one swipe, or using their dogs to hunt down Native peoples and subsequently feeding them to the dogs as a reward for catching their prey (Churchill 1997).

Jesuit communications recounting their first contacts with American Indians continually and systematically describe them as neophytes and savages, terms that were also in common use in communications among the church hierarchy and with non-Indian parishioners. A neophyte, according to the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, is one who lately entered a new and higher state or condition of life, such as those who have entered the Christian ecclesiastical life. It was also used to describe people who had recently converted from heathenism to the higher life of the Church. The Council of Nicaea (325 CE) decreed that, after baptism, each neophyte must undergo a period of "fuller probation," the duration of which was left to the discretion of individual bishops, before they could be



declared Christians. This probationary status clearly inferred that the newly converted were not yet wholly human, meaning that they could not be trusted to act in the manner of white Christian Europeans.

#### CONVERSION AND CIVILIZING THE POPULATION

In the North American colonies, the English settlers' legal system followed English common law. It was also in direct conflict with many American Indians' traditional methods of maintaining social order. The settlers' understanding of God's will and vision of themselves as bringing salvation to the savages perpetuated their racist attitudes and actions toward American Indians. This is evidenced by the formation of "Praying Towns" inhabited by "Praying Indians" in the New England and New York colonies. A corporation formed by the English Parliament in 1646 allotted sums to establish these towns, which were formed on the outskirts of colonies and used as a political and physical barrier to encroaching non-English white settlers. Some Native groups in the area did not succumb to conversion and were hostile to these towns, and these groups were often used as scouts by non-Puritan settlers. Ironically the "Praying Towns" were decimated during King Philip's War (1675–1676), and the English settlers did not come to their aid. The inference is that they were in a racialized neophyte status and not worthy of being saved.

As the land changed from a conglomeration of settlers and colonies to the United States, government policies towards Native peoples remained rooted in the antiquated and racist pillars of the Doctrine of Discovery. When, for financial and political reasons, the United States' policy towards its Native inhabitants evolved, the views rooted in this doctrine also justified using religious conversion and education as means of "civilizing" or assimilating American Indians. Many politicians during the formation of the United States government saw American Indians as "sons of the forests" (in the words of George Washington) and part of nature (according to Thomas Jefferson). Again, the inference was that, as creatures of the land and nature, they were inherited by the Christians of the United States along with conquest of the land. As such, it was as much a duty to civilize (i.e., Christianize) the Indians as it was to civilize (i.e., conquer and cultivate) the wilderness. Further, if these efforts failed, the duty was to extinguish those who would not comply.

It is also important to note the historical shift in language that occurred before the Revolutionary War. Although the religious terminology of *heathen* and *neophyte* began to be replaced by the more secular term *savage*, the equation of Christianity with civilization remained.

Indeed, as a result of continual contact with Euro-Americans settlers and the importance of the fur trade, some American Indian Nations succumbed to the forces of civilization, and missionaries taught them to become Christians and farmers. The early political leaders of the United States advocated either Christianizing (civilizing) or exterminating American Indians. So, in essence, Christianizing and civilizing were reduced to one ideology in federal Indian policy.

The Indian Trade and Intercourse Act, passed by the first U.S. Congress in 1790, was the first step in dealing with the "Indian problem" in the newly formed United States. This act allowed the government to license traders as agents of the United States to trade with American Indians. This is the birth of the ubiquitous "Indian Agent" and the imposition of the federal government in every aspect of American Indian affairs. Another important feature of this act was that land was no longer taken under the auspices of conquest. Instead, it was acquired through the "sale" of American Indian lands under the authority of the U.S. government and in the form of a treaty. During this first Congress, the government also put in place the bureaucracy that has surrounded American Indians since the formation of the United States. The "Indian problem" was subsumed under the office of the secretary of war, and the 1802 Congress reinforced this relationship between American Indians by giving the secretary of war control over all American Indian affairs.

#### THE ROLE OF THE SETTLERS

Non-Indian settlers believed that, by living among the Indians and serving as exemplars of the highest Christian values, they could inspire and teach them to become like the archetypal white yeoman farmer; that is, they could make the Native peoples both civilized and Christian. The Massachusetts legislature bought land and established Stockbridge as a township for converts (not unlike the "Praying Indians") and interested white Christian families. In response to the encroachment of increasing numbers of white settlers, many American Indians moved to this settlement, where the Mahikan language was used in church and as the shared language of the settlement. Many Indian warriors from Stockbridge fought with the Americans in the Revolutionary War. While the Native males were gone to war, however, the missionaries divided the church into Indian and English congregations, and the Christian Indians' were forcibly removed to Central New York.

By the time the Indian Trade and Intercourse Act became law, the Stockbridge Mission Indians could speak, read, and write English; they had developed a stable farming community modeled after the white yeoman farmer; and were serving as cultural brokers between

other American Indians and white settlers. Shortly after the first Congress, the War Department held the Stockbridge Indians up as models and argued that the rest of the American Indians should also become “civilized.” Even as model American Indians, however, the Stockbridge Indians could never fully escape being thought of as neophytes or savages. They were forcibly relocated seven times before obtaining a small piece of land from the Menominee in what is now Wisconsin. As late as 1982, the Stockbridge Indians (known as the Mohican Nation) had to sue a museum in Massachusetts to have their original Bible and communion set recognized as their patrimony and returned to them.

### SOLIDIFYING THE SUBJUGATION

A version of the Christian-influenced Doctrine of Discovery was institutionalized in the 1823 Supreme Court ruling in the case of *Johnson v. McIntosh*. The Court decided unanimously that Indian peoples were subject to the ultimate authority of the first nation of Christendom and the government was allowed to claim possession of a given region of Indian lands (Wheaton 1855, p. 270). In his opinion, Chief Justice John Marshall specifically cited the English Charter issued to John Cabot, which authorized Cabot to take land regardless of the occupancy of “heathens” or non-Christian people. Marshall claimed that this authorization carried over to the United States government. The Supreme Court reiterated the premise of the Doctrine of Discovery in its 1831 ruling in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* that the Cherokee Nation was not wholly sovereign and the United States did not have to recognize Indian Nations as free from United States control (Newcomb 1993, p. 4).

These rulings infused the religious doctrine of Christianity directly into United States law regarding the Indian problem. Hence, it could be said that the U.S. government became the ultimate missionary. By implicitly incorporating the distinction between Christian people and Native peoples, these rulings became the premise on which all legislation towards American Indians was based, beginning with the Indian Removal Act of 1830 and extending all the way through the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990.

Thus, the Doctrine of Discovery became incorporated into the law of the land, subsumed under the nationalistic ideology of Manifest Destiny, the belief that it was the Christian God’s will to expand “white American’s liberty” from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and used by politicians and expansionists to further the goals of conquest. Andrew Jackson, a politician who had long been involved militarily in Indian conquest, cleared the way for the southeastern land grab by putting forth and signing legislation known as the 1830 Indian Removal

Act. Explicitly allowing the government to “negotiate” land-based treaties with the tribes and “encourage” them to relocate on land acquired through the Louisiana Purchase west of the Mississippi, the unscrupulous tactics used in obtaining treaties and subsequently removing Indians from their lands was far from voluntary. For instance, the Treaty of New Echota, which required Cherokee removal, was not signed by the leaders of the tribe, but it was enforced at gunpoint. Many southeastern Indians were strong stewards of their land and quite proficient in agriculture, making their land prime real estate. Even though many Native communities in this region had welcomed missionaries, established churches, and sometimes used enslaved Africans to farm their land, the intersection of Western capitalism and the ideology of Manifest Destiny continued to fuel the push for land. The Five Civilized Tribes (the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole Nations) were removed from their land and several thousand Native people died on the trek to the newly named “Indian Territory” because the government did not provide adequate transportation and provisions. The federal government had contracted these services out to the lowest bidder and did not follow up to see if the supplies and health care were adequate. This forced genocidal trip is known as the “Trail of Tears.”

As romantic stories from explorers such as Lewis and Clark about the available fertile land on the other side of the Mississippi spread eastward, the ideology of Manifest Destiny became even more pronounced, fueled by visions of a transcontinental railroad and great wealth in the form of natural resources such as gold. Another factor that played into expansionism and Manifest Destiny was the addition of more than a million square miles of land in what is now the western United States. This land was acquired through war with Mexico and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The United States also “inherited” the indigenous peoples of this area. The Indians of the western United States had previous contact with the Spaniards and had already experienced the Doctrine of Discovery through Spanish rule. The Mission Indians of southern and central California were used as forced labor on their own land by the twenty-one Spanish missions established from 1769 to 1823. Part of their “education” was being indoctrinated into the Catholic faith. The Pueblo Indians of the Southwest had also encountered the Spanish settlers, and by the 1500s many of them had faced forced conversion to the Catholic religion.

### ASSIMILATION

In 1849 the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) transferred administrative responsibilities from the War Department to the Department of the Interior. The shift was based on



*Native Americans Afraid of the Salvation Army, 1890. The efforts of missionaries to Christianize and “civilize” American Indians also served to destroy the traditional Native way of life.* THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

fiscal reasoning, for it was getting more and more expensive to guard the settlers as more of them continued to pour westward. It was simply less expensive to assimilate American Indians than kill them. Carl Schurz, the commissioner of Indian Affairs after the Civil War, argued that the estimated cost of killing an Indian in warfare was approximately a million dollars and educating them was approximately twelve hundred dollars (Adams 1995, p. 20). Thus the emphasis on an assimilationist educational policy was based on fiscal reasoning rather than any recognition of humanity.

A war-weary United States changed its policy towards American Indians after the Civil War. The Peace Commission of 1867 was developed to study the “Indian Problem,” resulting in the onset of President Ulysses S. Grant’s Peace Policy in 1869. The policy marked a significant transition in religious conversion efforts, which now came to include more Protestant influences, including Quakers and Episcopalians. Furthermore, the policy con-

tinued to solidify “civilization” efforts through assimilationist Christian policy versus warfare. Orthodox “Friends” were appointed by President Grant to serve as Indian agents and superintendents. A group of highly religious men, their purpose was to promote civilization of Indians via Christianity conversion. The “Friends,” upon the request of Grant, met to identify and provide recommendations for appointments to the Indian agent posts. Once in place, not unlike previous conversion efforts, agents were empowered to assess the seriousness with which Indians repented their past ways and converted fully to Christianity. The position of agent and superintendent was delicate and ripe with power and reward.

The Dawes Act of 1887 created a land allotment system that would divide tribal lands into parcels for individual Indians. The intent was to break up the communal land holdings of tribes and establish tribal adult males as the archetypical freeholding yeoman farmers often associated with the formation of the United States.

The dismantling of traditional economic systems through individualizing and taxing Indian lands was imperative in bringing forth Christian civilization. Politicians and missionaries alike argued that allotment was necessary in order to transform the tribal heathens into Christians and productive taxpaying members of Christendom. The “Indian Problem” would resolve itself as Native people became fully assimilated as landholding, taxpaying Christians.

#### INDIAN SCHOOLS

Again, the imposition of Christianity was to play a significant role in federal education policy. Missionaries played a considerable role in enacting the concept of “killing the Indian and saving the man.” The government awarded tribal lands to churches with the understanding that they would support the government’s goal of assimilation. Often, when the federal government did not want to follow through on their treaty obligations to educate, they would pay missionaries to set up schools or contract with established churches on the reservations to educate American Indians. The Tulalip Indian Mission School, located in the Puget Sound area in the American Northwest, became the first contracted school in 1857. Mission schools followed a curriculum that attempted to indoctrinate Native students into a Christian lifestyle.

Most of the educational opportunities offered to reservation Indians during this era were in federal or church-run boarding and day schools. Children were often forcibly removed from parents to attend the twenty-five off-reservation schools. Parents were often left with no choice but to send their children away, as the Indian agent used this as a bargaining chip for provisions. Parents were told that their children would be taken care of and would have food to eat on a regular basis. The goal of these institutions, whether federal or church-based, was to eradicate any cultural traits that white society deemed as savage or heathen. These schools were the first “English Only” educational institutions, and they integrated biblical principles into the curriculum. There was no separation of church and state in the educational process, a core theme that ran through the educational process was one of equating civilization with Christianization.

Thus, the shift away from physical genocidal policies allowed the federal government to use more subtle methods of cultural ethnocide. The idea was to focus on the younger generations and teach them that Indianness was bad and uncivilized, whereas whiteness was good and civilized. Further, one could not be civilized or “good” without being Christian. Most of these schools stressed vocational and agricultural training, limited contact with families, and boarded students out during school vacations with “good Christian families.” These students

were to practice the vocational or domestic skills they were “learning” in schools at these white homes, which were often affiliated with community churches.

In 1926, at the behest of the Secretary of the Interior Hubert Work, a government study of Indian conditions was undertaken. The Merriam Report (named for Lewis Merriam, who headed the study) came out in 1928. The report was exceptionally critically of this type of “education,” and the system soon began to be dismantled. However, it is important to note that some federal boarding schools for American Indians still exist in the first decade of the twenty-first century. This failed ethnocidal federal policy may have been one of the most damaging undertaken in Indian Country, for it removed children from their families and cultures and taught them that Indianness was shameful.

#### TRIBAL GOVERNMENT, TERMINATION, AND RELOCATION

By the turn of the twentieth century, Christianity and Indian Policy in the United States were so entangled that they could not be separated, though not many policy-makers were concerned about the enmeshment. One official did recognize how assimilationist policies were damaging American Indian cultures. John Collier became Indian commissioner in 1933, and he challenged the entanglement of missionaries in American Indian affairs. His concerns led to the Indian Reorganization Act, also known as the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934. The act allowed tribes to establish tribal governments and govern themselves, at least to some extent. However, these newly established tribal governments were modeled after the U.S. legislative model, not on traditional Native social, political, and economic systems.

Collier’s reforms and ideals about preserving traditional cultural patterns encountered a response movement among Protestant missionaries and certain politicians to advocate for the end of federal guardianship of American Indians and the eradication of the BIA. Their philosophy of “rapid assimilation” advocated that the BIA and trust relationships inhibited assimilation into white Christian society. Gustavus Lindquist, a leader of the Home Missions Council, was at the forefront of the termination and urban relocation policies of the mid-twentieth century.

The termination policy was first termed “liquidation” and was supported by politicians and Christian organizations alike. According to the Menominee Nation Web site the “termination” program was a federal policy of forcing tribes to assimilate by withdrawing federal supervision. This meant releasing the government from its obligation to protect the sovereign rights of American Indian tribes. This policy also served as a catalyst for

urban relocation. The idea of urban relocation was to remove American Indians from their culture and force them into white society. Relocation agents often met the relocated individuals and families the first time in urban centers and provided them with nominal assistance to get started in their “new life.” It was very common for the relocation officer to arrive with a local minister or pastor in tow to help the removed American Indians adjust to their new surroundings. Relocation was quite simply an extension of termination. The congressional termination of tribal status would resolve the “Indian Problem” and force American Indians to adapt once and for all to white society. It was common for politicians and religious advocates of this ethnocidal policy to use assimilated Indians as examples, and these individuals also misrepresented the implications of termination. These assimilated Indians were often referred to as “mixed-bloods” by religious leaders and politicians with the clear inference that their “white blood” and acceptance of Christianity made them “acceptable” Indians.

Like numerous other genocidal and ethnocidal federal policies, termination and relocation forced many American Indians into an underclass in urban centers and created another land grab in Indian Country. Many terminated tribes, such as the Menominee Nation in Wisconsin and the Klamath in Oregon, had rich timber resources and lumber mills. Termination allowed lumber companies and land developers to encroach on these lands that were formerly held in trust. Termination eroded more of the land base of numerous tribes that had the misfortune to experience this federal policy. However, many tribes fought back. The Menominee people established grass roots efforts such as the Determination of Rights and Unity of Menominee Shareholders (DRUMS), and Menominee social reformers worked to halt the sale of land within the reservation boundaries and restore the federal status it had formally held. The Menominee Restoration Act (Public Law 93-197) was signed into law by President Nixon on December 22, 1973. Tribal assets and land were returned to trust status; however, the development of Legend Lake (prime lake-front real estate largely owned by whites) and the establishment of Menominee County were not reversed.

#### THE LATE TWENTIETH CENTURY: THE STRUGGLE CONTINUED

Federal policies regarding American Indians during the late twentieth century had a less religious overtone than previously, but the ideals of the Doctrine of Discovery still existed. The federal government continued its non-recognition of American Indians as completely separate sovereign entities. Without such a change, the perception

of “domestic dependency” creates an environment in which American Indians must negotiate a highly politicized system created and reinforced by the Doctrine of Discovery at several levels. Federal, state, and local governments continually demand that tribal political entities not be treated as equals, and each level of government creates obstacles for sovereign tribal governments.

While many American Indian Nations exercise their political power through the United States court systems, they are continually forced to negotiate their cultural and spiritual beliefs. The constitutional framers appropriated Christian language when creating the separation of church and state. The language was crafted in such a way that only Christian theology defined sacredness. Indigenous sacredness, because it did not fall under the auspices of this theology, was completely disregarded. In the twenty-first century, concepts of sacredness in the United States continue to be framed in a Christian context, forcing American Indian people who adhere to traditional belief systems to have to define what is sacred against a Christian backdrop.

The unfairness of this is illustrated by the way that places sacred to Native peoples, such as Devil’s Tower in Wyoming and the Black Hills of South Dakota and Wyoming, are a common tourist site for mainstream Americans. It is very uncommon to see people climbing or using the Vatican as a recreational activity, or having to explain the use of a rosary during a religious ritual, but American tourists see no problem in climbing Devil’s Tower or using other sacred Native sites as recreation areas. Many American Indian Nations have had to fight to claim their ancestors’ remains and sacred objects from museums, universities, and private collections, even after the Native American Graves Protection Act was passed in the late twentieth century. Some scientists fail to recognize the sacredness or “ownership” of tribal cultural patrimony.

The Doctrine of Discovery was forced upon Native peoples by missionaries, who used languages the Indians did not completely understand. As this absolute ideology was put into effect, it brought disease, exploitation, and violence. It has been more than five hundred years since Pope Nicholas issued his edict against non-Christian peoples, and American Indians are still resisting efforts to be subjugated to the Doctrine of Discovery.

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## MODEL MINORITIES

The term *model minority* refers to a racialized or ethnic minority that has achieved success within the parameters of a dominant culture. Such groups are held up as a model of behavior for less successful or problem minorities. The representation of Chinese and Japanese Americans as model minorities was popularized in the mid-1960s through the publication of two essays: "Success Japanese American Style," which appeared in the *New York Times Sunday Magazine* in January 1966, and "The Success Story of One Minority in the U.S.," a story about Chinese Americans that was published in *U.S. News and World Report* in December 1966. Both articles contrasted a narrative of Asian-American self-sufficiency and assimilation with the militant demands placed on the American polity by African Americans demanding recognition of civil and economic rights.

Japanese and Chinese Americans might have been surprised to read of their histories described as models of successful assimilation. For Japanese Americans the price of assimilation had been very high. During World War II they were subject to mass incarceration and the theft of their property, and after the war they witnessed the dispersal of their communities. And while there was an emergent Chinese-American middle class in the mid 1960s, American Chinatowns had some of the most overcrowded and dilapidated housing in the country. Rates of tuberculosis and other diseases of poverty were epidemic in these communities. Nevertheless, in the early 1960s the political repression of these communities was nearly complete. The Japanese communities had been



**Korean Market in Los Angeles.** *This market was ransacked during riots in 1992, but in just five years it was rebuilt and has become a successful part of the community. The representation of Asian immigrants as models for others has bred resentment against Asian Americans.* AP IMAGES.

dismantled and dispersed, while the Chinese communities, which included a large number who had entered the United States in violation of the Chinese Exclusion Acts, had faced the threat of deportation if they did not conform to the anticommunist orthodoxy of the 1950s. The resulting political silence of these communities was precisely the quality that critics of black empowerment and affirmative action policies valued most highly. The myth of successful assimilation into the American way of life by eschewing political struggle became an enduring racial stereotype of the Asian-American community.

The Asian-American community grew, due to immigration, from just under one million in 1970 to just over 12 million in 2000. The Asian-American immigrant population in the early twenty-first century is characterized by a large percentage of middle-class professionals alongside a high percentage of poor and less skilled immigrants. The claim of Asian-American upward mobility is disputed however with the relatively large number of professional and managerial immigrants in the population accounting for the statistical claim that the Asian-American population as a whole has been successful. The myth of Asian-American academic success based on supposedly traditional Asian cultural values of obedience, hard work, self-sufficiency, and discipline has been held up as a model for other "problem" groups, notably African Americans, Latinos, and, more recently, the "slacker" children of working-class and middle-class whites.

The use of racial stereotypes of Asian Americans to control or discipline other groups is an old political ploy. In the 1870s the image of Chinese workers as nimble,

quick-witted, docile, and disciplined was commonly counterpoised in newspapers and trade journals with stereotypes of the “problem” Irish, who were portrayed as drunkards and troublemakers.

Not surprisingly the representation of Asian immigrants as models for others has bred resentment against Asian Americans. In the nineteenth century the image of Chinese workers as docile fuelled claims by opponents of Chinese immigration that the Chinese were “coolies,” servile and unfit for organization. In the late twentieth century the tale of Asian-American success through thrift and self-sufficiency gave rise to resentment on the part of African Americans and Latinos, about whom the reverse is often claimed. It also caused resentments among white middle-class families who see their children pitted “unfairly” against Asian-American students in academic settings.

Many Asian Americans, especially those who come from working-class and refugee families, do not meet the expectations that teachers and colleagues have formed, based on the stereotype of the high-achieving “model minority” student. These students and workers are often consigned to invisibility in academic and work settings. As a matter of public policy, Asian Americans are often excluded from educational programs designed to benefit underrepresented minorities, despite the fact that certain Asian ethnic groups, such as the Hmong and Khmer, are dramatically underrepresented in higher education. Some Asian Americans have themselves adopted a belief in the model minority stereotype, leading them to believe in a cultural or even genetic superiority, and hence an attitude of racial superiority.

**SEE ALSO** *Film and Asian Americans.*

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Robert G. Lee

## MONTAGU, ASHLEY 1905–1999

One of the most successful and prolific scholars of anthropology of the twentieth century, Ashley Montagu is most noted for addressing important social issues in terms accessible both to scholars and to the lay public. Born in London in 1905 (as Israel Ehrenberg), he was educated at University College, London and at the London School of Economics. After leaving England and settling in the United States, Montagu taught anatomy at the Graduate School of Medicine, New York University, from 1931 to 1938. After earning his Ph.D. in anthropology from Columbia University in 1937, he taught at the Hahnemann College of Medicine in Philadelphia and then at Rutgers University from 1949 to 1955 (as well as, briefly, at New York University, Harvard, and Princeton). He was a scholar with a significant record of scientific work and a record of iconoclastic ideas about anthropological problems. He had a history of challenging anthropological shibboleths and some of their famous proponents. In one instance, he attacked a physical typology of criminals proposed by the enormously influential anthropologist E. A. Hooton.

After retiring from Rutgers in 1955, Montagu shifted his focus increasingly toward the study of social problems, becoming a very effective social critic. He became widely renowned as a public speaker, occasionally appearing on television. His success as a “popularizer” of anthropological ideas and his own iconoclastic ideas made him anathema to a discipline priding itself on its relative inaccessibility to the public. But despite his “outsider” status, he was ultimately awarded both the Distinguished Achievement Award of the American Anthropological Association and the Darwin Award of the American Association of Physical Anthropologists.

Montagu wrote about an enormous range of topics, including the nature of humanity; “race” and racism; evolution and genetics; sexuality, reproduction, childbirth, and breastfeeding; gender and women’s rights; anatomy; aggression, violence, criminality and war; creationism; and even Joseph Merrick (the “Elephant Man”). Of a total of more than eighty books, his most important works include *Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race* (1942, with multiple revisions through 1977), *The Natural Superiority of Women* (1953; revised ed. 1970), *The Concept of Race* (1964), *The Elephant Man* (1971), *The Nature of Human Aggression* (1976), and *Science and Creationism* (1984).

Montagu was an early “feminist” and an early critic of the concept of “race.” Much of his most important work focused on dispelling the myth of “race.” His analysis embraced not only blacks but also Native Americans and Jews. He has been called the most important theorist of race and race relations of the twentieth century. Montagu was one of the first to argue forcefully that the human species

could not, scientifically, be divided into “races” despite the assumption, very widespread in both scholarly and popular circles, that such races were not only well defined but blindingly obvious. A key argument was (at first in theory, later as a matter of fact) that the various traits thought to be packaged in stereotyped groups actually had independent and only partly overlapping distributions. A second key argument was that the boundaries of traits such as color were not abrupt but gradual, over geographic space, a pattern that had earlier been described as “clines.” Neither concept was entirely original to Montagu, as he admitted, but he was responsible for their broadest and most broadly influential presentation.

His stance on race, racism, and inherent human equality figured in the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision by the U.S. Supreme Court, and he was the primary author of the *United Nations Statement on Race* (1949). His book *Man’s Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race*, first issued at the height of Nazi power and American racism, is arguably his most important work, standing as a landmark criticism of both race and racism that anticipated and helped frame much of the subsequent debate over racial issues by defining (and to a significant degree anticipating and answering) the questions involved: human biology and the erroneous perception of the existence of “races” and “racial” diversity; eugenics and genetic equality; the interaction of biological and social forces in defining human behavior; cultural definitions of race; and the role of race perceptions in social issues such as aggression, war, the measure of intelligence, and democracy itself. This book and a later edited volume, *The Concept of Race* (1964), still stand as significant rebuttal of contemporary racist assertions.

**SEE ALSO** *Clines and Continuous Variation; Genocide; Genocide and Ethnocide; Great Chain of Being; Racial Hierarchy.*

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*Mark Nathan Cohen*

## MORTON, SAMUEL GEORGE

1799–1851

Samuel George Morton, anatomist, physician, and “ethnologist,” has been called the father of physical anthropology in America. Morton was born in Philadelphia, and his Irish immigrant father died when the boy was only six months old. His mother enrolled him in Friends’ boarding schools for his education. The visits of many doctors during his mother’s illness in 1817 brought Morton into contact with the medical profession. After her death, he entered the service of Philadelphia physician Dr. Joseph Parrish and earned his medical degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1820 (Hrdlička 1943). At the same time, he was elected into the Philadelphia-based Academy of Natural Sciences.

After attaining his degree, Morton traveled to Ireland to visit his uncle, James Morton, with whose financial support he undertook further medical training at the University of Edinburgh (Stevens 1856). At Edinburgh, Morton encountered the phrenologist George Combe and became acquainted with the most current trends in craniological research. This included phrenology, in the midst of a wave of support across Europe, as well as the researches into racial differences by Johann Blumenbach.

When he returned to Philadelphia to establish his medical practice in 1824, Morton also pursued his interest in natural history. This interest was quite varied: Some of his earliest scientific work concerned the description of fossils from Cretaceous and other geological contexts, including his description of invertebrate fossils collected by Lewis and Clark (Morton 1834). He was elected to the American Philosophical Society in 1828, and became professor of anatomy at Pennsylvania College in 1839 (American Philosophical Society 2002). During his early career he also advanced within the ranks of the Academy of Natural Sciences, attaining the office of secretary in 1831. Ultimately, he acceded to the presidency of the academy in 1849; by this time he had become one of the most celebrated scientists in the United States.

Morton attained renown for his study of the cranio-logical variation between human races. What made the work distinctive was Morton’s large collection of skulls,



which at the time of his death was the largest such collection anywhere in the world. Morton acquired skulls by correspondence with naturalists, scientific authorities, explorers, and many others. In some instances, he exchanged skulls to build his collection, some were gifts, and others came at considerable expense. After Morton's death in 1851, his collection was entrusted to the Academy of Natural Sciences and was augmented by further skulls solicited by Morton and others. The collection was later housed at the University of Pennsylvania Museum, where it continued to be a valuable resource for anthropological and medical research.

Morton's first major work of anthropological import was the book *Crania Americana* (1839), in which he investigated the craniological characters of present and ancient Americans in relation to the races of the Old World. This book is notable for Morton's conclusions that all the indigenous peoples of the Americas shared a common origin, that their features at once join them together and render them distinct from the races of the Old World and that these craniological differences were present in ancient specimens from the Mound Builders. Because of the antiquity of these cranial characters, Morton inferred that racial differences must have been inherent from creation, not induced by the environment or climate later in history. *Crania Americana* is notable for Morton's relatively neutral approach to measurement and comparison, as he did not interpret the features in phrenological terms, although he did include an essay on this subject by George Combe, who held that Native Americans but not blacks were naturally "savage" and impervious to training.

The interpretation of racial antiquity was the subject of his second major work, *Crania Aegyptiaca* (1844). Morton had acquired a substantial sample of ancient Egyptian remains through the efforts of the American consul to Alexandria, George R. Gliddon. Gliddon himself argued for the antiquity of races based on pictorial representations on ancient Egyptian monuments. On the basis of the crania, Morton concluded that racial differences were in fact as pronounced 4,000 years or more ago as in the present day. This result conflicted with the belief in unitary origins of humanity, as described in *Genesis*, and Morton approached a polygenic interpretation of human races. Polygenism was developed further by Gliddon and Josiah Knott, who argued for the specific diversity of Europeans and Africans.

Like most of his contemporaries, Morton took for granted an implicit ranking of human races. Accepting Blumenbach's five-race categorization, Morton focused particularly on cranial capacity as the important factor differentiating them in terms of mental capacity. In his measurements, Caucasians (Europeans) sat at the highest rank, proceeding through Mongolians (Asians), Malay, Americans, and Ethiopians (Africans) at the lowest cranial capacity. He assumed a one-to-one relationship between

cranial size and intelligence level. According to an 1849 study by Morton, his skull size measurements yielded these results: English skulls capacity, 96 cubic inches; Germans and Americans, 90 cubic inches; blacks, 83 cubic inches; the Chinese, 82 cubic inches; and Native Americans, 79 cubic inches (Gossett 1963, p. 74)

These results and his researches into the antiquity of racial differences gained political importance, as Morton—at the urging of Gliddon—advised Secretary of State John C. Calhoun on African racial qualities in support of the continuation of slavery (Stanton 1960) as a positive good.

In the late twentieth-century, Morton's empirical work came under scrutiny. After reanalysis of Morton's data tables, paleontologist Stephen Jay Gould suggested that Morton's summary statistics reflected "unconscious finagling," reinforcing interracial differences (Gould 1978, 1981). Gould noted a number of potential biases, in particular the inclusion of a higher proportion of small and female crania—as well as Australians—in Morton's "African" sample, the exclusion of small "Hindu" crania from Morton's "Caucasian" sample, and apparent discrepancies between measurements of the same crania taken using shot versus seed. However, a later consideration of these points by Michael (1988) found that Gould had mischaracterized Morton's tables and had disregarded errors that weighed *against* Morton's racial ranking. Michael interpreted Morton's work as having been "conducted with integrity" (1988, p. 353), although the work did contain errors and sample biases attributable to the haphazard collection strategy.

Morton's death in 1851 followed several years of illness from pleurisy, during which his work slowed. He was survived by his wife of twenty-four years, Rebecca Grellet Pearsall, and all eight of their children.

**SEE ALSO** *Cranial Index; Genesis and Polygenesis; Racial Hierarchy.*

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*John Hawks*

## MOTHERHOOD

It is tempting, especially in terms of feminist discourse, to define "motherhood" as a unifying, universal vocation that women can look to and through for a common ground on which to stand and understand each other. After all, as Naomi Lowinsky has stated, "Women are the carriers of the species, the entry way to life. Although a woman may choose not to have children or be unable to do so, every woman is born of woman. Every woman alive is connected to all the women before her through the roots of her particular family and culture" (2000, p. 230). This oft-assumed connection, however, can be lost or severed because of each woman's particular family and cultural roots and the interlocking structures of class and race that work together to create different definitions, ideas, stereotypes, and experiences of motherhood.

Every day, Americans are confronted by normative constructions of "ideal motherhood." The socioeconomic culture in the United States benefits and adheres to majority rule: White is right. Because the privileged American position is wealthy, white, and male, those in that position (or those who benefit from someone in that position) define the ideal American mother. Susan J. Douglas and Meredith W. Michaels, in their 2004 book, *The Mommy Myth: The Idealization of Motherhood and How It Has Undermined Women*, examine the constraints placed on even the most privileged (which they acknowledge) of American mothers, the middle- to upper-class white woman of the early twenty-first century. Through the media, and as a result of the progress that women, especially white women, have made in America via the women's movement (or because of the backlash against this movement), women are being coerced into believing "the new momism": that is, "that motherhood is eternally fulfilling and rewarding, that it is *always* the best and most important thing that you do, that there is only a narrowly prescribed

way to do it right, and that if you don't love each and every second of it there's something really wrong with you" (Douglas and Michaels, p. 4). That white women especially are bombarded with such an idealization of motherhood in the first place is indicative of their recognition as normative mothers. As such, they are supposed to embody American expectations of motherhood and women: Have a career, but do not neglect your children, while looking good, consuming, and protecting your children from a seemingly endless number of internal and external threats. This stress is aggravated not only by the so-called mommy wars, which pit working (white) mothers against stay-at-home (white) mothers, but also by the pitting of white, ideal, supposedly capable mothers against unfit mothers—that is, women of color.

Whereas middle- to upper-class white women are ushered into fertility clinics when they have difficulty conceiving, women of color are still often scorned for having children, viewed by society as indiscriminate breeders. Patricia Hill Collins, in her 1994 essay, "Shifting the Center: Race, Class, and Feminist Theorizing about Motherhood," analyzes how race affects women's expectations and experiences of motherhood. Collins recognizes that "racial domination and economic exploitation profoundly shape the mothering context not only for racial ethnic women in the United States but for all women" (p. 56). Often, even feminist analysis of motherhood is done through a middle-class, white perspective: That is, women's experiences with motherhood are defined via a family with a male head of household—a nuclear family in which the father brings home the bacon, the mother/wife cooks it, and then Father and children eat it together while Mom hovers over them expectantly, anticipating needs for drink refills and napkins.

Experience for women of color mothers (and many white mothers) may be vastly different, as men may play an altogether different role in their lives, "since work and family have rarely functioned as dichotomous spheres for women of color" (Collins 1994, p. 58). To hold not only their own families, but entire communities together, mothers of color often work not just in the home, but outside it, in economically fragile positions, in contrast to ideals of stay-at-home motherhood.

## AFRICAN-AMERICAN MOTHERS

Collins examines how survival itself is a prominent theme in the lives of mothers of color. Whereas "physical survival is assumed for children who are white and middle class . . . racial ethnic children's lives have long been held in low regard. African-American children face a mortality rate twice that for white infants . . . [and] one-half who survive infancy live in poverty" (p. 61). These grim statistics, however, are counteracted by the power and respect that

can accompany motherhood for African-American women. "In a racist culture that deems black children inferior, unworthy, and unlovable, maternal love of black children is an act of resistance; in loving her children the mother instills in them a loved sense of self and high self-esteem, enabling them to defy and subvert racist discourses that naturalize racial inferiority and commodify blacks as other and object" (O'Reilly 2000, p. 151). The logic may follow, then, that if "motherhood is the pinnacle of womanhood," African-American women will strive to reach that pinnacle (O'Reilly, p. 150). In the process, African-American mothers may be sensationalized, served up by the media as "the hideous counter-examples good mothers were meant to revile . . . and were disproportionately featured as failed mothers in news stories about 'crack babies,' single, teen mothers, and welfare mothers" (Douglas and Michaels 2004, p. 20). What the news does not feature is the strength African-American women may draw from their communities, their children, and each other. "Many African-American women receive respect and recognition within their local communities for innovative and practical approaches to mothering not only their own biological children, but also the children in their extended family networks and in the community overall" (Collins 1994, p. 67). In spite of, or in response to, cultural standards of motherhood, African Americans can empower themselves through ways of mothering that do not fit the ideal.

#### NATIVE AMERICAN MOTHERS

The struggle for power can be a common one for women of color, as they "are concerned with the power and powerlessness within an array of social institutions that frame their lives" (Collins 1994, p. 64). Native American women (like African-American women and other women of color) traditionally relied on extended family formations to help raise children and maintain their power. However, as Mary Crow Dog describes in her 1990 autobiography, *Lakota Woman*, the white government of the United States worked to dissolve such family arrangements in order to promote nuclear family formation, which depleted women's autonomy. Government controls over and influence on Native American life have had serious impacts on how women have been able to mother. One way in which this can clearly be seen is through implementation of forced sterilizations of Native American women. Crow Dog's account reveals that her mother was sterilized without her permission after the birth of Crow Dog's youngest sister, "which was common at the time, and up to just a few years ago, so that it is hardly worth mentioning. In the opinion of some people, the fewer Indians there are, the better" (p. 9). Her sister was also sterilized after the birth of her first and only son, who died within a few hours of his birth. For

Crow Dog, the attempted extermination of her people made her own motherhood more triumphant.

Sterilization was not the only form of powerlessness Native American women faced. For years, children were taken from their families and put into white (often religious) boarding schools, where attempts were made to strip them of their culture. Not only does the separation of child from mother create feelings of powerlessness for the mother, but, as Collins points out, "In contrast to middle-class white children, whose experiences affirm their mothers' middle-class values, culture, and authority, children [of women of color] typically receive an education that derogates their mothers' perspective" (p. 66). However, as Collins further explains, "A culture that sees the connectedness between the earth and human survival, and that sees motherhood symbolic of the earth itself holds motherhood as an institution in high regard" (p. 72). It is this view of motherhood, and firm connections to their culture, that can empower Native American women in their motherhood.

#### LATINA AND ASIAN-AMERICAN MOTHERS

Ideals of motherhood for Latina and Asian-American women are convoluted by American's mixed feelings about immigration. White Americans may view Latinas and Asian-American women as outsiders even when they are native citizens. On the other hand, Latina's mothering abilities are valued not only in their own communities, but by families who employ Latinas as nannies. When immigration is discouraged or actively fought against, as is often the case for Latin Americans, the message sent to these women is often "we don't want you; we certainly don't want your children." This sentiment can be seen not only through media, but also through various welfare reforms. As Lisa C. Ikemoto asserts in her 1999 essay, "Lessons from the *Titanic*: Start with the People in Steerage, Women and Children First": "Since employers use gender, race, ethnicity, and immigration status to structure the labor sectors, and since welfare reform is part of a larger economic restructuring that has a disproportionately negative impact on women. . . . [I]mmigrant Latinas and Asian women are among those who are taking the heaviest blows" (p. 159). While the media may focus on welfare abuse, immigrant women must negotiate ways in which to obtain work and help support their families. For Latina women, this may include a redefinition of conventional motherhood. Though traditionally motherhood has been emphasized in relation to the home, and therefore separate from employment and embodied in cultural figures such as the Virgin de Guadalupe, the economy may demand that mothers work for pay (Hondagneu-Sotela, Avila 1997, p. 551). Transnational mothers who must leave their children in their home country to work, often as domestics, for

better pay in America, may define themselves as better mothers than the mothers they work for who can afford to pay for in-home care for their children while they pursue their own careers. Latinas' experiences and definitions of motherhood may vary widely depending upon their own economic condition and their necessity to alter their ideas of "good-motherhood" to include their own position.

Tied to the struggle of work and defining good motherhood is the struggle to form a bridge between two (or more) cultures, to teach the children they may be separated from or working alongside that leaving one land for another does not mean abandoning one's culture, even while the dominant American culture seeks to assimilate the children. Joonuk Huh, in her 2000 account, "Constantly Negotiating: Between My Mother and My Daughter," explains how when she is with her Korean mother, "I wish my mother would let me be my own person instead of insisting that I be a Korean woman. . . . [W]hen I resume my mother role . . . I am confronted by my daughter's question. . . . She is not happy with me for reminding her that she is Asian-American, not American" (p. 268). M. Elaine Mar reveals a similar struggle with her Chinese mother in her 1999 memoir, *Paper Daughter*. Working with her mother in her aunt's home and in their family restaurant, Mar struggles with her mother's seemingly contradictory pressures to both assimilate and remain a loyal Chinese daughter. "Many Asian-American mothers stress conformity and fitting in as a way to challenge the system" (Collins 1994, p. 71). This claim to American identity through performance, regardless of ethnicity, is one more way that women of color negotiate their roles as mothers.

The differences and similarities between motherhood for women of color and white women cannot be broken into sections, or easily summarized, and certainly not all can be included in an explanation as brief as this. For all mothers living in a system that privileges some and devalues the lives and experiences of others, motherhood cannot be viewed as a simple vocation. It must be examined through the many ways in which it is influenced by race, class, sexuality, ability, and other institutions that affect women's lives. Through multiracial feminism, it can be further understood how race affects everyone, in every social location. Motherhood, like other women's experiences, must be analyzed and understood with race as a crucial aspect of that understanding. Analyzing motherhood through only one lens provides a distorted and incomplete view. Only by incorporating race as one of these lenses can one hope to form a cohesive understanding of motherhood for the diverse women who define it how they may.

**SEE ALSO** *Adolescent Female Sexuality; Families; Sexuality.*

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*Mary Alice Long*

## **MOTHERHOOD, DEFICIENCY IN**

Deficiency in mothering is an ideological construction that refers to the ways in which mothering among women of color in the United States has been racialized as inferior. This ideological construction is both supported and negated in the scholarly and popular literature on family, gender, race, and class. Historically framed through discussions of minority group family structure, patterns of intergenerational poverty, and the problems of deviant subcultures, these discussions have more recently taken shape around assertions of problems related to teen

pregnancy and the ongoing presence of an urban underclass. Minority women, including African-American women and other women of color, are frequently presented in these discussions as bad mothers, women whose patterns of mothering deviate in significant ways from those of good mothers in ideal families. Alternative viewpoints, presented by feminist scholars beginning in the 1970s, suggest that these ideological constructions posit an idealized image of mothering that reifies the subordinate status of women, the public/private split, and the state-sanctioned family structure (Collins 2000, Neubeck and Cazenave 2001, Moynihan 1965, Wilson 1987).

#### THE IDEAL FAMILY AND THE GOOD MOTHER

The deficiency in mothering framework is developed against the backdrop of the ideal family and interpretations of the good mother. The ideal family form, which serves as the norm against which minority family behavior is compared, has been framed by scholars and policymakers alike as a family in which the mother is a heterosexual, white female who is wife to a family wage-earning white-male father and who is responsible for the care of her biological children (Coontz 1992, Collins 2000). The good mother in this ideal is not just a caregiver, but a primary caregiver who remains within the feminine private sphere while leaving the world of work safely framed as public and masculine. Not only is the good mother responsible for the physical care of her children, she is also responsible for their emotional and moral development. She is a natural mother standing ready to guide future generations toward public and private success as individuals, workers, and citizens. In order to accomplish this, the ideal mother must not undertake work in a public arena that would remove her from her children and her role as the guardian of civilization. It is against this normative ideal that racialized images of the bad mother are constructed.

#### THE BAD MOTHER

The ideal family and good mother images, based in the public/private split, with women in the home and men in the world of work, have never been viable options for women of color. Yet the experiences of these women have been measured by this standard, have been used as a warning against those who question the standard, and are blamed for the deterioration of social norms, social relations, and social structures in a social system they did not institute. By examining the assumptions of the discourses within which the idealized concept of motherhood is created, it is possible to see how the “bad” mother/“deficient” mother idea has played out over time.

The first assumption of the discourse on deficiency is that real men work and real women care for families. Against

this ideal the experience of the enslaved African-American woman or the migrant Latina worker is immediately found to be deficient. For example, the African-American woman’s experience has been shaped by the necessities of a capitalist system that initially required her to perform forced labor, and then segregated labor, before subsequently requiring her to either work in the lower segments of the economic sector or face an often hostile welfare system. Against the idealized criteria of the public/private split these women are immediately found to be deficient both as workers and as mothers. While her presence as a laborer supports the dominant social order, her presence at the work site as a laborer also breaks down the masculinized elements of the public sphere and undermines the ability of African-American men to claim the wage earner status of “real men.” Women of color are nevertheless employed in various sectors of the work world. As chief executive officers of companies, as instructors in schools, on meatpacking lines, or in sweatshops, these women find themselves struggling against stereotypes of the masculinized public sphere. In essence the African-American, Latina, or Asian woman who works outside the home is not a real woman, and her presence in the workplace means that African-American, Latino, or Asian men cannot behave as real men (Collins 2000, Kimmel 2006).

Second, women of color are often labeled deficient because of their status as absent mothers. Immediately deficient as a woman, her presence in the paid workforce and absence from the home labels her family as abandoned and her children as neglected. While propping up the racial status quo by caring for the children of white owners or employers in place of the biological mother (e.g., women of color acting as mummies and nannies), the minority woman’s absence from her own home also means an absence from her children and an abandonment of her duty as mother. The image that emerges from these analyses is one of a self-interested, authoritative abandonment of the traditional family and the authority of men and masculinity.

By the mid-1960s the image of the matriarch had been racialized. Patricia Hill Collins (2000) notes that before the 1960s connections between higher rates of African-American female-headed households and persistent poverty had been interpreted as an outcome of poverty, not its cause. Between the early 1960s and the mid-1970s, however, the perception of scholars and policymakers had changed. For example, Daniel Patrick Moynihan (1965) and Lawrence Mead (1986, 1992), writing about the experiences of women of color during this period, assert that the African-American matriarchal family no longer ascribed to core American values, including self-discipline, motivation, and perseverance. Since that point, matriarchy has been associated with bad mothering and the causal relationship reversed so that in the new analysis matriarchy causes

deviant values and poverty. According to this viewpoint, the new norms of these families support single motherhood, out-of-wedlock births, criminal behavior, and the irresponsibility of men. Dependency scholars assert that because individuals socialized in these families will have low social mobility aspirations, teen pregnancy and intergenerational poverty will persist (Wilson and Neckerman 1986, Jarrett 1994).

Negative stereotypes of women of color and their families posit moral or psychological failure as the cause of numerous social problems. Analysts using this perspective suggest that matriarchal households are part of the underclass and that these households are the key contributors to the growth of this class, a class composed of the long-term poor and those who deviate from societal norms and values (Moynihan 1965, Wilson 1987, McLoyd et al. 2000, Neubeck and Cazenave 2001). From this viewpoint, matriarchs who call on the state for support are not recharacterized as good mothers trying to establish adequate care for their children, but are labeled as irresponsible. The failure to recharacterize these women as good mothers not only is due to a welfare racism interpretation of the matriarch, but is also associated with ideological constructions of the deserving poor. Because welfare is perceived as charity rather than an entitlement, and because the criteria for distribution is based on who is deserving, women of color who receive assistance find themselves labeled as needy and deficient rather than good and caring. Defining welfare as charity immediately places mothers who seek assistance outside the deserving category. As Nancy Fraser and Linda Gordon (1994) note, programs that many of these women have relied on, including Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), emphasize the criteria of “deserving,” which by definition suggests that women who collect AFDC are getting something for nothing. For women of color there are few criteria outside of being self-sufficient or meeting the stereotype of a good (state-) dependent woman (i.e., white and widowed) that provides appropriate grounds for receipt of support or characterization as a good mother. Because under these ideological constructions being a self-sufficient worker is not possible for a person who is defined as a primary parent (i.e., mother), and because a recategorization as white is not feasible, it is impossible by definition for these women to ever meet the good mother criteria.

In the 1980s a new deficiency argument emerged that focused on the African-American, unmarried, teenage mother who is welfare dependent (Fraser and Gordon 1994, Neubeck and Cazenave 2001). Frequently discussed as a new syndrome, these young women are described as baby-making machines who obtain welfare dollars by having more children. Reports by various agencies and national campaigns point to teen pregnancy to explain poverty, welfare

dependency, abuse, neglect, incarceration rates, low levels of educational attainment, and future out-of-wedlock births (Wilson and Neckerman 1986, National Campaign to Prevent Teen Pregnancy 2002). The teen mother is “caught in the ‘welfare trap’ and rendered dronelike and passive” (Fraser and Gordon 1994, p. 327). The new cultural image synthesizes previous stereotypes and establishes a characterization of deficient motherhood as a permanent passivity based in biology, psychology, socialization, and/or poverty (Fraser and Gordon 1994, Mead 1986, Wilson 1987). The beginning of the 1990s found such terms as *welfare queen*, *welfare chiselers*, and *children having children* within the public discourse, further racializing the practice of mothering among women of color in the United States.

#### PROPOSALS FOR SOLVING DEFICIENCY

Within the deficiency discourse is included a set of solutions meant to reify the existing social structure and maintain the racial status quo. Education programs aimed at “deficient” mothers are historically associated with Americanization programs initially designed during the Progressive Era of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to educate and support immigrant women (Hartmann 1967 [1948]). These programs provided English skills, child-care instruction, and housekeeping classes that were intended to improve the immigrant woman’s skills so that she could appropriately fit into American society and could socialize her children to be productive workers and good citizens.

Contemporary approaches to deficient mothers have been based in the constructed problems of matriarchy, teen pregnancy, and welfare dependency. Beginning in the 1960s, presented solutions have been based on strengthening the legitimate authority of the traditional family, reasserting the value systems of the dominant culture, increasing job opportunities for men who are racial minorities, and reforming the welfare system.

Since the 1960s suggestions for strengthening the African-American family have included encouraging the reduction of black male unemployment and reestablishing patriarchy in African-American families. In the 1960s and 1970s many scholars and policymakers thought that by engaging the structural issues of opportunity and employment for ethnic and racial minority men, and by reasserting a male-dominant authority structure for the family, dependency problems and motherhood deficiency issues could be alleviated. By the 1980s these changes had not occurred, and new ideological constructions suggesting deficiency in the form of teen pregnancy and the underclass took their place. Subsequent responses to these deficiency problems suggest eliminating women’s independent income acquired through programs such as AFDC, and

relying on retraining programs that eliminate state dependency and instill dominant values and norms associated with ideal family forms.

Since 1996, programs designed to meet the requirements of that year's Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act have been put in place to provide incentives to mothers to get off welfare and become self-sufficient. The Temporary Assistance for Needy Families program is implemented at the state level with various regulations that are tied to receiving temporary assistance. In many instances mothers who were previously on AFDC and are still in need of state assistance are either required to receive a short period of training (i.e., twenty-four months) linked to employment or they must find immediate employment or volunteering opportunities. Women who do not participate will not receive assistance (Collins 2000, Jennings and Santiago 2004, Secombe 2007). In addition to this self-sufficiency solution, women of color have also been encouraged to rely more directly on the fathers of their children for support. Both the self-sufficiency model and the reliance on fathers model emphasize the ideological constructions of motherhood deficiency and dependence, and they posit solutions that racialize and genderize both the problem and the solution.

#### THE FEMINIST RESPONSE

Feminist responses to motherhood deficiency arguments turn the tables on both structural and cultural understandings used by dependency scholars and policymakers alike. They assert that proposed solutions that accept the deficiency interpretation fail to adequately interpret structural problems associated with ghettoization, industrial flight, mechanization, school segregation, and other macro factors that affect female and male economic vulnerability. In addition, dependency interpretations that reinsert a patriarchal structure as a solution fail to recognize the subordinate place of minority men in the racial power structure and the implications of this fact for the lives of racial minorities. When a privileged white form of legitimacy within the family is the proposed solution, alternative family forms are undermined and dismissed. Establishing a system in which there is an adequate income may be more important to the well-being of the family than reshaping the family around patriarchal patterns of power. The welfare reform practices of the early twenty-first century have also racialized poverty and its solutions. By ignoring the fact that the majority of people on welfare are white, and by instituting programs that fail to establish long-term self-sufficiency for poor families, proposed solutions continue to label women of color as deficient and dependent, and problematize them and their families (Glenn, Chang, and Forcey 1994; Collins 2000; Jennings and Santiago 2004).

SEE ALSO *Adolescent Female Sexuality; Families; Sexuality.*

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Colleen Greer

## MOVIES AND THE POLITICS OF RACE

SEE *Filmography* in the Appendix at the end of Volume 3.

## MULTICULTURALISM

The 1997 publication of Nathan Glazer's *We Are All Multiculturalists Now* signaled the ubiquity and apparent inescapability of multiculturalism in general, and multicultural education in particular, within the United States. Yet this characterization is also applicable to various other Anglophone nations, such as Canada, Britain, and Australia, each of which is a multicultural society, characterized by both racial and sociocultural diversity and by multicultural discourse. Despite its ubiquity, or perhaps because of it, multiculturalism has developed multiple meanings, depending on who employs the term and the context in which it is employed. Multiculturalism has been adopted internationally and is variously employed as a description of contemporary societies and communities characterized by racial, ethnic, and cultural diversity; as an official national and institutional policy that recognizes diversity; as a unifying national concept; as a principal marker of national identity and guideline for citizenship; as a collective description of various forms of identity politics; and as a political stance on how to address social and cultural diversity in society and in communities. Apart from this multiplicity of usages, a continuum of political positions (e.g., conservative, liberal, left-essentialist, radical left) is reflected in various expressions of the term. Thus, multiculturalism has multiple, and competing, meanings.

The consideration of issues of race and racism is an integral aspect of multiculturalism. In fact, one of the principal ways in which one can distinguish between different forms of multiculturalism is by the degree to which they address race and racism specifically, and more generally how they address the larger context of social and cultural discrimination based on difference and equity. Because racial classification has mutated repeatedly (e.g., from being based on religion, then phenotype, then culture, and, most recently, on population genetics), the attendant problem of racism has proven to be something of a moving target while remaining doggedly enduring. Some forms of multiculturalism have downplayed or euphemized race and racism as "culture" and "cultural difference," while others have taken them up as a crucial aspect of multiculturalism.

### THE ORIGIN AND EMERGENCE OF MULTICULTURALISM

The term *multiculturalism* was coined by a Royal Commission in Canada in 1965, and Canada was the first country to establish multiculturalism as national policy (through the Multicultural Policy of 1971 and the Multicultural Act of 1988). As other countries have developed multiculturalism as a discourse and educational approach (e.g., the United States), and in some cases as policy as well (e.g., Australia), they have understandably concentrated on their national narratives of origin, and their accounts almost never men-



**Multicultural Crayons.** To help children embrace the many cultures that surround them, Crayola developed crayons in eight different skin hues which provide a more realistic palette for coloring the world. AP IMAGES.

tion the Canadian origins of the term. In every country in which multiculturalism has emerged, it has done so in response to the need to address or manage increasing diversity, which is often linked to changes in immigration policy and the coming to voice of minority groups. In the Australian context, immigration led to the doubling of the population between World War II and 2002. At the same time, countries like Lebanon (in the 1970s), Hong Kong (in the early 1990s), and China and South Africa (since the 1990s) have rivaled the United Kingdom as the principal source of immigrants in Australia (see Hill and Allan 2004). Similarly, in Canada, increased migration from continental Europe (and the flexing of these minority groups' political clout) disrupted the "two solitudes" (French and English settler peoples) conception of Canada. This change led to Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau creating the "Policy of Multiculturalism within Bilingual Framework" in 1971.

While the emergence of multiculturalism has served to strengthen democracy by espousing a cultural (and presumably, racial) level playing field and celebrating diversity, multiculturalism has had a very awkward relationship with indigenous peoples in the Australian,



American, and Canadian contexts. For indigenous peoples, struggles by relatively late-coming European occupiers or colonizers to move beyond the “two solitudes” in Canada, or to open up immigration beyond predominantly British migrants in Australia, stand outside their own struggles to be recognized as the original peoples of the land—and to have historical treaties honored and atrocities against them addressed.

#### THE POLITICAL CONTINUUM OF MULTICULTURALISM

The form of multiculturalism that is most well known all over the world—and on which multiculturalism policy is usually based, and which most people have encountered and think of when they conceptualize multiculturalism in the singular—is liberal, celebratory multiculturalism. This form of multiculturalism breaks with assimilationist, monocultural conceptions of nation and posits a multicultural conception that identifies and celebrates both broad cultural categories and the cultural diversity that results from their juxtaposition with each other. Canada, for example, often employs the metaphor of the mosaic to describe itself. A mosaic of cultures cemented together by nationalism conjures an image of a multicolored beauty and a vibrancy of difference and variety, as well as the unity of the Canadian nation. Such an image stands in sharp contrast to the blandness of monoculturalism. There is resistance to liberal multiculturalism, however, from both the left and the right. Right-wing critics are suspicious of liberal multiculturalism, considering it a threat to the unity of the nation and established, supposedly unifying, traditions. Critics on the left assert that liberal multiculturalism, especially liberal multicultural education, concentrates altogether too much on celebrating rather than interrogating sociocultural difference. They point to the emphasis on a sharing of music, national dress, and foods, claiming this creates a “steel band, sari, and dim-sum” multiculturalism. Leftists hold that multiculturalism pays little attention to the pivotal issue of power differentials between the racial and ethnic groups within a nation, and that it does not address the resulting problems of sociocultural inequalities and discrimination in general, and white racism more specifically.

Responses to liberal multiculturalism have not been limited to critiques. Rather, in the United States in particular, they have also fostered the development of various types of multiculturalism, which are reflective of a continuum of political positions. A few leftist American cultural critics and educators have undertaken the useful work of identifying what might be conceptualized as discrete forms of multiculturalism, or as points on a political multicultural continuum. For example, Peter McLaren, a professor of education at the University of California, Los Angeles, identifies these points as conser-

vative, liberal, left-liberal, and critical multiculturalism. The leftist category of “critical multiculturalism” has been expanded by other figures such as Henry Giroux, Shirley Steinberg, and Joe Kincheloe to include resistance, insurgent, and revolutionary multiculturalism. These leftist forms have some variations in emphasis, but they share the general approach of addressing power and working for social justice, equity, and a radical democracy. They consider overtly addressing sociocultural difference and discrimination based on difference, and particularly the central problem of white racism, as integral to their efforts.

#### ANTIRACISM AND OTHER ALTERNATIVES TO MULTICULTURALISM

While critical figures in the United States have chosen to put forward alternative interpretations and discourses of multiculturalism to compete with the dominant liberal, celebratory multiculturalism, their counterparts in Britain and Canada have chosen to eschew multiculturalism as inherently flawed, opting to develop British and Canadian versions of antiracism instead. Antiracist theory, policy, and discourse cut straight to what is seen as the heart of the matter, namely the need to address two central issues: (1) the power differential between whites and people of color, and (2) racism at various levels (e.g., individual, institutional, and social). Critiqued for not addressing other forms of sociocultural difference, antiracists have developed versions such as “integrative antiracism,” which does address sociocultural difference in general but keeps race and racism as pivotal issues of concern.

Indigenous peoples have been wary of and had an awkward relationship with multiculturalism in countries such as Australia, Canada, and the United States. The struggles of indigenous peoples to be recognized as original people of the land (literally “First Nations” in Canada) means they have positioned themselves outside multiculturalism, so that Native education in the United States, Aboriginal education in Australia, and indigenous education in Canada are separate discourses from multicultural education (see Archibald 1995). In contrast with its former colonies, multiculturalism in the United Kingdom does not have to deal with the added wrinkle of the place of indigenous peoples in relation to dominant, settler populations (though the Irish in Northern Ireland might well beg to differ).

The Quebecois in Canada also position themselves outside of multiculturalism. They have struggled to maintain their identity and culture as a people, and they see multiculturalism as a policy that diminishes their status and stake in both Canada and North America. This is seen as reducing them from being one part of

two solitudes to being merely one culture among many in the Canadian mosaic, and as threatening the viability of a small French-language culture in a North American continent dominated by the English language. There were several attempts to constitutionally recognize Quebec and the Quebecois as a “distinct society,” (e.g., in failed Meech Lake Accord of the late 1980s and Charlottetown Accord of the early 1990s), and Canada’s Parliament voted in 2006 to recognize Quebec as “a nation within the nation of Canada.” Furthermore, the policy of “interculturalism” (which espouses French language and francophone culture as dominant and integrates newcomers into both) has been implemented in the province of Quebec.

### THE STATUS QUO OF MULTICULTURALISM

Despite the challenges to it, multiculturalism has remained the dominant discourse and policy of choice in Anglophone countries, and its presence and presumed permanence is not taken for granted. There are new challenges facing multiculturalism, however, particularly from globalization, late capitalism, and the waning of the very notion of the nation-state. The increased movement of people, goods, and information around the world (and the attendant establishment of new discourses such as transnationalism and cosmopolitanism) threatens to render multiculturalism obsolete. Furthermore, the 9/11 bombings in the United States and the 7/7 bombings in Britain have led to a rise in Islamophobia and questions about cultural diversity in both countries (especially about official multiculturalism in Britain). The argument can be made—and indeed ought to be made—that what is needed is a strengthening rather than a questioning of multiculturalism. Meanwhile, even though Glazer’s declaration still holds true in the twenty-first century, multiculturalists are left to wonder not whether we are all multiculturalists, but how much longer we will be multiculturalists.

SEE ALSO *Australian Aborigine Peoples; Brazilian Racial Formations; Canadian Racial Formations; Immigration to the United States; Indigenous; Language; Nativism; Social Welfare States; United Kingdom Racial Formations.*

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## MULTIRACIAL IDENTITIES

Racial boundaries in the United States have historically been constructed in such a manner that racial groups and identities have been viewed as rigid and mutually exclusive categories of experience. These boundaries have been constructed and reinforced through *rule of hypodescent*—a social code that forces the offspring of interracial unions to identify with only one of their backgrounds—coupled with pervasive state laws prohibiting interracial marriage. Together, these mechanisms have helped to obfuscate, if not completely obscure, the complex history of racial blending in the United States. However, since the removal of the last antimiscegenation laws in 1967 (through the U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Loving v. Virginia*), growing numbers of individuals, especially the offspring of interracial marriages, have asserted multiracial identities that reflect their various backgrounds. The growth of a multiracial consciousness is reflected in a movement initiated in the late 1970s to change standards in racial-data collection at the federal, state, and municipal levels to allow for the expression of these multiracial identities.

### THE RULE OF HYPODESCENT

The rule of hypodescent has historically suppressed the expression of a multiracial identity by relegating the racial group membership of the offspring of unions between European Americans and Americans of color exclusively to their background of color (e.g., Native American, Asian American, Pacific Islander American, Latino American, African American). This rule has been such an accepted part of U.S. racial “common sense” that its oppressive origins have often been obscured. European Americans began enforcing the rule of hypodescent in the late 1600s in order to draw social distinctions between themselves and subordinated groups of color. The rule was implemented primarily to regulate interracial sexual relations and, more specifically, interracial marriages in an attempt to preserve so-called white racial purity. However, hypodescent has also helped maintain white racial privilege by supporting other legal and informal barriers to racial equality in most aspects of social life, reaching extreme proportions at the turn of the twentieth century with the institutionalization of Jim Crow segregation. These barriers have existed in various forms in public facilities and other areas of the public sphere, such as the educational, occupational and political structure, as well as in the private sphere (e.g., neighborhoods, associational preferences, and interpersonal relationships).

The rule of hypodescent has been applied most stringently (depending upon the background of color) to the first-generation offspring of European Americans and Americans of color. Meanwhile, successive generations of individuals with European ancestry and a background of color have typically not been designated exclusively, or even partially, as members of that group of color if the background is less than one-fourth of their lineage. For these multigenerational individuals, self-identification with the background of color has been more a matter of choice. However, this flexibility has not been extended to individuals of African American and European American descent. Both the first-generation offspring of interracial relationships between African Americans and European Americans and later-generation descendants have experienced the most restrictive variant of the rule of hypodescent: the one-drop rule.

The one-drop rule designates everyone with any amount of African American ancestry (“one-drop of blood”) as black. It precludes any choice in self-identification and ensures that all future offspring of African-American ancestry are socially designated as black. Though variations of the rule of hypodescent have been applied elsewhere to individuals with varying degrees of African ancestry (such as in South Africa), the one-drop rule is unique to the United States. It emerged between the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries and

had the benefit of exempting white landowners (particularly slaveholders) from the legal obligation of passing on inheritance and other benefits of paternity to their multiracial offspring. By the 1920s, the one-drop rule had become the common-sense definition of blackness, and it had been internalized among the vast majority of African-descent Americans.

U.S. attitudes toward the offspring of unions between African Americans and other groups of color (e.g., Native Americans) have varied. More often than not, these individuals have been subject to the one-drop rule. However, there has been greater ambivalence regarding the classification of offspring whose ancestry reflects the combination of groups of color other than African Americans. This is partially due to the fact that these other groups of color have occupied a more ambiguous position in the U.S. racial hierarchy. For example, individuals of Mexican or Asian-Indian ancestry have been alternately classified as either white or nonwhite, according to federal court decisions, state legislation, and policies of government bureaucracies (such as the Census Bureau). Membership in these groups—except perhaps in the case of Native Americans—has also been less clearly defined in U.S. law. Consequently, the racial subordination of Americans of color by European Americans, while oppressive, has not been the same as that of African Americans. Some members of these groups have sought a more intermediate position in the racial hierarchy by avoiding contact with what they perceived as more subordinate groups of color. Still others have forged multiethnic communities of color. For example, Karen Leonard has traced the formation of Punjabi Mexican American communities in California’s agricultural valleys, while Rudy Guevarra has researched the Mexipino (Mexican and Filipino) community in San Diego.

In the 1960s and 1970s, notions of racial purity that had supported the ideology of white supremacy were increasingly repudiated in the United States. Many European Americans, nevertheless, continued to maintain identities and privileges based on white racial exclusivity that originated in the rule of hypodescent. Moreover, this rule has had some unintended consequences for groups of color, especially African Americans. By drawing boundaries that would exclude Americans of color from having contact as equals with European Americans, it has legitimated and forged group identities among the former that have become the basis for mass mobilization and collective action in the struggle against racial inequality. These dynamics have thus helped reinforce, even if unintentionally, the notion that European Americans (and whiteness) and Americans of color inhabit categories of experience that are mutually exclusive, if not hierarchical, and that they each have an objective and independent existence of their own.

## RESISTANCE TO HYPODESCENT

Though many individuals of African-American and European-American descent have internalized the one-drop rule, identifying themselves solely as black, some have engaged in various tactics of resistance to this rule. One historical form of resistance is "passing," in which individuals of a more European-American phenotype and cultural orientation have made a covert break with the African-American community, either temporarily or permanently, in order to enjoy the privileges of the white community. Though commonly viewed as a form of opportunism, G. Reginald Daniel has argued that "passing may be seen as an underground tactic, a conspiracy of silence that seeks to beat oppression at its own game" (2002, p. 49). Those individuals who were unwilling or unable to pass distanced themselves from the black masses by forming elite groups known as "blue-vein societies." These societies flourished in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in cities such as Charleston, Philadelphia, Nashville, Louisville, New Orleans, Boston, New York, Atlanta, and particularly Washington, D.C. to mention only a few. Entrance into these exclusive societies depended upon one's physical and cultural approximation to European Americans. Though such elites vigorously opposed any forms of segregation that would restrict them to African-American social spaces, they understood themselves to be a privileged class of a stigmatized minority. Thus, many were sympathetic to the plight of less fortunate African Americans.

While blue-vein societies constituted an urban elite situated within the African-American community, other multiracial individuals formed communities apart from both blacks and whites, either on the fringes of villages and towns or in isolated rural enclaves. These communities are known as "triracial isolates" because the members of such communities often have varying degrees of European-American, Native American, and African-American ancestry. These groups have historically affirmed only two components of their ancestry, Native American and European American, and some have fought for federal recognition as "nontreaty Native Americans." Meanwhile, "Creoles of color" in Louisiana and the Gulf ports of Mobile, Alabama, and Pensacola, Florida, sought to maintain the racial privilege and intermediate status they enjoyed during the period of French and Spanish rule in the region. Some resisted the decline in their status after the U.S. annexation of Louisiana (1803) and the Floridas (1810, 1819) by denying any similarity or community with English-speaking African Americans, while others openly challenged the onslaught of segregationist policies in the post-Reconstruction period. Still others attempted to pass for white, while some left for Mexico or the Caribbean.

Generated by racist pressure that has rewarded whiteness and punished blackness, all of the above tactics of resistance devised by multiracial individuals have been less of a reaction to the forced denial of their European-American ancestry than to the denial of the privileges that have accrued to such ancestry. Though challenging and subverting the one-drop rule, these tactics were rarely aimed at challenging the hierarchy between whiteness and blackness. In particular, tactics such as passing and the formation of blue-vein societies shaped and perpetuated a pernicious *colorism* among African-descent Americans, resulting in the preferential treatment of individuals who have more closely approximated whites in terms of consciousness, behavior, and phenotype.

Though the centrality of regulating racial blackness in U.S. jurisprudence and the entire legal apparatus supporting racial segregation gave African-descent Americans a more immediate impetus for racial passing, ultimately, some degree of social stigma has been attached to all groups of color in the United States. This stigma would provide an incentive for multiracial individuals with other ancestries of color and European background to pass as white. However, the key distinction between the experience of African-descent Americans and other groups of color lies in the more flexible application of the rule of hypodescent to the latter ancestries of color. Typically, individuals with less than one-fourth of a non-African ancestry of color in their lineage may not have even been designated as partially of color, obviating the need for racial passing. Indeed, a number of multiracial individuals have successfully negotiated white identities, despite having known Mexican or other Latino ancestry or Native American ancestry. These have included some of the offspring of intermarriages between elite Mexican landowners and white settlers in California, as well as a few film actors and entertainers of partial Mexican or other Latino descent or Native American descent.

MULTIRACIALITY  
AND MARGINALITY

Due to the multidimensional nature of their identity, multiracial individuals operate on the margins of several racial groups. Prior to the 1970s, this marginality, or sense of being "betwixt and between," was seen as the source of lifelong personal conflict, necessarily resulting in psychological maladjustment and pathology. Admittedly, such theories emerged at a time when the United States was significantly more hostile to the affirmation of a multiracial identity. However, these theorists did not focus on the sociological forces that made psychological functioning difficult for multiracial individuals. Rather, multiracial individuals were characterized as psychologically dysfunctional

because this image reinforced what Cynthia Nakashima calls an existing “multiracial mythology” that discouraged racial blending, thereby protecting so-called white racial purity and racial dominance (1992, p. 164). These traditional frameworks were largely based on misinterpretations of the sociologist Robert E. Park’s “marginal man” thesis. Though Park envisioned the marginal man as a person who stood on the margin of two racial/cultural worlds, and thus not fully a member of either world, he nevertheless argued that such a position could provide an individual with a broader vision and wider range of sympathies due to the ability to identify with more than one racial or cultural group.

### THE EMERGENCE OF MULTIRACIAL IDENTITY

Increasingly, growing numbers of individuals have begun to embrace a multiracial identity. These individuals consider themselves to be members of more than one racial group, and they have thus challenged traditional U.S. racial categories and boundaries. The expression of this new multiracial identity originated in changes that have taken place since the dismantling of Jim Crow segregation—particularly the removal of the last laws against intermarriage in the 1967 decision in *Loving v. Virginia*—and the implementation of civil rights legislation during the 1950s and 1960s. The comparatively more fluid intergroup relations led to more extensive interracial marriage and a substantial increase in the number of multiracial births. However, up until the 2000 census, statistical surveys did not make it possible to tabulate reliable figures on the population of offspring from these unions. Nevertheless, census data indicate that the number of children born of interracial parentage grew from less than a half million in 1970 to about two million in 1990.

### THE MULTIRACIAL MOVEMENT

As the number of interracial marriages and of births of multiracial offspring have increased, parents of multiracial children and multiracial-identified individuals have formed support groups and organizations. Such groups have sought to promote healthy images of multiracial children, and they have pursued, among other agendas, the official recognition of a multiracial identity from local, state, and federal agencies. The oldest of such organizations currently in existence, I-Pride (Interracial/Intercultural Pride), founded in 1979 in Berkeley, California, successfully petitioned the local school district to implement an “interracial” category on school forms. Though it was the first such category in U.S. history, it was later restricted to internal district uses only, based on federal regulations that did not allow such a category.

By the 1990s, I-Pride had become part of a coalition of more than fifty other grassroots organizations that had come into existence since the late 1970s, and this coalition began pressuring the federal government to revise its racial-data collection standards, particularly with regard to the decennial censuses. This coalition included the Association of MultiEthnic Americans (AMEA), a national umbrella organization that represented fourteen support groups based in various metropolitan areas in the United States, and Hapa Issues Forum (HIF), a national organization consisting of individuals of partial Asian/Asian American or Pacific Islander descent. Other organizations included A Place for Us National, a nondenominational religious support network for interracial families, and Project RACE (Reclassify All Children Equally), an activist, informational and educational organization that had successfully advocated for the implementation of a multiracial category on various municipal and state government forms. In terms of the census, these and other organizations, along with individual activists, sought the implementation of a “combined format” that would include a separate multiracial category but would also allow individuals to check all applicable boxes corresponding to their racial backgrounds. (Though an “other” category had been provided on each census since 1910, write-in responses to this category had been reassigned to one of the traditional racial categories until the 1990 Census).

The movement to revise federal data-collection policy was not without controversy. Several traditional civil rights organizations initially objected to the proposed inclusion of a multiracial category to the race question on the census, expressing concern over how such a category might impact the tabulation of data for underrepresented groups of color for the purposes of enforcing civil rights legislation. Specifically, they argued that a stand-alone multiracial identifier would lead to a loss of numbers. Consequently, their opposition was informed in part by the perception that multiracial movement activists were merely seeking to add a stand-alone multiracial category to the race question. Various factors contributed to this erroneous interpretation, including media coverage and the somewhat ambiguous statements of movement leaders themselves.

Furthermore, activists in the movement ultimately split over the racial data collection format they sought to implement. Faced with likely opposition from both traditional civil rights organizations and various government agencies that require data on race and ethnicity, multiracial movement leadership met on June 7, 1997 in Oakland, California, and ultimately withdrew its support for the combined format. Instead, they settled on a revised model presented by Project RACE that recommended a “check more than one box” option without a separate multiracial category. However, the leadership of Project RACE—perhaps under pressure from its constituents—eventually

retracted support for its own revised model and returned to its original goal of implementing a “combined format.”

On July 9, 1997, the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), the branch of government responsible for implementing changes in federal statistical surveys, announced its recommendations for “check more than one box” format without a multiracial category or any mention of the word multiracial in the race question. (Officials in Washington, D.C., were unaware that multiracial movement leaders had arrived earlier at a similar proposal.) Following the OMB recommendations, organizations such as Hapa Issues Forum and the AMEA elicited support from traditional civil rights organizations, including the NAACP, the Japanese Americans Citizens League, and the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund, for the check more than one format. Meanwhile, Project RACE, joined by APUN and other individual activists, continued to advocate for a multiracial category in the combined format.

Their objections were based in part on the fact that individuals who checked more than one box would be retrofitted into the single-racial categories comprising their ancestry for the purposes of civil rights enforcement rather than being counted as a distinct “multiple race” population. Consequently, these activists did not consider the OMB’s recommendations to be a significant advance over methods of data collection and tabulation in previous censuses. Nevertheless, the OMB’s final decision on October 31, 1997 supported the “check one or more” format. Following the OMB’s final decision, the AMEA itself was incorporated in an oversight committee related to the census.

Since the OMB announcement in 1997, some multiracial organizations (such as the AMEA and Project RACE) have focused on securing compliance with recent changes in federal racial classification standards from school districts and state universities. Meanwhile, a number of organizations (such as Swirl, Inc., and the MAVIN Foundation) have been initiated by multiracial adults with the purpose of building and strengthening a pan-multiracial community among the growing population of individuals who claim more than one racial background. Swirl Inc. is a New York-based organization with chapters in several major metropolitan areas in the United States and Japan. The MAVIN Foundation is a Seattle-based nonprofit organization that has developed a host of projects, including a magazine, a resource book on multiracial children, and a bone marrow drive, aimed at raising awareness about the needs of multiracial offspring and at fostering a sense of community.

In the early twenty-first century, both the MAVIN Foundation and the AMEA are working together on a national resource center for research on multiracial fam-

ilies and offspring. Similarly, multiracial student organizations have proliferated on college and high school campuses through the United States. Furthermore, the growth of the Internet has facilitated the formation of an online multiracial-identified community, reflected in a variety of Web sites and Web logs (or blogs) that encompass a range of perspectives with regard to the politics of race. These include online journals that have been established since the mid- to late-1990s, such as *Interracial Voice* and the *Multiracial Activist*, as well as more recently formed sites, such as Mixed Media Watch.

#### THE MULTIRACIAL IDENTITY PARADIGM

A multiracial identity is not indicative of someone who simply acknowledges the presence of various ancestries in their background. Consequently, this identity differs from members of traditional U.S. racial groups, such as African Americans or Latino/Hispanic Americans, who may have (and acknowledge) multiple racial backgrounds but affirm monoracial (i.e., single-racial) identities. Multiracial individuals seek to replace these one-dimensional identities with more multidimensional configurations. In addition, a multiracial identity bears similarity to, yet is not synonymous with, a multiethnic identity. The latter is displayed by individuals who consider themselves to be members of several groups that are thought to be racially similar but culturally different (e.g., English American–Swedish American or Chinese American–Japanese American). Though both sets of identities may incorporate and reflect the sense of bridging culturally distinct communities, a multiracial identity incorporates the axis of racial difference that has been the more significant basis for social inequality in the United States.

Likewise, a multiracial identity is not the same as a multicultural identity. A multicultural identity is applicable to any individual who, irrespective of ancestry, displays a general openness and sensitivity to racial and cultural differences. Thus, they have an affinity with the values, beliefs, and customs of more than one racial or cultural context due to an exposure to multiple racial and cultural groups. By comparison, multiethnic individuals feel a sense of kinship with several groups directly in response to the multiple cultural backgrounds in their genealogy. Similarly, multiracial individuals feel a sense of kinship with several groups directly in response to the multiple racial backgrounds in their genealogy. Exposure to these backgrounds enhances this feeling of kinship, though simple awareness of them can bring about this sentiment.

The new multiracial identity, unlike previous forms of resistance to the rule of hypodescent, is not premised on the desire to gain privileges that would be precluded by identifying oneself as a person of color. Consequently, this identity is not synonymous with the divisive colorism

**Multiracial Identities**

perpetuated by tactics such as passing and the formation of blue-vein societies. Nor it is the equivalent of efforts to claim and maintain a less subordinate position in the racial hierarchy, as with the strategies of the triracial isolates and some Creoles of color. Rather, the new multiracial identity contests the mutually exclusive nature of U.S. racial boundaries, and it challenges the hierarchical valuation of racial (and cultural) differences. This identity recognizes the commonalities among various communities in the manner of integration while simultaneously appreciating their differences in the manner of pluralism. Moreover, this identity is premised upon the equal valuation of racial and cultural differences and similarities between various communities. Consequently, those communities are seen as relative, rather than absolute, extremes on a continuum of grays.

**RECENT DATA AND RESEARCH ON MULTIRACIAL IDENTITY**

Beginning in the 1980s, a new wave of research emerged that challenged and refuted earlier theories of marginality that stressed psychological dysfunction. The researchers doing this work have agreed that multiracial-identified individuals may experience various ambiguities, strains, and conflicts in a society that views racial identities as mutually exclusive categories of experience. Yet such potentially negative feelings associated with marginality can be counterbalanced by an increased sensitivity to commonalities and an appreciation of racial and cultural differences in interpersonal and intergroup situations. More recent studies have shown little difference between multiracial offspring and their monoracial counterparts on various measures of psychological adjustment and self-esteem. Furthermore, researchers have focused on how the articulation of a multiracial identity has become more commonplace among the offspring of interracial marriage (even among black-white offspring), although some individuals may select more traditional monoracial identities.

Figures from Census 2000 indicate that, nationwide, 2.4 percent of the population, or 7.3 million people, identified with more than one race in 2000. The largest combination was White and "Some Other Race," constituting 32 percent of the "Two or More Races" population, followed by White and American Indian/Alaskan Native (17%), White and Asian (12%), and White and Black (11%). These four combinations constituted more than 70 percent of the Two or More Races population. Given that the Census Bureau treats Latinas/os separately as an ethnic group with the option of selecting one or more racial categories, it is difficult to discern which multiple-race responses are representative of the products of Latino intermarriage. However, nearly one in three (31%) of those who identified with two or more races also identified as of Hispanic or Latino origin, perhaps

**The Twelve Largest Two or More Race Combinations on the 2000 Census**

Combination	Number	% of U.S. Pop.	% Two or More Races Pop.
Total	7,270,926	2.58	100.1 <sup>a</sup>
White; Some other race	2,322,356	0.83	31.9
White; American Indian and Alaska Native	1,254,289	0.45	17.3
White; Asian	862,032	0.31	11.9
White; Black or African American	791,801	0.28	10.9
Black or African American; Some other race	206,941	0.16	6.4
Asian; Some other race	280,600	0.10	3.9
Black or African American; American Indian and Alaska Native	206,941	0.07	2.8
Asian; Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	138,556	0.05	1.9
White; Black; American Indian and Alaska Native	116,897	0.04	1.6
White; Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	111,993	0.04	1.5
American Indian and Alaska Native; Some other race	108,576	0.04	1.5
Black or African American; Asian	106,842	0.04	1.5
All other combinations <sup>b</sup>	507,340	0.18	7.0

<sup>a</sup>Note: The percentages do not sum to 100.0 due to rounding.

<sup>b</sup>"All other combinations" includes the remaining 45 combinations of individuals reporting more than one race. None of the remaining combinations totaled more than 100,000 people.

SOURCE: Adapted from U.S. Bureau of the Census. 2005. "We the People of More Than One Race in the United States." *Census 2000 Special Reports*, table 1 and figure 1.

**Table 1.**

reflecting the more extensive historical patterns of racial blending and the more widespread acknowledgment of this phenomenon in some Latino countries of origin. The largest percentage of the Two or More Races population (40%) was concentrated in the western United States, with Hawaii, Alaska, and California reporting the highest percentages of multiracial-identified individuals out of the fifty states. Considering the ever-increasing racial and ethnic diversity of the United States, as well as the increased opportunities for intergroup contact due

to the greater integration of persons of color into the public and private sphere, the numbers of multiracial-identified individuals will certainly continue to grow in the United States.

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## MUSLIMS

While there is a persistent tendency to give the term "Muslim" a racial connotation, "Muslim" and "race" constitute in fact very different categories. Although now recognized as a



**Muslim Community Demonstrates in France.** Muslim women take part in a protest in Paris, France, against the detention of French journalists held hostage in Iraq in 2004. AP IMAGES.

sociocultural construction, the notion of "race" is based on assumptions of some sort of common ancestry, and even on a degree of physiognomic homogeneity. The denotation "Muslim," however, refers to an adherent of Islam, one of the world's main religions. In 2006, there were close to 1.5 billion Muslims spread over all inhabited continents of the world. One can be a Muslim by birth, but a person can also become a Muslim through conversion, regardless of ethnic background. Consequently, the historical interrelations between the categories of "Muslim" and "race" are extremely complex, and any conflation of the two must generally be considered erroneous. In discussing this problematic connection, it is also important to make a distinction between, on the one hand, Islam as a religious tradition and the attitudes of Muslims toward race, and, on the other hand, the treatment of Muslims at the hands of non-Muslims.

#### ISLAM'S HISTORICAL ATTITUDES TOWARD RACE

As a monotheistic religion claiming universal validity, Islam makes an appeal to all of mankind. In this respect, the most frequently quoted injunctions from the Islamic sacred scripture, the Qur'an, are: "O mankind, We have created you male and female, and appointed you races and tribes, that you may know one another" (49:13), and "Among God's signs are the creation of the heavens and



of the earth and of your languages and of your colors. In this indeed are signs for those who know” (30:22). The Prophet Muhammad’s selection of a black slave, Bilal, as the first *muezzin* (the person who announces the times for the obligatory five daily prayers) is cited as an example of Islam’s nondiscriminatory attitude toward race or ethnic affiliations.

Islam emerged in early seventh-century Arabia, and the culture-specific conditions of that time and place have had an influence on its outlook. In pre-Islamic times, the only factor holding the social fabric of Arab society together was tribal affiliation, and all tribes inhabiting the Arabian peninsula traced their lines of descent back to either one of two eponymous ancestors: the South Arabian Qahtan and the North Arabian Adnan. These two Arabian branches eventually converge again in their common forefather: Ismail (identical to the Biblical Ishmael). Traces of this historical setting in which the new faith initially took shape can also be found in the Koran. At various instances the scripture emphasizes the special position of the Arabs and the Arabic language: “And so We have revealed to thee an Arabic Koran that thou mayest warn the Mother of Cities [Mecca] and those who dwell about it, and that thou mayest warn of the Day of Gathering, wherein is no doubt—a party in Paradise, and a party in the blaze. If God had willed, He would have made them one nation” (42:7–8).

When, due to political pressures of his adversaries, the Prophet moved in 622 CE from his hometown Mecca to the oasis settlements now known as Medina, the tiny Muslim community came face-to-face with another ethnic group: Jewish tribes co-inhabiting the oasis alongside Arab tribes. As certain political and religious tensions began to develop, the relationship between Arab Muslims and Jews became more antagonistic, making Islam’s aspects of “Arabness” more pronounced.

#### ISLAM’S SPREAD BEYOND THE ARABIAN PENINSULA

After the Arabian Peninsula had fallen under the sway of Islam, the Muslim armies, consisting of Arab tribesmen, swarmed out over the adjacent regions. Over the course of the second half of the seventh century CE, the areas of what are now Jordan, Syria, Palestine, Iraq, Iran, and North Africa were incorporated into the Muslim Empire. Conquest had priority over conversion, however, and this Islamic state remained very much an Arab entity. A major incentive for the Arab tribes to take part in these campaigns was namely the entitlement of all Muslims to share in the spoils of war. At the same time, this economic benefit acted as a restraint on the Arabs’ attempts to convert the subjugated non-Arab peoples.

The gradual acceptance of Islam by non-Arabs—such as Aramaeans, Persians, Egyptians, and Berbers—actually

caught the Arab conquerors unaware, and it was initially only possible because converts were being “adopted” as *mawali*, or “clients,” into Arab tribes. Although this legally entitled them to a share in the spoils of war, for a considerable period of time the Arabs maintained a contemptuous attitude toward these non-Arab Muslims. The latter’s growing discontent with this Arab attitude found a religious expression in their increased siding with a movement known as the *Shi’a ‘Ali* or “Party of Ali.” Shi’ism had started out as a purely Arab political faction supporting the claims of the Prophet Muhammad’s cousin and son-in-law Ali’s claims to succession. When the movement’s epicenter moved from Arabia to Iraq, it began to draw increasing support from the non-Arab Muslims there, who were mostly of Persian origin.

The opposing party, known as the Sunnis, was led by the Caliph, and in 661 CE they shifted the capital of the Muslim Empire away from Medina in the Arabian Peninsula to Damascus, bringing them into closer contact with Aramaeans and Greeks. With the Caliph’s seat first moving to Syria, and then to Baghdad in Iraq (in 750 CE), the Muslim Empire became more cosmopolitan. As intermarriage between Arab troops and non-Arab women became more common, Arab “racial purity” became diluted, and the ethnic diversity of the Muslim world increased. Moreover, with its continuous expansion, the empire faced a human resources crisis and had to rely on increasing numbers of non-Arabs to staff its bureaucracy and armies. In fact, Arabs soon constituted a minority, as large numbers of Persians, Syrians, southern Europeans, and later Turks from Central Asia began occupying influential positions in the realm.

In this context, a word should be said about the position of those who did not convert. As an Islamic legal system took shape, a special position was created for “Peoples of the Book,” or Jews, Christians, and Zoroastrians. With the payment of a special tax, they could acquire the status of *Dhimmi*, which entitled them to continue their religious practices and allowed them also to serve the state in certain capacities. Christian Aramaeans, for example, played a prominent role in the transmission of classical Greek learning through their involvement in translation efforts undertaken by the Baghdad Caliphate. Their position compared favorably to the treatment of non-Christians in Christendom until relatively recent times. One discriminatory practice that remained in place was the prohibition of non-Muslim men marrying Muslim women without the formers’ conversion to Islam, even though the reverse was permissible. The reason for this is that, under Islamic Law, children are considered to belong to their father’s religion. Consequently, it is considered unacceptable that Muslim women contribute to the natural growth of non-Muslim communities.

Thus, Islam's historical roots in the Arabian Peninsula, aided by the spread of Arabic as the sacred language of Islam and as a *lingua franca* throughout many parts of the Middle East and North Africa, have contributed to the erroneous tendency to conflate the categories "Muslim" with "Arab," or at least with people of Middle Eastern origin. In regard to the latter, the fact that Persians and Turks are not Arabs, and that their languages are not even related to Arabic, is often ignored.

#### NOTIONS OF RACE AND ETHNICITY

As Islam continued its spread beyond the Middle East, the conflation of Islam—or the designation "Muslim"—with a particular race, as well as its own supposed non-discriminatory stance toward race from a doctrinal point of view, were increasingly at odds with reality.

In his 1971 study *Race and Color in Islam*, Bernard Lewis provides ample examples from actual Islamic history that run counter to the universalism of Islamic doctrine. As is often the case in other civilizations, Muslim attitudes toward skin color and the alleged inferiority of certain races is closely associated with slavery, an institution to which Africans in particular fell victim, even in the Muslim world. Racial distinction was also discussed by the geographer al-Jahiz (776–869), who used the Greek theory of the four humors to explain the characteristics of the various races in the world. The descriptions he formulated were not free from value judgments, which were often uncomplimentary.

In the early twenty-first century, the great majority of Muslims in the world are found outside of the Middle East. The largest Muslim nation in the world, Indonesia (with close to 200 million Muslims), is located in Southeast Asia, while the South Asian states of Pakistan, India, and Bangladesh together have more than 450 million Muslim citizens. Substantial numbers are also found in populous sub-Saharan African countries like Nigeria (65 million). In addition, after an intermezzo of nearly half a millennium, there are again increasing numbers of Muslims in Europe. Of more recent date is the entry of large numbers of Muslim immigrants into the Americas and Australia, and there is the growing phenomenon of Europeans and North American descendants of Europeans converting to Islam. This continued expansion of the Muslim presence throughout the world makes associations between religious and racial affiliations increasingly untenable.

As a world religion, Islam has therefore experienced an enormous internal cultural diversification. It has also been exposed to encounters with cultures holding on to different religious traditions, which has given rise to complicated ethno-religious issues, in which it is often difficult to disentangle the religious from wider cultural and ethnic aspects.

#### ISLAM IN RUSSIA AND CENTRAL ASIA

Before the arrival of the Proto-Russians, the areas of the Lower and Middle Volga were settled mainly by Bulgar and Turkish tribes, who were only Islamized at the beginning of the tenth century. The interactions between pagan Russians (and later Christianized Slavic Russians) and Turkic Muslims date back to these times. Following the Mongol invasions of the 1230s, a poly-ethnic and multicultural empire emerged, known as the "Golden Horde." This empire became increasingly Islamized from the early fourteenth century onward. In the 1480s the tide began to turn, and the Muslims of the Golden Horde, Caucasus, and Central Asia faced an increasingly expansive Russian state encroaching on their territories.

Under the relatively tolerant policy of Catherine the Great (1684–1727) toward the Muslims, the former Golden Horde and Caucasus experienced something of an Islamic renaissance. By the 1860s, however, when the tsar's eye began to fall on Kazakhstan and the Central Asian regions, tsarist politics became more consciously "Russian." In the late nineteenth century, this nationalist tendency carried over to the (Turkish-speaking) Uzbek, Turkmen, and (Persian-speaking) Tajik Muslims of Central Asia, who by then had been incorporated into the Russian realm. Overlaid with elements of Islamic Renewal (*Jadidism*) as well as traditionalism, a drive toward cultural, ethnic, and linguistic self-realization within the Russian state took hold of Russia's Muslims along the Black Sea, in the Northern Caucasus, and in Central Asia.

After the Russian Revolution of 1917, it was Josef Stalin who reorganized all inhabitants of the Soviet Union into "first-class" and "second-class" nationalities, based on commonalities in language, territory, economics, and culture—but not on religion. With respect to the Muslim citizens, this resulted in the "first class" union republics of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Azerbaijan. The Tatars and Muslims of the Northern Caucasus were relegated to a patchwork of less-privileged "second-class" autonomous republics.

The blurring of the lines between the realm of the "religious" and other elements of ethnicity sporadically resulted in attempts at unification among the Muslims—at times driven by Pan-Turkic sentiments, at other times by Pan-Islamic sentiments. In particular, the latter turned into political dynamite following the events of the 1970s and 1980s in Iran and Afghanistan. Alongside attempts to affirm the specific ethnic identifications of these "nationalities," these unifying trends were suppressed by both tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union's "Russification" of its Muslim-inhabited territories, only to remerge again when Communism's fortune dwindled in the 1990s.

## ISLAM IN CHINA

Islam has been present in China since the time of the Tang dynasty, and throughout history it was commonly regarded as a challenge, if not an outright threat, to the Chinese establishment. However, in discussing the racial dimensions of this tension, one runs into the same complications as elsewhere. Muslims differ from other minority groups in China in that they—although concentrated in certain geographical margins of the empire—are found in every province and every sizable urban agglomeration. This makes it difficult to reduce the differences between the Chinese Muslim minorities and the majority Han Chinese to an issue of race alone.

In fact, Chinese history evinces that both Chinese and Muslim identities are social-cultural constructs, since the root of the tensions between the two groups is the failure or refusal of the Chinese Muslims, both Han Chinese and others, to subscribe to the values of dominant Chinese culture, which is strongly informed by Confucian teachings that often run counter to Islamic dogmas. At the same time, this did not prevent certain Chinese Muslims from attaining prominent positions in Chinese society, such as the famous marine explorer Zheng He under the Ming dynasty. The glossing of all Chinese Muslims into one category can be traced to the Yuan dynasty, when the term *Hui* became the common denominator for referring to Muslims (and Jews and Christians as well).

More recently, the Chinese Muslim rebellions of the nineteenth century, such as the one resulting in the short-lived sultanate of Dali in the southwestern province of Yunnan, raised the awareness of the numerical significance of Muslims, particularly in certain frontier regions such as Yunnan and Xinjiang. This led, in the early twentieth century, to the recognition of the Muslims as one of the “five peoples of China” by the young republic under Sun Yat Sen. This conflation of Muslim identity with a discrete “nationality” was continued by the People’s Republic after 1949. Then, however, the authorities began (not unlike Stalin’s initiatives of the 1920s and 1930s) to differentiate between the *Hui* of China proper, the Uighurs of Xingjiang, and other Turkic minorities of China’s Central Asian fringes, such as the Uzbeks, Kyrgyz, and Kazakhs. While these ethnic identifications may constitute an implicit and partial recognition of Muslim identity, any overriding tendencies toward “Pan Islamism” or—in the case of the Central Asian Muslims—“Pan-Turkism” have been strongly opposed by the central state. This is again an illustration of the ambivalence prevailing in the association of Muslim identity with any discrete form of ethnicity.

## ISLAM IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Since its independence, the political leadership of the largest Muslim nation in the world—the multiethnic Indonesia—has always steered clear of any unifying policies based on the

Islam factor. This is in marked contrast with Malaysia, where “being Muslim” is considered an inherent part of “Malayness.” Since the 1970s, the government has implemented a policy of “affirmative action” benefiting the Malay majority in the educational, social, and economic fields. Its aim is to emancipate the Malays from their backward positions in comparison with the often economically more affluent Chinese and Indian minorities. This policy was reinforced with an “Islamization” drive in Malaysian public life following the Malay-Chinese riots of 1969.

The position of the Malay Muslims of southern Thailand is another example of the politicization of an ethno-religious issue. Constituting a numerical majority in Thailand’s border provinces with Malaysia, these Malays were severed from their counterparts south of the border as a result of a demarcation treaty signed between Thailand and the colonial authorities of British Malaya in 1909. As a result, close to three million ethnic Malay Muslims had to be incorporated into a predominantly Buddhist nation-state of ethnic Thai.

These Malay Muslims shared neither linguistic, religious, nor cultural commonalities with the majority population, but the policies of successive Thai governments emphasized loyalty and adherence to the monarchy (which is regarded as divine), Buddhism, and Thai language and culture. This policy has resulted in very antagonistic relations between the southern Muslim minority and the rest of the country. In political terms it led to frequently violent attempts by the Malay Muslims to secure secession and independence, or at least a degree of autonomy.

## MUSLIMS IN THE WEST

Prior to the arrival of large numbers of Muslim immigrants, especially from countries in North Africa and South Asia in the 1960s and 1970s, Europe can be said to have at least a dual Muslim heritage. Until the fall of Granada in 1492, the Iberian Peninsula had been home to a thriving “Moorish” culture, in which Muslims, Jews, and Christians participated. In the eastern Mediterranean and in the Balkans, the Ottoman Empire had been making inroads into Christendom since its capture of Constantinople, the capital of the Byzantine Empire, in 1453 CE.

While Muslims disappeared from Spain and Portugal following the Christian *Reconquista*—either by extermination, going into exile, or through forced conversion—countries like Albania and the former Yugoslavia are still home to substantial Muslim minorities. Here again, state policies followed a strategy similar to those of the Soviet Union, regarding nationality and Muslim as analogue categories, while simultaneously downplaying the significance of religious beliefs and practices. The dissolution of the Federation of Yugoslavia in the 1990s has shown that such

conflations can have disastrous results, for Serbian nationalists were pitted against Muslim Bosnians and Kosovars.

In connection with the migrant communities from Muslim countries found throughout western Europe, North America and Australia, it appears that religion has become an additional ingredient in a more complex mix of ethnic factors that set these communities apart from the majority population. These factors include physical appearance, language, and cultural and social mores, such as dietary requirements and dress codes.

Typically groups within these communities become affected by and actively take part in an Islamic resurgence (often with distinctly political overtones) that has swept the Muslim world since the late 1970s. The politicized manifestations of this new Muslim assertiveness are, to a considerable degree, a result of unresolved political conflicts in various parts of the Muslim world (e.g., Palestine, Afghanistan, Iraq), in which Western powers are often implicated or regarded as being involved.

When the politicization of this increasing Muslim assertiveness results in acts of violence, the authorities responsible for national security tend to include the tool of "racial profiling" in their repertoire of measures for defining potential threats. The most striking example in recent history of such a policy is the introduction of the Patriot Act and other

Homeland Security measures in the United States following the 9/11 attacks on New York City and Washington D.C. However, as the above survey shows, such associations between religion and other elements of ethnicity are extremely diffuse and misleading.

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*Carool Kersten*

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## NAACP

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) is the oldest and largest civil rights organization in the United States. Since its founding in the first decade of the twentieth century, it has been a leader in efforts to guarantee that all racial minorities receive equal protection under the law.

## RACISM AT THE TURN OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The NAACP was established when the direct racism of the Deep South had become a national problem, as reflected in race riots that occurred in New York City and New Orleans, Louisiana, in 1900; in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1906; in Springfield, Illinois, in 1908; and throughout mainstream America in 1910 when heavyweight boxing champion Jack Johnson, an African American, brutally defeated James Jefferies, the “great white hope” of the era. Between 1900 and 1910, at least 505 blacks were lynched, and for the first time since 1866, no person of color was to be found in the U.S. Congress. In 1896 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled, in the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, that racial segregation was not unconstitutional, a decision that accelerated a trend that had begun a generation earlier. A year before *Plessy*, at a time when the first wave of industrial millionaires was cresting, Booker T. Washington, the founder and principal of the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, shot to international fame with his call for blacks to temporarily withdraw from political struggle and concentrate on cooperating with whites in economics, although the only asset blacks possessed was their physical labor.

Race relations were so poor that blacks held a conference at Atlanta University in 1893 on the theme of migration. Between 1895 and 1896, two shiploads of blacks sailed for Liberia, in what was meant to be the beginning of a mass migration of blacks back to Africa. Because of boll weevils in the cotton and the terror of Ku Klux Klansmen in white sheets, black southerners were also migrating north to Harlem and Philadelphia and Chicago. Thomas Dixon’s play *The Clansman* (1905), based on his 1902 novel of the same name, was a multimedia tribute to the real Klan and became a hit in the North as well as in the South. Blacks had tried to rally in defense of their rights in several organizations prior to the NAACP. One was the National Afro-American League (1890–1893), which was organized by T. Thomas Fortune, the militant editor of the *New York Age*. This organization failed in its efforts to convert principle into practice, however, though it reformed from 1898 to 1908 as the Afro-American Council.

## THE NIAGARA MOVEMENT

The other protest association was the Niagara Movement, which was founded to counter the dire effects of Washington’s doctrine of status quo accommodation on racial issues.

Led by William E. B. Du Bois; William Monroe Trotter, the editor of the Boston *Guardian*; John Hope, a professor of classics and destined to become the first black president of Morehouse College in 1906; and Harry Clay Smith, the editor of the *Cleveland Gazette*, a group of twenty-nine likeminded African Americans held a conference in 1905 on the Canadian side of Niagara Falls (thus the name, the Niagara Movement). The fact that the conference was held in Canada is

symbolic of the racial strife and discord in the United States at that time, for the group could not secure a hotel site in New York. Out of this conference emerged a call for an end to racial discrimination and an extension of full civil liberties to African Americans in the United States.

The Niagara Movement had many points in its platform, including the right to manhood suffrage, freedom of speech, the abolition of caste based upon race and color, and a belief in the dignity of labor. The organization also felt that the practice of universal brotherhood should be recognized. The group took the opportunity to issue a condemnation of Booker T. Washington's accommodationist philosophy, which he advocated in his Atlanta Compromise speech in 1895. The group held subsequent meetings in Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, the site of John Brown's 1859 raid designed to free enslaved blacks.

The Niagara Movement was a black organization that saw its role as using the legal system to fight for civil rights. By 1910 several of the nation's ablest black lawyers were affiliated with the organization and arguing civil rights cases. The organization was dying, however, hampered by a lack of funds. When the opportunity arose to join forces with another organization whose platform was nearly identical to its own, the Niagara Movement merged with the new group.

#### THE FOUNDING OF THE NAACP

Spearheaded by Mary White Ovington, the NAACP was organized in New York City in 1909, in the wake of a major riot in Springfield, Illinois, in 1908. It seemed ironic to many that this riot occurred in the hometown of President Abraham Lincoln, the great emancipator. During the riot many of the city's leading white citizens organized themselves into mobs, and over a two-day period they killed two blacks and five whites, wounded scores of African Americans, and ran thousands more out of town. Forty homes were destroyed.

The Springfield Riot became the subject of countless newspaper and magazine articles. One article, written by the socialist William English Walling of the *Independent*, was entitled "Race War in the North." Walling described in detail the atrocities launched against African American citizens, not only in Springfield but throughout the South. He raised the question of whether the spirit of abolitionism could be revived so that black citizens might one day be treated equally in the political and social arenas, or whether the voices of race-baiting southern segregationists, such as Senator Ben "Pitchfork" Tillman of South Carolina and Senator James K. Vardaman of Mississippi, would become the norm, even in the North. His final question was "Yet who realizes the seriousness

of the situation, and what large and powerful body of citizens is ready to come to their aid?"

Ovington was one of the individuals who responded to Mr. Walling's challenge. Ovington had founded the Greenpoint Settlement in Brooklyn and had spent much of her time studying the housing and employment status of blacks in New York. She felt that the spirit of abolitionism had to be revived, and she wanted to pursue the struggle for civil and political rights with the same spirit that had motivated the abolitionists. With that as a mission, she sent a letter to Walling who agreed to meet with her in his New York apartment. Along with the social worker Henry Moskowitz and John Mitchell, the mayor of New York, they met in January 1909.

Ovington, Walling, Moskowitz, and Mitchell discussed the various issues and concerns they felt were pertinent to the mistreatment of black people. They wanted to move quickly in putting together a national forum, so they set the date of February 12, 1909, Abraham Lincoln's 100th birthday, on which to hold a conference on the "Negro question." They planned to use the opportunity to organize that body of citizens that Walling alluded to in his article. The meeting was not held on that date, however, but in May 1909. From the adjournment of this initial meeting to the date of the national meeting, this group appealed to others to participate. One person they called upon was Oswald Garrison Villard, the president of the New York Evening Post Company and a grandson of the abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison, the editor of the *Liberator*, a radical antislavery newspaper of the antebellum era. Through his own newspaper, the *New York Evening Post*, Villard publicized a call for a national meeting to consider the racism involved in repressing blacks. There were many prominent Americans who signed the call. Among them were Jane Addams, Ida Wells Barnett, William Dean Howells, the Reverend Francis J. Grimke, Rabbi Emil Hirsh, J. C. Phelps Stokes, Lincoln Steffens, Rabbi Stephen J. Wise, and the African Methodist Episcopal Bishop Alexander Walters, as well as the group from the original meeting. The signatures of all those who signed "The Call" was issued on February 12. The conference opened on May 30, 1909, and after a series of organizational meetings, the NAACP opened its doors with two offices in the Evening Post building in New York. The first national president of the NAACP was Moorfield Storey, a constitutional attorney and past president of the American Bar Association. DuBois became the director of publicity and research and the editor of the official magazine, *The Crisis: A Record of the Darker Races*, which ran to sixteen pages and was available for a dime. The first publication was issued in November 1910.

The NAACP was founded by an interracial group intent on working on behalf of all minorities, which led



**NAACP Pilgrimage to Harpers Ferry, 1932.** After their first meeting, the NAACP held subsequent meetings at the site of John Brown's raid designed to free enslaved blacks, in Harpers Ferry, West Virginia. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

to their use of the term “colored.” Many of the original white members came from socialist and progressive organizations, while much of the African American membership was pulled from participants in the Niagara Movement. The organization would work on behalf of Native Americans, Hispanics, Asian Americans, African Americans, and Jews. Its purpose was to secure for all people the rights guaranteed under the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the United States Constitution. Its principal objective was to ensure the political, educational, social, and economic equality of minority groups in the United States. Its efforts would be directed toward eliminating racial discrimination through established democratic processes. The early leadership and membership felt that civil rights could be secured through the enactment and enforcement of federal, state, and local laws, and by becoming a forum for informing the public about the negative effects of discrimination, segregation and racist public policies.

The newly formed organization was criticized by some in the African-American community, notably Booker T. Washington, who felt that the NAACP's tactic of openly condemning racist policies contrasted with his policy of quiet behind-the-scenes diplomacy. It was this strategy, however, that had been criticized by the Niagara Movement.

#### THE EARLY YEARS

As the first major civil rights organization, the NAACP took on the responsibility of righting the wrongs that burdened people of color through legal action. The pri-

mary means by which the NAACP operated was through the filing of lawsuits or supporting legal issues that would further its cause.

In the first few years of the organization, the NAACP was faced with the president of the United States, Woodrow Wilson, approving legislation (in 1913) that officially segregated the federal government. The organization launched a public protest against Wilson's segregation policies. This was followed by the release of D. W. Griffith's movie *The Birth of a Nation* (based on Dixon's *The Clansman*) in 1915. The NAACP organized a nationwide protest against the bigoted and racially inflammatory silent film, which promoted negative stereotypes and glorified the Ku Klux Klan. The film's release led to riots in major cities across the United States. Some cities, including Chicago, Pittsburgh, and St. Louis, refused to allow the film to be shown. President Wilson, with his daughters, viewed the film at a White House screening. He was alleged to have commented that “it's all so terribly true,” though one of his aides denied that he ever made the statement. As the controversy over the film continued to grow, Wilson finally issued a statement indicating that he disapproved of the “unfortunate production.” The organization also forced the hand of President Wilson on one of its major issues, lynching. Wilson issued a public statement against lynching in 1918.

As the NAACP began to gain national recognition, its membership grew from approximately 9,000 in 1917 to approximately 90,000 in 1919. There were more than

300 local branches, and it was well on its way to becoming the nation's premier civil rights organization. The battle against lynching then began in earnest.

The anti-lynching battle was fought in both the courts and legislature. The NAACP strongly supported the Dyer Bill, which would have punished those who participated in or failed to prosecute lynch mobs. The bill was introduced by Senator Leonidas C. Dyer of Missouri in 1918. The NAACP was the major lobbyist in support of the legislation and issued a report titled "Thirty Years of Lynching in the United States, 1889–1919." This report resulted in substantive public debate and is credited with causing a decline in incidences of lynching, but it did not end the atrocities. The legislation was never passed by Congress.

The NAACP also challenged the military's exclusion of African Americans from being commissioned as officers. This battle was won and, as a result, more than 600 black officers were commissioned and 700,000 registered for the draft. One of the newly commissioned officers was Charles Hamilton Houston, a 1915 Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Amherst College. Houston pointed to his experience in the military, facing the hatred and disrespect shown to black officers, as the catalyst for his decision to attend law school to fight such atrocities. He earned a law degree from Harvard Law School and in 1934 he became the first full-time attorney for the NAACP.

#### THE LEGAL ADVOCACY STRATEGY

The NAACP began its history of fighting legal battles in 1910 with the Pink Franklin case (*Franklin v. State of South Carolina*). Franklin, a black South Carolina sharecropper, had been put on trial for killing a white policeman. He had received an advance on his wages, but shortly afterward left his employer. A warrant was issued for his arrest under an invalid state law. Armed police went to his home at 3:00 a.m. to arrest him. When they did not state their purpose, a gun battle followed and one officer, H. E. Valentine, was killed. Franklin was convicted of murder and sentenced to death. The NAACP intervened and eventually had Franklin's sentenced commuted to life imprisonment. He was freed in 1919. The case prompted Joel Spingarn, a prominent NAACP official, and his brother Arthur to begin fighting such cases in earnest. This effort became the forerunner of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund.

Between 1915 and 1927, the NAACP appealed to the Supreme Court to rule that several laws passed by southern states concerning voting rights, education, and housing were unconstitutional. They won several major victories. In 1915, in the case of *Guinn v. United States*, the Supreme Court struck down the grandfather clause (a technique used to disenfranchise black voters) as a barrier

to voting rights granted in the Fifteenth Amendment. The grandfather clause imposed a literacy and "understanding" test on individuals whose ancestors were not entitled to vote prior to 1866. This requirement virtually eliminated all African Americans who were freed from slavery in 1865 by the Thirteenth Amendment. In 1917, the Court ruled that municipal ordinances that mandated segregation were unconstitutional in *Buchanan v. Warley*. The case was argued before the court by Moorfield Storey, the NAACP's first president and a constitutional attorney. The ruling in the case led whites to develop the use of restrictive covenants to accomplish the same objective. In the covenants, white property owners agreed to sell or rent to whites only. In 1923, in the case of *Moore v. Dempsey* the Supreme Court ruled that the exclusion of African Americans from juries was inconsistent with the right to a fair trial.

The NAACP began to attack "white primaries" in 1927. The white primary was an electoral mechanism used by the Democratic Party in the South as a means of excluding African-American voters. For all intents and purposes, a candidate for office was chosen in the primary election, from which blacks were excluded by racial membership rules adopted by the party, a situation that made the November general election perfunctory. In a series of cases originating in Texas, the argument was put forward that the white primary deprived African Americans of their rights under the Fifteenth Amendment. The Court had always interpreted the amendment to mean that "state action" could not deprive voters of their rights. In the first case, the state of Texas had established the white primary through statute. In *Nixon v. Herndon* (1927) and *Nixon v. Condon* (1932), therefore, the Supreme Court found state action in the establishment of the white primary. The Texas Democratic Party then limited participation in the primary to whites on its own. Thus, in *Grovey v. Townsend* (1935) the Supreme Court did not find state action, ruling that the party was a private entity. Nine years later, the Court reversed itself in *Smith v. Allwright* (1944), stating that the party was inextricably linked to the state and that the primary was a violation of the Fifteenth Amendment. Thus, white primaries were finally outlawed.

The case of *Hocutt v. Wilson* (1933) was one of the first test cases involving segregation in higher education. Thomas Hocutt, a student at North Carolina College for Negroes, was denied admission to the University of North Carolina's School of Pharmacy. His attorneys, Conrad Pearson and Cecil McCoy, sought the assistance of the NAACP. William Hastie directed the litigation on behalf of the NAACP. Despite the praise given Hastie and his team, the case was undermined by the North Carolina College president's refusal to release Hocutt's transcript.

Victories in the majority of these cases set the stage for the more in-depth litigation strategy that the NAACP



would use to fight injustice. In its early efforts the organization relied on lawyers who volunteered their services. Its first full-time attorney, Charles Hamilton Houston, began to use the courts in earnest. In 1935 Houston started a legal campaign to end school segregation. He was assisted by one of his former Howard University students, Thurgood Marshall.

Houston began the higher education litigation in 1938. The first case was *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada*. Lloyd Gaines was denied entry to the University of Missouri Law School, and the Supreme Court ruled that Missouri must offer Gaines an equal facility within the state or admit him to the university's law school. The state legislature attempted to build a makeshift law school, which caused Houston to renew litigation. Gaines disappeared, however, and the litigation ended. Shortly afterwards, in 1940, Houston resigned his position and Thurgood Marshall was made chief counsel of the new legal branch, the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund (LDF). The LDF would become a separate entity in 1957.

Marshall focused on other areas of Jim Crow before returning to education cases. In 1946 he and his team won the *Morgan v. Virginia* case, in which the Supreme Court banned states from having segregated facilities on buses and trains that crossed state borders. They then argued against restrictive covenants in the *Shelley v. Kraemer* case. The Supreme Court struck down the use of restrictive covenants in 1948. With these successes, the Marshall team then began the series of education cases for which the NAACP is most noted. Marshall decided to attack the doctrine of "separate but equal" head on as being unconstitutional.

In 1950 the Supreme Court ruled in *Sweatt v. Painter* that racial segregation in professional schools (in this instance, the University of Texas law school) was inherently unequal and unconstitutional. Also in 1950, the Supreme Court ruled in *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents* that if a student was admitted to a school, then the student was entitled to equal treatment and could not be segregated from other students, as McLaurin had been at the University of Oklahoma. This case and others before it paved the way for the NAACP landmark legal cases, which culminated in 1954 with *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*.

The organization spent years fighting racial segregation in schools in the thirteen southern states. The NAACP proved that children at "white only" schools were allotted more money and better resources than children at "black only" schools. Marshall pointed out that the South Carolina school system spent \$179 per year for white students but only \$43 for black children. They also used research from the psychologist Kenneth Clark's doll experiments to demonstrate the psychological impact of segregated schools

on black children. Clark studied the effects of segregation on children by using black and white dolls. When shown the dolls, children liked the white dolls better and saw the black dolls as "bad." They also saw themselves as the white doll, but when asked which doll looked most like them, the children were upset because they had to pick the doll that they had rejected. The experiment thus demonstrated that the children had an internalized sense of inferiority. The Supreme Court accepted Marshall's argument and ruled that "separate but equal" was unconstitutional, effectively overturning the earlier decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson*. Under Marshall's leadership, the NAACP was very successful in many of its legal challenges to Jim Crow.

#### THE TURBULENCE OF THE LATE 1950S AND THE 1960S

In the late 1950s, the NAACP saw its membership dwindle to less than 500. This decline was attributed to accusations that labor unions and black groups had been infiltrated by communists. In its battle with the Soviet Union, the United States inspired loyalty and patriotism through anticommunist rhetoric. The effort to associate organizations with communist influence wreaked havoc. Following the successful year-long Montgomery Bus Boycott, the state of Alabama banned the NAACP from the state. Many states also prohibited state employees from participating in the organization, which impacted teachers in these states. Members of the organization, once discovered, were also subject to harassment and job loss.

The NAACP was also faced with new organizations emerging out of the struggle in the South. After his successful leadership in the Montgomery bus boycott in 1955, Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. became a powerful voice in the movement. In 1957 he founded the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), which became the political arm of the black church. Unlike the legal and legislative approach favored by the NAACP, the SCLC used direct action techniques to accomplish its goals. Although the NAACP was opposed to extralegal popular actions, many of its members, such as Medger Evers, the Mississippi field secretary, participated in nonviolent demonstrations such as sit-ins and marches. The organization also collaborated with the SCLC and other civil rights organization such as the National Urban League on issues important to advancing the civil rights cause.

Following Houston's original plan, the NAACP Legal Redress Committee took the lead in the continued focus on education at the high school level. The state president in Arkansas, Mrs. Daisy Bates, organized a group of students to integrate Central High School in Little Rock in 1957. A lawsuit was filed in federal district court to force the immediate integration of schools in

Little Rock. Thurgood Marshall joined in the appeal. He lost the case in the Eighth U.S. Circuit and decided against pursuing further action. Bates, however, proceeded with plans to integrate. By the start of the school year, the group of students led by Bates had dwindled to nine. The "Little Rock Nine" gained national prominence when the National Guard was federalized by President Dwight Eisenhower and sent in to protect the students. In the 1958 case of *Cooper v. Aaron*, the Supreme Court ruled that the Arkansas governor, Orval Faubus, could not interfere with the desegregation of Central High School. In response, the Little Rock school board closed the schools.

Following the *Brown* decision, some states and cities took similar action as Little Rock and chose to close their schools rather than integrate. The school system in Prince Edward County, Virginia, closed for the longest period of time, from 1959 to 1964. The NAACP managed to get legislation through the Congress in the form of the 1957 Civil Rights Act. The civil rights movement then entered the direct action phase.

The new direct action tactics were tested in Greensboro, North Carolina, when four students from North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University staged sit-ins at the Woolworth lunch counter. The city of Greensboro had had an active NAACP chapter in the 1930s, and in 1943 Ella Baker, a NAACP staffer, had established a youth group in the city. Two of the four students who participated in the sit-in had been members of the youth group. During the 1950s students were further inspired by their teachers and the pastor of the Shiloh Baptist Church to become more involved. The pastor had led a successful membership drive that doubled membership in the NAACP chapter. The Greensboro sit-in sparked similar action in more than sixty cities across the south.

#### THE STRUCTURE AND LEADERSHIP OF THE NAACP

The NAACP's basic organizational structure has not changed since its founding. Ultimate decisions are made by the annual national convention. Between conventions, decisions are made by the sixty-four-member board of directors. The executive director, staff, and the chairman of the board are instrumental in making day-to-day decisions, and the national headquarters maintains significant control over the actions of local branches.

The organization has had eight executive directors: William Walling, James Weldon Johnson, Walter White, Roy Wilkins, Benjamin Hooks, Benjamin Chavis, Kweisi Mfume, and Bruce Gordon. Since the appointments of the writer and diplomat James Weldon Johnson as executive secretary in 1920 and Louis T. Wright, a surgeon,

as the first black board chair in 1934, neither position has been held by a white person. Walter White followed James Weldon Johnson as executive director in 1930. White was very fair-skinned and had used his color to infiltrate white groups, which allowed him to conduct significant research on lynching. He used his position in the NAACP to block the nomination of a segregationist judge, John J. Parker, from the Supreme Court.

Under White's leadership, the NAACP saw a significant growth in its membership, boasting approximately 500,000 members by 1946. In 1941 the Washington bureau was established as the legislative advocacy and lobbying arm of the organization. The bureau was directly responsible for strategic planning and coordinating the political action and legislation program. The Washington bureau also holds an annual Legislative Mobilization, which is a forum to provide information about the NAACP's legislative agenda. It also publishes an annual "Report Card" to publicize how members of Congress vote on significant civil rights legislation.

White was succeeded by Roy Wilkins, who became executive secretary in 1955. Wilkins led the organization through the turbulent times of pitting its moderate, integrationist goals against those of more direct action organizations such as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). It was under his leadership that the first significant legislative victory occurred, the Civil Rights Act of 1957. He worked with A. Philip Randolph, Martin Luther King Jr., and others in planning and executing the 1963 March on Washington. Wilkins also participated in the Selma-to-Montgomery March in 1965 and the March Against Fear in 1966. He led the organization through the legislative victories of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the 1965 Voting Rights Act, and the 1968 Fair Housing Act.

Benjamin Hooks became executive director upon the retirement of Wilkins in 1977. He entered the office at a time when the civil rights movement had all but ended. Job discrimination still existed, however, as did de facto segregation, and urban poverty and crime were on the rise. The NAACP, as an organization, was experiencing internal problems, specifically tensions between the executive director and the board of directors. Although these tensions had existed almost from the beginning of the organization, they escalated to outright hostility during Hooks's tenure. This served to weaken the organization. The NAACP was also faced with several setbacks during the 1970s. In the 1978 *Regents of California v. Bakke* case, the Supreme Court placed limits on affirmative action programs. This case was followed by a further eroding of the rights that had been won during the 1950s and 1960s.



**NAACP Leaders, 2006.** NAACP president Bruce Gordon (left) and chairman Julian Bond talk after a news conference at the start of the organization's 97th annual conference in Washington, D.C. AP IMAGES

The NAACP had a large membership base and had always been more financially self-reliant than other civil rights organizations. However, it experienced a severe budget crisis in the 1980s. To help stabilize its finances, the organization moved its national headquarters from New York to Baltimore, Maryland. The move was made possible with the help of more than one million dollars from the state of Maryland and the City of Baltimore, and by a half-million dollar grant from the Kresge Foundation.

Benjamin F. Chavis succeeded Hooks as executive director in 1993. However, he was ousted a year later due to several controversies. Chavis, a nationalist, attempted to take the NAACP into a new direction. He offended many liberals and supporters of the organization by reaching out to Minister Louis Farrakhan, the head of the Nation of Islam. This period led to additional internal problems for the organization. Kweisi Mfume, a former Maryland congressman, followed Chavis as executive director in 1996.

Under Mfume, the NAACP focused on economic development and educational programs for young people. It also continued its role in legal advocacy for civil rights issues. To return the NAACP to strong financial health, Mfume cut the national staff by a third. In 1997 he launched the Economic Reciprocity Initiative (ERI), and in 2000 he negotiated the TV Diversity Agreements with various television networks. Also in 2000, the NAACP retired much of its debt, and the organization operated with a budget surplus for the first time in many years. The NAACP was also successful in massive voter registration drives that year, and it witnessed the largest

black voter turnout rate in twenty years. Mfume led the organization in working through its political differences with major Latino civil rights organizations, such as the League of United Latin American Citizens and the National Council of La Raza.

In 2003 the United Nations designated the NAACP as a nongovernmental organization (NGO). The NGO designation meant that the organization could advise and consult with foreign governments and the UN Secretariat on issues involving human rights. Mfume developed an action agenda that included an emphasis on civil rights, political empowerment, educational excellence, economic development and health and youth outreach. The board, under the leadership of Julian Bond, began to streamline and strengthen the governing procedures of the organization. The board also began to revise and update its constitution and bylaws for the first time since its inception in 1909. And, with Mfume's leadership, the NAACP developed a five-year strategic plan.

Bruce Gordon, a retired Verizon executive, followed Mfume as executive director in 2004. His tenure was short lived, however. Citing differences with the board of directors, he resigned in March 2007, just nineteen months after taking the helm. Gordon was replaced by Dennis Courtland Hayes as interim president and CEO. Hayes previously served as the NAACP's general counsel in charge of the historic legal program.

#### THE NAACP IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

The most significant change in the NAACP over the years has been the decline in the interracialism that was present at the founding of the organization and lasted well into the 1960s. Until that time, whites held leadership roles and were part of the staff. This change was largely a function of the 1960s Black Power ideology and its emphasis on racial solidarity and organization. Black Power advocates challenged the NAACP's purpose and tactics. With its traditional approach, the NAACP found itself attracting fewer members, as many African Americans became sympathetic to the more militant and separatist philosophies of the Black Power movement. However, the organization remained steadfast in its mission, and under the leadership of Mfume membership steadily increased.

The NAACP maintains its strategy of lobbying and litigation. In the post-civil rights era, the organization supported extension of the Voting Rights Act, the Civil Rights Act of 1991, and amendments to the Fair Housing Act. It has also lobbied against the confirmation of conservative judges to the federal bench. Although its strategy has remained virtually unchanged, the NAACP has adopted some new approaches through negotiating

what is called “Fair Share” agreements. These agreements are made with both public- and private-sector organizations to promote the hiring of black workers and contracts with black businesses. The organization has also begun to focus on nontraditional civil rights issue such as alcohol and substance abuse, teenage pregnancies, black-on-black crime, and other issues impacting the underclass. It continues to engage in voter registration campaigns, but being nonpartisan inhibits the mobilization of black voters for particular candidates. As the NAACP approaches its centennial in 2009, it continues to be the nation’s premier civil rights organization, with more than 500,000 members in 1,700 chapters and 450 college and youth chapters.

**SEE ALSO** *Affirmative Action; Marshall, Thurgood; NAACP: Legal Actions, 1935–1955; White, Walter Francis; Wilkins, Roy.*

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## **NAACP: LEGAL ACTIONS, 1935–1955**

From the 1920s through the 1950s, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) pushed the country toward racial equality through organized protests and highly strategic law suits that challenged the racist laws that promoted discrimination against blacks. The organization was founded in 1909, and from its inception it was devoted to the fight against legalized racial discrimination.

## **THE RIGHT LEADERSHIP**

In 1930, Walter White became the NAACP’s national executive secretary. Under White’s leadership, which lasted until 1955, the NAACP began focusing its legal challenges on five areas: voting rights, housing discrimination, equality of due process, segregation in institutions of higher education in the South, and segregation in elementary and secondary education. Legalized racial discrimination (also known as Jim Crow laws) prohibited black and white people from using the same water fountains, attending the same public schools, and having access to the same public accommodations, including restaurants, public libraries, and buses.

In a departure from other legal strategies focusing on civil rights, the NAACP pursued these cases at all levels of judicial review, including state and federal courts and before state and federal administrative agencies. In 1935 Walter White recruited Charles Hamilton Houston to lead the NAACP’s legal strategy. Houston had already displayed remarkable legal talent and vision by transforming, with minimal resources, Howard University Law School into the nation’s foremost school for training black lawyers. One of Houston’s brilliant moves at the NAACP was his recruitment to the NAACP of one of his former students, Thurgood Marshall. During this time, Marshall became one of the nation’s leading legal civil rights advocates. Prior to joining the NAACP, Marshall practiced law in Baltimore, Maryland, where he had been born and raised. In 1965, after thirty years with the NAACP, Marshall was named the United States Solicitor General, the lawyer who decides what position the United States will take when the federal government appears before the U.S. Supreme Court. On October 2, 1967, President Lyndon Johnson appointed Marshall as an Associate Justice of United States Supreme Court, making him the first black American to sit on the Supreme Court.

In 1935 Marshall became chief counsel to the Baltimore branch of the NAACP, and shortly thereafter he joined Charles Hamilton Houston in the NAACP’s New York office. For the next twenty years, the NAACP engaged in legal challenges that ultimately developed into a significant body of civil rights law. Many of the civil rights cases litigated by the NAACP during this period are studied in U.S. law schools in the early twenty-first century. As counsel for the NAACP, Marshall took thirty-two cases to the Supreme Court, and he was victorious in twenty-nine of them.

Since one of the NAACP’s litigation goals from 1935 through 1955 included bringing an end to Jim Crow laws, the organization focused on issues deemed necessary to gain and maintain full U.S. citizenship. The most important of these issues was voting rights. Since the end of the Reconstruction era, Southern racism had eliminated black Americans as a political force by restricting or interfering with their right to vote through violence,

poll taxes, and the election primaries limited to white voters. These forms of legalized discrimination ultimately eliminated most black American southerners from eligibility to vote during most of the Jim Crow era.

### *BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION*

Jim Crow laws restricted the educational opportunities of black Americans by requiring racially segregated elementary, secondary, and undergraduate education. The NAACP's challenge against unequal educational opportunities is most famously illustrated by the case known as *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka Kansas*. This landmark decision of the U.S. Supreme Court struck down laws permitting government support of racial segregation in public schools.

Like a mantra for equal justice, *Brown v. Board of Education* is so widely recognized by Americans that the name of the case has become a symbol unto itself. On May 17, 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court, in a unanimous decision, declared that “in the field of public education the doctrine of separate but equal” has no place in America, thus affirming that separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. The Court squarely held that racial segregation in public schools violates the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution, which guarantees equal protection of the law, and the Fifth Amendment of the Constitution, which guarantees due process. This case overturned a nineteenth-century legal doctrine that disregarded the pernicious effects of discrimination against black Americans. Thus, the case marked a major turning point in the struggle for civil rights. Given the history of Jim Crow, how did the Supreme Court come to issue such a groundbreaking decision? Why would the nation's highest court depart from its prior decisions approving legal racial segregation? Of course, the right question is: How did the NAACP achieve its victory?

One of the hallmarks of the NAACP's success up until 1954 was the careful selection of test cases. The victory in *Brown v. Board of Education*, and in various cases that preceded it, illustrates how the law may be used to work toward social change and equal justice. This point, however, should not overwhelm the fact that after a half century, the promise of *Brown v. Board of Education* is still subject to legal controversy. In 1992, for example, in the case of *United States v. Fordice*, the U.S. Department of Justice persuaded the Supreme Court that two southern states, Alabama and Mississippi, had not yet complied with the Court's direction in *Brown* to dismantle all systems of legal segregation in higher education.

### LEGAL STRATEGIES

Resistance to racial segregation and discrimination during the pre- and postwar eras of the twentieth century

was undertaken by the use of a number of different strategies, including civil disobedience, nonviolent resistance, political marches, boycotts, rallies, and proposed legislation. Increasingly, access to the courts became a formal method of resistance to segregation and a dominant strategic means to achieve racial equality. The NAACP and the NAACP Legal Defense Fund (LDF) adopted the strategy of using legal cases to promote civil rights and seek equality, dignity, and self-respect for black Americans. The NAACP adopted strategies that promoted civil rights as a response to the role legal racism played in restricting the educational and political opportunities of black Americans, and the nation's understanding of what it means to discriminate on the basis of race would shift in response to the legal challenges raised by the NAACP. The nation's courts, and ultimately Congress, were persuaded to reorient the nation toward genuinely supporting the political participation and education for all Americans

The NAACP adopted a legal strategy based upon the use of the test case. This is a strategy involving the use of a case or controversy to establish a point of law as precedent to be relied upon in future cases. The early twentieth-century civil rights lawyers focused upon convincing the courts that no matter how concealed they were, discriminatory laws based on race could not blind the courts to the role of the state in legal racism. State laws imposing racial injustice therefore could, and should, be challenged on constitutional grounds.

Other forms of legal racism often involved private individuals, private acts, or private conduct. Consequently, it became an important objective among civil rights lawyers to develop legal strategies that could pinpoint state action when legal racism was at issue in public or non-public settings. The LDF and local NAACP activists searched for test cases that would get them before the U.S. Supreme Court. Since the test-case strategy was primarily designed to attack laws or government conduct, the goal would be to persuade the nation's highest court to view racial injustice through the lens of due process and the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause. In this respect, successful arguments to the Court would ultimately lead the Court to the dismantling of discriminatory laws on the basis of their unconstitutionality.

Despite the overall success of the NAACP's legal strategy, NAACP lawyers from time to time suffered from false starts or dead ends, and some of the cases that became crucial precedents may not have seemed important to the litigators of the time. Yet legal victories achieved by the NAACP during the mid-twentieth century provided a framework to implement public policies that began to generate social change in American race relations, especially with regard to public education.

*SMITH V. ALLWRIGHT*

Because Jim Crow laws were predominately enacted by states and local governments in the South, the NAACP necessarily involved litigants in southern states. The 1944 case of *Smith v. Allwright* set the stage for *Brown v. Board of Education* ten years later. The case involved a black Texas voter, Lonnie E. Smith, who sued for the right to vote in a primary election conducted by the Democratic Party. Thurgood Marshall represented Smith. The law he challenged mandated that all voters in primary elections be white. At the time, the Republican Party was weak in most of the South, with its adherents being only a fraction of the eligible voters in any given locality. Thus, elections were essentially decided by the outcome of the Democratic primary.

Marshall argued that the state law at issue disenfranchised black voters by denying them the ability to vote in the only meaningful election in their jurisdictions. The U.S. Supreme Court agreed with this view of racial injustice, and found in Smith's favor. The Court held that the State of Texas, by its statute, had denied Smith the equal protection secured by the Fourteenth Amendment. This case overruled the Court's earlier doctrine in *Grovey v. Townsend* (1935), which ruled that political parties were not agents of the state but voluntary associations. Now, however, the Court seemed to signal that it was prepared to ensure that the right of citizens of the United States to vote could not be denied or abridged on the basis of race by any state or any association taking part in elections. Political parties operating as private organizations, freely electing officers from candidates of their own membership could not exclude African Americans from their primary elections. What was at issue was whether the opportunity to vote in a primary election for seats in the Congress of the United States used the apparatus of the state. In Texas, the answer was yes.

The State of Texas, by its own constitution and state laws, provided that every person qualified by residence in the district or county "shall be deemed a qualified elector." The Supreme Court reasoned that whereas a state was free to conduct elections and limit electorate participation, the Fourteenth Amendment forbade the states from abridging the right to vote on account of race. As such, the Democratic Party of Texas, although it was a voluntary organization freely able to select its own membership, could not legally limit participation in the party primary to whites.

The Court rejected the argument that the protections of the Constitution are applicable only to general elections. Primaries, the state argued, are political party affairs, handled by the party and not by governmental officials. The state's argument, however, did not square with the Court. Instead, the Court sided with the NAACP's



**Democratic Primary Vote.** African Americans vote in the Mississippi Democratic primary in 1946. The Supreme Court's decision in *Smith v. Allwright* started a political revolution in the South. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

lawyers, who argued that the right to vote in a primary for the nomination of candidates, like the right to vote in a general election, is a right secured by the U.S. Constitution, and that that right may not be abridged by any state on account of race. Accordingly, the Court did not allow the use of private organizations or political parties in the election system to camouflage the role of the state in the electoral process. Racial discrimination in this case was clearly traceable to the state, and the white-only primary was a clear instance of legal racism that the Court was prepared to strike down.

*SHELLEY V. KRAEMER*

In another case, NAACP lawyers raised the issue of whether the use of a private agreement or contract could insulate a state from the reach of the federal Constitution. In 1945 a black family by the name of Shelley purchased a house in St. Louis, Missouri, but a "restrictive covenant" had been placed on the property in 1911. Restrictive covenants were used to limit an owner's right to sell property to whomever he or she desired. Such covenants were used by white property owners to prevent future home sales to black

Americans. In *Shelley v. Kraemer*, the restrictive covenant at issue barred blacks and Asians from owning the property the Shelleys had purchased, and neighbors sued to restrain them from taking possession of the property. Thirty out of a total of thirty-nine owners in the area had signed an agreement containing a restrictive covenant, which held that “the said property is hereby restricted . . . that hereafter no part of said property or any portion thereof shall be . . . occupied by any person not of the Caucasian race.”

At the time the agreement was signed, black Americans owned five of the parcels in the district, and black families had occupied one of those since 1882. The trial court found that some of the owners of homes within the restricted area of the premises in question had failed to sign the restrictive agreement in 1911. On August 11, 1945, pursuant to a contract of sale, the Shelleys obtained a deed to their new home. On October 9, 1945, the owners of other property subject to the terms of the restrictive covenant brought suit in Circuit Court of the City of St. Louis, requesting that the court divest the Shelleys of the title to the property. The trial court denied the requested relief on the ground that the restrictive agreement had never become final and complete because it had not been signed by all property owners in the district.

The Supreme Court of Missouri reversed this decision and directed the trial court to grant relief for the neighbors, holding that the agreement was legal and that enforcement of its provisions violated no rights guaranteed by the Constitution. Notably, at the time the court rendered its decision, the Shelleys were occupying the property.

The NAACP recognized that this case could allow the civil rights movement to build on legal precedent, while also attacking a discriminatory restriction on equal access to housing. Charles Hamilton Houston, the first African American to earn a Doctor of Juridical Science degree at Harvard, and Thurgood Marshall, argued the case before the U.S. Supreme Court. At issue two questions: (1) Are (race-based) restrictive covenants legal under the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution? and (2) Can they be enforced by a court of law?

Although this case focused on an economic opportunity, it followed closely upon the context of *Smith v. Allwright*. In both cases, the Supreme Court was faced with the task of drawing a line between presumptively permissible private discrimination based on race and unlawful state discrimination based on race. The Supreme Court held in this case that it is unconstitutional under the Fourteenth Amendment for the government to enforce such a restrictive covenant, because to do so requires judicial action by the state.

The only pertinent arguments that the Shelley’s neighbors could raise was that judicial enforcement of private agreements did not amount to state action, and that the

participation of the state is so attenuated that its participation could not constitute state action within the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment. The Court determined, however, that there had indeed been state action in the case. The Court observed that the Shelleys were willing purchasers of the property, and that the owners were willing sellers. It was clear that but for the active intervention of the state courts, the Shelleys would have been free to occupy the property without restraint. The freedom from discrimination by the states in the enjoyment of property rights was among the basic objectives sought by the framers of the Fourteenth Amendment. For the Court, whatever else the framers sought to achieve, it was clear that the matter of primary concern was the establishment of equality in the enjoyment of basic civil and political rights, and the Court sought to preserve those rights from discriminatory action on the part of the states based on considerations of race or color.

#### SWEATT V. PAINTER

In *Sweatt v. Painter*, Herman Sweatt, a black American, was denied admission to the University of Texas Law School on the grounds that substantially equivalent facilities were offered by a law school open only to blacks (thus meeting the requirements of the 1896 decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson*). At the time the plaintiff first applied to the University of Texas, there was no law school in Texas that admitted blacks. The Texas trial court, instead of granting the plaintiff a *writ of mandamus* (a court order from a superior court to a lower or trial court to comply with a legal command in order to safeguard an individual’s legal interest), postponed the trial for six months, allowing the state time to create a law school only for blacks. Ultimately, the U.S. Supreme Court reversed a trial court opinion that the newly established state law school for black Americans met the “separate but equal” judicial doctrine prevailing after *Plessy v. Ferguson*.

The University of Texas Law School had sixteen full-time and three part-time professors, 850 students, a library of 65,000 volumes, a law review, moot court facilities, scholarship funds, an Order of the Coif affiliation, distinguished alumni, and prestige. The separate law school for black Americans had five full-time professors, twenty-three students, a library of 16,500 volumes, a practice court, a legal aid association, and one alumnus admitted to the Texas Bar. At issue in this case was whether the legal education offered by the new school was substantially equal to that offered by the University of Texas Law School. W. J. Durham and Thurgood Marshall argued the case before the Court, recognizing that it could prove exceptionally useful as a test case, and perhaps help overturn the *Plessy* standard of separate but equal facilities.

Leading up to *Sweatt v. Painter*, the civil rights movement obtained a couple of additional helpful victories. In *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada* (1938), the U.S. Supreme Court invalidated state laws that refused black students access to all-white state graduate schools when no separate state graduate schools were available for African-Americans. In *Sipuel v. Oklahoma State Regents* (1948) the Court reaffirmed and extended *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada*, ruling that Oklahoma could not bar a black student from its all-white law school on the ground that she had not requested the state to provide a separate law school for black students. Perhaps forecasting the NAACP's focus on attacking legal racism in public education, Marshall had won a case in 1935 in the Maryland Court of Appeals against the state's law school, which gained admission for Donald Murray, a black graduate of Amherst College who had been denied admission to the law school based on the separate but equal doctrine. While significant, this ruling did not apply outside of Maryland. Marshall himself had been denied admittance to the University of Maryland Law School on the basis of race.

Following these precedents, the Supreme Court ruled in *Sweatt v. Painter* that, "with such a substantial and significant segment of society excluded, we cannot conclude that the education offered petitioner is substantially equal to that which he would receive if admitted to the University of Texas Law School." The court also considered whether excluding Sweatt from the University of Texas Law School was no different from excluding white students from the state's new law school. It concluded that it was unlikely that a member of a group so decisively in the majority and attending a school with rich traditions and prestige would seriously claim that the opportunities afforded him for legal education were unequal to those held open to Sweatt. Here, the Court concluded: "Equal protection of the laws is not achieved through indiscriminate imposition of inequalities."

Ruling that Sweatt could claim his full constitutional right, the Court held that a black American had a right to a legal education equivalent to that offered by the state to students of other races. Although the Court refused to expressly overrule *Plessy v. Ferguson*, and thus leaving the doctrine of separate but equal in place, the Court acknowledged that the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment required that Herman Sweatt be admitted to the University of Texas Law School.

Notwithstanding the success of Sweatt, the fact that the doctrine of *Plessy v. Ferguson* was not flatly rejected illustrates why *Brown* was necessary to complete the objectives of the civil rights lawyers. The constitutional evil of the separate but equal doctrine was that blacks were told to go to one set of schools, while whites could go to another set that, in practice, clearly provided a better education. This

form of legal racism was pernicious because of its implicit stigmatization of black students. In *Brown*, the Court acknowledged that to separate black students from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of race generates a feeling of inferiority that affects the individual in a manner unlikely ever to be undone.

**SEE ALSO** *Brown v. Board of Education*; *Marshall, Thurgood*.

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**Rod Dixon**

#### NAGPRA

**SEE** *Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA)*.



## NATION OF ISLAM AND NEW BLACK PANTHER PARTY

The Nation of Islam (NOI) and the New Black Panther Party (NBPP) are the largest and most active black racist organizations in America. The NOI—modeled after other socioreligious groups such as Noble Drew Ali's Moorish Science Temple and Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association—is the oldest black nationalist organization in the United States. Since its founding in the 1930s, it has both instilled African Americans with a sense of empowerment and maintained a consistent record of racism and anti-Semitism.

Fard Muhammad, the founder of the NOI, taught his followers in Detroit that he was the personification of Allah. Fard's disciple, Elijah Muhammad, assumed leadership of the group when Fard disappeared in the mid-1930s. He continued to advance the NOI's radical religious beliefs promoting the doctrine that whites are "devils" created by a black scientist, and that blacks are superior and should have a separate nation within the United States.

The group significantly expanded in the 1950s and 1960s when Malcolm X, a captivating orator who joined the group while in prison, became its spokesman. His militant and charismatic style attracted many adherents, including the group's future leader, Louis Farrakhan. In 1964, however, Malcolm altered his views, denounced Elijah Muhammad, and left the organization (he was shot to death while addressing a rally in New York in 1965).

When Elijah Muhammad died ten years later, his son Warith Deen Mohammed began to steer the group toward a nonracist, more traditional form of Islam. Farrakhan, by then a popular leader, elected to perpetuate Elijah's separatist teachings by forming his own organization in 1978, and many members who preferred to keep the teachings of Elijah left with him.

More than any other NOI leader, Farrakhan marked himself as a notable figure on the extremist scene by making hateful statements targeting whites, Jews, and homosexuals. Under Farrakhan, the NOI has used its various institutions and programs to disseminate his message of hate. A major NOI publication, *The Secret Relationship of Blacks and Jews*, published in 1991, is one of the most significant anti-Semitic works produced in decades. It presents a multilayered attack against Jews, arguing essentially that slavery in the New World was initiated by Jewish ship owners and merchants. This alleged domination of blacks by Jews has continued into the present day, according to Farrakhan.

The NOI experienced a notable growth in media visibility and acceptance by the mainstream African-

American community in the period leading up to the 1995 Million Man March in Washington, D.C. This popular reception of the NOI stressed the group's focus on black self-reliance and minimized the group's well-established record of racism. Although he has continued to make racially divisive comments—in the wake of Hurricane Katrina, Farrakhan alleged that levees were purposely destroyed in African-American sections of New Orleans—some observers suggest that Farrakhan's message has changed, and he has maintained a level of mainstream support.

Farrakhan has also reached out to the New Black Panther Party for Self-Defense (NBPP), which since the late 1990s has become the most blatantly racist and anti-Semitic black militant group in America. The NBPP takes its name from the original Black Panther Party, a radical black nationalist group active in the 1960s and 1970s. The roots of the New Black Panthers can be traced to Michael McGee, former Milwaukee alderman. In 1990, at a "State of the Inner City" press conference at city hall, McGee announced his intention to create the Black Panther Militia unless the problems of the inner-city improved. McGee then appeared on Dallas county commissioner John Wiley Price's nightly radio show "Talkback" in 1990. Aaron Michaels, who produced the radio show, was inspired to found the NBPP after McGee's appearance, registering the New Black Panther Party name in 1991. Although the group continues to use "for Self-Defense" on its Internet site and in other places, the group is often referred to as simply the New Black Panther Party.

Michaels organized a group of like-minded followers, borrowing the militant style and confrontational tactics of the original Panthers. The group apparently established a nationwide base during the next few years. In 1993 the Dallas chapter hosted the National Black Power Summit and Youth Rally, which drew about 200 people. In an effort to make common cause in favor of racial separatism, the white supremacist Tom Metzger was invited to speak.

Under Michaels' leadership, the NBPP embraced racist leaders, most notably Khallid Abdul Muhammad, a former member of the NOI who had previously served as an NOI minister in Los Angeles, Atlanta, and New York, and as Farrakhan's national spokesman. Muhammad's rise through the NOI hierarchy was abruptly halted in November 1993, after he delivered a notoriously anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic, homophobic, and racist speech at New Jersey's Kean College. In his remarks, Muhammad called for genocide against whites and referred to Jews as "bloodsuckers." Farrakhan responded to the controversy by removing Muhammad from the group's leadership, and Muhammad never regained a significant place in the NOI.



**New Black Panther Party Demonstration, 1998.** *The New Black Panther Party (NBPP) is one of the largest black racist organizations in America.* AP PHOTO/PAT SULLIVAN.

With his connection to NOI waning, Muhammad focused on raising the visibility of the NBPP and consolidating his leadership over it. Even without NOI backing, Muhammad remained a popular (if divisive) and publicity-generating speaker at colleges and universities and at public events across the country. By the summer of 1998, Muhammad became de facto leader of the NBPP, taking on high-profile, racially charged causes and seeking to recruit young men attracted to his racist message and militant tone. In June 1998, Muhammad led a group of fifty NBPP followers to Jasper, Texas—including a dozen carrying shotguns and rifles—to “protect” the streets in the wake of the racial murder of James Byrd Jr.

Muhammad then organized the “Million Youth March” in Harlem, New York, which provided a forum to showcase the emergent NBPP as an alternative to other groups interested in guiding black youth, specifically the NOI. The event would be remembered for reaffirming black separatism and antiwhite prejudice, as well as fomenting hostility toward local police.

In addition to organizing high-profile demonstrations, Muhammad’s accomplishments with the NBPP include filling the organizational hierarchy with figures from the NOI and other Black Muslim groups. In February 2001, Muhammad died suddenly in Atlanta from the effects of a brain aneurysm. Control of the NBPP was left to Malik Zulu Shabazz, a Washington D.C.–based attorney and Muhammad’s closest advisor.

Like Muhammad, Shabazz’s long record of extremist speech can be traced to the NOI. In 1988 he founded Unity Nation, a Howard University group of NOI supporters. As the group’s leader, Shabazz lashed out at whites and Jews in an ostensible effort to promote black pride and consciousness.

Shabazz, who could not match his mentor’s oratorical intensity, compensated by quickly organizing protests across the country to capitalize on media attention. For example, Shabazz and the NBPP exploited the fear and anger that the September 11 terrorists attacks caused in the U.S. by spreading anti-Jewish conspiracy theories during a televised meeting at the National Press Club in Washington D.C.

By linking up with the NOI and feeding off of the nostalgia for the original Panthers, the NBPP has been able to attract some followers under the guise of championing the causes of black empowerment and civil rights. However, like the NOI, its record of racism and anti-Semitism has overshadowed many of its efforts to promote black pride and consciousness. Farrakhan’s outreach to Shabazz and the NBPP in 2005 represents a significant development in the relationship between two groups that once competed with each other.

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## NATIONAL ALLIANCE

For more than three decades, the National Alliance, headquartered at a rural hilltop compound outside Mill Point, West Virginia, has been one of the most important and best-organized hate groups in America. Founded and long led by William Pierce, a one-time university physics professor, the neo-Nazi group’s influence peaked in the 1990s, when it perfected a remarkably successful business model and Pierce’s ideological influence stretched across much of the Western Hemisphere. Over the years, it produced huge amounts of very effective propaganda, including Pierce’s novel *The Turner Diaries*, which inspired numerous acts of terror, including the 1995 bombing of an Oklahoma City federal building that left

168 people dead. The group, which mentions in its platform statement the “temporary unpleasantness” that will follow its accession to power, is explicitly genocidal in intent. Pierce once described how he hoped to lock Jews, “race traitors,” and other enemies of the “Aryan” race into cattle cars and send them to the bottom of abandoned coal mines. It has produced a large number of extremist assassins, bank robbers, and bombers. The Alliance has been a major player in the white-power music business, running an operation called Resistance Records that was, for a time, the leading label of its type. But the group, which was in many respects a cult of personality, has had severe difficulties surviving the 2002 death of its founder. Since then, the Alliance has been riven by internal divisions and repeatedly embarrassed by antiracist organizations. By 2005 its membership had fallen to fewer than two hundred, less than a seventh the number it had when Pierce died.

A native of Atlanta, William Luther Pierce became an assistant professor of physics at Oregon State University in 1962. He joined the rabidly anticommunist John Birch Society during his three years at OSU. In 1965 he left the university for the private sector, but he abandoned that work the following year to take up with the American Nazi Party, based in Arlington, Virginia. There, he edited the *National Socialist World*, a quarterly published by the party and meant to appeal to intellectuals, until 1967, when the group’s leader, George Lincoln Rockwell, was assassinated by a disgruntled follower. Pierce then became a principal leader of Rockwell’s renamed organization, the National Socialist White People’s Party, before leaving in 1970 for the National Youth Alliance. That group had emerged from the rubble of the 1968 presidential campaign of the segregationist Alabama governor George Wallace, and it had been taken over by Willis Carto, a leading anti-Semitic activist. After a feud between Pierce and Carto, Pierce finally won control of the organization and, in 1974, shortened its name to the National Alliance.

The next year, Pierce serialized *The Turner Diaries in Attack!*, a publication he had started while he was with the National Socialist White People’s Party. The manuscript, which would be published as a book in 1978 under the pseudonym of Andrew Macdonald, described a future race war in which Jews and others are slaughtered by the thousands, with its hero at one point promising to go “to the uttermost ends of the earth to hunt down the last of Satan’s spawn” (meaning Jews). Along with others of Pierce’s writings he edited *National Vanguard* (the renamed *Attack!*) and the members-only *National Alliance Bulletin* until his death, and also wrote another race-war novel, *Hunter*. *The Turner Diaries* became one of the most important pieces of extremist literature ever written in America.

In 1985 Pierce moved the group from the Washington, D.C., area to a 346-acre piece of land in Pocahontas County, West Virginia, where it would remain even after his death. Although he initially managed to win tax-exempt status for the property by describing it as owned by the “Cosmotheist” church (a pseudo-theology dreamed up by Pierce as a tax dodge) in 1986 officials stripped that exemption from all but 60 acres of the property, the part where “religious” activities supposedly prevailed. An earlier attempt by Pierce to win tax-exempt status as an “educational” institution ultimately failed when a federal appeals court upheld the initial IRS denial.

The National Alliance produced or harbored a large number of serious criminals. In 1983, for instance, the group’s Pacific Northwest coordinator, Robert Mathews, broke away to form a terrorist group called The Order (clearly patterned on The Organization described in *The Turner Diaries*) that carried out a series of murders and armored car heists before Mathews was killed in a shootout with the FBI. Twelve years later, the Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh had photocopies of pages of *The Turner Diaries* when he was arrested, apparently to explain his motivation in the deadly attack. (McVeigh called an Alliance telephone line seven times the day before the bombing.) In all, Alliance members were connected to at least fourteen violent crimes between 1984 and 2005, including bank robberies, shootouts with police, and a plan to bomb the main approach to Walt Disney World in Florida.

The National Alliance’s chief asset was always Pierce. In addition to his writings, Pierce appeared regularly on “American Dissident Voices,” a shortwave radio show broadcast (and later simulcast on the Internet) by the group. He was explicitly Hitlerian in ideology, seeking to create a Nazi-like state in which the Alliance would rule the nation. He was also, in effect, a Leninist, in the sense that he never believed that the white masses (whom he regularly referred to as “lemmings”) could lead themselves. Instead, the Alliance would lead them in a racially based authoritarian society that would be marked by Germanic music and “healthy” racial values.

As rabid as Pierce could sound—he once described Hitler as “the greatest man of our era,” and elsewhere he wrote about the “relatively brief period of bloodletting” needed to return America to health—he was widely admired on the radical right for his ability to interpret world events in terms of neo-Nazi ideology. His disdain for Klansmen, racist skinheads, and neo-Nazis, with their penchant for parading in costume, won him plaudits from many leading racists. In the 1990s, Pierce built bridges to neofascist leaders in Europe, becoming an increasingly important figure there as well.

It was during that decade that the National Alliance became the most important hate group in America. In

1992, the Alliance had only three units, or chapters. By 1997, after years of careful recruiting, the group had grown to twenty-two units. Two years later, it boasted of chapters in eleven South American and European countries, and *The Turner Diaries* was translated and made available free in half a dozen languages. By 2002, the year of Pierce's death, the Alliance had 1,400 members in fifty-one U.S. units.

It was also profitable, thanks to the business model Pierce devised. For years the Alliance derived its income from members (who paid at least \$10 per month in dues) and sales from its National Vanguard Books division. In 1999 Pierce added a key component, Resistance Records, a music label started by racists associated with another neo-Nazi group that had gone almost belly up. Pierce paid some \$250,000 for the company, which he quickly built up through the addition of a warehouse on the West Virginia compound and a slick advertising campaign. By the year of Pierce's death, the National Alliance was grossing a total of almost \$1 million from these sources, allowing Pierce to pay salaries to seventeen full-time national staff members—an accomplishment unmatched by any other contemporary hate group.

On July 23, 2002, at the age of sixty-eight, Pierce died unexpectedly of kidney failure and cancer, leaving control of the group in the hands of Cleveland unit leader Erich Gliebe, a man who used to box professionally as the "Aryan Barbarian." A hard-edged and humorless leader, Gliebe faced an uphill battle in holding the group together.

It did not help when the Southern Poverty Law Center's *Intelligence Report* obtained a tape of Pierce's last speech, given three months earlier at one of the semiannual secret "leadership conferences" held at the compound. Just weeks after Pierce's death, the *Report* published details of the speech, in which Pierce, parroted later by Gliebe, pilloried members of other hate groups as "freaks and weaklings" and "human defectives." That story, and others that followed it, had the effect of setting off a firestorm among non-Alliance hate-group members—in particular, the skinheads and others who had formed the customer base for Resistance Records. A boycott of Resistance quickly developed, and many radicals attacked the group.

The *Report* also published a series of other embarrassing facts in the following months, including the revelation that a Resistance calendar meant to highlight Aryan female beauty in fact featured a bevy of strippers from an all-nude men's club near Alliance headquarters. The magazine also reported details of wasted money and political infighting within the group. Gliebe's 2005 marriage to a former stripper and *Playboy* model hurt his prestige even further.

Between these kinds of revelations and massive resentment against Gliebe and his second-in-command,

Shaun Walker, for their dictatorial management style, the National Alliance lost most of its key activists and unit leaders. Both Resistance Records and National Vanguard Books became unprofitable. In a desperate bid to keep the group alive, Walker replaced Gliebe as chairman in early 2005, while Gliebe was relegated to running Resistance. By the spring of that year, the group was down to under 200 members and had lost almost all its prestige. Meanwhile, two other neo-Nazi groups—White Revolution and National Vanguard, both started by men expelled from the Alliance by Gliebe—began to grow, largely on the basis of former National Alliance members who no longer trusted their once-proud alma mater.

**SEE ALSO** *Neo-Nazis*.

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## **NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE**

**SEE** *NAACP; NAACP: Legal Actions, 1935-1955*.

## NATIONAL STATES RIGHTS PARTY

From 1958 to the mid-1980s, the National States Rights Party (NSRP) was an influential force in the white supremacist movement in the United States. The party organized protests against the civil rights movement and other perceived enemies, published and distributed racist propaganda, and used intimidation tactics against religious and ethnic minorities. It also effectively networked factions of the Ku Klux Klan, neo-Nazi organizations, and other racist and anti-Semitic groups, intertwining these hardcore factions with traditional forms of racism and segregation common in the southern United States. The NSRP was the creation of two extremely active and avowed white supremacists, Edward R. Fields (b. 1932) and Jesse B. Stoner (1924–2005), who led the organization for more than two decades during the most intense period of the civil rights struggle in the United States.

### FOUNDING

The NSRP was founded in 1958 in Jefferson, Indiana, as a political party primarily advocating anti-Catholic, anti-Semitic, antiblack, and white supremacist ideals. It moved its headquarters briefly to Atlanta, Georgia, and then to Birmingham, Alabama, in 1961. It remained in Birmingham until 1971, when it relocated to Marietta, Georgia. Its founders met in 1952 while attending Atlanta Law School, where Fields joined Stoner's Christian Anti-Jewish Party, which aimed to make being Jewish punishable by death. Stoner earned a law degree, but Fields dropped out and relocated to Davenport, Iowa, where he earned a degree in chiropractics while continuing to promote anti-Semitism. The degrees earned by Fields and Stoner were seen by their typically less-educated following as prestigious, helping them garner wide respect for the NSRP after the two reunited to form the group in 1958. Stoner served as chairman and general counsel for the group, and Fields was secretary and editor of the *Thunderbolt*, the NSRP newsletter.

### NSRP MARKS CIVIL RIGHTS BATTLES

On June 29, 1958, soon after the founding of the NSRP, Stoner placed a dynamite bomb outside of Bethel Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama. Because the black church was empty, no casualties resulted from the blast. The FBI, investigating violence against black and Jewish places of worship in the 1960s, suspected that Stoner had participated in at least a dozen bombings of churches and synagogues throughout the southern states. He was only convicted once, however, in 1980, for conspiracy to commit murder in the bombing of Bethel Baptist. Law enforcement agents also suspected that Stoner, due to a distinct limp resulting from childhood polio, resigned

himself in the early 1960s to inciting sympathizers to carry out similar attacks in his stead.

In addition to intimidation tactics, the NSRP published the *Thunderbolt*, in which Fields touted traditional anti-Semitic rhetoric, promoted the ideas of Hitler, and often called for violence. In one piece he opined that racial tension in America would be solved if all Jews were expelled to Madagascar and blacks to Africa. In another, Fields called for the execution of the justices on the U.S. Supreme Court.

The NSRP's rise to prominence in the white supremacist movement came during a time of passionate opposition to the civil rights movement by segregationists in the southern United States. The NSRP went beyond mere advocacy of segregation and voiced what are still staples of white supremacist ideology. Fields and Stoner's organization blatantly attacked Jews, whom they believed were behind a conspiracy to eliminate the white race by promoting integration. Decades later, neo-Nazi groups commonly voiced the same theory with regard to Hispanic and Latino immigration to the United States.

By the early 1960s, the NSRP outreach had grown to include some powerful individuals, including the Alabama governor George Wallace and the head of the Alabama State Patrol, Al Lingo. According to a 1993 missive from Fields to the author Dan T. Carter, Fields and his NSRP cohort James Warner met with Lingo, who informed them that if the NSRP were able to manage a "boisterous campaign" against the integration of schools, that the governor would be forced to close such schools.

The NSRP organized demonstrations in several southern states, often resulting in violence. In 1964, an NSRP rally in St. Augustine, Florida, resulted in injuries to forty people after sympathizers attacked civil rights demonstrators. The attack was incited by NSRP member Connie Lynch, who told hundreds of supporters, "I favor violence to preserve the white race . . . some niggers are going to get killed in this process." ("Edward Fields," Anti-Defamation League Internet site).

In 1972, Stoner attempted to enter politics, running for the U.S. Senate in the Georgia Democratic primary on the platform of segregation. Stoner appeared in approximately 120 radio and television campaign advertisements, stating "the niggers want integration because the niggers want our white women," and urging Georgians to "vote white" (Forster and Epstein 1974, p. 301). Stoner lost the primary but received more than 40,000 votes, which Fields later elated in the *Thunderbolt* as "sensational."

### DECLINE AND LEGACY OF THE NSRP

The group's impact on the white supremacist movement waned in 1983, when Stoner was imprisoned for

conspiracy to commit murder and Fields was ousted by his own members for diverting NSRP funds. By 1987 the NSRP was defunct. In November 1986, Stoner, fresh from serving an abbreviated ten-year prison sentence for the 1958 bombing, founded the Crusade Against Corruption, which included a public awareness campaign regarding the disease AIDS. Stoner claimed, according to a 1986 article in the *Atlanta Constitution*, that only blacks were vulnerable to the disease and that whites were immune, unless they were homosexuals. Stoner ran in a primary for lieutenant governor of Georgia in 1990, and though he lost he garnered 31,000 votes. He suffered a stroke in 2001 and died in April 2005.

In the late 1980s, Fields, attempting to increase declining readership for the *Thunderbolt*, changed the newsletter's title to *The Truth At Last*. He still publishes the periodical despite a far lower circulation. In 1993 Fields attempted to resurrect a group similar to the NSRP called the America First Party, co-founded by A. J. Barker, the head of the North Carolina chapter of the ultraconservative Council of Conservative Citizens. Fields, in addition to writing racist tracts, continued his activism by occasionally delivering speeches at neo-Nazi gatherings and associating with Aryan Nations, the National Alliance, the Creativity Movement, and the former Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke.

In 2005, a small group of white supremacists in Philadelphia, Mississippi, led by Thomas Pou, formed a group with the same name, the National States' Rights Party. The group materialized during the Philadelphia murder trial of former Klansman Edgar Ray Killen, who was convicted of killing three civil rights activists in 1964. While there is not a direct connection between this neo-NSRP and the group founded by Stoner and Fields, the legacy of ideals promoted by the latter are maintained in extreme circles of the far right, including the Philadelphia-based NSRP.

**SEE ALSO** *Neo-Nazis*.

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## **NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE**

**SEE** *Urban League*.

## **NATIVE AMERICAN GRAVES PROTECTION AND REPATRIATION ACT (NAGPRA)**

In 1990, the U.S. Government began a historic repatriation process that would return to the native peoples of the United States the remains of some of their dead, as well as cultural property that was wrongfully taken in earlier times. This process is occurring under the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), which was signed into law by President George H. W. Bush in 1990. NAGPRA is a human rights law enacted as part of Congress's Indian trust responsibilities. It protects Native American graves, prohibits the sale of native dead or their body parts, and establishes procedures and legal standards for returning this material, along with other cultural items, to Native American communities and owners.

### **THE BACKGROUND AND NEED FOR NAGPRA**

Native Americans have experienced a long history of grave robbing by non-Indians. While the graves and dead bodies of white Americans have always been strictly protected by law, Indian graves were actively dug up and the contents removed by soldiers, pot hunters, curiosity seekers, scientists, and museum collection crews. As early as 1620, Pilgrims were opening Indian graves, "looking for underground stashes of food" (Mann 2005, p. 51). Since then, historians have documented the widespread collection of Native American human remains social norms making it acceptable to dig Indian graves but a crime to dig the graves of other races.

The roots of this double standard stem largely from the notions of race and racial theories among American scientists in the mid-1800s. Their interest in racial biology prompted great interest in collecting Indian skulls for cranial research. The craniologists assumed that "each race possessed a uniquely shaped skull," and they believed that "cranial measurements provided an index of brain size and hence intelligence" (Bieder 1990, pp. 5–6). To that end, Samuel G. Morton, the founder of physical anthropology in America, bought thousands of skulls. His pseudoscientific findings of nonwhite racial inferiority colored racial thinking for many years.

Consequently, “civilization for Indians was virtually impossible” and they “faced inevitable extinction” (Bieder 1990, p. 11). These predictions gave rise to the “Vanishing Red Man” theory, which was widely embraced and used to justify government Indian policies.

The appropriation of human remains was also spurred by America’s newly founded museums, which competed to collect all aspects of the Native Americans’ “procurable culture” (Cole 1985, p. xi.), including the bodies of their dead. Franz Boas, a leading museum collector, noted that “stealing bones from a grave was ‘repugnant work’ but ‘someone has to do it.’” (Cole 1985, p. 119). To enhance the collection of the Army Medical Museum, founded in 1862, the U.S. Surgeon General ordered army personnel to collect Indian skulls beginning in 1867. More than 4,000 heads were obtained under that order. This government policy no doubt contributed to the rampant and clandestine taking of Native American remains by museums and private individuals.

Between 1875 and 1925 a staggering quantity of material, both secular and sacred, left native hands for American museums. By the time this scramble for native cultural property ended, more indigenous material lay in museums than in tribal communities. Virtually every Native American tribe and community in the United States had been victimized by grave looting. Hundreds of thousands of dead relatives, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony lay stored or on display in museums, tourist attractions, art houses, private collections, and universities.

#### THE PASSAGE AND IMPLEMENTATION OF NAGPRA

NAGPRA established procedures and legal standards for museums and federal agencies to use in repatriating improperly acquired human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony to Native American claimants. These cultural items must be returned to lineal descendants or culturally affiliated Indian tribes or Native Hawaiian groups under prescribed evidentiary and procedural guidelines. In addition, NAGPRA prohibits trafficking in Native American body parts and the excavation of Indian graves found on federal or tribal land without tribal consent. If any remains are accidentally discovered on such lands, the affected tribes must be notified.

Repatriation under NAGPRA occurs on a case-by-case basis. The law will take years to fully implement due to the massive number of human remains, museums, and federal agencies involved. Meanwhile, agencies, museums, and the courts are promulgating, interpreting, clarifying, and applying the provisions of the law. By 2004 the remains of 30,261 Native Americans and 581,679

associated funerary objects had been repatriated to Native American claimants. In addition, 92,298 funerary objects unassociated with particular human remains, 1,222 sacred objects and about 800 objects of cultural patrimony had been repatriated. After a decade of implementation, there is a strong consensus that NAGPRA’s repatriation process, which is based upon consultation among all interested parties, has been beneficial. There is also general agreement that the process has not harmed legitimate scientific interests, but has instead led to a better understanding of Native American cultural history and closer collaboration between Indian tribes and museums.

Almost 120,000 dead have not been repatriated, however, because their cultural affiliation is unknown, including 16,000 skeletal remains stored in the Smithsonian Institution. It is expected that NAGPRA regulations will be issued to recommend the appropriate disposition of these unknown American Indian dead. Some scientists wish to permanently retain these remains due to their potential value as scientific specimens. Native Americans disagree, however. They assert that these dead are entitled to a decent burial, pointing to mainstream social values found in the laws of every state that ensure a burial for all persons, including paupers, unclaimed strangers, or persons who die without next of kin.

Implementation of the social changes mandated by NAGPRA has not always come quickly or easily. Some scientists have sought to limit NAGPRA in order to protect their research interests. They have argued, in cases such as the “Kennewick Man” litigation, that NAGPRA is not an “Indian law statute,” and that it must be narrowly construed and should not apply to early American remains. Historically, minority and ethnic groups have experienced different forms of discrimination. The historical mistreatment of Native American graves and dead relatives is one type of discrimination, and it has been repudiated by NAGPRA, which seeks to rectify centuries of disparate racial treatment.

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Walter R. Echo-Hawk

## NATIVE AMERICAN POPULAR CULTURE AND RACE

Native Americans have been historically represented in American popular culture as fitting into one of two categories, either the noble savage or bloodthirsty savage. Robert Berkhofer, in *The White Man's Indian* (1978), traces these categories as far back as Columbus's journals. Other scholars credit American author James Fenimore Cooper (1789–1851) with solidifying these categories in his *Leatherstocking Tales* (1823–1841). Both categories represent racist attitudes toward Native Americans because both construct a deficient model attributed to race. The bloodthirsty savage is violent and aggressive, animalistic in nature, and a constant threat to the dominant culture; therefore, violent action in retaliation is justified. The noble savage is friendly to Europeans and Americans and inherently wise but must ultimately vanish in the face of progress. The "Indian Princess" is the female version of the noble savage and was a popular icon in early American popular culture, becoming the subject of poems, plays, art, and later film. All of these represent models to which the dominant culture compared itself to validate its perceived superiority based on race.

### EARLY AMERICAN LITERATURE

Captivity narratives are considered one of the first popular American literatures. These stories were written primarily in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by colonists who were taken captive by various Native American nations in the region. While the taking of captives had been practiced by both Native Americans and colonists alike, the phrase generally refers to the stories written by colonists "rescued" from Native American captivity and returned to their colonial villages. In the early stories, the Native Americans might be noble or savage, but in later versions bloodthirsty savages dominated as editors embellished the stories to add more drama. The underlying threat of miscegenation (the mixing of two different races) and the perceived threat of rape kept audiences on the edge of their seats. Taboos against miscegenation would continue well into early Hollywood film, as would the general theme of captivity, becoming a recognizable formula in the Hollywood western.

The western as a specific genre of literature and film followed logically from the frontier novels of Cooper, whose works are thought to have influenced everything from the extremely popular dime novels of the late 1800s to American films. Cooper's *Leatherstocking Tales* featured both bloodthirsty and noble savages, as demonstrated in his most famous novel, *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826). While many critics thought Cooper overly romanticized Native Americans, others claimed the bloodthirsty savages ultimately outnumbered the noble savages in his works. The bloodthirsty savage became a major figure in a continuing literary form, the dime novel.

Dime novels were fast paced, formulaic, serialized novels that featured heroic cowboys and savage Indians. Playing to the public's interest in westward expansion, the gold rush, and the Oregon Trail, these novels featured action-packed conflict between cowboys and Indians and glorified American heroes such as Buffalo Bill Cody (1846–1917). First published by Irwin P. Beadle & Company in 1860, these stories portrayed Native Americans largely as bloodthirsty and ignorant, speaking in grunts and broken English, thus validating the ideology of westward expansion and dismissing its devastating impact on Native Americans. The "Indians" in these stories were characterized as barely human, so their defeat by the hero was cause for celebration, not concern. This was also true of the later stage shows created by Buffalo Bill, the star of many dime novels.

Buffalo Bill Cody was an actual frontiersman and scout in the U.S. military. In 1883 Cody took advantage of his popularity with American audiences and created Buffalo Bill's Wild West, a traveling show that featured reenactments of western adventures, including conflicts between Native Americans and white Americans heading west. The show borrowed from the stage, vaudeville, and the circus in an effort to re-create the Old West for those who could only dream of such adventures. These included both American and European audiences, including European kings and queens who sometimes participated in the shows. The Wild West further cemented the theme of "cowboys and Indians" in the American imagination, and these live shows later became the subject matter of early American films.

### NATIVE AMERICANS IN FILM

A Native American presence in film is as old as American film itself. Yet the filmic "Indian" is rarely a developed, complex character. Tribal specificity and cultural and historical accuracy seem not to have been a concern for the majority of filmmakers. When Thomas Edison premiered his kinoscope at the Chicago Colombian World's Exposition in 1893, he showed *Hopi Snake Dance*, an "actuality" or ethnographic film displaying



the “exotic cultures” of the newly defeated Native Americans. Despite the terms “actuality” and “ethnographic,” these films were not historically or ethnographically accurate. They were one-sided interpretations of Native American culture that continued the Eurocentric tradition of presenting Native Americans as other and lesser. The premier of the film *Parade of Buffalo Bill's Wild West* (1894) launched the beginning of the most popular film genre: the western.

The western is the most common location to find Native Americans, or more accurately “Hollywood Indians.” The Hollywood Indian belongs to a fictional group that lacks tribal specificity. For example, one of the most famous directors of westerns was John Ford. His films often featured the iconic actor John Wayne and portrayed Native Americans as generic tribes. They might be called Cheyenne or Comanche, but often the extras were played by Navajos in Navajo clothing speaking Navajo. Ford did not concern himself with historical accuracy and assumed that the audience would not either. These kinds of films contributed to a historically inaccurate mythology that persists despite later efforts to address it.

In the 1950s, the sympathetic western made its debut with *Broken Arrow* (1950) starring Jimmy Stewart. This film addressed the impact of westward expansion on Native Americans but still fell into the familiar traps of utilizing the noble savage as part of its formula. In particular, Stewart's wife is an Indian Princess who reinforces the stereotype of the vanishing American when she dies tragically but romantically, implying that the two races cannot coexist. Later films take the sympathetic western one step further, creating what are known as revisionist westerns. These westerns seek to revise the classic western often by inverting the classical elements. For example, in the revisionist western the Native Americans are the moral characters and the townspeople or settlers are amoral and westward expansion is viewed in light of its negative impact on Native Americans. The film *Little Big Man* (1970) is an example of this. The Cheyenne call themselves the “human beings,” and protagonist Jack Crabb (Dustin Hoffman), when given the choice of whether to live as a “white man” or a Cheyenne, ultimately chooses the Cheyenne. They are clearly the superior people in the film. Or are they? Ultimately, they must, like all noble savages, vanish. In an eloquent speech to Jack Crabb the Cheyenne chief Old Lodge Skins (Chief Dan George) says, “There has always been a limited number of human beings but there is an endless supply of white men.... We won today, we won't win tomorrow,” thus validating the audience's understanding that Indians—a defeated people—belong to the past.

In terms of historical accuracy, some later westerns tried to be more culturally sensitive. After a long dry spell in Hollywood the western resurfaced with Kevin Costner's

Oscar Academy Award-winning *Dances with Wolves* (1990). As a film that billed itself as historically accurate, *Dances* did make some breakthroughs. The Sioux characters speak Sioux, and numerous Native American consultants were on the set. Still, the film heavily romanticizes the Sioux as noble and casts the Pawnee as bloodthirsty, failing to escape the formulas of the past. The film also continues to promote the notion of the vanishing race, ending with the eventual capture of the Sioux community by the cavalry.

#### NATIVE AMERICAN FILMMAKERS

Native American filmmakers have tried to address this history by making films about contemporary Native Americans, proving that Native Americans have not vanished and are not defeated. Sandra Osawa (Makah) has been involved in film and television since the 1960s, and her films *Lighting the Seventh Fire* (1995) and *On and Off the Res' with Charlie Hill* (1999) show Native American people dealing with contemporary issues. *On and Off the Res'* is especially interesting regarding the topic of film and media because it documents the career of stand-up comedian Charlie Hill, an Oneida who addresses Hollywood stereotypes in his comedy sketches. Victor Masayesva Jr. (Hopi) directly attacks both Hollywood stereotypes and the movie industry in his documentary *Imagining Indians* (1992), which looks at the history of Native American people's participation in Hollywood films and the way the industry has exploited Native American people and communities. The most prolific Native American feature filmmaker of the late 1990s and early 2000s is Cheyenne/Arapaho director and producer Chris Eyre. His films feature present-day urban and reservation Native Americans dealing with contemporary life.

Racist depictions of Native Americans in American popular culture are so entrenched that it is often difficult to escape them, but Native American filmmakers are making an effort, as are other independent filmmakers. Ideally, a more human depiction of Native Americans will become prevalent over time, replacing the simplified stereotypes of noble and bloodthirsty savage with images of complex human beings.

SEE ALSO “*Playing Indian*”; *White Settler Society*.

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Angelica Lawson

## NATIVE AMERICAN RIGHTS FUND (NARF)

Since its founding in 1970, the presence of the Native American Rights Fund (NARF) in Indian country in the United States has become very evident. But the continuing need in Indian country for creative legal assistance to enable Indian tribes, as sovereign governments, to regain control over their resources and their destiny is equally evident. Permeating native relations with the dominant society are 400 years of persistent racism, resulting in a complex modern agenda for NARF that includes, among other things: (1) Protecting human health and environmental integrity for Indian people on Indian lands; (2) safeguarding their children through the improvement of Indian education; (3) improving the structure of tribal communities so they can provide economic infrastructures and more responsive governments; (4) continuing the struggle to insure their rights to practice their religious beliefs and protect their cultures in the face of religious bigotry from the dominant culture; and (5) combating racism directly in such matters as voting practices, environmental degradation of Indian lands and resources, and bias in the judicial system.

Over the years, NARF has learned to listen hard and long to its clients, to present all the options open to them, and to help them make legal decisions based on the best information possible. During its history, NARF has represented more than 200 tribes in thirty-one states in such areas as tribal restoration and recognition, jurisdiction, land claims, water rights, hunting and fishing rights, the protection of Indian religious freedom, Indian child welfare, and voting rights. In addition, one of its greatest distinguishing attributes has been its ability to bring quality ethical legal representation to tribes.

## INDIAN LAW

Modern Indian law and policy began to come to life in the late 1950s and early 1960s, when a consensus was reached among tribal leaders, young Indian professionals, and traditionalists. There was no formal declaration or stated agenda. Indeed, on one level there was nothing more than a few seemingly unconnected meetings, pro-

tests, and musings on the shores of Puget Sound, in the red-rock landscape of the Southwest, on the high plains of the Dakotas, in the backwoods of Wisconsin, and on the farms of Oklahoma.

These superficially unrelated stirrings were tightly and irrevocably bound together by an indelible reverence for the aboriginal past, an appreciation of the consequences of five centuries of contact with Europeans, and by desperation concerning the future of Indian societies as discrete units within the larger society.

An implicit oath of blood was made during the termination era of the 1950s, when the United States severed its government-to-government relationship, based on a legal trust relationship with American Indian tribes. Native Americans felt the federal policy of termination had to be slowed, halted, and then reversed. In a larger sense, the most persistent aspects of federal Indian policy since the mid-nineteenth-century—the assimilation of Indians, reduction of the Indian land and resource base, and the phasing out of tribal governments—had to be stopped and reversed. Even more generally, the tribes had to become more proactive in dealing with U.S. government policy.

The Indian initiatives would be premised on tribalism. In the 1832 Supreme Court case *Worcester v. Georgia*, Chief Justice John Marshall's opinion had carved out a special, separate constitutional status for Indian tribes. Within their boundaries, tribes had jurisdiction and the states could not intrude. They were recognized in their own right as sovereigns, a status that left the tribes with authority over their resources, economies, disputes, families, and values.

To outsiders, it might seem astonishing that reservation Indians know of concepts such as "sovereignty" and "jurisdiction." But they do, and they did in the 1950s and 1960s. The reason for this is simple: The tribal leaders bargained to reaffirm these things when treaties were made. Generation after generation, tribal elders passed down information about the talks at treaty time and about the fact that American law, at least in Marshall's time, had been faithful to those talks.

It was not through choice that modern Indian people have placed so much reliance on federal law. But there was no real alternative. Outside forces were bent on obtaining Indian land, water, fish, and tax revenues, and on assimilating the culture of Indian people, especially the children. Underlying this current was racism. There could be no internal development or harmony until the outside forces and racism were put at rest.

The program conceived of at the end of the termination era was successful in many ways. In this new century, however, the forces of termination and the challenges to tribal sovereignty have once again reared their heads, riding

on the currents of racism. For every victory, a new challenge to tribal sovereignty arises from state and local governments, Congress, or the courts. The continuing lack of understanding, and in some cases blatant racism and lack of respect for the sovereign attributes of Indian nations, has made it necessary for the struggle to continue.

#### HISTORY OF THE NATIVE AMERICAN RIGHTS FUND

In the 1960s, the U.S. government began a widespread effort to address some of the social ills affecting the nation. As part of the “War on Poverty,” the nation began to provide legal representation to the disadvantaged. Those running these programs came to realize that the legal problems of their Indian clients were, for the most part, governed and controlled by a little known area of law—“Indian Law”—which was driven by treaties, court decisions, and federal statutes, regulations, and administrative rulings. They also found that few attorneys outside of the legal services system were willing to represent Indians, and those who did generally worked on a contingency basis, only handling cases with anticipated monetary settlements. Thus, many issues would not get to court.

During this same period, the Ford Foundation, which had already assisted in the development of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund and the Mexican American Legal Defense Fund, began meeting with California Indian Legal Services (CILS) to discuss the possibility of creating a similar project dedicated to serving all of the nation’s indigenous people. CILS had already established a reputation for taking on Indian legal cases. The Ford Foundation awarded CILS a planning grant in 1970 and start-up funding to launch the Native American Rights Fund in 1971.

As a pilot project of CILS in 1970, NARF attorneys traveled throughout the country to find out firsthand from the Indian communities what legal issues they were dealing with. They also began a search for a permanent location for the project, which was initially housed at CILS’s main office in Berkeley, California. In 1971, NARF selected its new home and relocated to Boulder, Colorado.

An eleven-member all-Indian Steering Committee (now a thirteen-member Board of Directors) was selected by the CILS Board of Trustees to govern the fund’s activities. Individuals were chosen (as they continue to be in the early twenty-first century) based on their involvement with and knowledge of Indian affairs and issues, as well as their tribal affiliation.

NARF continued to grow at a rapid pace over the next several years. In 1971, the project opened its first regional office in Washington, D.C. An office close to the



***Kickapoo Nation Drinking Water.*** *The Native American Rights Fund (NARF) represented the Kickapoo Nation in their federal lawsuit to enforce promises made to the tribe to build the Plum Creek Reservoir Project. The tribe’s drinking water is well below federal standards. AP IMAGES.*

center of the federal government would prove critical in future interaction with the White House, Congress, and federal administrative agencies. The Carnegie Corporation of New York awarded NARF start-up funding in 1972 for the creation of the National Indian Law Library, a national repository for Indian legal materials and resources. More than ten years later, in 1984, NARF established its second branch office, in Anchorage, Alaska, where it could take on the Alaska Native issues of tribal sovereignty and subsistence hunting and fishing rights.

#### NATIVE AMERICAN RIGHTS FUND’S MISSION

One of the initial responsibilities of NARF’s first Steering Committee was to develop priorities that would guide the fund in its mission to preserve and enforce the legal rights of Native Americans. The committee developed five priorities that continue to lead NARF in the early 2000s: (1) The preservation of tribal existence; (2) the protection of tribal natural resources; (3) the promotion of Native American human rights; (4) the accountability of governments to Native Americans; and (5) the development of Indian law and educating the public about Indian rights, laws, and issues.

**Preservation of Tribal Existence.** NARF works to construct the foundations that are necessary to empower tribes so that they can continue to live according to their Native traditions, to enforce their treaty rights, to insure their independence on their homelands, and to protect their inherent sovereignty. Specifically, NARF's legal representation centers on sovereignty and jurisdiction issues, federal recognition and restoration of tribal status, and economic development. The focus of NARF's work relates to the preservation and enforcement of the status of tribes as sovereign governments. Jurisdictional conflicts often arise with states, the federal government, and others over tribal sovereignty.

**Protection of Tribal Natural Resources.** Throughout the process of European conquest and colonization of North America, Indian tribes experienced a steady diminishment of their land base down to a mere 2.3 percent of its original size. There are now approximately 55 million acres of Indian-controlled land in the continental United States and about 44 million acres of Native-owned land in Alaska. An adequate land base and control over natural resources are central components of economic self-sufficiency and self-determination, and as such are vital to the very existence of tribes.

**Promotion of Native American Human Rights.** Although basic human rights are considered a universal and inalienable entitlement, Native Americans face an ongoing threat of having their rights undermined by the United States government, states, and others who seek to limit these rights. NARF strives to enforce and strengthen laws designed to protect the rights of Native Americans against racism in order to allow them to practice their traditional religion, to use their own language, and to enjoy their culture. NARF also works with tribes to improve education and ensure the welfare of their children, which has often been threatened by long-standing racism. NARF is also active in efforts to negotiate declarations on the rights of indigenous peoples worldwide.

**Accountability of Governments to Native Americans.** Contained within the unique trust relationship between the United States and Indian nations is the inherent duty for all levels of government to recognize and responsibly enforce the many laws and regulations applicable to Indian peoples. Because such laws impact virtually every aspect of tribal life, NARF maintains its involvement in the legal matters pertaining to the accountability of governments to Native Americans.

**Development of Indian Law and Educating the Public about Indian Rights, Laws, and Issues.** Protecting Indian rights depends upon establishing favorable court precedents, distributing information and law materials, encourag-

ing and fostering Indian legal education, and forming alliances with Indian law practitioners and other Indian organizations. NARF recognizes the importance of the development of Indian law and continues to manage and participate in a variety of projects specifically aimed at achieving this goal.

NARF strives to protect the legal and sovereign rights of tribes and Native people within the American legal system. This effort certainly could not exist without the contribution of the thousands of individuals who have offered their knowledge, courage, and vision to help guide NARF. Of equal importance, NARF's financial contributors have graciously provided the resources to make these efforts possible. NARF will thus continue to combat racism against Native Americans and pursue its mission of securing the sovereignty and right to self-determination to which all Native American peoples are entitled.

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*Mark C. Tilden*

## **NATIVISM**

In general, nativism is a form of ethnocentrism that considers previous residence in a country or region to constitute a claim to superiority in culture or a higher class of citizenship. In the United States, *nativism* has been defined as "the intense opposition to an internal minority on the grounds of its allegedly un-American characteristics" (Higham 1963). This fear and hatred of "aliens" in the United States has been typically directed against religious or ethnic minorities and political radicals. Despite having expelled and dispersed the previous residents and being surrounded by other ethnicities, races and religions, nativists have viewed themselves as somehow special—"Anglo Saxons" and other Protestant descendents of northern and western European settlers—the only people worthy of being called "American."

Nativists always seem to have felt that they were the only "real" Americans; in fact, they dismissed indigenous groups, like so many others, as inferiors. In their passionate crusades to protect the land from so-called "unassimilables" unworthy of being citizens, religious and social constructions of race were the central concerns.

#### **EARLY NATIVISM**

The earliest form of nativism was anti-Catholic hostility rampant in England before the era of colonization and

rooted in the imperial rivalries with Catholic Spain and France and the founding of what became the Church of England. Religious nativism gained new life in the American colonies and became the most enduring part of the nativist tradition in America until the mid-twentieth century. The Catholic population in the colonial era was minuscule—there were only 35,000 Catholics as late as the American Revolution. Almanacs, tracts, sermons, and periodicals of various kinds during this period vilified Catholicism. Public school primers instructed children to “abhor that arrant Whore of Rome and all her blasphemies.” Fireside games such as “Break the Pope’s Neck” were standard fare. The stubby tail of a baked turkey was dubbed “the Pope’s nose.”

Nativism declined in the Revolutionary era, but in the 1830s, as immigration from Ireland and Germany swelled the Catholic population, new anti-alien movements emerged, launching violent attacks on Catholic institutions and publishing numerous anti-Catholic tracts. Nativist fears shaped a new political party, the American-Republicans. These political nativists elected mayors of New York and Philadelphia and six members of Congress in 1844. They played a key role in the brutal street confrontations between Catholics and Protestants in Philadelphia on Independence Day 1844; hundreds were injured and fires ravaged the city.

This early nativist party did not endure; it was dead by 1847. But the forced migrations of Irish people to the western provinces of Ireland, and the resulting catastrophic potato famine, stimulated a vast migration to America in the next five years from which there emerged a new and more formidable nativist political movement.

Destitute newcomers fleeing Ireland and Germany in this period changed the social landscape. In the port cities, crime rates and “juvenile vagrancy” rose and were linked to increases in the foreign-born population. As almshouses and aid to “paupers” strained public budgets, “lunatic asylums” reported more immigrants in confinement, and immigrant-oriented bars and “gin houses” proliferated, nativists argued that these migrants were clearly a race of inferior peoples threatening the future of the nation. And they were Catholic; the number of their churches had increased from fewer than 100 to more than 1,800 by 1855. For anti-alien nativists, these events stimulated fear that priests under the control of a foreign prince—the pope—would manipulate members of an autocratic and centralized church opposed to individual judgment and intolerant of dissent. Nativists believed that Catholics would undermine the public school system by insisting on parochial education. And so democracy itself was at risk in America.

Out of the numerous nativist secret societies created at this time came the American Party. Because members were



*Anti-Catholic KKK Victim, 1924. Anti-Catholic hostility was one of the earliest and most enduring forms of nativism.*

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told to respond “I know nothing” when asked about the party (because “Jesuitical conspirators” allegedly menaced the movement, requiring it to remain secret), the new organization was called the Know-Nothings. With the Whig Party fractured by the abolitionist and free-soil issues, the Know-Nothings became the second largest political party in America by 1854. But this would not last. Like the Whigs and the Democrats, the Know-Nothing Party split apart over the issue of slavery after 1856 and disappeared in the crisis leading to the Civil War. But nativism would not disappear with it.

#### THE “NEW IMMIGRATION”

In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, as the immense “new immigration” from southern and eastern Europe brought millions of Italian Catholics, Jews, Russians, and South Slavs, nativism gained strength, particularly during the depression years of the 1890s. Jewish immigrants, the non-Catholic target, were assailed as dirty, bearded foreign degenerates. New anti-alien groups proliferated, calling for immigration restriction and attacking Catholic political control in the big cities. The largest of these groups was the American Protective Association, with a membership reaching 500,000.

This new nativist effort emerged in a period when influential public figures, including such major reform leaders as Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt, embraced racist theories. (Wilson contrasted the “men of the sturdy stocks of the north of Europe” with “the more sordid and hopeless elements which the countries of the south of Europe were disburdening . . . men out of the ranks where there was neither skill nor energy nor quick intelligence.”)

Like nativists in earlier decades, the focus was on the threat of Catholics (and now Jews) to Protestant America and on the social problems accompanying the newcomers. Again, ethnic differences were linked to racial inferiority.

While nativism declined in the Progressive Era during the first decade and a half of the twentieth century, World War I and the postwar Red Scare briefly revived it. German-Americans were attacked during the war. In 1919, the Palmer raids, organized by the attorney general and executed by future FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover, temporarily made the federal government the instrument of protecting America from communist aliens and other advocates of "un-American" ideas. Jewish radicals were seen as a particular threat, with Palmer describing the "Red" leadership as marked by a "small clique of autocrats from the lower East Side of New York."

#### THE KU KLUX KLAN

In the 1920s, a new organization with an old name, the Ku Klux Klan, recruited over two and a half million members to an anti-Catholic, anti-Semitic, anti-alien, antiblack movement. It offered a sense of community to many who felt left out or left behind during the economic boom of the "Roaring Twenties," with its skyscraper cities housing what Klan leaders called "the immigrant masses." Jews were again singled out by some nativist publications, with Henry Ford's *Dearborn Independent* characterizing them as "dark, squat figures, a strange Slavonic-Oriental admixture" influencing labor unions in service of their radical ideologies.

Weakened by scandals involving its leaders, the Klan did not survive the decade. But it did have a political impact, attacking the presidential candidacy of the Irish Catholic governor of New York, Al Smith, and strongly supporting passage of the Immigration Act of 1924, which restricted immigration and established national quotas directed against peoples from southern and eastern Europe.

#### THE 1930S AND BEYOND

In subsequent years, nativism faded from the American scene. In the 1930s, the New Deal championed diversity and shaped economic policies that made it hard to project anger about depression-bred privation on ethnic or religious outsiders. In the 1940s, GIs of all ethnic groups were fighting in World War II and assailing the traditional objects of nativist hostility as "un-American."

The 1950s brought a postwar prosperity that removed some of the economic anxieties that helped stimulate some earlier nativist outbreaks. Efforts to block access to those victimized by previous anti-alien movements became unacceptable in academia, commerce, and the professions. Indeed, the climate of repression pervading the early cold war era targeted not religious or ethnic groups but alleged political radicals. In fact, an Irish

American Catholic senator, Joseph R. McCarthy Jr., became the chief communist hunter of the 1950s, and his targets were often members of the native-born elite.

In the last few decades, despite concerns on the southern border of the United States, old-style nativism has not returned in America. It is true that fears of a "flood" of undocumented Latino peoples—"feet people"—have stimulated efforts to curb "illegal aliens." Fragmentary extremist cells—the Aryan Nations, tiny neo-Klan chapters, skinhead gangs—have assailed these newcomers as un-American and a danger to the nation. Nativist rhetoric has been used by some politicians calling for border enforcement and expulsions. But on balance, the public debate over limiting immigration has not been conducted "in the spirit of the Know Nothings," as one congressman alleged in the 1980s. Instead, it has been economic and security arguments, not ethnic, religious, or racial issues, that have been used by those favoring new restrictions.

Scholarly analyses in the early years of the twenty-first century have focused on "the invention of the white race," the "wages of whiteness," and "how Irish Catholics and Jews became white folks" in explaining what has become of traditional nativism. While offering stimulating new perspectives on the nature and fate of nativism, these "whiteness studies" may lead some readers to underestimate the powerful tradition of anti-alien hostility that marked the history of America until the middle of the twentieth century. For nativists did fear and despise Catholic immigrants and other ethnic outsiders. They viewed them as inferiors, a population that could never be part of the American democratic community. And like its growth, development, and power across the years, the reasons for the decline of nativism are part of a complicated story.

**SEE ALSO** *Citizenship and "the Border"; Ethnocentrism; Irish Americans and Whiteness; Ku Klux Klan.*

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David H. Bennett

## NEO-NAZIS

Neo-Nazism is a loosely organized movement operating mainly in Europe and the Americas that promotes white supremacy, particularly hatred of Jews, and harkens back to the Nazi regime led by Adolf Hitler in Germany from the 1930s through 1945. Among the hundreds of racial hate groups in the United States, neo-Nazis are among the largest, along with the Ku Klux Klan. To understand neo-Nazis today it is helpful to review their foundations in German Nazi politics of the early twentieth century.

The term *Nazi* is an acronym of the National Socialist German Workers Party (*Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*). The original Nazi Party in Germany arose after World War I. Under the Treaty of Versailles that ended the war in 1918, Germany was required to pay reparations to the countries it had invaded. This international condemnation imposed a heavy economic burden on the people and the state, which fostered deep resentment. During the 1920s the Nazi, with Hitler among its top leaders, tapped into this resentment and inspired many Germans with ideas about patriotism and German supremacy, despite the earlier defeat. Hitler advocated rejecting the Treaty of Versailles and returning to German expansionism. The worldwide economic collapse and high unemployment of the Great Depression starting in 1929 made the Nazi Party's ideas attractive to more people, and they began to gain power both through elections and as a street strategy of recruiting veterans and the unemployed into paramilitary groups.

Hitler came to power through elections in 1932 that gave the Nazi Party a parliamentary majority. After he was appointed chancellor in 1933, he quickly moved to consolidate power. The Nazi regime, also known as the Third Reich, pursued a policy of invasion and expansion, beginning with annexing Poland in 1939. This was the precipitating event for the commencement of World War II. Hitler and the Nazis tapped the long-existing and underlying anti-Semitism of European societies to scapegoat Jews as a major cause of their economic and social instability.

Most infamously, the Nazis engineered genocide against the Jews, commonly called the Holocaust. The Holocaust was a carefully planned government program of extermination of Jews that lasted from 1941 through 1945. Long before the policy of organized mass murder was implemented, however, Jews were targeted by the Nazi regime with increasing harassment, violence, and

restrictive laws. For example, after the coordinated attack on Jewish homes and businesses known as *Kristallnacht* (Night of Broken Glass) in 1939, Jews were required to pay fines for the damage caused, even though they were its victims. The Nazis revived the medieval policy of the ghetto, a term that refers to walled-off sections of towns in which Jews were segregated from the rest of the population, which facilitated rounding them up as the Nazi policies progressed toward genocide. Six million Jews from across Europe were killed. Initially, paramilitary groups committed mass murder in the towns where Jews lived. Later, men, women, and children were shipped by train to concentration camps, where some were forced to work under slave conditions until they died of disease or starvation, while those judged too weak to work were murdered en masse, eventually through a highly industrialized death machine. The so-called Final Solution was also applied to other social and racial groups the Nazis considered undesirable, including Roma (previously known as Gypsies), homosexuals, communists, and the disabled.

The foundation of Nazi ideology was belief in the racial superiority of the German or Aryan people. The crisis in German society provided a context for the development of an ideology of ethnic and racial superiority and a cultural movement that celebrated a romanticized image of the German *Volk* through the revival and creation of mythology, music, theology, and ritual. The Nazis drew on nineteenth-century theories of racial difference, superiority, and inferiority. Nazis viewed the German people as the "master race," invoking theories that ancient peoples from the Indus region and Iran had migrated to settle modern-day Germany. Descendants of this "Aryan race" were seen as biologically and culturally superior, and thus deserving of all society's goods. All other races, by definition in Nazi racial theories, were inferior and parasitic, which justified subjecting them to control and destruction.

Most analysts have characterized the Nazi state as fascist, meaning it was based on authoritarian principles with all power centralized in the state (although some scholars argue that the term *fascism* should be used more narrowly to apply to Benito Mussolini's movement in Italy that developed at the same time). This extreme form of state power facilitated the imposition of Nazi ideology and political programs, including its official policies of racism.

### AFTER WORLD WAR II: THE NEO-NAZIS

The term *neo-Nazi* refers to groups since World War II that seek to revive the ideology and political movement of Nazism. In the last decade of the twentieth century and the first decade of the twenty-first century there has

been a resurgence of neo-Nazi activity worldwide, but especially in Europe and North America. While neo-Nazis form a distinct subset of modern right-wing extremism, in their ideology and sometimes social groups they overlap with other groups, notably racist skinheads, white nationalist groups, Christian Identity (a white supremacist religious movement), and in the United States, the Ku Klux Klan. In their various guises, neo-Nazis espouse white supremacy, extreme nationalism, and an authoritarian fascist social structure. In the second half of the twentieth century, many European countries made Nazi political parties illegal. Nevertheless, groups that are not technically political parties continued to exist on a small scale. By the end of the twentieth century, such groups were growing. In some regions these movements developed close ties to extreme right-wing political parties that gained substantial representation in parliaments. Neo-Nazi groups also fomented street violence against targeted groups, especially immigrants.

**Neo-Nazis in Europe.** The neo-Nazi movement is found in every country in Europe. After World War II, Europe was divided between the West, allied with the United States, and the East, allied with the Soviet Union. Germany, the birthplace of the Nazi movement, was divided into West and East. The Federal Republic of Germany, or West Germany, outlawed Nazi political parties in its post-war constitution in 1949. In Eastern Europe, the Soviet and communist systems suppressed other forms of political organization, including nationalist and fascist movements. However, since the breakup of the Soviet Union and the reunification of Germany, a resurgence of neo-Nazi activity has appeared, especially in the countries of the former Eastern bloc, including the former East Germany, Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Bulgaria. Western European countries have also seen an increase in extreme right-wing activity beginning in the 1980s.

The ideology of European neo-Nazis continues to echo the original Nazi ideas, centered on nationalism, authoritarianism, and white supremacy. But as European societies have become more multicultural, xenophobia and anti-immigrant sentiment have become prominent themes. While the Jews of early twentieth-century Europe had been present for hundreds of years when they were targeted by Hitler, today's targets are more recent immigrants and refugees who, as part of globalization, have moved to Europe in search of economic opportunity or political asylum. Many of these immigrants are from African countries, the Middle East, and Turkey and are perceived by right-wing extremists as threatening the core of Western civilization. Right-wing movements have long been analyzed as a backlash by social groups who perceive that they are losing their place in society. The growth of Islam with immigration has led to cultural clashes that provide neo-Nazis and similarly minded activists with

fodder for spreading hatred against anyone they decide is "other"—that is, non-European. Perceived competition for jobs also leads to anti-immigrant views, as in the United States. The creation of the European Union (EU) in 1992 added a layer of threat to traditional national identity in Europe. The EU human rights standards of tolerance for religious and cultural diversity create a context in which transnationalism is valued above nationalism. This sparks resentment against the state, the transnational entity of the EU, and people who symbolize the profound shifts in society of recent decades

European neo-Nazi activity ranges from highly institutionalized organizations that fall short of being actual political parties to more fluid, grassroots entities that engage in terrorist violence, commonly against foreigners. Ami Pedahzur and Leonard Weinberg (2001) suggest that while neo-Nazi political parties are banned in some European countries, the neo-Nazi movement in other guises supports political parties of the extreme right wing, creating a threat to European democracy. The activities of these neo-Nazi organizations include operating think tanks to influence policy indirectly, sponsoring Holocaust denial events, operating publishing houses, and producing music that appeals to young extremists. The neo-Nazi Internet presence has grown dramatically, and like the Internet itself, is an international phenomenon.

**Neo-Nazis in the United States.** Unlike Europe, neo-Nazi groups in the United States have never been criminalized. American neo-Nazis are part of a wider extreme right-wing, white supremacist movement that also includes the Ku Klux Klan. While they have little overall influence on U.S. politics, they have had a serious impact locally, where they have engaged in intimidation and committed violence against particular groups and recruited disaffected youth into their organizations.

The Intelligence Project, begun by the civil rights organization Southern Poverty Law Center, has monitored hate groups in the United States since 1979 and provides a respected clearinghouse of information about neo-Nazis and related groups operating in the United States. Its *2006 Year in Hate* report lists 844 active groups, of which 191 are neo-Nazi.

The National Alliance, the largest U.S. neo-Nazi organization, claims to represent a worldview based on beliefs about "nature" and the place of Aryan or white people within the "natural order." Their ideology is framed in language that attempts to sound scientific. For example, the National Alliance Web site promotes their "law of inequality" as the idea that evolution produced superior white people in northern Europe, where the necessity of "surviving a winter required planning and self-discipline, advanced more rapidly in the development of the higher mental faculties—including the





*Neo-Nazi and Son Give Salute, 1994.* A German man and his young son give the Nazi salute. A resurgence of neo-Nazi activity has appeared since the break-up of the Soviet Union and the reunification of Germany. © DAVID TURNLEY/CORBIS.

abilities to conceptualize, to solve problems, to plan for the future, and to postpone gratification.” On its Web site the National Alliance claims to believe that this natural superiority of white or Aryan people imposes a “hierarchy of responsibilities” on members of the race to be as strong as they can be, to be “collective agents of progress,” and to strive for higher levels of consciousness. Thus, much of their rhetoric sounds rather high-minded.

However, among the National Alliance’s social and political goals are establishing “white living space” and “Aryan society.” This means “rooting out of Semitic and other non-Aryan values and customs everywhere,” which is elaborated to mean removing Jewish artists from museums, Jewish musicians from music, and any nonwhite face from films or other media. Ironically, the National Alliance has to defend its advocacy of a strong, centralized state, since there is a strong tradition on the U.S. right of complaining about the evils of “big government,” as the following quote from the Web site illustrates:

Many patriots look back fondly at the government as it was in its first phase, when it was less democratic and less intrusive in the lives of citi-

zens. Perhaps the time will come when we can afford to have a minimal government once again, but that time lies in the remote future. The fact is that we need a strong, centralized government spanning several continents to coordinate many important tasks during the first few decades of a White world: the racial cleansing of the land, the rooting out of racially destructive institutions, and the reorganization of society on a new basis.

The discourse of the National Alliance uses language that appeals to pride, fear, and resentment. Its members invoke patriotism, which continues to be seen as a positive value in American culture, though it easily merges into nationalism, and from there to racism and xenophobia. For white Americans frustrated by their inability to get ahead, the National Alliance program offers explanations that sound reasonable (e.g., that multiculturalism contradicts nature) couched in pseudoscientific grounding (e.g., through evolution and natural selection). Some of its language resonates with New Age notions of pursuing “higher consciousness,” although this is achieved through racial purity rather than the universal tolerance usually associated with that spiritual tradition. Aside from the actual content of National Alliance beliefs and

## *New Black Panther Party*

programs, the tone of its discourse is dangerous because it is so soothing and inspiring.

By contrast, the second largest U.S. neo-Nazi group, the National Socialist Movement, adopts a more strident tone and directly invokes Nazism and Hitler. This group claims symbols of that era as its own: the swastika and the brown shirt uniform of the SA (*Sturmabteilung*, or storm troopers who operated in the 1930s in Germany to terrorize the population into submission to the Nazi program). The National Socialist Movement's Twenty-five Point Program, posted on its Web site, contains a hodgepodge of mandates that range from banning non-white immigration and ejecting nonwhites from the United States to demands for a living wage and land reform that includes affordable housing. These demands illustrate the combination of traditionally "right" and "left" ideas found in National Socialism.

As a social movement, the neo-Nazi movement is not static but undergoes change constantly; groups split and merge, and new groups form out of other social contexts. This is true worldwide, as the movement responds to changing societies and draws on the legacies of racism everywhere.

The growth of the Internet has facilitated the growth of neo-Nazi movements in the first decade of the twenty-first century. The Internet has given neo-Nazi organizations, like other social movements, a low-cost way to reach sympathizers and recruit adherents. Cyberspace has enabled European neo-Nazi groups to escape state controls by having their Web sites hosted by groups in the United States. American neo-Nazi groups have links to European neo-Nazi groups on their Web sites and vice versa. This may be the precursor to the growth of a more coordinated international movement, which would be a threat to democracy and racial equality worldwide.

**SEE ALSO** *Anti-Semitism; Christian Identity; English Skinheads; Holocaust; Transnationalism; White Racial Identity.*

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*Nancy A. Matthews*

## **NEW BLACK PANTHER PARTY**

*SEE Nation of Islam and New Black Panther Party.*

## **NEW DEAL AND OLD RACISM**

The Great Depression, which began in 1929 and lasted through the 1930s, was a time of great hardship for most Americans. Approximately one-fourth of the nation's entire labor force—or over 15 million people, both skilled and unskilled—lost their jobs, and malnutrition and hunger were rampant. The economy had collapsed, and the financial system was in disarray. Millions of Americans struggled to survive from day to day, and the administration of the Republican president Herbert Hoover offered the people little hope and no effective action to address this dire situation. When the Democrat Franklin Delano Roosevelt assumed the office of president in 1933, he immediately launched an ambitious set of programs known as the "New Deal." President Roosevelt's initiatives began to bring some economic relief and stability to the nation. Nevertheless, the New Deal was not able to solve the burning issues of justice and equality for poor people and people of color.

Americans who had little to begin with were among the hardest hit by the Great Depression. People who had already been living in poverty, a disproportionate number of whom were people of color, had fewer resources to call upon in this time of want. Across the nation, but particularly in regions of prolonged drought (known as the "Dust Bowl" in Texas and Oklahoma), poor farmers were forced from their land when they were unable to pay their rent or mortgage. White farmers from these regions left their homes by the thousands. Known as "Okies," they traveled westward looking for work and opportunity, and they met with widespread discrimination along the way.

If life was difficult for poor white farmers, people of color faced even greater hardships as they contended with the added burdens of racism and segregation. African Americans were often the "last hired and first fired"; unemployment in African-American communities was extremely high, and many families existed on the brink of starvation, especially in the urban South. In the Southwest, Mexican Americans faced deportation and hostile treatment because many whites blamed them for taking their jobs. Native Americans across the country simply tried to survive in what, for them, had been hard times for decades. Roughly 65 percent of people of color worked in sectors such as tenant farming, migrant farm work, and

domestic work. These types of jobs were not covered by most New Deal programs, meaning that these workers were not even eligible for most forms of assistance.

However, when President Roosevelt took office in 1933, his new programs and “fireside chats” over the radio waves brought hope to many people. Americans from all walks of life waited for the end of hard times, expecting the New Deal to make it happen. New Deal programs attempted to focus on a few key areas, including welfare programs, business and industrial recovery, and systemic reform. The idea was to provide economic assistance to people in the short term and generate jobs to improve the economy over the long term. Reform in labor and business laws and practices were designed to help prevent a similar occurrence in the future.

The New Deal took place in two waves. Its first incarnation, in 1933 and 1934, included programs and legislation such as the Federal Emergency Relief Act, the National Industrial Recovery Act, the Agricultural Adjustment Act, and the National Labor Relations Board. The Second New Deal, begun in 1935, sought to move beyond the more immediate foci of the first and reestablish a stable, national economy. This effort included new structures like the Works Progress Administration and the National Youth Administration, as well as legislation like the Social Security Act, the Fair Labor Standards Act, and the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938. Unfortunately, these programs did not always live up to the ideals of national unity and opportunity from which they ostensibly emerged. Although the nation as a whole benefited in many ways from these initiatives, the gains were not equally distributed. In many ways the New Deal seemed to reinforce the same old system of privilege and preference from which middle- and upper-class whites gained and others lost.

#### AFRICAN AMERICANS AND THE NEW DEAL

By the early 1930s, close to half of all African-American workers were no longer employed, and the establishment of equal job opportunities had become a crucial issue for the black community. The National Recovery Administration (NRA), established in 1933, sought to establish fair rules and codes with regard to wages, prices, and competition in the labor market. In order to try to provide workers with a better standard of living and more purchasing power to stimulate economic growth, the NRA established relatively high standards for wages. In the South, where blacks were always paid much less than whites, many employers did not want to hire blacks under the new wage structure. Nevertheless, NRA rules would not allow wage differentials. It was an impossible dilemma for an administration not willing to challenge segregation. NRA leadership did not want to allow different pay structures for blacks and whites, but

in general they did not have the political will or power to force white employers to hire blacks in positions with equal pay. White employers tried to find ways around the NRA policy by changing job descriptions so that jobs were not covered by these rules, and many employers simply refused to hire blacks.

Black newspapers and community organizations tried to work with government officials to publicize violations of NRA rules and gain justice for blacks facing discrimination. But they struggled vainly to find government officials who would take meaningful action against white business owners. Some African-American workers quietly accepted lower wages when faced with the choice between less money and no money. A few black organizations even advocated for different pay rates, arguing that the lower-paying jobs would provide some security in an atmosphere in which blacks were not getting hired at all. Blacks in the labor force worked in the agricultural and domestic sectors of the economy, and these types of jobs were not deemed eligible for assistance through the NRA. Thus, not only was the NRA ineffective in helping those African Americans it did include, it excluded a large proportion of them from the outset.

The Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) of 1933 addressed a different area of the economy. This act was an attempt to improve the situation of American farmers by cutting back on agricultural production in order to cause an increase in the price of agricultural commodities. In 1935, however, approximately 40 percent of the nation’s farmers were sharecroppers and many of these people were forced to leave the land where they worked and lived when it went out of production. African-American tenant farmers, already living in poverty, debt, and oppression, received very little assistance from this program. Cotton plantations, in particular, decreased production and forced thousands of sharecroppers, black and white, from their homes. Black sharecroppers who managed to stay on their land often did not receive subsidy payments directed to them because white landowners kept the money for “debts” and rent.

Overall, other New Deal programs also accepted the status quo and allowed existing discriminatory practices to continue. The Federal Housing Authority acquiesced to the practice of segregating real estate markets in hopes of maintaining social stability through segregation. This policy contributed to the development of racial ghettos in urban areas. The Social Security Act excluded jobs in which large proportions of people of color were employed and had no specific prohibitions against discrimination, while the National Labor Relations Act established precedents allowing largely white unions to refuse admission to blacks. At bottom, the legislation establishing these programs was written with subtle exceptions and loopholes favored by a U.S. Congress

containing one black representative and dominated by southern Democrats committed to the racial status quo.

#### SHIFTING ALLIANCES: AFRICAN AMERICANS TURN TO THE DEMOCRATS

Even though New Deal programs did not adequately address the needs of black people, many blacks began to switch their political loyalties from the Republicans to the Democrats. The Republican Party was the party of Lincoln and black emancipation, yet it had lost much of its appeal to black voters. When Roosevelt and the New Deal arrived, many blacks thought that economic improvement would be accompanied by an improvement in their sociopolitical status in the United States. Furthermore, the Roosevelt administration appointed several black leaders to relatively high positions in the New Deal administration, something never before seen in Washington. Among those given positions were Robert C. Weaver, who worked in the Interior Department and would later become America's first black member of the president's cabinet (under Lyndon Johnson); William H. Hastie, a pioneering black federal judge who also worked in the Department of the Interior; Eugene Kinckle Jones, advisor on Negro affairs for the Commerce Department from 1933 to 1937 and a former executive director of the Urban League; Edgar Brown, an adviser on Negro Affairs in the Civilian Conservation Corps; Lawrence Oxley, head of the Negro Division of the Department of Labor; William J. Trent, a race relations officer in the Federal Works Agency; and Mary McLeod Bethune, who worked in the National Youth Administration. With Bethune as their leader in an informal group called the "Black Cabinet," these and many other black appointees gave voice to the concerns of African-Americans. There were more than a few sympathetic white leaders in the administration, including Eleanor Roosevelt, who was a personal friend of Bethune, and Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes, a former head of the NAACP's Chicago chapter. Although the influence of these black and white New Deal officials was limited, the fact that such influence even existed was an important precedent. The mere establishment of African-American administrative units within government agencies represented the nation's first outreach toward the national black community since the Bureau of Freedmen, Refugees, and Abandoned Lands was set up in 1865.

Up until 1936, most black voters chose Republicans when they went to the polls, but the gradual move to the Democrats picked up steam, and Roosevelt received much of the black vote that year. Paradoxically, Roosevelt did nothing to improve the political rights of blacks, particularly with regard to voting rights in the South, nor did he

promote anti-lynching legislation. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) had been working for years on getting an anti-lynching bill through Congress, and in April 1937, after several well-publicized lynchings of African-Americans in the South, Representative Joseph A. Gavagan of New York succeeded in getting a version of the anti-lynching bill passed in the House of Representatives, despite opposition from southern Democrats. Getting it through the Senate was an entirely different matter, however. In the Senate, southern Democrats organized a filibuster that lasted six weeks and effectively stopped the bill.

During these dramatic events, Roosevelt was largely silent, despite the fact that he had the support of most African Americans. It is likely that his need for the political support of southern Democrats won out over any thoughts about taking a stand against racist violence in the South. The desire to maintain his office and keep the Democratic Party in the majority seemed to take precedence over ideals of equality and justice. At that point in history, blacks were prevented from exercising their political rights in many parts of the country, so concerns about whether or not they would continue to be loyal to the party were not paramount. White southern Democrats, however, controlled most of the votes and money in the South, and the political status quo remained unchanged.

#### LATINOS AND THE NEW DEAL

During the Great Depression, and throughout the New Deal, all members of politically marginalized communities in the United States faced a desperate struggle. Blacks and many Latinos living in cities like Detroit and Chicago were fired so that whites could take their positions. In the Southwest there were organized movements to force Mexican Americans out of jobs in order to provide openings for whites. Mexicans living in the United States, as well as Mexican-American citizens, provided a useful scapegoat for white fears and anxiety during the Great Depression. In the states of the Southwest, where segregation policies discriminating against people of Mexican descent were already in full force, public outcry in the white community painted a stereotyped picture of white jobs being taken by Mexican workers. In response, the Roosevelt administration carried out mass deportations, during which hundreds of thousands of people, perhaps as many as one million, were detained and sent to Mexico. Within that group were many Mexican-American citizens who had been born in the United States. Anyone appearing to be from Mexico was subject to arrest and deportation. Families and lives were disrupted, children were separated from their parents, and some who had never lived in Mexico found themselves ejected from their country of birth.

## NATIVE AMERICANS AND THE NEW DEAL

As for Native Americans, they were among the poorest of the poor before the Depression hit. It could be argued that most Native American communities were already living in economic depression. Even so, the 1930s meant even fewer opportunities and resources in their communities. Nationally, there was considerable variety in the experience of Native Americans, depending upon their tribal affiliation and the region in which they lived. Yet Native people did have an advocate in the New Deal in the person of John Collier, the man appointed by Roosevelt as Indian Affairs Commissioner. The Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) of 1934, spearheaded by Collier, ostensibly advocated religious and cultural autonomy for Native peoples, yet the programs established by the act were implemented in a way that promoted assimilation and the loss of indigenous culture. Collier had hoped to help promote self-determination for Native American communities, but he was not able to persuade Congress to pass a strong bill that offered what he considered adequate support for Native Americans. The version of the IRA that did pass was not well funded or well structured in its approach.

Programs were pushed on Native American communities without the involvement or input of local leaders. The overall structure of what is often called the “Indian New Deal” was guided by the historical stereotype held by many whites that all Native American peoples were the same. Regional and tribal differences—in terms of needs, values, and organization—were not taken into account in the one-size-fits-all approach of the New Deal. Programs seeking to provide employment to Native Americans were limited and often did not provide them with real opportunities to move beyond low-wage jobs. Economic development programs promoted assimilation and devalued traditional ways. Native Americans living in urban areas faced the same struggles as blacks and Latinos, including losing their jobs before whites did and getting hired only when there were no whites applying. Native people living on reservations away from towns and cities received very few services, and outreach to them was not effectively implemented. For their part, many Native American communities and organizations found ways to adapt to the changing world without giving in to the pressure to assimilate. There was a resurgence of cultural pride and a recognition that the diverse Native groups shared a common struggle.

## LOST OPPORTUNITIES AND THE MOVE TOWARD CHANGE

The Roosevelt administration and the programs of the New Deal are often seen as the beginning of a liberal

movement in America favoring working families, and the interests of people of color are often assumed to have been included. The reality of the New Deal policies and their implementation is not so simple, however, and careful examination of the time period suggests that the New Deal did very little to address institutionalized social inequality based on race in the United States. With a focus on getting and keeping the economy moving again, the New Deal sought first to address the needs of those groups most instrumental in developing and maintaining the productive capacity of the nation. By and large this meant that it was concerned with the interests of big business, large landowning farmers, and the dominant trade unions. Poor people and people of color were grossly underrepresented in these interest groups; the New Deal attended to them only as parts of the larger system. Even so, Roosevelt and his administrative leadership did not completely ignore them, and for the first time in American history people of color gained some access to the power structure of the nation.

Moreover, during this process, organizations representing the needs of poor people and people of color did not stay silent or inactive. Perhaps heartened by the fact that at least some government officials were beginning to notice them and recognize inequality, the Urban League and the NAACP, along with a score of smaller interracial groups, supported the formation of the Joint Committee on National Recovery (JCNR), founded by John P. Davis and Robert C. Weaver. While the JCNR was unable to seriously influence Congress, it succeeded in making public the inequalities and inequities of the many recovery programs. So while the New Deal programs were altogether ineffective at addressing racial injustice, people concerned with social justice were able to sense a possible opening and began to push for more equality. At the end of the New Deal, World War II diverted the energy and attention of the whole nation, but as the war ended and the country returned its focus to domestic issues, the discussion of equality and justice began again, eventually evolving into the civil rights struggles that began in the 1950s—and that in many ways continue in the early twenty-first century.

**SEE ALSO** *Antiracist Social Movements; Bethune, Mary McLeod; Cultural Racism; Institutional Racism; Mexicans; Nativism; White Racial Identity.*

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## NIAGARA MOVEMENT

By 1905, when the Niagara Movement began, fewer than one black man in ten could vote and none held a national elective office. Public education, where it existed for black southerners, was separate and grossly unequal. Many blacks were lynched: More than 1,000 blacks were lynched during the final decade of the nineteenth century. For most whites, America's race problem was "solved" by de facto segregation in the North and legal racial segregation in the South.

Thus, blacks were totally subordinated within a white-dominated society. Booker T. Washington, the founder and president of Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, became the most prominent national black leader when he tacitly sanctioned this reality in his Atlanta Cotton States and International Exposition speech in 1895. Washington advised blacks against agitation for political and civic equality, instead counseling cooperation with whites for economic opportunities in the so-called New South, as it was proclaimed to be a decade earlier by Henry W. Grady, an influential Georgia newspaper editor.

Contrary to its widespread acceptance by whites, Washington's ascendancy to leadership status was challenged by younger urban and mostly northern-based, well-educated African Americans, including two Harvard alumni: W. E. B. Du Bois, a historian and sociologist, and William Monroe Trotter, a Harvard-trained militant black newspaper editor. Du Bois, Harvard's first black Ph.D. graduate, initially refrained from public attacks on Washington, who actually invited him to join the Tuske-

gee faculty. Sensing that he and Washington had conflicting ideas on racial matters, Du Bois declined the invitation but accepted a position at Atlanta University as head of its sociology department. Trotter became a Realtor in Boston, and in 1901 he began publishing *The Guardian*, in which he called for full citizenship rights for blacks. In a 1901 review of Washington's autobiography, *Up from Slavery*, Du Bois made a veiled attack on the deeper implications of Washington's accommodationist philosophy. Du Bois openly criticized Washington himself in *The Souls of Black Folk*, a 1903 publication that instantly became a widely read classic. In a chapter titled "Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others," Du Bois decried Washington's views, which he felt relegated practically all blacks to a politically impotent, servile existence.

Du Bois was fully aware of the anointing of Washington and his views by the white political and philanthropic elite. Among black Americans, Washington alone possessed delegated power, but for many he misused that power. In 1905, Du Bois called for an ideological leadership cadre composed of those in the African American community whom he referred to as "the Talented Tenth" with "sufficient ability and education to assume leadership among negroes" (Kellogg 1967, p. 23). Aware that Washington had the funds to control the black press, Du Bois said that conference was also to "to establish and support proper organs of new and public opinion."

Some twenty-seven black male professionals from fourteen states responded by meeting with Du Bois and Trotter on July 11, 1905, near Niagara Falls at the Erie Beach Hotel in Ontario, Canada, to plan for a national organization.

Among the attendees were Frederick McGhee, a practicing attorney; William Hart, a Howard University Law School professor; Charles E. Bentley, a physician; Harry Clay Smith, an editor; Freeman H. M. Murray, a print shop owner; and Jesse Max Barber, an educator and periodical publisher. After three days of intensive discussion and debate the Niagara conveners advocated the following goals, which were printed in Barber's periodical, *The Voice of the Negro*:

1. Freedom of speech and criticism
2. An unfettered and unsubsidized press
3. Manhood suffrage
4. The abolition of all caste distinctions based simply on race and color
5. The recognition of the principle of human brotherhood as a practical present creed
6. The recognition of the highest and best human training as the monopoly of no class or race



**Founding Members of the Niagara Movement, 1905.** *The Niagara Movement called for the right of black men to vote, an end to discrimination in public accommodations, equal justice before the law, equal educational opportunities, and the right to travel freely.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

7. A belief in the dignity of labor
8. United effort to realize these ideals under wise and courageous leadership

At the second meeting of the Niagara Movement, held at Harper's Ferry, West Virginia, in 1906, Du Bois made it clear in his address that their goals were distinct from Washington's limited vocationalism:

And when we call for education, we mean real education. We believe in work. We ourselves are workers, but work is not necessarily education. Education is the development of power and ideal. [sic] We want our children trained as intelligent human beings should be, and we will fight for all time against any proposal to educate black boys and girls simply as servants and underlings, or simply for the use of other people. They have a right to know, to think, to aspire.

Thus, the line was drawn between the accommodationists and the integrationists.

Indeed, allegedly during the 1905 meeting itself, one participant, the attorney Clifford Plummer, secretly kept Washington informed of its details. It was later alleged that other Washington allies persuaded white-owned newspapers to not cover the conference.

Du Bois, the guiding figure of the gathering, was named general secretary to coordinate the work among several committees. He proposed the creation of local branches in every state. Conspicuously absent that first year were women, but several were invited the next year. Few members lived south of the Potomac, and none had much daily contact with the black masses. Later, Du Bois admitted his own failings as a popular leader who could make small talk with those from humbler backgrounds. In addition to their social distance from the masses, the Niagara Movement adherents, by and large, were geographically separated from the southern rural masses who were bearing the brunt of direct and unremitting racial oppression.

Nevertheless, in 1906 Du Bois tried to broaden the movement's base and increase its support through a weekly publication, *The Moon Illustrated*, which ceased publication after only a year. Beginning in 1907, yet another periodical, *The Horizon: A Journal of the Color Line*, partially subsidized by Du Bois, was published monthly until 1910, when it was folded into the NAACP's *The Crisis*, which has appeared monthly ever since.

In 1906, the movement's adherents met in Harper's Ferry, made famous by John Brown's raid there in 1859. The delegates made a bare-footed pilgrimage to the site consecrated by the martyred Brown, and they called again for the right of black men to vote, an end to discrimination in public accommodations, equal justice before the law, equal educational opportunities, and the right to travel freely. Three years later, these became the goals of the Niagara Movement's successor organization, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

The 1907 Niagara Movement meeting was held at Fanueil Hall in Boston, and its report to the public called for "freedom from labor peonage, a fair and free ballot, the denial of representation to states who deny rights of citizens" and a demand for federal legislation "forbidding the exclusion of any person from interstate carriers on account of race or color." Less than fifty people showed up at the 1908 meeting, held at Oberlin College in Ohio. At this meeting, McGhee reported that the group had filed a suit against the Pullman Company for denying sleeping-car service to one of its members, and that local units of the group had met in a half dozen cities. It proudly reported that black voters in the South were being advised to vote against presidential candidate William Howard Taft because of his approval, as secretary of war, of the dishonorable discharge of 167 black soldiers for failing to identify one of their comrades as the person guilty of fatally wounding a white civilian in Brownsville, Texas, in 1906.

## Nonconcordant Variation

The Niagara Movement expanded into more than half the states, although its membership never exceeded 300 individuals. It had no white members until 1908, when Mary W. Ovington, a social worker, was invited to join. The 1908 Springfield Race Riot spurred white reformers into action. Some descendants of white abolitionists, such as Oswald Garrison Villard, the grandson of the great abolitionist editor William L. Garrison, called for concerted action for social justice by black and white leaders of all philosophical views. The target date to convene the meeting in New York City was February 12, 1909, the centennial of Lincoln's birthday. "The Call," as it was known, went out, urging "all believers in democracy to join in a national conference for discussion of present evils, the voicing of protests and the renewal of the struggle for civil and political liberty." This was the birth of the NAACP, which was backed by white and black luminaries and had a broader membership base than the Niagara Movement.

The initiative now passed from the black-controlled Niagara Movement to a white-dominated steering committee, which included Du Bois. Washington was invited, and initially expressed support, but he declined to attend. He promised to send a representative but never did, and he secretly opposed the new organization. This caused other black leaders to withhold support until after Washington's death in 1915. Trotter refused to follow Du Bois into a white-dominated organization, which he protested could not speak effectively for black people. He continued his protests in a newly formed Equal Rights League.

While the Niagara Movement formally disbanded, its stated goals became the NAACP's agenda for nearly a century. The movement lacked a secure financial base and broad appeal, but the NAACP quickly became the nation's premier civil rights organization, largely through the efforts of Du Bois, its first director of research and publicity. Du Bois also successfully launched *The Crisis*, which popularized the association to both black and white Americans.

SEE ALSO *Du Bois, W. E. B.; Trotter, William Monroe; Washington, Booker T.*

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## NONCONCORDANT VARIATION

*Nonconcordant variation* and *discordant variation* are the phrases that have historically been used to describe the commonly found noncorrelative and nonassociated nature of variation between pairs of genetically controlled traits. Said more positively, the phrases mean that traits tend to vary independently from each other.

A common example of a pair of nonconcordant traits is skin color and height. On both an individual and group level, skin color is independent of height (and height is reciprocally independent of skin color). As skin colors become lighter or darker, heights do not change in a predictable, dependent, or concordant way. Similarly, as heights increase or decrease, there is no predictable change in skin color. One trait is independent of the other.

Indeed, skin color appears to be independently distributed compared to all size traits and to virtually all phenotypic and genetic traits. The obvious exceptions are those few such as eye and hair color that are likely to share pigmentation genes with skin color. These exceptions can literally be seen with the eyes, and perhaps because they are so obvious, one might think that these are more common than they are. In fact, they are one of just a few known exceptions to the rule of trait independence.

The significance of this pattern of independent variation is that generally one cannot predict the distribution of one trait from that of another. Skin color does not reveal deeper (genetic) variation. More generally, from a biological perspective, racial traits such as skin color are just skin deep: they do not have deeper biological meaning.

### HUMAN BIOLOGICAL VARIATION

The notion of discordant trait variation can be traced back to at least the 1950s. Evolutionary biologists observed that instead of varying together, geographic variation in one trait is usually discordant with geographic variation in other traits. One implication of this finding was a debate over the taxonomic classification "subspecies." In an influential 1953 article, "The Subspecies Concept and Its



Taxonomic Application,” zoologists Edward O. Wilson and William L. Brown Jr. observed that because so few traits are concordant (vary together), a focus on different traits produces different subspecies. They also observed that most traits used to define subspecies are arbitrary.

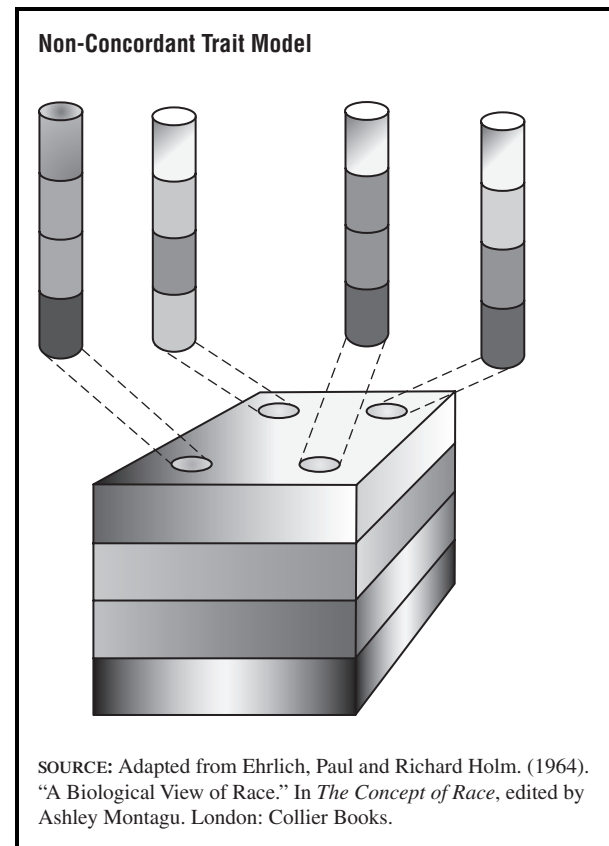
In 1964, anthropologist Ashley Montagu edited a groundbreaking volume titled *The Concept of Race* in which zoologists Paul Ehrlich and Richard Holm used the terms *concordance* and *discordance* to describe the distribution of human traits relative to each other. They noted that if traits are largely concordant, then the study of the variation in one trait will reveal the pattern in the other. However, if the opposite is true, and traits are discordant or nonconcordant, then population variation must be studied one trait at a time.

Along with anthropologists C. Loring Brace and Frank Livingstone in the same volume, Ehrlich and Holm noted that rather than abrupt ruptures or boundaries in traits, the mean probabilities of traits vary continuously or gradually over geographic space. This type of geographic variation is now commonly referred to as clinal or continuous variation. They further noted that these traits tend to vary in different ways from each other. Thus, for example, human skin color tends to vary along a north to south gradient, with darker skin, on average, near the equator and lighter skin, on average, toward the poles. However, the distribution of other traits tends to follow different and less predictable patterns.

Trait independence is also a rule of variation on an individual (as well as a group) level. Thus, if one knows that someone is tall, one cannot predict if that person is dark or light, handsome or ugly. Tall, dark, and handsome is just as unlikely as tall, light, and handsome or tall, light, and ugly.

A useful diagrammatic illustration of trait independence was also published by Ehrlich and Holm (Figure 1). This diagram of discordant variation in four traits or characteristics has been frequently reproduced and redrawn in many textbooks. Each layer in the cube represents geographic variation in a trait. The top trait, for example, might be skin color. In this case, the individuals to the right have light skin, whereas the individuals to the left have darker skin. Similarly, the next layer down represents another trait, such as eye color, the next still another trait, such as the percent of type A blood, and the bottom layer represents a fourth and last trait.

Each core represents a specific individual or the average of a group of individuals in a region. (Remember: trait independence works at both an individual and a group level.) If the top layer represents skin color, then the two cores (individuals, groups) to the right appear to be the same for skin color. In the other levels, it becomes clear that skin color does not predict for the variation in the other traits. For example, the two individuals who



**Figure 1.** The layers represent traits and the cores represent individuals or groups from four different locations. Note that the first trait does not predict for the other traits.

have the same skin color differ with respect to all other traits. One might imagine millions of traits and any number of individual or group cores. Any one level/trait will predict very little about the other levels/traits.

Although the general point of nonconcordant traits is modeled very well in Figure 1, in reality traits are rarely either completely independent or completely concordant. Another way to think about trait independence is in relationship to statistical concepts of correlation and association. If two traits are perfectly positively correlated, then as one increases, the other increases in a proportionate fashion. Similarly, if two traits are perfectly inversely correlated, then as one increase, the other decreases in a proportionate fashion. This is rare, but some traits are highly correlated, such as length of legs and height or hair color and eye color. On the other hand, most traits are nearly totally independent of each other; that is, as one trait changes, the change in the other trait is for all intents and purposes random and unpredictable. Trait independence is both a general taxonomic rule and a hallmark of human variation.

Why, then, would traits vary independently? The answer depends on the specific traits under consideration.

But, one can say that trait independence is probably related either to the forces of natural selection, if the trait is adaptive, or to random genetic factors.

In the case of skin color, variation appears driven by the relative adaptive advantages of dark skin pigmentation under conditions of maximal solar radiation and the advantages of lighter skin pigmentation under conditions of reduced solar exposure. The distribution of sickle cell anemia follows a pattern of variation that seems to be related to areas where malaria is greatest. The ability to digest lactose (milk sugar) in adulthood seems to be related to histories of dairying.

The majority of genetic and phenotypic traits appear to be adaptively neutral. Their distributions are also generally continuous across the globe. While the distribution of other traits seems more random and unpredictable, all of these traits are clinally distributed. Finally, the key point is that all of their clinal distributions are different. They are not concordant. They are independent.

#### NONCONCORDANCE AND RACE

The idea of biological races presupposes that traits are concordant; that is, the distribution in one trait tells us something or predicts for the distribution in another. In a sense, the idea of race is based on the notion that one can “read” a phenotype. For example, seeing someone who is overweight is often “read” in our society to mean someone who has an impulse-control problem. In this racist culture, seeing someone as dark skinned is “read” to conjure up a number of negative attribute associations. This is how the ideology of racism works.

As anthropologist Alan Goodman (1997) has noted, nonconcordance variation helps to make the case against meaningful biological races. For example, just as Wilson and Brown found that a subspecies could be redefined according to different traits, Jared Diamond (1994) created racial classifications based on the distribution of fingerprint patterns that were strikingly different from traditional models based on skin color.

Further, the overwhelming nature of nonconcordant variation tells us that what one sees does not predict for deeper characteristics. Genetic research suggests that traits such as skin color do not necessarily reflect shared evolutionary lineages. Nor are they useful for predicting behavior. Despite the social importance they may carry, racial traits are not useful markers for understanding human variation.

In describing the relationship between traits, nonconcordance captures part of the structure of human variation. That part is at complete odds with the idea of race.

SEE ALSO *Clines; Clines and Continuous Variation; Genes and Genealogies; Genetic Variation among*

*Populations; Human and Primate Evolution; Human Genetics; Montagu, Ashley.*

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Alan Goodman  
Joseph Jones

## NOTT, JOSIAH

1804–1873

Josiah Nott was a leading exponent of polygenism, the belief in the idea of multiple origins of the human species. He was a key figure in the American school of ethnology, which dominated the scientific understanding of race in the decades before Charles Darwin’s *Origin of Species* appeared in 1859. In 1856 he helped to edit the first American translation of Arthur de Gobineau’s *Essai sur l’inégalité des races humaines* (Essay on the inequality of the human race), a polemical work extolling Teutonic natural supremacy and warning against racial mixing.

In 1854, with George Gliddon, Nott published *Types of Mankind*, a tribute to their mentor, Samuel G. Morton, and a summation of their evidence that the races were separate and unequal species of *Homo sapiens*. He was determined to prove his belief in African natural inferiority, informally calling his research “niggerology” and “the nigger business.” The underlying aim was to confound the abolitionists with evidence of the natural and permanent inferiority of blacks, and thus show that their liberation would be a disaster to both races. He asserted that “Caucasians” have been rulers throughout the ages, prepared and destined by nature.

Nott was born in Columbia, South Carolina, on March 31, 1804. He received his medical degree from the University of Pennsylvania, after which he traveled widely in Europe studying natural history and furthering his medical knowledge. He eventually settled in Mobile, Alabama, and built a flourishing practice treating the slaves of the wealthy. Nott sought to protect his clients, the slaveholders, both politically and scientifically by arguing that blacks and whites were of different species, and that nature itself had preordained their proper relationship to each other. The abolitionists, he claimed, were in error to think otherwise. For Nott, the impure mulatto population was proof of his theory: Being neither black nor white, mulattoes represented a dilution of fixed characteristics unhelpful to either race. This view was in line with several other prominent “ethnologists” of the era who believed that the human species had multiple origins, thus accounting for the diversity of humankind.

Nott had good company in pursuing the polygenist theory: Samuel G. Morton, Ephraim George Squire, James D. B. DeBow, and later Louis Agassiz also championed the fixity of species and the multiple origins of human races. They made this argument from the evidence derived from the study of “hybrids,” crania, Egyptology, and philology. Ignoring the popular slaveholder’s “Hamitic curse” argument for black enslavement, Nott argued that both natural history and slaveholder hegemony constituted evidence in support of his theory.

Nott tried to use scientific debates, lectures, and articles to advance his arguments. Among the scientific opponents of polygenism, the abolitionist churches were certainly united against the theory, as were Professor J. L. Cabell of the University of Virginia, and Rev. John Bachman of Charleston, the latter raising many questions about “exceptional human hybrids” and mixed-race fecundity. Nott dismissed Bachman’s scientific objections as disguised religious positions from a “hypocritical parson,” and he characterized Bachman as a failed scientist and a false minister.

The secular ideology of race was established in the years before Darwin’s work eroded the dominance of polygenism. Nott immediately recognized Darwin’s *Origins* as finally giving monogenesis an unshakable scientific basis, and in later life he gracefully admitted that Darwin’s answer to the species question had settled the matter of origins, but not the issue of stratified racial diversity. Nott did not abandon his views on race, holding that inequality of status and competence had always characterized black-white race relations.

Having lost two sons in the Civil War, one from wounds received at Gettysburg, Nott could not endure a

South transformed, he said, into “Negroland.” He settled in New York City, drawn to a place “without morals, without scruples, without religion, & without niggers.” There he rebuilt his practice, joined Squire’s Anthropological Institute, and flourished until age and health forced his final return to Mobile. He died on March 31, 1873.

Nott’s importance in developing and promoting the theory of polygenism left an enduring legacy of race as a scientific concept. Darwin believed natural selection would cause polygenism “to die a silent and unobserved death” (Darwin 1998 [1874], p. 188), but its supporters continued to justify using race as a secular explanation for human variety. Nott’s work demonstrates how scientific theories often produce definitions of truth that are deeply embedded in the social relations of a given time and space. Nott and his fellow polygenists developed “race” as a construct, the use of which has continued as both a scientific ideology and a common-sense notion, largely due to the influence of Nott.

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**B. Ricardo Brown**

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## OCCUPATIONAL SEGREGATION

Occupational racial/ethnic and sex segregation—the separation of non-Hispanic white men and women and workers of color into different occupations—is more than a pattern of physical separation of the races and sexes at work. Rather, occupational segregation is a fundamental process in sustaining and perpetuating social inequality because occupations dominated by white men tend to offer more pay, fringe benefits, access to promotions, training, and authority than occupations dominated by white women and people of color. Occupational segregation also limits the bargaining power of minorities and white women, making it difficult for them to improve their labor-market positions. Segregation at work also limits female and minority workers' access to health insurance and retirement benefits. In no small way, then, occupational segregation reduces the quality of life for white women and racial/ethnic minority workers and plays an integral role in keeping a greater share of minorities compared to whites below the poverty line.

### PREVALENCE BY RACE, ETHNICITY, AND SEX

Occupational racial/ethnic and sex segregation are common and persistent features of the U.S. labor market. In fact, it is rare to find Latinos, Asians, blacks, and other racial/ethnic minorities working in the same occupations. Within and across racial/ethnic groups, men and women are also segregated into different occupations. In their book *Women and Men at Work* (2002), Irene Padavic and Barbara Reskin documented the top occupations in the

year 2000 for men and women belonging to selected racial/ethnic categories. The top occupation for black women was nurses' aide, orderly; for black men it was truck driver. For Hispanic women it was cashier and Hispanic men, truck driver. White women's top occupation was secretary, while white men's was salaried manager/administrator.

The occupations employing white men, white women, and male and female racial/ethnic minorities have different pay levels. Median pay levels in the occupations that employ mainly non-Hispanic whites (henceforth, whites) versus those that employ mainly minorities are significantly different, given their skill levels. According to the 2000 Census Bureau (see Fronczek and Johnson 2003), roughly 36 percent of employed whites and 45 percent of employed Asians work in managerial/professional occupations, where the 2000 median annual pay level was \$42,844. Employed blacks, Hispanics of any race, and Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islanders were concentrated mainly in sales and office occupations where the median annual pay level was just below \$30,000.

Although the causes of racial/ethnic occupational segregation and occupational sex segregation are similar, occupational sex segregation is more prevalent in the United States. In other words, it is less common for women and men to work in the same occupation than it is for whites and minorities to hold the same occupation, mainly because racial/ethnic minorities make up a much smaller share of the labor force than women. The U.S. Department of Labor Bureau speculates that minorities will be 29 percent of the labor force by 2008, but women already comprise over 60 percent of the labor force. So, for example, integrating male minority workers

into occupations dominated by white men is easier than integrating the tens of millions of female labor force participants into male-dominated occupations (see Padavic and Reskin 2002).

### THEORETICAL EXPLANATIONS

Social scientists have put forth a number of theories to explain the persistent occupational segregation of white men, white women, and racial/ethnic minorities. This section reviews some of the major theoretical explanations of occupational segregation. The review begins with supply-side explanations of segregation, or explanations that focus on individuals' behaviors, then moves to demand-side explanations, or those that focus on the behaviors and actions of employers. The theories have related and overlapping components because the ideologies of race and gender are widespread in the U.S. labor market and beyond.

The first set of supply-side theoretical explanations view job seekers' personal choices and incentives as the root cause of occupational segregation. For example, gender-role socialization theory argues that women and men pursue different lines of work because of differences in their childhood socialization (i.e., girls are given dolls and raised to be nurturers; boys are given trucks and taught to be aggressive). Although there is little empirical support for the socialization explanation of occupational sex segregation, it remains a point of debate among researchers.

Human capital theory is another supply-side explanation of occupational sex segregation. According to this theory, women are more oriented toward family than men, so they seek lower levels of education, training, and work experience than men. Consequently, women and men are not as prepared for the same occupations. The education gap between employed women and men is closing, but they tend to major in different subjects and men have more job training and work experience, on average, than women. Many researchers view these differences as a function of demand-side factors rather than women's choice (see Padavic and Reskin 2002).

Supply-side theories look to somewhat different prelabor market forces to explain occupational racial/ethnic segregation. Supply-side theorists argue that discriminatory practices outside the labor market lead to racial residential segregation. As a result of residential segregation, whites and minorities have access to different schools. Because of the higher concentration of poverty among minorities, their neighborhood schools are not as well funded as the schools whites attend, so minorities enter the labor force with fewer job-related skills and lower quality education, on average, than whites. Consequently, minorities and whites are qualified for and hired into different occupations.

Even if their skills are similar, because of race-based stereotypes employers may perceive that whites have higher education levels, more job-related skills, and more work experience than racial/ethnic minorities. Phillip Moss and Charles Tilly's interviews with urban employers, reported in their 2001 book *Stories Employers Tell: Race, Skill, and Hiring in America*, revealed that employers tend to stereotype racial/ethnic minorities (especially black men) as lacking "soft skills," that is, nontechnical job skills such as friendliness, self-motivation, and responsibility. Almost half of the employers in their urban sample criticized black workers' soft skills and technical skills (i.e., math ability, reading, writing, computer knowledge), while a smaller share criticized Latinos' and Asians' skills. Despite the real and perceived differences in white and minority job-related skills and education quality, these differences are not enough to explain the segregation of whites and racial/ethnic minorities at work.

A second and related theoretical explanation blames employers' intentional racial and gender biases for occupational segregation. Some employers stereotype women as weak, emotional, and submissive, while they view men as aggressive, decisive, and strong. Thus, they see the sexes as suited to different types of work. Likewise, some scholars have asserted that employers' stereotypes of minority workers channel whites into "good," high-paying occupations and racial/ethnic minorities into poor, low-paying ones. Robert L. Kaufman explained in "Assessing Alternative Perspectives on Race and Sex Employment Segregation" (2002) that employers viewed jobs requiring high skill and authority as "inappropriate" for minority workers but considered jobs with poor working conditions, subservient tasks, low prestige, and low pay as "appropriate" for minorities. Of course, some race stereotypes operate in conjunction with stereotypes of women and men; for example, employers may stereotype black men as dishonest (see William Julius Wilson's 1996 book *When Work Disappears: The World of the New Urban Poor*) and black women as single mothers.

Occupational segregation is not always the result of intentional processes to harm minorities and white women. Nonconscious cognitive processes may also predispose employers to prefer hiring workers who share their race and sex. In the case of occupational race and sex segregation, this means that an Asian female employer may unintentionally favor an Asian female job applicant, perhaps by smiling more at her during the job interview or overlooking small problems on her job application. These nonconscious behaviors increase the likelihood that a job applicant who shares the employer's race and sex will receive a job offer. Since most employers in charge of hiring in U.S. workplaces are white men, these nonconscious preferences mainly benefit white men.

A third theoretical explanation views occupational racial/ethnic and sex segregation as the result of discriminatory employment practices and policies. In one case, policies or rules designed to treat all applicants, regardless of their race or sex, equally can have a different, negative impact on racial/ethnic minorities and white women during the employment process. This phenomenon, known as disparate impact, can lead to occupational segregation. One example of a practice with disparate negative impact on women and racial/ethnic minorities is word-of-mouth recruitment. Although this recruitment practice is not motivated by discriminatory intent and is designed to treat all job applicants the same, because white men dominate most high-paying occupations and people tend to have social ties to others that share their race/ethnicity and sex, this practice systematically excludes women and minority members from white-male-dominated occupations.

Employment policies and rules can differently affect white women and minorities—what scholars refer to as disparate treatment. Disparate treatment occurs when an employer treats a worker or job applicant differently because of his or her race/ethnicity. For example, disparate treatment happens when an employer requires a Latina job applicant to score 50 out of 100 on an employment test to be considered for a job but hires a white female applicant with a score of 25 out of 100. Another example occurs when an employer refuses to hire a mother based on the assumption that as a mother, she is not committed to the labor force. One consequence of policies and practices that have a negative disparate impact or yield disparate treatment of the races and sexes is occupational segregation.

A fourth theoretical explanation, called spatial mismatch, identifies the physical space that separates inner-city (mainly minority) workers from suburban jobs as a contributing factor to the segregation of minority and white workers at work. The theory does not apply to explaining occupational sex segregation because women and men are not segregated outside of the workforce; women and men live in the same neighborhoods and the same households and attend the same schools. Spatial mismatch theory argues that racial/ethnic minority men and women are overrepresented in central cities. Because of the movement of businesses to the suburbs in the 1970s and the closing of urban manufacturing plants, few businesses remain in urban settings, and those that do often pay low wages. Whites, on the other hand, live mainly in suburban areas where businesses with high-paying jobs are plenty. Because transportation to the suburbs from central cities is often unavailable (or expensive) in many U.S. cities, minorities have limited access to good job opportunities and thus have little choice but to take low-paying occupations while whites take high-paying ones in the suburbs.

## POTENTIAL REMEDIES

U.S. workplaces are characterized by the segregation of white men, white women, and racial/ethnic minorities into different occupations. This segregation has negative consequences for minority men and women and white women because the occupations in which they are concentrated pay less, award fewer promotions, offer fewer benefits, and have less authority than occupations filled mainly by white men. A number of factors—many of them overlapping—contribute to occupational segregation. Undoubtedly, race and gender-based stereotypes about the “appropriateness” of jobs for one sex or the other or one race/ethnicity or the other play a role in maintaining occupational segregation. Given the prevalence of residential segregation by race/ethnicity in U.S. cities, the de facto segregation of the races at school, the informal ways employers go about finding potential workers, the continued flow of good jobs out of inner cities, and the difficulty of proving disparate impact and disparate treatment, occupational segregation based on race/ethnicity and sex are likely to be common in workplaces of the future.

Although stereotypical thinking on the part of employers and racial segregation in neighborhoods and schools cannot be entirely eliminated, occupational segregation is not inevitable. Formal workplace policies and rules whose goal is the equal treatment of white women, white men, and minorities at work are necessary for ending occupational segregation. Most notably, employers will have to change the way they recruit workers. The common practice of recruiting job applicants through referrals from current workers (i.e., word-of-mouth recruiting) hurts minorities and white women because most high-paying occupations are dominated by white men, and more often than not, people refer others who share their race and sex. Formalizing the employment process is one way to remove barriers that prevent racial and gender integration at work. For example, companies can establish a race/sex-blind application process by having job applicants submit their job applications on a computer in the first stage of the application process. A race/sex-blind application process minimizes the extent to which employers’ conscious hostility toward one race or sex or preference for workers of another race or sex matter in the employment process. Likewise, companies can establish equal employment offices to both monitor the employment process and help ensure the equal treatment of all applicants, regardless of their race or sex.

Changing the hiring process and establishing a system of oversight are only two small steps employers can take to integrate occupations. Cities can implement policies to integrate neighborhoods, design strategies to racially integrate public schools, and offer tax incentives for businesses with high-paying jobs to locate in neighborhoods predominated

by racial/ethnic minorities. Communities can provide job training for workers interested in lines of work dominated by the opposite sex. Workplaces can subsidize childcare to help parents, especially women, remain in the labor force. As the nation's workforce continues to diversify along racial and ethnic lines and women continue to comprise a large share of the labor force, all workers will benefit from integrated workplaces.

**SEE ALSO** *Education, Racial Disparities; Labor Market; Racial Desegregation (U.S.); Sexism; Underemployment.*

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## **OLYMPIC GAMES OF 1904**

The 1904 Olympic Games were held in St. Louis, Missouri, as an adjunct to a world's fair, the Louisiana Purchase International Exposition, usually called the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. The fair titularly celebrated the centennial of Thomas Jefferson's purchase of the Louisiana territory from the French, although that had occurred in 1803. The fair was originally scheduled for 1903, but plans could not be finished in time, so it was moved ahead to 1904. The Olympics themselves were less than memorable. With the 1900 Olympics, they have been termed "the farcical Olympics."

The 1904 Olympic Games were originally awarded by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) to Chicago. But James Sullivan, president of the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU), planned to hold competing sporting events during the world's fair. Chicago did not have the money that the fair organizers did, and people there

realized that athletes would choose between the two, and likely compete in St. Louis. Eventually, Chicago capitulated and ceded its rights to the Olympics to St. Louis.

Sullivan was then put in charge of organizing the Olympic Program. He planned a huge program that lasted from early July until late-November of 1904. Sullivan considered everything that was contested during the world's fair as part of the Olympics. It is noted in the *Official Guide to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition*, "By a decision of the International Olympic Committee all sports and competitions during the World's Fair are designated as Olympic events, with the exception of competitions for the championships of local associations" (p. 138). It is more likely that this was a decision made by Sullivan, as he had little consultation with the IOC in 1904. He has left a quagmire for Olympic historians, who still debate which events should be considered Olympic in 1904.

Former Missouri governor David Francis ran the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. Francis and the director of exhibits, Frederick Skiff, planned the exhibits to demonstrate man and his works, emphasizing education, with the exhibits separated into twelve categories. The pertinent ones to the study of race were Section 10 on Anthropology and Section 12 on Physical Culture. The Olympic Games were considered a part of Section 12.

The exhibits at the 1904 fair were designed to demonstrate the progress of humanity from barbarism to the pinnacle of Anglo-Saxon civilization, and this was exemplified by a series of historical and anthropological exhibits contrasting various races and peoples. Emphasizing this, there were American Indian exhibits and exhibits of Philippine natives both of which contrasted modern civilization against the relative barbaric cultures of those two groups at that time.

The Louisiana Purchase Exposition opened on Saturday, April 30, and drew an estimated crowd of 200,000 on the first day. There were over 540 amusements and concessions, mostly located around the main thoroughfare, the Pike. The Pike featured "Cliff Dwellers, Zuni tribes, and Moku Indians who had never been shown before." Sections of the Pike demonstrated "Mysterious Asians with camel rides along its winding streets, and the Geisha Girls entertaining visitors to Fair Japan" (Mallon 1999, p. 10).

The 1904 Olympic Games took place primarily on the campus of Washington University, with the one-third mile track and its accompanying stadium having been specially built for the occasion. Alongside the track was a new building containing a gymnasium and locker rooms, which was then state-of-the-art for physical culture. The building and stadium still exist today.

The Olympic Games can be considered to have opened on July 1, with a series of gymnastic events. But on May 14, Sullivan staged the Missouri State High School Meet at the Olympic Stadium. He called it the



**George Poage, 1904.** University of Wisconsin athlete George Poage won the bronze medal in the 200- and 400-meter hurdles at the 1904 Olympic Games. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

Olympic Interscholastic Meet and a small opening ceremony preceded it.

The track and field athletic events were considered the showcase of the Olympic Games and were held from August 29 until September 3. It was one of the few Olympic sports in 1904 that had a true international flavor, as 117 athletes from ten nations competed.

It is often written that George Poage of the University of Wisconsin and the Milwaukee Athletic Club was the first person of African descent to win an Olympic medal, at the 1904 Games. This is incorrect. In 1900, a French team won a medal in rugby football, and one of the players was Constantin Henriquez de Zubiera, an Algerian doctor who played for the French team.

But Poage competed in the 200-meter hurdles, the 400-meter hurdles, and the 400-meter race at the 1904 Olympic Games. He won a bronze medal in both hurdles events and finished sixth in the 400. His 400-meter hurdle bronze came on August 31 and this is the “first medal” to which many writers have alluded. However, there are further documentary problems with the simple assertion that he was the first black Olympic medalist. On that same day, Joseph Stadler of the Cleveland Athletic Club, an African American, competed in the standing high jump, and won a silver medal.

Perhaps more ironic was the presence of the first black African competitors in the Olympic Games. In the marathon, two runners represented South Africa.

They had been workers at the South African exhibit during the world’s fair. They had been dispatch runners during the recent Boer War and were noted to be “the fleetest in the service.” They have been listed in most record books as Lentauw and Yamasani, but Professor Floris van der Merwe (University of Stellenbosch) has found that they were Tsuana Tribesmen named Len Taw and Jan Mashiani. They both finished the marathon, Taw in ninth place and Mashiani in twelfth.

#### ANTHROPOLOGY DAYS

More important to any study of race and racism may be the so-called Anthropology Days that were held as a sideshow to the Olympic Games on August 12 and 13. These were a series of events open to minority, aboriginal, or native people from various lands who were present at the Physical Culture exhibits of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. Among the tribes that competed were Pygmies, Patagonians, Filipinos, Native American Indian tribes, Japanese Ainus, and certain Asian tribes. The events included throwing bolos, mud fighting, and climbing a greased pole.

Sullivan later wrote of the rationale for the Anthropology Days by commenting that he had several conferences with William John McGee, chief of the department of anthropology for the Fair, related to the athletic abilities of many of the foreign tribes that were being exhibited at the Fair. McGee described startling rumors pertaining to the speed, stamina, and strength of many of the athletes at the exhibits and he and Sullivan decided to set up a two-day athletic meet for them.

McGee was well-qualified for his position. He was at the time the president of the American Anthropological Association. From 1893 to 1903 he had been ethnologist in charge of the government Bureau of American Ethnology, resigning only to assume duties as chief of the department of anthropology for the World’s Fair.

Reflecting the mores of the time, Sullivan and McGee planned the Anthropology Days for August, “so that the many physical directors and gentlemen interested in scientific work could be present and benefit by the demonstrations” (Mallon 1999, p. 205). In fact, reading Sullivan’s rationale for the Anthropology Days, it is apparent that this was intended to be a scientific study of the athletic abilities of the “savages.” Interestingly, one of the spectators for the contests was the Apache chief Geronimo (1829–1909).

In addition to the so-called aboriginal events described above, several standard athletics events were contested: 100-yard run, shot put, 440-yard run, broad jump, high-hurdle race, one-mile run, and the weight throw event. In most cases, the events were separated into heats, or perhaps one could more accurately say, segregated. As an example, in the 100-yard run there





**Anthropology Days, World's Fair, 1904.** A member of the Pygmy tribe competes in the archery contest. The so-called Anthropology Days were held as a sideshow to the 1904 Olympic Games. © IOC/OLYMPIC MUSEUM COLLECTIONS.

were sections for Africans, Lanao Moros (Filipinos), Patagonians, Asians (Syrians from Beirut), Native Americans of the Cocopah tribe, and Native American Sioux. There were no finals, in which the winners of the heats would have competed against each other.

The results were the opposite of the rumored superb athletic abilities of the various tribes. In fact, the athletes performed very poorly. In most cases, this was attributed to the fact that the events were strange and unnatural to them, and not ones that they usually practiced. Sullivan noted of the running events, "With eight or ten men on the mark it was a pretty hard thing to explain to them to run when the pistol was fired. In running their heats, when coming to the finish tape, instead of breasting it or running through, many would stop and others run under it" (Mallon 1999, p. 209). Sullivan eventually concluded:

It may have been a mistake in not having another day, when perhaps, the different interpreters could have explained to the savages more about

what was expected of them, but nevertheless, the 'Anthropology Days' were most successful and interesting, and ones that scientific men will refer to for many years to come. It taught a great lesson. Lecturers and authors will in the future please omit all reference to the natural athletic ability of the savage, unless they can substantiate their alleged feats. (Mallon 1999, p. 209)

John Wesley Hanson's full report on the World's Fair contained a chapter on the Department of Anthropology entitled "The Study of Mankind." In it he noted, "The special object of the Department of Anthropology was to show each half of the world how the other half lives, and thereby to promote not only knowledge but also peace and good will among the nations; for it is the lesson of experience that personal contact is the best solvent of enmity and distrust between persons and peoples" (Hanson 1904, p. 265). The chapter had subsections on "Central African Pygmies," "Tehuelche Giants of Patagonia," "Northern Japanese Ainus," and several sections on Native American Indians. Interestingly, that report contains not one word on the Olympic Games.

The *Guide to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition* noted: "The Ethnological exhibit includes representatives of 23 Indian tribes, a family of nine Ainus, the Aborigines of Japan, seven Patagonian giants, and many other strange people, all housed in their peculiar dwellings, such as the wigwam, tepee, earth-lodge, toldo, or tent. Among the strangest people assembled are the Batwa pygmies from Central Africa. The various Filipino tribes constitute a complete anthropological display in themselves" (Lowenstein 1904, p. 92).

The 1904 Olympic Games are considered to have ended on November 23, at the finish of an Olympic football (soccer) tournament, won by a Canadian team from Galt, Ontario. But numerous non-Olympic sporting events were contested during the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, including a series of American football exhibition games held from September through November. The last sporting event contested during the 1904 World's Fair was such a football game, played appropriately enough by two schools devoted to training Native Americans, the Carlisle Indian School and the Haskell Indian School. Carlisle, which would later train the redoubtable Jim Thorpe, won the game, 38–4.

The founder of the modern Olympic Movement, Baron Pierre de Coubertin, was not present in St. Louis. He was only informed of the happenings there by the Hungarian International Olympic Committee member, Ferenc Kémény, who did attend and wrote de Coubertin, "I was not only present at a sporting contest but also at a fair where there were sports, where there was cheating, where monsters were exhibited for a joke." Later writing of the Anthropology Days, Coubertin presciently said, "As

for that outrageous charade, it will of course lose its appeal when black men, red men, and yellow men learn to run, jump, and throw, and leave the white men behind them” (Coubertin 1931, p. 79).

Thus in many ways, the 1904 Olympic Games are important to the early study of race and racism at the Olympic Games. They saw the first American blacks win medals. They saw the first South African competitors who, pre-dating the days of apartheid, were also black men. But most importantly, they were the only Olympic Games at which aboriginal and native peoples were paraded about on exhibition and exposed to ridicule under the guise of a scientific study.

SEE ALSO *Olympic Games of 1936; Track and Field.*

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## OLYMPIC GAMES OF 1936

Commonly referred to as the “Nazi Olympics” (Mandell 1971, Krüger and Murray 2003, Rippon 2006), the Olympic Games of 1936 in Berlin changed the Olympic movement in scope and political awareness. As an “Aryan” festival it dem-

onstrated German superiority, yet the star of the Nazi Olympics was Jesse Owens, the African American sprinter who won four Olympic Gold medals. The Nazi Olympics highlighted race relations in sports on a world scale.

Organized since 1896, the Olympic Summer Games had become ever more important, developing into the focal point of amateur sports and its specialized press worldwide (Young and Wamsley 2005). Every four years the Olympic Games drew the attention of the sports world. With more than 4,000 athletes from forty-nine nations, participation in Berlin in 1936 was one-third larger than ever before. The games were attended by 3.77 million spectators, more than three times the previous record set at the Los Angeles Olympics of 1932. More spectators attended the opening ceremony of the 1936 Olympic Winter Games in Garmisch-Partenkirchen than had attended all events at the 1932 Winter Games in Lake Placid, New York, combined. More than 300 million people on all continents followed the Nazi Olympics over the radio, by far the largest radio audience of any event up to that date. Early television transmitted the Berlin Olympics into the center of town and brought even more people into contact with the games.

When the young French educator Pierre de Coubertin (1863–1937) revived the Olympic Games, he had the ancient Greek Olympic Games (776 BCE–393 CE) in mind and was looking for a sporting event that would bring the best youth together in something like a world exhibition of sports. Early Olympic Games were therefore often staged as sideshows of world exhibits. Coubertin, having a paternalistic attitude toward Africans, never questioned the superiority of the “white” race. The 1904 Olympic Games in St. Louis, Missouri, even contained Anthropological Days in which “natives” were to demonstrate their “sports” and prove white physical superiority.

The Olympic Games of 1936 had been granted to Germany in 1931, and everyone would have been happy with the grandiose staging of the games had the liberal German government persisted. In 1933, however, the National Socialist Party (NSDAP), the Nazis, with its long history of fundamental racism, came to power in Germany. The Nazis had previously questioned the legitimacy of such international events as the Olympics, as so noble a sporting event should be for “whites” only. After all, the ancient Greek Olympics had been one of the key features of the cradle of “Aryan” civilization. Now that the Nazis had the chance to organize the games themselves, they went about it in a far more sophisticated manner to impress world public opinion with their idea of “Aryan” supremacy (Krüger 2004).

#### RACE AND SPORTS AT THE OLYMPICS

Like many French, Coubertin followed the pre-Darwinist racial ideas of Jean-Baptiste Lamarck (1744–1829), who

insisted on the inheritance of acquired characteristics. Physical training and sport were therefore supposed to have direct benefits not only for the generation practicing them but also for their children, who were supposed to become fitter by birth. To be French was, therefore, defined by culture. If people spoke French and soaked up French culture, they and their offspring were supposed to become culturally improved. By contrast, Germany was influenced by Gregor Mendel (1822–1884), whose theory had been developed using peas, but it became the dominant genetic theory for all living beings in the twentieth century. To be German was defined by blood. Just as with a racehorse, a person had to have a long lineage of German blood to be a “pure” German. The Nazis, aware of the German melting pot since the Middle Ages, called themselves “Aryan,” thus claiming a long line of Germanic tradition that went back into Greek antiquity, the cradle of European civilization.

From the very beginning, the modern Olympic Games were a forum for international comparison of national strength, which was interpreted as a sign of national vitality and the dominance of a certain race. The International Olympic Committee (IOC) kept an official medal count to demonstrate the national ranking of nations. At the height of nationalism prior to World War I, Sweden used the Olympics of 1912 to demonstrate the superiority of its system, kicking off an international surge for national superiority at the 1916 Olympics, later canceled because of World War I. The use of sports to demonstrate national superiority was later used by Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, and the communist Soviet Union. In the case of Germany, the demonstration of the superior system went hand in hand with the superior “Aryan” race, as German law started to exclude all non-Germans from the public sphere following the Nazi takeover.

#### RACE AND SPORTS IN GERMANY

Long before the Nazis came to power in Germany, Germans had been used to their government involving itself in areas that elsewhere were the province of the private sphere. This *Sonderweg*, the way in which Germany took a radically different course from other European countries, could be seen in the German interpretation of Social Darwinism: Whereas countries such as Great Britain and the United States saw it as survival of the fittest individual, in Germany it was interpreted as the survival of the fittest race. The selection and preparation of Olympic athletes had been paid for by German governments since 1914 (Krüger 1998) to demonstrate national—that is, racial—superiority in international sport.

The racial ideas of the party were not very consistent before Nazis came to power, as the Nazis had successfully attempted to soak up different kinds of racists in their polit-

ical party. Nazi statements and publications before 1933 and private opinions even of prominent Nazi leaders after 1933 should therefore not be confused with official Nazi policy after the party gained control of the German government.

Privately, African Americans were considered “animals,” and it was regarded as unfair that the American Olympic Committee would field them against human beings. Although Germany had a minute Afro-German minority, particularly in the Rhineland, the prime racial concerns in Germany were Jews and to a much smaller extent Sinti and Roma (Gypsies). Although less than 1 percent of the German population was Jewish according to the census of 1933, faith was not what racists targeted.

German Jews on the whole were well integrated into the mainstream sports movement, although a number of sports clubs in Germany prohibited Jewish membership. The German-Austrian Deutscher Turnerbund, the smallest of the three national gymnastics associations, was even outright anti-Semitic. Only about 20,000 Jews were members of Jewish sports clubs in Germany. There was no separate organization for Sinti and Roma. Because many of them traveled continually from town to town, they were difficult to count (Krüger 2001).

#### PROPAGANDA VALUE OF THE GAMES

During the race riots of early 1933, German clubs, including sports clubs, expelled their Jewish members of long standing. Although the German authorities closed social-democratic and communist sports clubs, Jewish sports clubs were maintained and tripled their membership in the following years, as they absorbed Jews that had been excluded elsewhere. Following the boycott of Jewish shops and the destruction of Jewish property, a worldwide boycott of Germany in cultural matters threatened to include the Olympic Games among its banned events.

At the same time, the newly appointed Nazi propaganda minister, Joseph Goebbels, realized the propaganda value of the games to advertise the “new” Aryan Germany and started to play by the rules of the IOC. The IOC insisted to German authorities that foreign teams could field athletes of any race and that Germany could not exclude any German athlete on the basis of race or creed. Although this was more than the IOC had asked from any previous organizer of the games, the German government accepted the terms in 1933 to avoid losing the games, although a transfer of the games would not have been feasible given the time necessary to stage them successfully.

To capitalize on the Olympic Games, the German government took a threefold approach: (1) the organizing committees for the Summer and for the Winter Games

received full government support and financial backing; (2) sports organizations acquired full government support to select, train, and finance a full range of athletes for all Olympic sports beyond the scope of amateur rules customary at the time; and (3) extensive press and propaganda services were initiated worldwide to spread the word of the “new” Germany.

#### ANTHROPOMETRY TO SELECT GERMAN ATHLETES

Craniology, the exact measurement of the human skull, was first used by Henri de Boulainvilliers (1732), who alleged that there was a link between racial origin, skull shape, and intelligence. Similar connections were alleged in the first half of the twentieth century throughout the international scientific community. Not only did such tests link IQ to racial traits, but athletic ability was also said to be genetically defined. The United States was a particularly fruitful ground for such eugenic measurements, as men and women of a multitude of racial origins were readily available.

The first International Hygiene Exhibition in Dresden in 1911, which led to the establishment of the German Hygiene Museum, provided an avenue for bringing the German notion of “racial hygiene” (a term created by Alfred Ploetz in 1895) to the attention of the majority of the population. It also brought sports into direct contact with racial hygiene, as the various athletic systems competed with each other about which would be best methods to improve the fitness of the nation.

The scientific instruments used to measure the different forms and shapes of the body, formerly applied for craniology, were now used for “scientific racism”; in Dresden they were also introduced to the sports world. Anthropometry was used to measure the outcome of training at Harvard as much as in Berlin. German scientists soon realized, however, that anthropometry could not yet be the basis for talent identification and selection. Only after World War II did young scientists of the German Democratic Republic start to use anthropometric instruments for talent identification on a national scale. During the 1920s and 1930s selection competitions were staged to find athletic talents in any country. Anthropometric measurements were also used to explain the skill of certain nations and races, beginning on an international scale at the 1928 Olympics.

#### QUALIFYING AS AN AFRICAN AMERICAN

African American athletes had taken part in the Olympics since 1904, winning their first gold medal in 1908. To qualify for a spot on the team that was to participate in the 1936 Olympics, Americans had to take part in a final



*Jesse Owens on the Victor's Podium. Owens's tremendous performance at the 1936 Olympics greatly contradicted the Nazi doctrine of Aryan supremacy. AP IMAGES.*

selection meet. To qualify for such a selection meet, the athletes had to do well in regional qualifying meets. Colleges in the American South were segregated in the 1930s. Although there were both white and black colleges, only white athletes could take part in qualifying meets in the South. If, however, the athletes or their college were sufficiently prosperous, they had the right to take part in qualifying meets in the North.

Track and field athletes such as Jesse Owens (born in Alabama) could not participate in many track meets during the college season. Whenever his Ohio State University team traveled south, Owens and other black athletes had to stay home because a northern team did not want to embarrass its southern counterparts. In Berlin in 1936, sixteen African American men and two women were part of the U.S. team, and they won fourteen of the fifty-six American medals.

#### QUALIFYING FOR THE GERMAN TEAM

On September 15, 1936, the Nuremberg Racial Laws were passed, defining what was “Aryan” (“German and racially similar”). Although German racial hygienists had hoped that their theory would get a stamp of approval in

## Operation Gatekeeper

the laws, a Jew was defined culturally and racially to include persons of Jewish ancestry. Anybody who had three Jewish grandparents (no matter whether they or their children had later converted to Christianity) was by definition “Jewish”; a person having two Jewish grandparents, a “half-Jew,” had to be closely inspected. A person of Jewish faith or married to a Jew was considered Jewish; a single person or one married to an Aryan was considered “non-Jewish.” Members of the Nazi Party had to trace their Aryan lineage back to the year 1800, thus showing that their ancestors four generations back had not been Jewish and had converted to Christianity at the earliest convenience.

Although the German government had guaranteed that athletes of Jewish descent could qualify for the German team, they could not. As the Jewish sports clubs were not part of the German Sports Federation, their members, Jewish athletes, could not take part in the German championships—the final selection meet. Gretel Bergmann, one of the best German high jumpers and a potential medal hopeful, was thus deprived of a place on the German team. But the decision was made to include the “half-Jews” (single, of Christian faith) Helene Mayer (foil fencing) and Rudi Ball (ice hockey) on the teams for the Summer and Winter Games as a move to placate international public opinion. Internationally, the token “half-Jews” were taken for Jews, which seemed to demonstrate that Germany played by the rules.

### AN “ARYAN” SHOW?

The Olympic Games were a successful show, demonstrating the German ability to run a gigantic event. Germany won the official medal count, clearly ahead of the United States (89 to 56). Jesse Owens and the other African Americans dominated the speed events in the Olympic stadium and were the darlings of the German crowd. Several American sports organizations had threatened to boycott the Berlin Olympics because of race relations in Germany. For many African Americans athletes this was pure hypocrisy, as they were concerned more about segregation at home than about the exclusion of Jews in Germany at events they did not witness.

During the Olympics German authorities dressed up their public relations façade and took a pause in Jew baiting. For the German stormtroopers it was, however, foreseeable: “Once the Olympics are through—we beat up the Jew” (Krüger 1999).

SEE ALSO *Olympic Games of 1904; Track and Field.*

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## OPERATION GATEKEEPER

Operation Gatekeeper is the name of the U.S. government’s enforcement strategy along the California section of the U.S.-Mexico boundary. Launched by the Clinton administration on October 1, 1994, Gatekeeper is a “territorial denial,” or “prevention through deterrence,” strategy that attempts to thwart migrants and smugglers from entering the United States through the forward deployment of Border Patrol agents and the increased use of surveillance technologies and support infrastructure. (The previous strategy was to apprehend individuals after they crossed the border.) While initially limited to the sixty-six westernmost miles of the boundary (the Border Patrol’s San Diego Sector), the operation eventually spread eastward to cover the entire California-Mexico border.

Operation Gatekeeper was devised as the centerpiece of a much larger national strategy, which has seen the implementation of similar operations across Arizona and Texas. This strategy has resulted in almost a tripling of the

size of the Border Patrol (to approximately 11,000 agents in 2005), and a huge increase in surveillance equipment and enforcement infrastructure, including walls and fences.

The period during which Gatekeeper was first implemented was one of economic recession as well as anti-immigrant bravado by Republican politicians (and many of their Democratic counterparts) eager to curry favor with an increasingly anxious electorate receptive to scapegoating the poor, non-whites, and “illegals.” Both state actors and anti-immigrant groups created a sense of crisis regarding the social, political, and economic consequences of a southern boundary “out of control,” and of what many characterized as excessive levels of immigration. Thus, the early 1990s saw the outbreak of what would soon become a historically unparalleled level of official and public concern about the U.S. government’s ability, or the lack thereof, to police the U.S.-Mexico border and prevent unauthorized, or “illegal,” immigration from Mexico. The geographical epicenter of these concerns and efforts was California, whose southern boundary with Mexico, especially in the area of San Diego, was the gateway for the majority of unauthorized entries into the United States. It was in this context that California voters in November 1994, overwhelmingly approved Proposition 187, which sought to deny public education (from elementary to post-secondary levels), public social services, and public healthcare services (with the exception of emergencies) to unauthorized immigrants. It was in this context that the Clinton administration launched Gatekeeper—in large part to undercut any electoral advantages gained by the Republican championing of Proposition 187 and enhance the election prospects of Democrats (including his own re-election).

While such short-term factors were decisive in Gatekeeper’s implementation, the operation and the larger national strategy are manifestations of much longer-term processes involving what is in many ways a hardening of the social and territorial boundaries between U.S. citizens and those from without—especially “Third World” and nonwhite peoples. Thus, it is not surprising that much of the anti-immigrant sentiment that led to Gatekeeper scapegoated immigrants, especially “illegals,” for a whole host of social ills. And much of this sentiment was clearly racist in terms of its assumptions and notions of what the United States is and should be.

On a structural level, Gatekeeper and the larger border enforcement strategy it represents further institutionalize the social, political, and economic distance between a nationally defined “us” and “them.” In doing so, this strategy strengthens the bases that allow the United States to treat noncitizen “others” (especially of the “illegal” variety) in ways that would be deemed unjust or unfair if applied to U.S. nationals. Given the material consequences

involved in determining where one can live and work in a world of profound socioeconomic inequality, such differential treatment furthers the construction of an unjust global order—one in which socioeconomic differences often correspond to conventional notions of race, and one that many have characterized as apartheid-like.

In terms of Gatekeeper’s direct effects, what is striking about the operation and the larger strategy are their marked failure to reduce unsanctioned immigration. One result of the enhanced boundary strategy has been to push border crossers away from urbanized areas and to curtail short-term and local unauthorized migrants. However, it does not appear to have significantly diminished the crossings by long-distance or long-term migrants. Research has consistently found that migrants have adapted to the new enforcement regime by relying increasingly on professional smugglers and utilizing new and more dangerous routes across the boundary. In addition, these individuals are staying in the United States longer than they might have previously. It has also led to increased human suffering: It is conservatively estimated that more than 3,000 unauthorized migrants died while trying to cross the international divide between 1995 and 2005. Given the vast and harsh terrain of the border region, the real number is undoubtedly higher. Further, despite much-touted efforts by U.S. authorities to address the resulting humanitarian crisis by warning would-be migrants of the dangers of crossing and increasing search-and-rescue missions, the growth of the death toll since 1995 has not slowed.

**SEE ALSO** *Border Crossings and Human Rights; Border Patrol; Citizenship and “the Border”; Immigration to the United States.*

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*Joseph Nevins*

## OPERATION WETBACK

The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) launched Operation Wetback in June and July 1954. It was a massive, coordinated effort involving the U.S. Border

## Operation Wetback

Patrol and local law enforcement agencies to curtail illegal immigration along the U.S.-Mexico border. The term *wet-back*, which came into widespread use in Texas during the late 1940s and early 1950s, was a derogatory term used to describe Mexicans who waded or swam across the Rio Grande River into Texas illegally. In Spanish they were referred to as *espaldas mojadas* (“wet backs”).

The impetus for Operation Wetback stemmed from a tour along the southern border of California by U.S. attorney general Herbert Brownell in 1953. Initially Brownell was not supportive of increased security along the border. However, in April 1953 he was convinced by proponents of immigration reform and control to tour the Southwest border. During his trip to California, he witnessed firsthand the illegal crossing of Mexican workers into the United States. Shortly thereafter Brownell began a two-pronged campaign to bring the border under control. One prong involved the enactment of legislation imposing a penalty on any employer who “knowingly” hired undocumented workers. Brownell also sought increased funding for the understaffed Border Patrol and money with which to construct a 150-mile fence along the California-Mexico border. The other part of his plan was to conduct a massive roundup of illegal immigrants who had crossed the border from Mexico. This part of the plan came to be known as Operation Wetback.

At the urging of Brownell and President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Congress increased funding for the Border Patrol. The congressional response was also influenced by national media coverage of illegal immigration’s growing threat to national security and the American economy. Proponents of immigration control argued that the number of Mexicans entering the United States illegally had increased by 6,000 percent between 1944 and 1954. When the economy took a downturn in the early 1950s, organized labor blamed the widespread use of illegal immigrant workers. Labor leaders argued that undocumented workers deprived American citizens of jobs, lowered wages, and disrupted unionization efforts by serving as strike breakers or “scab” labor. Undocumented immigrants were also accused of increasing crime in border communities, affecting the health of those communities by bringing with them communicable diseases, and of serving as a smokescreen for the infiltration of communists and subversives who crossed into the United States through its “unprotected” southern borders.

In 1952 Congress passed the McCarran-Walter Act, which in part allowed for the deportation of immigrants or naturalized citizens engaged in subversive activities. It also permitted the government to bar suspected subversives from entering the United States. President Harry Truman vetoed the bill, stating that “it would make a mockery of the Bill of Rights.” Congress overrode the president’s veto.

The law, which disproportionately affected Mexican Americans engaged in civil rights struggles, effectively silenced activists and critics of immigration policies.

## SUPPORT FOR IMMIGRATION REFORM

Ideologues were not the only ones who supported immigration reform. President Dwight D. Eisenhower felt a sense of urgency about illegal immigration when he assumed office. He was concerned that powerful grower interests who benefited from illegal immigration had bribed and intimidated federal office holders and enforcement agencies into not enforcing immigration laws. He considered this unethical, and decided he would move against government officials who engaged in this kind of conduct.

Mexican-American civil rights groups supported stricter enforcement of immigration laws as well. Organizations like the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) and the American G.I. Forum believed that undocumented workers had a deleterious effect on Mexican-American farm workers’ employment and earnings. They believed that illegal immigrants impeded assimilation and undermined efforts to achieve civil rights for Mexican Americans. They also held that illegals added to problems of health, crime, and unemployment—all of which reflected poorly on the Mexican-American community.

The popular media’s increased coverage of illegal immigration brought national attention to the problem. Most of the coverage emphasized the lack of enforcement, attributing to illegals the blame for growing rates of crime, illiteracy, ill health, and unemployment in border communities. This media coverage further fueled fears that the uncontrolled influx of “alien hordes” from Mexico had caused the nation to lose control of its own borders.

Mexico, too, joined in the chorus for stricter enforcement. Long criticized by its own citizens for failing to protect Mexicans who had entered the United States illegally, the Mexican government had undertaken measures to dissuade its citizens from emigrating illegally. Critics of illegal emigration in Mexico believed that it represented the loss of valuable and much-needed labor. They chafed at the ill treatment accorded Mexicans, and believed that illegal immigration undermined the Bracero Program, which ostensibly provided contract guarantees to Mexican laborers in terms of wages, housing, and transportation. However, measures by Mexican officials to stem illegal emigration to the United States had proven ineffective. Therefore, Mexico was eager to work with the United States in stopping illegal immigration.

**ENFORCEMENT**

In the years preceding Operation Wetback the Border Patrol's ability to carry out its functions had steadily deteriorated. This was due to inadequate funding, the influence of powerful agribusiness interests in Congress who benefited greatly from a plentiful supply of cheap labor, and from internal problems stemming from poor organization and inadequate officers to patrol the vast border region. Renewed concerns about enforcement resulted in efforts to reorganize the Border Patrol. To lead this process, Eisenhower appointed a former West Point classmate, Joseph Swing, to serve as commissioner of Immigration. Swing immediately reorganized the Border Patrol along military lines. He brought a new look, greater professionalism, and new leadership to the organization. One of the agents who emerged as a new driving force in the Border Patrol was Harlon Carter, who initially laid out the plan for what became known as Operation Wetback.

It was Carter who proposed the creation of mobile task forces. These task forces would bring concentrated numbers of agents and equipment to designated areas to carry out sweeps to round up "illegal aliens" and transport them back to Mexico. Each operation was preceded by a massive publicity campaign designed to alert citizens and "aliens" alike of the impending roundup. The idea was that such a media blitz would cause illegals to flee across the border before the sweep began. Staging areas along the U.S.-Mexico border were established. To discourage immediate reentry by those captured in the sweeps, arrangements were made with the Mexican government to transport the deportees on trains to the interior parts of Mexico.

The first phase of Operation Wetback began in California in May 1954. As planned, a media campaign was launched announcing the intended sweep by the U.S. Border Patrol and local agencies. The media blitz, probably the most important factor in the success of the campaign, made it sound as if a veritable army of Border Patrol agents was being assembled to conduct the sweep. In truth, the task force consisted of about 800 agents. Nonetheless, the announcements created fear and uncertainty in Mexican communities throughout California. People still recalled the deportation drives in the early 1930s, when citizens and noncitizens alike were sent back to Mexico. Local observers reported that they witnessed large numbers of Mexicans leaving the United States.

On June 10, Border Patrol agents launched the opening phase of the operation. The raids targeted local businesses, parks, recreation centers, and any other places that were known to attract undocumented workers, according to information provided by local authorities. The sweeps served as a clear reminder to Mexicans and Mexican Amer-

icans of their precarious status in the United States. Mexicans apprehended in this initial sweep were placed on buses and driven to staging areas, where they awaited transportation on Mexican trains into the interior. On June 17, the Special Mobile Task Force shifted its operation to agricultural areas in California and Arizona because of the significant decline in apprehensions in the urban areas.

Mexican border cities, completely unprepared to handle the large influx of refugees, found themselves inundated by those fleeing the sweeps. They lacked the facilities to house, feed, and care for the number of people who poured into their communities. To make matters worse, there were delays in getting enough rail cars for the trains to transport people into Mexico's interior.

By the end of June the number of undocumented Mexicans picked up by the mobile task force had declined significantly. Border Patrol leadership decided to continue mop-up activities on a smaller scale in California, and to begin the second phase of the operation in Texas. That phase began in July 1954. Whereas in California growers and proponents of immigration control had widely supported the roundup of undocumented workers, the Border Patrol faced a far different situation in Texas.

In 1948 Mexico had blacklisted Texas growers from the use of braceros because of their blatant disregard of the contract agreement. Texas growers, who cared little for the requirements imposed on them by the Bracero Program, preferred to use illegal labor. They resisted all attempts at enforcement and federal interference. Many growers and the communities that depended on them viewed the Border Patrol as an "army of occupation" and made many of the agents feel unwelcome in the districts to which they were assigned. When news of Operation Wetback reached Texas, agricultural interests launched a full-scale attack on the plan. Herbert Brownell visited the Rio Grande region to gain their cooperation, and that of the Mexican-American community. He assured growers and local leaders that there would be plenty of affordable labor available to them. His words fell on deaf ears. The Border Patrol and the INS received little support from the growers for their campaign. They did, however, have the support of groups like LULAC and the American G.I. Forum.

Despite the widespread resentment and lack of cooperation, the Border Patrol began operations in the Rio Grande region. Again the operation was preceded by a publicity campaign that caused an unknown number of Mexicans to flee across the border. The actual sweeps began on July 15 and continued until the end of the month. The initial sweep netted the Border Patrol about 4,000 apprehensions. Thereafter apprehensions fell off to about 1,100 per day. Again, those apprehended were placed on buses and taken across the border into Mexico.



Others were placed on board two ships, the *S.S. Emancipación* and *S.S. Mercurio*, and transported to the port of Vera Cruz. The total number of Mexicans who left South Texas as a result of the drive and the attendant publicity was estimated at between 500,000 and 700,000 by the Border Patrol. The INS proclaimed the operation a great success, but not everyone applauded it. Critics, including Mexican-American civil rights activists, described Operation Wetback as heartless and xenophobic.

The campaign ended in mid-September 1954, both because the drive had pretty well exhausted the funding for the operation and mid-September marked the end of the growing season. Therefore the reduction in employment opportunities, the drive, and the attendant publicity campaign all served to discourage illegal entry at this time. According to the INS the entire campaign had resulted in the departure of more than 1.3 million undocumented Mexicans from the country through deportation, repatriation, or voluntary departures spurred by publicity of the impending roundup. There was, however, no way to prove the accuracy of these estimates.

Meanwhile, attempts at enacting legislation designed to curb illegal immigration by imposing fines and imprisonment on employers foundered in Congress. Instead Congress voted increased appropriations for the INS to control the influx of undocumented workers from Mexico as a way of mollifying those who wanted employer sanctions.

**SEE ALSO** *Border Patrol; Braceros, Repatriation, and Seasonal Workers.*

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## **ORGANISATION ARMÉE SECRÈTE (SECRET ARMY ORGANIZATION)**

In January 1961, after more than six years of war, a popular referendum held by the government of France showed that extending the right of self-determination to the French colony of Algeria was favored by 75 percent of voters in both France and Algeria, but by only a small minority of *colons* (French colonists). The following month a group of *colons* created the *Organisation armée secrète* (OAS, or Secret Army Organization) determined to use all means necessary, including the most violent, to prevent the government of President Charles de Gaulle from granting Algeria independence.

The emergence of the OAS and its extremism represented the culmination of a roughly three-year process during which elements of the officer corps and *colons* turned increasingly against a government they believed was inept at protecting European rights and fighting the *Front de libération nationale* (FLN), the dominant revolutionary coalition in Algeria. In 1958, the military, led by Commanding General Raoul Salan, received a government reprimand for killing scores of civilians in the unauthorized February bombing of Sakiet, a western Tunisian town harboring FLN fighters. *Colon* riots in May of that year triggered the collapse of the Fourth Republic and the return of the World War II hero Charles de Gaulle to the presidency. Even though a great patriot, de Gaulle increasingly recognized the determination of the FLN to maintain the struggle for independence. Subjected to growing domestic and international pressure, he moved away from strategies of repression and toward proposals for reconciliation, including the integration of racially excluded Muslim Algerians into the colonial system, followed by self-determination. By the fall of 1959, angry *colons* had created the *Front national français*, whose leaders set up barricades in the heart of Algiers in January 1960 and fired at police while the army looked on. In the fall of 1960, many officers joined them in creating the *Front de l'Algérie française*, which almost succeeded in driving the governor general out of office before it was defeated and dissolved in January 1961.

The OAS took its place the next month. Key leaders were *colon* activists Jean-Jacques Susini and Pierre Lagailarde who were joined on the military side by former commanding general Raoul Salan, General Marie-André Zeller, General Edmond Jouhaud, and the newly retired general Maurice Challe, who had been appointed by de Gaulle to replace the intransigent Salan in 1958. Challe agreed to coordinate a military putsch in Algiers that was launched on April 21, 1961. Using a Foreign Legion parachute regiment as its main instrument, the

OAS seized control of all key governmental, communications, and security facilities in Algiers and detained many officials, including the commanding general and governor general. Unfortunately, the movement had mobilized less effectively outside the capital city. After a stirring appeal by de Gaulle to the troops for loyalty, the putsch was defeated four days later. Challe surrendered, and hundreds of other insurgents were arrested or fled into hiding. Although the coup failed, the movement survived and spread underground. There were attempts to undermine government authority through bombings and targeted assassinations of officials, leftists, liberal intellectuals, and prominent Muslim leaders. As negotiations with Algerian emissaries proceeded at Evian, in eastern France, the organization switched to a campaign of terror against Muslims in general. Finally, after France agreed to independence, they reverted to a policy of massive destruction of Algerian infrastructure. On June 17, 1962, just two and a half weeks before Algeria received its independence, the OAS and the FLN signed a cease-fire.

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## ORIENTALISM

Orientalism refers to a system of beliefs and practices through which Europeans and Americans have viewed and represented the Middle East and Asia, often in unfavorable and subordinate terms. According to Edward Said, the author of the influential and controversial book *Orientalism*, published in 1978, the discourse of Orientalism is predicated on an imagined divide between “the Occident” and “the Orient”—or “the West” versus “the Rest.” He theorized that the Orient had been constructed and appropriated as a projection of Western desire in an effort to mask the power abuses of imperialism and colonialism. He defined Orientalism as follows:

The corporate institution for dealing with the Orient—dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient. (Said 1978, p. 2–3)

Early Orientalists constructed a monolithic notion of the Middle East and Asia as a single region characterized as timeless, sensuous, decadent, backwards, and feminized. These views of a despotic Orient were instrumental in rationalizing imperialism and colonialism, and they continue to influence contemporary political and cultural perspectives.

Said identified two basic forms of Orientalism—latent and manifest. Latent Orientalism refers to unquestioned beliefs characterizing the Orient as lazy, backwards, sensuous, passive, and inherently different. Manifest Orientalism refers to actions based on latent Orientalism, such as writing, teaching, cultural interchange, and policy enactment (Said 1978, p. 206.) Orientalism has been expressed in both positive and negative depictions, but, according to Said, unequal power relations are implicated either way. In different historical moments and contexts, Orientalism has taken a variety of forms, such as the racialization of *Orientalists*, the exoticism and essentialism of Oriental people and cultural practices, eroticizing Oriental women while emasculating Oriental men, the gendering of civilizations, commodification and consumption, primitivism and demonization, and institutionalized racism. Orientalist cultural productions are inherently political because they originate in unequal power relations. In other words, the amassing of Western knowledge of the East is inextricable from Western power over the east.

#### HISTORY

Orientalism emerged from and evolved in relation to historical and political contexts, and it has transitioned between positive and negative perceptions depending on political circumstances. It is generally believed that the first *Orientalists* were nineteenth-century scholars who translated the writing of the Orient into European languages. Along with travel writers and artists, these scholars contributed greatly to the dissemination of Orientalist views to the public. However, Zachary Lockman, the director of the Center for Near Eastern Studies in New York, argues that Orientalism has a much longer history that can be extended back beyond the eleventh century. As a result of the Crusades, transcontinental trade, and increased travel, a concept of the West as a conglomerate, distinctive, and superior civilization developed. Orientalism was instituted as a field of scholarly inquiry in relation to the Ottoman Empire during the Renaissance.

With European exploration and the rise of European global hegemony beginning in the fifteenth century, Orientalism took a different turn. European empire was bolstered by notions of cultural evolution that characterized the Orient as degenerate and Europe as the beacon of civilization. The result of these interactions was that,

## *Orientalism*

by the eighteenth century, a large body of literature on the Orient had already been amassed. In the nineteenth century, Orientalism would be inextricably bound up with the mechanisms of empire.

Nineteenth-century Orientalists produced an astonishing array of texts and images, among them linguistic studies and translations, as well as histories and artistic images representing the Orient in ways that accorded with social and racial ideologies popular at the time. Alongside scholarly and artistic renderings of the East, the Orient was represented in home décor, fashion, popular literature, and music.

### DEBATES

A number of scholars have debated the premises and limitations of Said's *Orientalism*. Initially, Orientalist scholars defended their turf against what they perceived to be accusations that they were complicit in the subordination and manipulation of the people they studied. Some scholars criticized Said's limited focus on French and English Orientalists, and they claimed his work was overly reliant on literary texts as a reflection of dominant cultural ideology. Said was accused of having participated in the same binary between Orient and Occident that he was critiquing, constructing the West as not only monolithic, but also as having the supreme power to misrepresent and dominate "the Rest." Other critics have objected to a perceived implication that there is no objective truth about the non-Western world, and they have found Said's views too cohesive to take into account the particularities of history and region. Some have also objected to his omission of non-Western writers, colonial resistances, and gender issues, arguing that without the inclusion of non-Western voices and accounts of resistances, all agency is relegated to the Western power structure that is being critiqued. As a result of these critiques, Said qualified and expanded his original views on more than one occasion, amending them to say that he did not believe that all representations are misrepresentations, and to encompass resistance and align himself with some anticolonial protests.

### APPLICATIONS

Since the publication of *Orientalism*, Said's scholarship, which applied the theories of the French philosopher Michel Foucault (1926–1984) to representations of the Middle East, have been variously applied and expanded. Many scholars have applied his theory to views of Asia and Asians. Critiques of Orientalism have also taken on unique forms within the parameters of American multiculturalism, perhaps because of their resonance with American discourses of race. In *New York before Chinatown* (1999), John Kuo Wei Tchen limits his study to

American Orientalism toward the Chinese between 1776 and 1882. He identifies three types and phases of American Orientalism—patrician, popular, and political—which correlate to American early contact and trade with China and the immigration of Chinese to America. According to Tchen, patrician Orientalism was characterized by an admiration for the products and institutions of China; popular Orientalism involved the commodification and popularization of *Chinese-ness* (such as the career of Chang and Eng, the Siamese twins); and political Orientalism was characterized by a view of the Chinese as a racially inferior social and national pollutant (the "Yellow Peril"). Increasingly negative views of the Chinese paralleled perceptions of them as an increased presence and were exacerbated by the application of racial stereotypes that had been honed on blacks. In *Orientalism* (1999), Robert Lee explores the role of representations of the Chinese in American popular culture genres, such as music and yellowface performances, in engendering stereotypes.

Orientalism manifests in a variety of venues, so its critiques span disciplinary boundaries. For example, Mari Yoshihara examines a variety of ways in which white American women of the nineteenth century empowered themselves through Orientalism in the forms of household decoration, fashion, art, and cultural expertise, which allowed them to escape prescribed gender roles by appropriating the goods, labor, or knowledge of Orientals. Yayoi Everett and Frederick Lau analyze appropriations of Oriental sounds into Western art music, and Gina Marchetti examines Orientalism in film representations. Other studies cover a broad range of focuses (e.g., travel literature, popular culture, history, and the body) and employ a variety of methodologies; however, they share a common denominator in their implicit or explicit relationship to Said's construction of Orientalism as a foundational concept. In some cases, new limitations have appeared as the result of new theoretical applications. For example, in many cases, Said's theory has been applied exclusively to Asians and Asian Americans, and Sadik Jalal al 'Azm has suggested that *Orientalism* provided avenues of privilege for those who can construct a history of oppression based on its premises (Lockman 2004, p. 201).

Although Said has been criticized for an avoidance of the overtly political in favor of politicizing the cultural, his views have been applied directly to politics by some thinkers. John Dower, in *Embracing Defeat* (1999), looks at Orientalist representations as instrumental to demonizing the Japanese during World War II, and Cristina Klein, in *Cold War Orientalism* (2003), analyzes how cultural productions during the cold war era were instrumental in creating a narrative of cultural integration. In

*Epic Encounters*, Melani McAlister updates Orientalist views of the Arab world to illustrate how Orientalist representations have influenced views on U.S. relations with nations in the Persian Gulf region. Zachery Lockman, meanwhile, traces the history and politics of Orientalism in relation in that region in *Contending Visions of the Middle East* (2004).

While Lockman points out that Said was not the first scholar to critique Orientalist practices, critical theory on Orientalism has become inextricably linked to his work. That the critiques of Orientalism have proliferated and expanded is evidence of the continued practice of Orientalism in new forms. Said’s work has served as a point of departure for a new generation of scholars, many of them non-Western and indigenous scholars speaking from a postcolonial perspective. These individuals have expanded the discourse by pointing out its limitations. Meanwhile, as the United States has expanded its military presence in the Middle East, discussions of Orientalism’s political ramifications have been reinvigorated.

SEE ALSO *Institutional Racism; Racial Formations; Scientific Racism, History of.*

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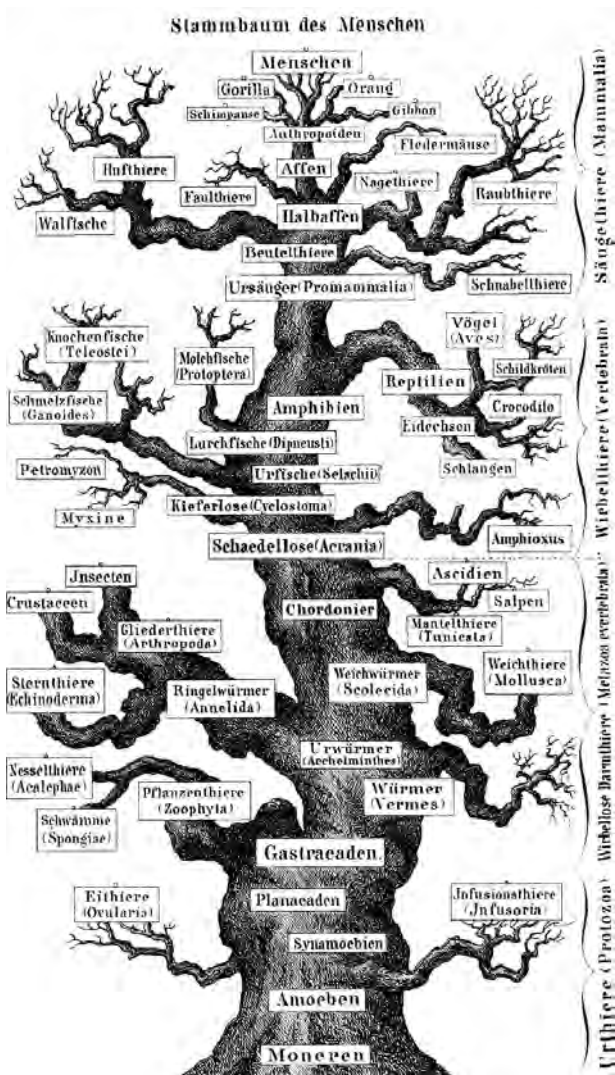
Heather A. Diamond

## “OUT OF AFRICA” HYPOTHESIS

The “Out of Africa” hypothesis is an evolutionary theory of modern human origin that posits that modern humans arose in the late Pleistocene, about 100,000–200,000 years ago, in Africa. There are different versions of “Out of Africa,” but its major tenet is that modern humans originated as a discrete population or species that rapidly expanded and replaced archaic humans that were indigenous to other parts of the Old World: *Homo erectus* (or its descendents) in East and South Asia, and Neanderthals in Europe. In the most common version of Out of Africa, modern humans are considered a new species, with negligible gene-flow (mating) between the migrating African people and the indigenous archaic groups. Therefore, the Out of Africa hypothesis, as it is most generally understood, posits that the African population is the unique Pleistocene ancestor of all living humans. The other groups of archaic humans essentially died out and became evolutionary dead ends.

The Out of Africa hypothesis gained rapid acceptance in the late 1980s, with pioneering analyses of mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA), which revealed very low mean nucleotide variation between the mtDNA of individuals from diverse populations (Cann, Stoneking, and Wilson 1987). This suggested that the species was young, since one interpretation of low levels of variation is that there was a genetic bottleneck in the recent past, such as would occur at speciation, and little time since then for subsequent variation to accrue. Moreover, the fact that more variation occurred in African groups suggested Africa as the source. The Out of Africa, or mitochondrial “Eve Theory” as it is also known, has been promoted as underscoring the close relationship between all living humans, and the theory therefore gained ascendancy for sociopolitical reasons as well as scientific ones (Gould 1988).

*“Out of Africa” Hypothesis*



**Figure 1.** Evolutionary tree depicting the place of humans in the tree of life. The small branches under Menschen depict the independent evolution of various species. While tree models are appropriate for understanding the relationships between species, they do not accurately depict the relationships between interbreeding populations. However, they continue to be commonly used to depict relationships between human populations. FROM HAECKEL, E. 1884.

**DEVELOPMENT OF THE HYPOTHESIS**

The Out of Africa hypothesis is sometimes dubbed “Out of Africa 2” because it is not the first migration of *Homo* out of Africa. It is well accepted that the hominid lineage (the unique human lineage since divergence from the last common ancestor with chimpanzees) evolved in Africa, and for two-thirds of its 6-million-year history was an exclusively African clade. However, at the beginning of the Pleistocene 1.8 million years ago, soon after the emergence of the genus, *Homo*, hominids are found out-

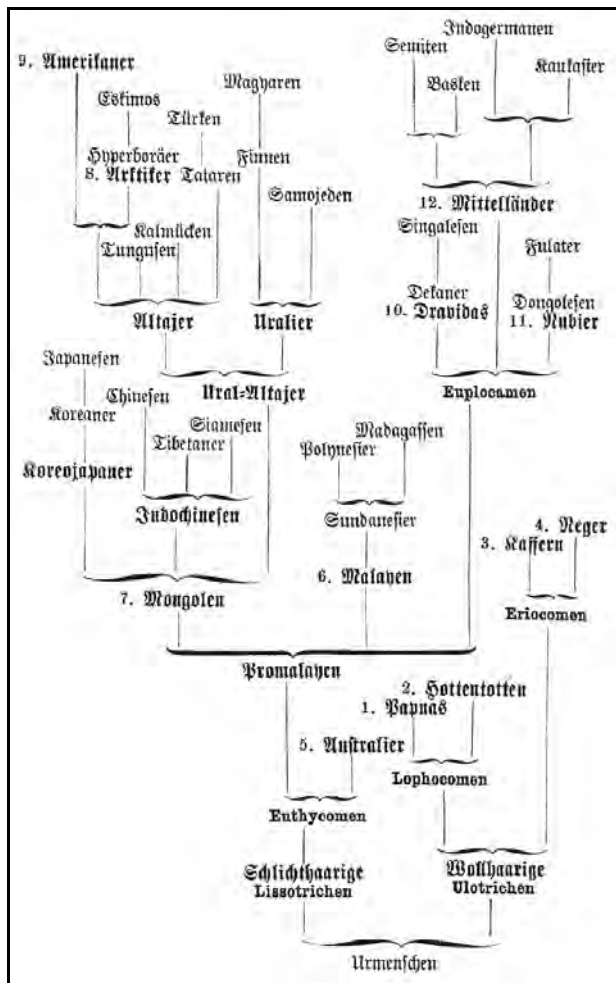
side of Africa. These archaic *Homo* populations expanded from Africa to parts of Eurasia in the early Pleistocene, and subsequent populations were able to adapt to more temperate, colder, and even glacial environments in the Ice Ages. The question that the Out of Africa hypothesis addresses concerns the emergence of *modern* humans: Do modern human beings represent a new species that arose in Africa recently (in the last 200,000 years) and that replaced the earlier migrants?

Throughout the nineteenth and much of the twentieth centuries, the question of modern human origin was subsumed into the context of the “origin of races” (Howells 1942). Racial thinking dominated the science of human variation; the human species was thought to be composed of a number of discrete types of people (“races”) who had separate origins (Stanton 1960), and after the rise of Darwinian thinking, separate evolutionary histories (Figure 1). These separate evolutionary histories were envisioned and depicted as nonreticulating (nonrecombining) branches of phylogenetic trees (Brace 1981). Workers differed on the number and constituents of different racial groups and when in the past they shared a common ancestor, but the “tree” model of human variation, implicit in the race concept, generally prevailed (Caspari 2003). Many workers believed in a few (three to five) primary races (such as Africans, Europeans, and Asians), and then multiple “secondary” and “tertiary” races, all of which could be represented as branches, or twigs, on an evolutionary tree (Coon, Garn, and Birdsell 1950).

Tree models are unrealistic representations of the relationships between human populations because they fail to represent gene-flow between human groups (Moore 1994). However, they are a part of the construction of “race” because they represent an easily conceived and visualized mechanism to explain human differences—a process of continual isolation, branching, and separation (Caspari 2003).

Evolutionary trees were also used to explain inequality. Some influential nineteenth-century evolutionary trees (Figure 2) depicted European racial groups with longer branches than other groups, implying that they are “more evolved.” The perceived inferiority, and shorter branches, of other racial groups were considered the consequence of their unique evolutionary histories. Racial thinking and the concomitant branching models were so widely accepted that the alternative view—that of a “network” or “trellis” depicting the evolution of the human species as interconnected groups—was largely ignored, or misinterpreted (Figure 3).

Thus, the question of “the origin of races” focused on whether human races had a recent or an ancient common ancestor. Some models, reminiscent of the polygenism of the “American School” of the early



**Figure 2.** Haeckel’s racial phylogeny represents higher resolution than the tree in Figure 1, but its premise is the same. Races are treated as species, as independently evolving branches. As in many racial phylogenies, inequalities are “explained” evolutionarily; some races are considered more primitive and “less evolved” than others. FROM HAECKEL, E. 1884.

nineteenth century, postulated a very ancient origin of races. This was epitomized by Carleton Coon’s *The Origin of Races* (1963), in which the five major races Coon recognized were thought to have very long and separate evolutionary histories, sharing a common ancestor prior to the emergence of *Homo sapiens*. According to Coon, the five races crossed the threshold between *Homo erectus* and *Homo sapiens* at different times, and the length of time that races were in the “*sapiens*” state was related to their cultural “advancement.” Coon wrote that Europeans and Asians crossed the threshold earlier and Africans and Australians considerably later.

This work, first published in 1963, had clear political implications, and was used as propaganda against school

desegregation in the early 1960s (Jackson 2001). While Coon’s overt linkage of polygenism to racial discrimination caused a backlash in the anthropological community, with many anthropologists and other scientists denouncing Coon (Dobzhansky 1963; Hulse 1963; Montagu 1964), the tree premise on which his model was based has been more ingrained. For most, tree versus network thinking as applied to human variation was not a focus of the debate. The tree was the dominant model and the question was whether the root of the tree was recent or ancient. By equating gene trees with population trees, tree metaphors are still inappropriately used to reflect relationships between human populations.

Modern thinking on Out of Africa began in the 1970s with the argument that because fossils phenotypically resembling recent humans are found in Africa earlier than anywhere else, “modern humans” originated there (Protsch 1975). Gunter Bräuer (1978, 1984) subsequently used new evidence to argue that Europeans must be of African descent. However, in arguing for African ancestry, neither Protsch nor Bräuer contended that early humans of modern form in Africa implied *unique* African origins. The Out of Africa hypothesis—the idea of an *African origin* for a recent modern human species—owes its genesis to interpretations of mtDNA, which suggested that the ancestors of recent humans first appeared in Africa and replaced other populations because they were a new species that did not interbreed (Cann, Stoneking, and Wilson 1987; Stoneking and Cann 1989). This model of replacement without mixture in the process of recent human origin was accepted by some paleoanthropologists (Stringer and Andrews 1988) and remains an influential model in the early 2000s.

### THE GENETIC FOUNDATIONS

The Out of Africa hypothesis, the theory of a recent *unique* African origin for the modern human species, was supported by early interpretations of the variation of mtDNA (Cann, Stoneking, and Wilson 1987; Stoneking and Cann 1989). Advances in gene sequencing technology in the 1980s provided the techniques to sequence the mitochondrial genome, and Rebecca Cann initially compared mtDNA variants from representatives of several different populations. Mitochondria are organelles in the cytoplasm of cells, which play an important role in cell metabolism. Their DNA consists of a single chromosome, which is inherited maternally and does not recombine. It reproduces by mitosis, so all variation between mitochondria is a consequence of mutation. Assuming that mtDNA is selectively neutral and assuming constant population size, the amount of variation (number of nucleotide differences) between individuals and populations was interpreted to be a consequence of two factors: mutation rate and time since divergence of the mtDNA



lineages. Therefore, given the same mutation rate, two mitochondria with fewer nucleotide differences would have a more recent common ancestor than two with a larger number of nucleotide differences.

Gene trees, like evolutionary trees in general, are hierarchical structures based on a particular gene or locus (these may be single nucleotides, haplotypes, genes, or the entire genome, which can be practical when the genome is short); variants of a gene that share more mutations are clustered together. The mtDNA gene trees derived from Cann’s work were rooted in Africa, based on the observations that more variation was found in Africa and that all human populations had some African mitochondrial variants. The time of this root, based on the mutation rate derived for mtDNA (assuming neutrality), was estimated to be between 100,000–200,000 years ago. In the creation of the “Eve Theory” (as the Out of Africa hypothesis was frequently called), this gene tree was interpreted as a population tree and the root was thought to represent a population bottleneck, a massive reduction in population size where variation is greatly reduced. Such population bottlenecks often accompany speciations, and hence the mtDNA data were thought to reflect the time and place of the birth of the modern human species.

In the twenty years since this early research, genetic analyses have become far more sophisticated; in addition to mtDNA (which, because it does not recombine and is inherited as a single unit, can be considered only one gene), many nuclear genes now contribute to our understanding of human evolution, and the evolutionary models based on genetics have become more complicated. It is now widely understood that many factors, from population size and structure to natural selection, affect genetic variation and that different genes have different histories; in other words, gene trees are not population trees. Because of recombination, autosomal genes within the *same individual* will have very different evolutionary trees. Different genes reflect different aspects of our ancestry; moreover, if natural selection is acting on a gene, it may give no information about population history at all. The trees of some genes, particularly those on chromosomes that do not recombine, such as mtDNA and part of the Y chromosome, have shallow roots; other loci have roots that are millions of years old.

The Out of Africa theory is based on the loci whose evolutionary trees have shallow roots through the assumption that the recent root of the gene tree represents the recent root of the human species. However, it is now recognized that there are many potential explanations for the shallow roots of these gene trees: The relative effective population size of haploid loci is four times smaller than that of the autosomes, which alone causes the roots of their gene trees to be four times shallower; variations in past population sizes affect the structure and roots of gene trees; and perhaps most impor-

tantly, natural selection may have a larger effect on non-recombining loci because of the effects of linkage. For example, selection favoring one locus on the mitochondrial genome affects the entire mitochondrial chromosome because it is inherited together. Given the importance of mitochondria in many functions of cell metabolism, such selection and selective sweeps are highly probable. Any selective sweep affecting mtDNA (or any other locus) will reduce variation and give gene trees an even shallower root. Therefore, Out of Africa (or a population bottleneck at speciation) is only one of many possible explanations for the genetic observations of loci with shallow rooted gene trees (Garrigan and Hammer 2006; Templeton 1998, 2002; Relethford 1998, 2001).

#### ALTERNATIVES: THE ROLE OF AFRICA

Much of the current genetic evidence is incompatible with the Out of Africa scenario because it does not reflect a bottleneck associated with recent speciation. While there are a number of nuclear loci that do fit the hypothesis (i.e., autosomal loci with roots four times as deep as the mtDNA and loci on the nonrecombining Y), the rate of discovery of loci with deep genealogical histories is rapidly increasing, and some of these have roots outside of Africa (Garrigan and Hammer 2006). The new evidence argues against a recent population bottleneck (speciation) because many genetic loci did not undergo reduction in variation at that time and there is no evidence of the postspeciation population expansions in Africa that would be expected under the Out of Africa model. Moreover, genealogical roots outside of Africa provide evidence of gene-flow between archaic humans in different regions, indicating that they were not separate species. Therefore, recent genetic research suggests that a simple, single origin model for the evolution of modern humans is incorrect, and that the genome of modern humans consists of contributions from multiple archaic populations. However, the many loci that have a recent common ancestor in Africa, as well as the early appearance of many modern skeletal features there, indicate the importance of Africa for the origin of modern humans.

The alternatives to the Out of Africa hypothesis are versions of “Multiregional Evolution,” a model that hypothesizes evolutionary change within the human species with gene flow between “archaic” and “modern” humans rather than evolution due to recent speciation. The multiregional theory does not recognize Pleistocene Africans and archaic groups from Europe and Asia as different species. According to the multiregional model, gene-flow was an integral part of the evolution of modern peoples, dispersing adaptive genes throughout the species, and any one living human is likely to have had Pleistocene ancestors from different parts of the globe. Developed by Franz Weidenreich (1947) as “polycentric



## “Out of Africa” Hypothesis

theory” in the 1940s, it differed from the prevailing evolutionary models in being network based rather than tree based; it was a reticulating model depicting the evolution of human populations as an intraspecific process, with gene-flow at its core.

Weaker versions of the Out of Africa hypothesis, such as the “Assimilation Theory” (Smith, Jankovic, and Karavanic 2005), where modern humans are a population, or deme, rather than a species are consistent with the multiregional gene-flow model because they do not involve speciation. Contemporary versions of multiregionalism reflect the importance of Africa in modern human origins. The contemporary multiregional model (Wolpoff, Wu, and Thorne 1984; Wolpoff 1989), in its center-and-edge contention, proposed that Africa was a significant source of new genetic variants during human evolution, because throughout human evolution the predominant direction of gene-flow was from the more densely occupied center (Africa) to the more sparsely occupied edges (Europe, East Asia, Australia). The hallmarks of the Out of Africa hypothesis are also addressed by multiregional evolution: Low genetic diversity among human populations is explained through gene-flow rather than recency of origin, and the greater genetic diversity in Africa is explained by larger population size, greater ecological diversity, and natural selection. The inequality of Pleistocene population sizes and the evolutionary consequences of the dominance of African population size have been widely discussed (Harpending, Batzer, and Gurven 1989; Harpending 1996; Relethford 2001; Hawks and Wolpoff 2003). Because of these factors, Africa has provided the strongest regional contribution to modern humans, which is observable genetically and morphologically, but genetic and morphological data also suggest that gene-flow occurred between African and non-African populations. Therefore, while current evidence suggests that the Out of Africa speciation model is incorrect, Africa played a predominant role in Pleistocene human evolution and the origin of modern humans.

### RACIAL IMPLICATIONS

Race is intricately involved in human origin theories because these theories address the origin and nature of human biological variation. For many historical reasons, and perhaps some psychological ones, race impacts our understanding of human variation in a circular way: Folk (or social) understandings of variation (race) influence science, and conversely, science has been used to validate social meanings of race (Wolpoff and Caspari 1997).

The Out of Africa hypothesis is no exception. When it was first proposed, it was used to validate progressive political positions; it gained considerable publicity as underscoring the close relationships of living humans.

As Steven J. Gould put it in 1988 (p. 21), “Human unity is no idle political slogan . . . all modern humans form an entity united by physical bonds of descent from a recent African root.”

The idea that the mtDNA ancestor reflected the root of all human populations meant that we all share common ancestors from less than 200,000 years ago, underscoring the “brotherhood of man,” and this view was thought to undermine the race concept. Conversely, the Out of Africa hypothesis has also been used to emphasize the importance of racial difference. Sarich and Miele (2004), for example, have argued that since the species is young, “race” must be biologically important: With little time for differences to accrue, there must have been isolation, strong selection, and different evolutionary histories. Thus, the same theory can be used to support conflicting political ideologies.

### STATUS OF THE OUT OF AFRICA HYPOTHESIS

This entry has explored the relationship between the concept of race and evolutionary theories of the origin of modern humans, in particular the Out of Africa hypothesis. It is ironic that the Out of Africa theory, while recently promoted as proof of the “brotherhood of man,” inadvertently undermines this important concept because the assumptions that underlie the model are dependent on an unrealistic “tree model” of human variation—a view that is a legacy of the race concept. Fossil and genetic data support the hypothesis that there was gene-flow both between modern and archaic populations, and between geographic groups of modern humans after their emergence.

However, while recent evidence no longer supports the Out of Africa hypothesis per se, Africa remains important in all theories of modern human origin. Africa was the center of Pleistocene human evolution: Modern human form appears there first, and Africa made the largest regional contribution to the gene pool of modern humans. Africa is central to both single origin and multiregional models of modern human origin. Therefore, while it seems increasingly likely that some gene-flow occurred between African and non-African populations both before and after the emergence of modern humans, and the “new species” version of the Out of Africa hypothesis appears to be incorrect, the importance of Africa as a central region for the evolution of recent humans is well supported.

**SEE ALSO** *Human and Primate Evolution; Human Genetics.*

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Rachel Caspari

## OVERSEAS CHINESE

SEE *Chinese Diaspora*.

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## PAN-AFRICANISM

Pan-Africanism is variously portrayed as a set of ideas and actions, a social and political resistance movement, an ideology, or a general philosophy challenging the effects of colonization and racial discrimination in Africa. Its goal is to foster development of an Africa-wide supra-national identity and promote development of African nations in all sectors. Pan-Africanism also denotes cross-national and cross-group participation and identity. Thus, it is an attempt to link all peoples of African descent on the African continent or residing in the Americas and Caribbean, Europe, and elsewhere in the global African community, including black-skinned people in India, Australia, New Guinea, Melanesia, and the Andaman Islands. Pan-Africanism emerged in response to African experiences with Europeans in the colonial and postcolonial worlds. It is a vehicle for regenerating and unifying Africa, and for promoting a feeling of oneness among all peoples of the African world.

Pan-Africanism originated in the eighteenth century among early activists in the United States, the West Indies, and England who focused on the legacy of slavery and oppression. In the twentieth century it evolved into an intergovernmental movement focusing on postcolonial development. The term came to be used as an adjective attached to a variety of activities in which peoples of Africa and African descent participate in the black experience, including, but not limited to, labor, economic development, education, the arts, literature, sports, media, and religion. Common threads include matters of race, identity, equality, development, and community and unity. There is disagreement, however,

on the scope, meaning, and goals of Pan-Africanism, particularly regarding leadership, political orientation, and national versus continent-wide interests.

## HISTORICAL CONTEXT FOR PAN-AFRICANISM

Pan-Africanism originated in the New World, not in Africa. Among the early activists who campaigned against slavery and promoted the repatriation of slaves to Africa were Prince Hall, a black cleric in Boston in the late 1700s, and Paul Cuffe, a Bostonian shipbuilder who in 1815 founded a repatriation settlement in Sierra Leone (initially established by the British as a refuge for freed and runaway slaves in 1787). Frederick Douglass, David Walker, James Horton, James Weldon Johnson, and many others were also involved in this effort. Another slave refuge, Liberia, was established as a result of the efforts of the American Colonization Society. The 1884 Congress of Berlin, at which the European imperial powers partitioned Africa into colonial possessions, galvanized the Pan-African movement, and the African Emigration Association was established in the United States in 1886. In 1893, Pan-Africanists convened a conference on Africa in Chicago, at which they denounced the partition of Africa. In 1897 the African Association was formed under the leadership of Henry Sylvester Williams, a Trinidadian sometimes referred to as the grandfather of Pan-Africanism. He convened the first Pan-African Congress in London in 1900.

In the early twentieth century, two notable Pan-Africanists were Marcus Garvey and W. E. B. Du Bois. Garvey, a Jamaican, promoted black pride, repatriation

to Africa, and African self-determination. His ideas on Pan-Africanism remained popular for decades, particularly in the Caribbean, where they melded with reggae and liberation ideology in the 1970s. Du Bois, sometimes credited as the father of Pan-Africanism, was a cofounder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in the United States. His scholarly writings on the struggle against white domination, the social conditions of African Americans, and the connections between black Americans and Africans gave Pan-Africanism a truly global scope.

During the early twentieth century, the movement in the Americas was also linked to the Harlem Renaissance and to black writers and artists such as Claude McKay, Langston Hughes, and Paul Robeson. Pan-Africanism also contained a focus on negritude, or the idea of a shared African personality and identity, as portrayed by activists and intellectuals in the French Caribbean and African colonies such as Léopold Senghor and Aimé Césaire. Frantz Fanon and other writers criticized this strand of Pan-Africanism as being elitist and in consort with French colonial power.

A series of Pan-African Congresses were held in this period largely under the leadership of Du Bois in Paris (1919), London and Brussels (1921), London and Lisbon (1923), and New York City (1927). Participants were drawn largely from the Caribbean, American, and European diaspora rather than from Africa itself, and the conferences focused on gradual self-government and interracialism rather than on African independence.

After World War II, the primary focus of Pan-Africanism shifted to independence movements on the continent of Africa. In 1944 the Pan-African Federation united several African groups in the first organization promoting African independence and autonomous development. In 1945, the federation convened the Sixth Pan-African Congress in Manchester, England. Participants included future African leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah of the Gold Coast (Ghana), Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, S. L. Akintola of Nigeria, Isaac Theophilus Akunna Wallace-Johnson of Sierra Leone, and Ralph Armattoe of Togo. At this Congress, Nkrumah founded the West African National Secretariat to promote a "United States of Africa." In 1957, Nkrumah led the Gold Coast to independence, with the nation renamed Ghana. He also promoted the cause of liberation of the whole continent. The First Conference of Independent African States, held in 1958 in Accra, Ghana, launched Pan-Africanism as an intergovernmental movement on the continent.

In subsequent years, as more colonies achieved independence, different configurations of new states and interpretations of Pan-Africanism emerged: the Union of African States (1960); the African States of the Casa-

blanca Charter (1961); the African and Malagasy Union (1961); the Organization of Inter-African and Malagasy States (1962); and the African-Malagasy-Mauritius Common Organization (1964). However, the East African leaders Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika, Milton Obote of Uganda, and Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya were unsuccessful in creating a regional union of states. Indeed, Pan-African unity repeatedly came into conflict with goals for national independence of individual former colonies. While Nkrumah's dream of a united Africa was not realized at this time, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) was established in 1963, with headquarters in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

In the latter half of the twentieth century, most African colonies had attained independence and Pan-African activism waned. However, the civil rights movement in the United States brought social and political changes, and some observers would place leaders such as Malcolm X and Martin Luther King within the Pan-Africanist tradition. From the 1970s to the 1990s, many of the underlying goals of Pan-Africanism were kept alive in liberation struggles in places such as Jamaica and Zimbabwe, and in the black nationalist struggle against the apartheid regime in South Africa. In addition, transatlantic connections persisted, such as in the Rastafarian movement of Jamaica, which looked to Haile Selassie I of Ethiopia as its leader. The music of Bob Marley and other reggae artists came to symbolize the struggle of Jamaica and other colonies for autonomy. Pan-Africanist ideals found expression in many forms of music, literature, and other cultural forms that linked Africans and the diaspora and enriched the larger heritage.

Other dimensions of Pan-Africanism emerged too, such as the Afrocentric movement to represent history from an Afrocentric perspective rather than the conventional Eurocentric perspective, as well as the effort to advance Pan-African nationalism rather than Eurocentric Pan-Africanism (Nantambu 1998). The scholarly field of Pan-African studies, or African studies, emerged in North American and European universities in the 1960s.

In its historical forms, Pan-Africanism contributed significantly to solidarity and black consciousness on both sides of the Atlantic, as well as to decolonization and postcolonial national development in Africa. The tripartite heritages of indigenous African, Islamic, and Western cultures were articulated in the writings of Nkrumah as "consciencism," and in those of Ali Mazrui as Africa's "triple heritage." However, the movement was less than successful in achieving its goals, being criticized for its Eurocentric depictions of the problems of Africans. Pan-Africanist leaders were criticized for focusing on personal interests and micronationalism, and for failing to advance nation-building and continental unity as a

foundation for development. Pan-Africanism failed to acknowledge ethnic and cultural differences in African and diasporic contexts, and it did little to alleviate African poverty and underdevelopment.

#### CONTEMPORARY FORMS OF PAN-AFRICANISM

In the late 1990s and early 2000s, as globalization accelerated and global attention turned to the new economic powers in Asia (and to the crises in southwestern Asia), renewed African marginalization became the concern of Pan-Africanists. Conflicts in Sudan, Rwanda, Zaire/Congo, and Sierra Leone prompted international efforts to restore peace and stability. These circumstances created the impetus for a revitalized Pan-Africanism. The original goals of solidarity and identity remained in place, but the development focus shifted to overcoming neo-colonialism and recolonization, resurrecting the goals of continent-wide economic development and supranational identity, incorporating new forms of solidarity and ways to bring Africa into the global arena, and, once more, rescuing Africa from being regarded as chaotic, underdeveloped, and oppressed.

By 1995 the fifty-three-member OAU had dealt with many struggles, including border disputes, conflicts and aggression among member states, separatist movements, and independence struggles in the continent's last remaining colonial states. In 2002 the OAU was replaced by the African Union (AU), modeled on the European Union as an organization designed to promote even greater African economic, social, and political integration. As noted by Mazrui in 2001, Africans assumed globally prominent leadership positions toward the end of the twentieth century, including Amadou Mahtar M'Bow of Senegal, who served as director-general for UNESCO from 1974 to 1987; Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the first African to serve as Secretary General of the United Nations (from 1992–1996; Kofi Annan, the second African Secretary General of the UN (from 2007); Mohammed Bedjaoui, who served as president of the International Court of Justice at the Hague from 1994 to 1997; and Callisto Madavo of Zimbabwe and Ismail Serageldin of Egypt, who have both served as a vice president at the World Bank. Black and African Nobel Peace Prize winners in the twentieth century were Ralph Bunche (1950), Albert Lutuli (1960), Martin Luther King, Jr. (1964), Anwar al-Sadat (1978), Desmond Tutu (1984), Nelson Mandela (1993), and F. W. de Klerk (1993).

The South African leader Nelson Mandela became the most universally revered of African postcolonial leaders. Under his guidance as president, South Africa, the continent's economic powerhouse, assumed leadership in peacekeeping, diplomacy, and continent-wide development. In the early 2000s, President Thabo Mbeki contin-



*New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). South African President Thabo Mbeki (right) and Amadou Toumani Touré, President of Mali, attend the 2004 NEPAD summit. The organization was designed to attract foreign investment in Africa.*  
AP IMAGES.

ued South Africa's leadership in diplomatic and economic initiatives that sought to promote all aspects of African development within and across countries, to cultivate a Pan-African supranational identity, and to carve out an effective role for African states on the world stage. Specific initiatives included recognition of the historical legacy of oppression; moral renewal and restoration of African values; cultural, educational, political, and economic transformation; science and technology development; and development in media and telecommunications.

In 2002, Mbeki launched a related initiative. His Millennium African Recovery Plan (2001) was renamed as the New Africa Initiative (NAI) after consultations with Senegalese President Aboulaye Wade. Mbeki proposed the revised plan to a meeting of the G8 leading industrial nations in Italy in 2001. The plan was launched as the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and designed to attract foreign direct investment in Africa for development in energy, agriculture, communications, and human resources. Other regional organizations, such as the Southern African Development Community (SADC), would function collaboratively. NEPAD broadened into a wide variety of development initiatives and programs, many in new areas such as health care and HIV/AIDS programs. The long-term effectiveness of NEPAD in realizing Pan-African development goals remains to be seen, however.

Many other dimensions or uses of Pan-Africanism have emerged in expanded forms as a result of global

interconnectedness. Early features of the movement have persisted, such as the tricontinental ideology linking Africa, the Americas, and the Caribbean; links between Pan-Africanism and Pan-Asianism; and a sense of solidarity, unity, and shared legacy and needs. However, globalization has also enhanced the interconnected activities of Africans and the African diaspora in the fields of television, radio, and print media; theology and religion; theater, art, music, and literature; sport; trades unions and worker organizations; and other civic, economic, and social organizations. In addition, increases in the number of African refugees and immigrants settling in the West have added new infusions to the diasporic mix abroad. Consequently, Pan-Africanism has retained much of its original spirit and goals, but it has also evolved into an extremely broad variety of forms and interpretations that are ever more global in scope.

The original goals and elements of Pan-Africanism have thus proved enduring. Contemporary Pan-Africanism, however, and within it the African Renaissance and NEPAD, have been challenged for still framing African development needs and goals in terms of external superpower influences and solutions; for failing to break patterns of conflict and underdevelopment on the continent; and for failing to reconcile internal development with wider continent-wide development. NEPAD has been challenged as a vehicle for promoting South African development interests disguised as continental development leadership (Africa Confidential 2005).

Twenty-first-century Pan-Africanism still faces its original challenges of overcoming racism, promoting African identity and postcolonial development, fostering unity of Africa and the diaspora worldwide, and resolving the ambiguities of identity and loyalty that resulted from African and European interactions. Additional challenges include the AIDS pandemic on the continent; increases in the numbers of displaced persons and refugees; chronic poverty and famine; a “brain drain” of skilled labor; and crime, violence, and corruption. Some also argue that the contemporary strengthening of black American cultural and capitalistic influences in Africa and the Caribbean at the expense of indigenous values could possibly undermine the traditionally radical spirit of Pan-Africanism (Ackah 1999). In addition, because membership in Pan-African institutions has largely comprised intellectuals, activists, and politicians, it never became a mass movement. However, as noted by Abisi Sharakiya in 1992, the endurance and recognition of the Pan-African movement remains unchallenged, and it is likely to persist in some form in the future.

SEE ALSO *African Diaspora; African Economic Development; American Colonization Society and the Founding of Liberia, Black Consciousness; Capitalism;*

*Racial Formations; Transnationalism; White Settler Society.*

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## PAY EQUITY

Pay equity is a social policy that seeks to compensate workers on the basis of the skill, required effort, responsibility, and working conditions of their jobs, rather than the gender, race, or ethnicity of the worker, or the gender and racial/ethnic composition of all workers in a particular job. Pay equity advocates point to evidence of persistent earnings inequality between men and women, and between whites and people of color, to justify the implementation of pay equity policies. Wage inequalities between men and women (called the “gender pay gap”) and between whites and racial/ethnic minority groups (the “racial pay gap”) are substantial and have persisted over time, despite some decline since the 1970s. Gender gaps within racial/ethnic groups are presented for three points in time in Table 1, with the figures representing women’s earnings as a percentage of men’s earnings.

<b>Women's Earnings as a Percentage of Men's Earnings Within Their Racial/Ethnic Group, and Black and Hispanic Earnings as percentage of White Earnings, 1980–2003</b>										
	White (Non- Hispanic)	1980 Black (Non- Hispanic)	Hispanic (any race)	White (Non- Hispanic)	1990 Black (Non- Hispanic)	Hispanic (any race)	White (Non- Hispanic)	2003 Black (Non- Hispanic)	Hispanic (any race)	
<b>Overall Gender Gap</b>	58	74	68	67	90	82	71	94	85	
<b>Occupation</b>										
Professional or Manager	65	73	68	71	89	80	70	96	81	
Non-Professional/ Non-Managerial	56	70	66	64	80	78	71	86	80	
<b>Industrial Sector</b>										
Service Sector	71	92	70	76	105	83	71	107	76	
Public Sector	64	70	66	70	79	70	70	86	77	
		<b>Black- White</b>	<b>Hispanic- Black</b>	<b>Hispanic- White</b>	<b>Black- White</b>	<b>Hispanic- Black</b>	<b>Hispanic- White</b>	<b>Black- White</b>	<b>Hispanic- Black</b>	<b>Hispanic- White</b>
<b>Female Race Gap</b>	99	89	88	99	82	82	100	73	73	
<b>Male Race Gap</b>	77	97	75	74	90	67	76	81	62	

Note: Analysis includes only full-time, year-round workers, ages 25 and 55.

SOURCE: Data from the 1980, 1990, and 2003 Current Population Surveys (CPS), U.S. Census Bureau.

Table 1.

Among full-time, year-round workers, white women earned 58 percent of white men's earnings in 1980. This increased to 71 percent in 2003. The gender gap among blacks and Hispanics exhibit a similar trend. Black women earned 74 percent of black male earnings in 1980, but by 2003 this had increased to 94 percent. Hispanic women earned 68 percent of Hispanic men's earnings in 1980 and 85 percent in 2003. Thus, while the gap is closing, women still earn less than men within their racial group.

#### PAY EQUITY: POLICIES AND POLITICS

Given such unequal pay by gender, pay equity (also known as comparable worth) emerged in the 1980s as one legal remedy. The 1963 Equal Pay Act (EPA) made it illegal to pay different wages to men and women who perform the same job. However, men and women often work in different jobs that have different pay scales, even if they involve the same level of skill, effort, responsibility, and working conditions. Pay equity policies seek equal pay for work of equal value. To do this, employers must evaluate jobs along these objective criteria and pay objectively similar jobs the same wage. While developing and applying objective criteria for job evaluation are complex and arduous tasks, the pay equity political movement successfully convinced several states to pass laws requiring

pay equity in the public sector. However, employers in the private sector are exempt from these laws, and U.S. courts have consistently refused to apply EPA legislation to private sector employers, accepting the argument that these gender and racial pay gaps are due to differing "market wages" for workers beyond the employer's control (and therefore responsibility). In addition, some economists argue that pay equity would reduce economic efficiency and women's employment opportunities. In general, neoclassical economists argue that any job evaluation process is subjective and prone to bias; they propose instead that any discriminatory gender pay gaps will be eroded by competitive market processes.

In comparison to other policies that aim to mitigate gender and racial pay gaps, such as the EPA or affirmative action, pay equity is fundamentally a more radical policy. The EPA seeks to eliminate gender and racial pay disparities within the same jobs, while affirmative action seeks to move women and racial minorities into more highly rewarded jobs and thereby reduce overall gender and racial pay gaps. In contrast, pay equity challenges the devaluation of certain kinds of work because it is associated with women or racial minorities. Pay equity advocates argue that white women and people of color who are in different jobs than white men should not be paid less if the job they perform is similar in its skill and educational requirements, its job tasks, and its responsibilities.

### WHY IS THERE A PAY GAP?

Clearly, men earn more than women but overall pay gaps hide the various ways that such earnings inequality is created. One mechanism behind pay inequality is the segregation of men and women, and of racial/ethnic groups, into different jobs. Men and women continue to work in different occupations, as do whites and people of color. White men are most likely to be either managers or professionals, while African-American men tend to be in unskilled laborer occupations. Both white and African-American women are most likely to be in administrative support occupations, but black women are almost twice as likely to be in service occupations. (McKinnon 2003). Taking for example the hierarchy in the medical field, whereas only 31 percent of surgeons in 2003 were women, 93 percent of nurses were women. As well, whereas only 17 percent of surgeons were African-American, 31 percent were of medical technicians. When the kinds of jobs individuals hold are held constant, the pay gap decreases dramatically and when men and women are working in the same job the pay gap between is significantly smaller. Thus, much of this overall gap is accounted for by the segregation of men and women into different jobs. Men and women are not equally represented in all occupations, and the occupations where women are overrepresented tend to pay less than occupations where men predominate. Similarly, researchers have found that pay gaps vary across organizations. That is, some organizations pay more equal wages while others pay less equal wages to men and women. Researchers find that this occurs, in part, due to differing organizational policies on setting pay scales, such as having objective criteria for pay and promotions.

Another crucial explanation of women's lower earnings is that women disproportionately work part-time jobs and have lower labor-force participation rates. The overall gaps reported in Table 1 are only for full-time, year-round workers, and thus exclude many women workers. When part-time workers are included, in 2003, white women's earnings relative to white men's drops to 46 percent. For black women in 2003, their earnings relative to black men's drops to 70 percent, and for Hispanic women it drops to 56 percent. The major reason women work part-time so much more than men is because they bear the burden of family expectations. That is, women are expected to raise children and perform the majority of the housework, leading to what Arlie Hochschild has termed a "double shift" for working women, where they have to work one shift at a job and another shift doing housework. These demands lead some women to opt out of the labor force, while many others must work part-time. However, both of these options are most common among married women with employed husbands. These women can afford to reduce their employment to reallocate more time to unpaid caring work.

In earlier decades, part of the gender and racial pay gaps were due to the lower educational attainment of white women and people of color, compared with white men. However, these educational differences have lessened. That wage gaps persist despite this lessening implies that increased education for minority groups will not eliminate pay inequity. Moreover, when the pay gaps are broken down by education, they remain very similar to the overall gap; Irene Padavic and Barbara Reskin have shown that, at every level of education, men consistently outearn women with similar educational degrees.

### PAY GAPS AND EMPLOYER DISCRIMINATION

Even when occupational segregation and differences in human capital are accounted for, men continue to earn more than women. This remaining gap may be explained by employer discrimination. A range of discriminatory mechanisms, both overt and unconscious, are used by employers to maintain earnings inequality. Sometimes employers assume that women are less productive (often because they assume women are distracted by family responsibilities), and they therefore do not hire or do not promote women into higher-paying jobs. Researchers have also documented the impact of preference for members of one's own social group on the hiring of women. Men are often responsible for hiring employees, and tend to be more comfortable around other men than they are around women. This leads them to prefer hiring men over equally qualified women. In addition, employers often hold stereotypical beliefs about what kinds of work men and women are supposed to do, leading them to hire women for some jobs and men for others. All of these processes lead to segregating men and women into different jobs. Employers also reward jobs that men and women are in differently. Through often unrecognized beliefs about the value of work women perform, employers reward the jobs women are segregated into less than the jobs into which men are segregated.

### TRENDS TOWARD PAY EQUITY

The pay gap between men and women was smaller in 2003 than it was in 1980. But the pace at which this gap has declined has slowed since 1990. Social scientists have noted that much of these actual gains are a result of men's relative decline in earnings in the 1980s, when manufacturing jobs were moved overseas (Padavic and Reskin 2002). This helps explain why the decline from 1980 to 1990 was greater than the decline from 1990 to 2003.

In contrast to the slow erasure of the gender pay gap, the racial pay gap has actually grown, except for the gap between black and white women. Just as the trend in the pay gap between men and women has largely stemmed from men's declining earnings due to the loss of manufacturing jobs, so has the race gap been affected by the



decline in manufacturing jobs. Scholars have noted that as manufacturing jobs are lost, less skilled workers have a harder time finding a job. Because people of color are stuck in occupations requiring less skill, their earnings decline when jobs for less-skilled workers decline.

#### THE FUTURE OF PAY EQUITY

Pay equity movements have attempted to eliminate the employer discrimination that leads to men and women in the same jobs being paid different wages, as well as the employer discrimination that leads to men and women in similarly valuable jobs being paid unequal wages. A crucial practical problem in pay equity policies is determining the value of skills. What skills, job tasks, and responsibilities should be considered comparable? Nevertheless, pay equity does address the inequalities produced through job segregation that policies addressing only unequal pay for the same work ignore. If pay were to equalize across the exact same occupations, it would not address the underlying causes of pay inequality: occupational segregation. While pay equity has often failed as a practical policy, it begins to address these underlying causes of pay inequality, whereas equal pay for the same work cannot address this structural inequality.

SEE ALSO *Affirmative Action*.

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## PEONAGE CASES

The peonage cases were a rare but notable example of judicial protection of African-American rights during the highly racist era of the early twentieth century. In *Bailey*

*v. Alabama* (1911), the United States Supreme Court invalidated an Alabama peonage law on the ground that it violated the Thirteenth Amendment's ban on involuntary servitude. The Alabama law criminalized a worker's breach of a labor contract in any case where he had received an advance payment from his employer (as was common practice in southern agricultural labor contracts at the time). Criminal punishment, usually including prison time, was a far more severe sanction than the standard civil remedy for reneging on a labor contract (which usually involved only financial compensation to the employer). This made it far more difficult for African-American farm workers to leave their employers in search of better opportunities elsewhere.

In the 1914 case of *United States v. Reynolds*, the Supreme Court struck down a second pillar of the peonage system: "criminal surety" laws. Such laws gave convicted criminals a choice between paying a fine, serving time in prison (usually on a chain gang), or working for a planter in exchange for sufficient funds to pay off the fine. Although these laws were less clearly unconstitutional than those at issue in *Bailey*, criminal surety statutes were part of a system in which poor African-Americans were routinely arrested for minor or nonexistent offenses for the purpose of using them as forced labor for the benefit of white planters.

The peonage cases arose from efforts by white southern planters to restrict the mobility of African-American agricultural labor after the abolition of slavery between 1863 and 1865. Planters initially attempted to force down African-American laborers' wages by organizing cartels under which they agreed to keep wages low and refrain from hiring away each other's workers. However, such private arrangements repeatedly broke down in the face of competitive pressures that gave planters an incentive to compete for workers by offering higher pay and superior working conditions. As a result, the planters turned to state governments for assistance, hoping that government action would suppress the competitive pressures that had stymied private efforts.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, therefore, southern states enacted a variety of laws intended to restrict the mobility of African-American labor. Early peonage laws were even harsher than those invalidated in *Bailey* and *Reynolds*, forcing workers into involuntary servitude in order to pay off debts to their employers. The federal Peonage Act of 1867, upheld by the Supreme Court in the 1905 case of *Clyatt v. United States*, banned such laws. Southern state governments then had to rely on other measures to restrict black labor mobility, and the laws struck down in *Bailey* and *Reynolds* were among the results.

The history of the peonage cases shows that, in at least some situations, oppressed minorities can benefit from free labor markets. Although nearly all the planters who employed African-American agricultural laborers in the segregation-era South were white and most held racist views, competition between employers still led to improved pay and working conditions. Despite their commitment to racial hierarchy, white planters were usually unable to curtail the mobility of African-American labor without the aid of government intervention. In the aftermath of the peonage cases, hundreds of thousands of African Americans were able to improve their social and economic prospects by switching employers or moving to the North, where—despite widespread racism—opportunities for black workers were often better than in the South.

The Supreme Court's decisions in the peonage cases were not the only, or even the most important, factor enabling increased African-American mobility in the early twentieth century. Rising black education levels, lower transportation costs, and the availability of new job opportunities in the North also played key roles. Nonetheless, the Court's actions had an impact as well. Peonage complaints decreased after *Bailey*, and several southern states removed peonage laws from the books or stopped enforcing them.

The peonage cases were not a simple morality play in which a heroic court triumphed over racist public opinion. Although racism was endemic in the North as well as the South, peonage laws were a sufficiently blatant affront to the Constitution that most northern whites, and even some southerners, disapproved of them. Nonetheless, the Supreme Court probably went further in attacking peonage than most white elected officials were inclined to do. Although the peonage cases hardly revolutionized early twentieth-century race relations, they did measurably improve the lives of poor African Americans in the South.

SEE ALSO *Black Codes; Chain Gangs; United States Constitution.*

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Ilya Somin

## PHILLIPS, WENDELL 1811–1884

Wendell Phillips, antislavery leader and crusader for the rights of women, labor, and the oppressed everywhere, was born November 29, 1811, "the child," as he put it, "of six generations of Puritans" (Phillips 2001, p. 26). His father was the first mayor of Boston. His mother was Salley Walley, daughter of a Boston merchant. When Phillips was fourteen, he attended a meeting conducted by the famous revivalist Lyman Beecher. Shortly before his death, Phillips said, "From that day to this, whenever I have known a thing to be wrong, it has held no temptation. Whenever I have known it to be right, it has taken no courage to do it" (Korngold 1950, p. 111). He attended Boston Latin School, distinguishing himself as an athlete, and Harvard College, graduating with high honors in 1831. According to biographer Ralph Korngold (1950), he was "six feet tall, deep-chested, broad-shouldered and with a soldierly bearing." A college friend described him as "the most beautiful person I had ever seen ... a young Apollo." All his life he conducted himself like an aristocrat, "always well-dressed—not a speck on his clothing" (pp. 119–120). He graduated from Harvard Law School in 1833 and was admitted to the bar the next year. He opened a law office, but his heart was not in it. Later he said that, left to follow his own course, he should have studied mechanics or history.

Phillips was fond of telling friends that his wife, the former Ann Terry Greene, whom he had met while he was in law school, had converted him to abolitionism. In 1835 he witnessed a mob determined to lynch William Lloyd Garrison leading him up the street with a rope around his neck. It was not that episode but another that won him to the cause of abolition. In November 1837 abolitionist editor Elijah Lovejoy was murdered in Alton, Illinois, while trying to defend his printing press from a mob. The following month, at a public meeting at Faneuil Hall called to discuss the case, Phillips, angered by the speech of the Massachusetts attorney general, who defended the mob and condemned Lovejoy as "presumptuous and imprudent," took the floor and delivered an address that linked the right of free speech and the antislavery cause. His address won over the audience, most of whom had started out hostile, and led to his being immediately recognized as one of the outstanding

orators of the day. He would later come to be known as “the golden trumpet of abolition.”

Phillips gave up his law practice, such as it was, because he found it impossible to take an oath to defend the Constitution, regarding it as “a covenant with death and agreement with hell,” a description used by many abolitionists. For thirty years he labored in the ranks of the abolitionists. Whereas most northerners opposed slavery, they hated abolitionism more. Business interests depended on slave-grown cotton and sugar, and laborers feared the sudden appearance of a million former slaves in the labor market. As a result, abolitionists regularly found themselves the targets of violent mobs. Phillips carried a pistol to defend himself. His family responded to his course by seeking to have him declared insane. “We do not play politics,” he declared. “Anti-slavery is no half-jest with us; it is a terrible earnest, with life or death, worse than life or death, on the issue” (Phillips 2001, p. 51).

In addition to speaking, Phillips wrote, traveled, and organized for the cause. He helped popularize the slogan “No union with slaveholders,” part of a strategy aimed at bringing down slavery by removing northern support. Phillips frequently addressed northern audiences as “fellow subjects of Virginia,” reminding them that it was their taxes that paid for the armed force that held down the slave. “All the slave asks of us,” he declared, “is to stand out of his way, withdraw our pledge to keep the peace on the plantation, withdraw our pledge to return him” (Phillips 2001, pp. 14–15). At rallies he asked his audiences to pledge never to return the fugitive who set foot on northern soil, and he himself took part in efforts to defend fugitives by direct action, in defiance of federal law.

When South Carolina and other states announced their secession from the Union, Phillips and other abolitionists were outcasts, living under threat of attack from northern mobs who blamed them for the breakup of the nation. Yet as the Civil War continued and it became increasingly clear that no policy of conciliation could lure the seceded states back into the Union, public opinion turned. Over the winter of 1861–1862, five million people heard him speak or read his speeches calling for emancipation, the enlistment of black soldiers, and an active military strategy. When he visited Washington, the vice president welcomed him to the Senate chamber, the Speaker of the House invited him to dinner, and the president received him as a guest. He had gone from pariah to prophet.

When the Thirteenth Amendment passed in December 1865, some abolitionists, including Garrison, concluded that their work was done. Phillips disagreed, believing that their work was not over until full equality was guaranteed. He assumed formal leadership of the

Anti-Slavery Society and continued his efforts on behalf of the freedpeople. While not forgetting the slave, he took up new issues. He ran for governor of Massachusetts in 1870 on the Labor Reform ticket, resisting the anti-Chinese campaign that had gained the support of many labor reformers. He joined the International Workingmen’s Association and declared his support for the Paris Commune of 1871.

Summarizing his career, Phillips said he had “worked 40 years, served in 20 movements, and been kicked out of all of them” (Phillips 2001, p. 27). He died on February 2, 1884. His death was announced in newspapers across the country. His funeral was a state occasion, with offerings sent from workers, Irish, and other groups whose cause he had championed. Thousands waited in line for a last look at him. Two companies of black militia, marching to the roll of muffled drums, served as an honor guard (Korngold 1950, p. 397). A statue of him stands by the Boston Public Garden.

SEE ALSO *Abolition Movement*.

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## PLANTATIONS

The rise of the plantation complex was both a major economic force in commercial agricultural production and a major social and socializing institution. In the Americas, plantations were organized and managed through the maintenance and enforcement of strict social codes steeped in a racial doctrine of white supremacy and black inferiority. The implementation of chattel slavery

as a form of absolute control over enslaved African people served to further codify and solidify social hierarchies, myths, and perceptions based on race. A critical examination of the plantation system reveals a pervasive dependence on the labor, services, and skills of enslaved Africans and their descendents. Starting with a definition and general description of plantations, followed by an overview of some of the major types of plantations, and concluding with a detailed analysis of a specific antebellum plantation, this article challenges myths and fixed perceptions about race as defined by the plantation experience.

Although the plantation as a form of agriculture has existed in a variety of places over a range of time periods, the term has become distinctly associated with European expansion. Nineteenth century plantations were typically large tracts of land owned and operated by a planter and his family. They were primarily developed and cultivated by groups of laborers under the autocratic control of the plantation owner, who generally concentrated on the production of a single “cash” crop that was exported and distributed globally. In the Americas, cash crops included sugar, cotton, tobacco, rice, and indigo.

At the start of the sixteenth century, an explosive and unprecedented demand for sugar in Europe resulted in the establishment of sugar plantations in South America and the Caribbean, most notably in Brazil. By the first two decades of the seventeenth century, sugar cultivation on European-owned plantations in places such as Antigua and Barbados had become the cash-crop production model of choice.

In North America, plantations dominated southern agriculture, and the premier cash crop was cotton. Throughout most of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, cotton plantations could be found across the South. In addition, during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries an increased demand for tobacco in European markets led to a rise in tobacco plantations in the Chesapeake colonies, particularly in the Piedmont and Tidewater regions of Virginia. Beginning in the seventeenth century, rice plantations were abundant in low-lying areas near a significant water source in South Carolina and parts of Georgia and East Florida.

The growth of the plantation system as an agricultural unit of production and commercial enterprise was fueled by a massive dispersion of people. From the late fifteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century, enslaved Africans became an increasingly significant factor in Europe’s (especially Britain’s) and America’s growth and development. Slavery became the labor solution of choice for advancing economic and sociopolitical ambitions within the context of agricultural land units known as plantations.

Discussions of plantations are important in the early twenty-first century for a variety of reasons. Colonial and

antebellum accounts of plantation life typically caricature persons of African descent solely as slaves, with no merit beyond the contributions of their physical labor. But to reduce the discussion of Africans on plantations to “slave life portraits” is to perpetuate a narrow vision of American history. In South Carolina, census records from as early as 1790 confirm that enslaved Africans and their descendents made up the majority of the population within plantation communities, and that they performed a wide range of jobs and tasks, enabling plantation-based agricultural centers to function relatively self-sufficiently. In addition, public history and National Heritage interpretations often provide merely one perspective of antebellum plantations—with a primary focus on life as experienced by plantation owners and their families and a generic profile of slave life. This leaves out important issues of race and power as experienced by the Africans on the plantations.

The sociologist Edgar T. Thompson, in selected papers published in *Plantation Societies, Race Relations, and the South* (1975), provides a rigorous analysis of some of the distinguishing aspects of the plantation as a unit of production. Thus, the plantation was: (1) a settlement institution actively involved in the process of occupying space, acquiring territory, and organizing people, land, and material structures; (2) an economic institution actively involved in the selection and production of a specific agricultural product mix for external market distribution and wealth generation; (3) a political institution with territorial autonomy and autocratic levels of control over its jurisdiction; and (4) a cultural institution with distinct norms and rules governing behavior and ways of interacting, with hierarchical assumptions about race being particularly pervasive.

### TYPES OF PLANTATIONS

Plantation enterprises not only differed from other land-use enterprises in distinguishable ways, they also differed with respect to each other. The historical anthropologist Michel-Rolph Trouillot concludes that “the plantation, as such, never existed historically, not even in the Americas of slavery” (1998, p. 22). Instead, thousands of plantations existed, each offering challenges to the plantation ideal. One of the primary areas of distinction between different plantations involved labor requirements and socialcultural orientation—particularly the degree of autonomy and interdependence that existed between enslaved Africans (and their descendents) and plantation owners. What follows is a brief look at the labor requirements and social organization of four of the major plantation types (sugar, tobacco, cotton, and rice).

**Sugar Production.** Sugar plantations were typically large, privately owned enterprises in which enslaved African

populations outnumbered whites in significant proportions. According to Ira Berlin and Philip Morgan, nearly two-thirds of all Africans arriving in the Americas ended up working on sugar plantations. In addition, women played a significant role in sugar production and accounted for more than 50 percent of the labor force on British-controlled sugar plantations throughout the Caribbean. In places where sugar was an important commodity, such as Barbados, Antigua, Martinique, St. Kitts, St. Croix, Guadeloupe, Jamaica, and Haiti, the African-descendent population continues to remain significant.

In the cash-crop production hierarchy, sugar plantations were generally regarded as being the most labor intensive and demanding. Sugar production contains both an agricultural and industrial component, commanding a range of skills and a complex division of labor. The production of granulated sugar, molasses, rum, and other sugar end products consists of a series of steps, including planting and harvesting; the grinding of harvested cane to extract cane juice; boiling the juice at extremely high temperatures to produce crystallized sugar; the curing of crystallized sugar; and distilling molasses and other sugar by-products into rum, a very popular and lucrative export item. The cane, once harvested, had to be processed immediately to avoid spoiling. During this aspect of the cycle, labor was required around the clock for up to a month or more. In addition to the very specific labor requirements involved in sugar production, Africans were required to perform an inexhaustible list of other labor and service activities in support of sugar plantation maintenance, including cooking, childcare, laundry, artisan services (e.g., masonry and carpentry), machine operation, and sexual services.

On a social level, because Africans made up an overwhelming majority of the population on sugar plantations, planters generally focused less attention on the assimilation and acculturation of slave populations and more attention on preserving their own identity. They instituted policies, rules, and laws aimed primarily at segregation, intimidation, and control. These segregation policies severely restricted the freedom of movement of the slave population. However, as a response, a greater focus on and commitment to African ways of being, independent of European norms, was fostered among the slaves. Africans formed and sustained their own communities outside the direct control of plantation owners, and a range of cultural practices—such as ways of obtaining, growing, cooking, and sharing food; spiritual practices, and patterns of speech—were encouraged.

A defining feature of the British and French plantation systems was their dependence on African labor and services. The work required to grow, harvest, process, and manage the production of sugar throughout the Americas

reveals the importance of African labor and knowledge to European plantation owners and the success of their plantation ventures, but it also underscores the heavy toll exacted on the lives of Africans in the process.

**Tobacco Cultivation.** By the start of the eighteenth century, an increased demand for tobacco in European markets, particularly France, resulted in an expanded focus by planter families on tobacco in the Chesapeake colonies of Virginia and Maryland. The rise in tobacco production and its expansion inland from the Tidewater into the Piedmont region was coupled with an increase in the purchase of enslaved Africans by planters. This was followed by an increase in laws, legal practices, and other forms of control aimed at restricting and discouraging African autonomy (enslaved and free) and protecting and expanding white power and control. Such restrictive practices were applied on the basis of skin color alone, and all blacks, both free and enslaved, were collapsed into one category and treated the same, leading to an exodus of sizable numbers of free blacks from the Chesapeake region.

Tobacco was generally regarded as being less demanding and less labor intensive to produce than sugar, rice, or cotton. Tobacco plantations were generally small (with larger plantations being defined as having more than thirty slaves). Sugar plantations, by comparison, were typically described as having enslaved populations totaling into the hundreds at one plantation site.

Tobacco planters were also able to avoid major seasonal fluctuations in labor requirements because tobacco cultivation retained a consistent flow throughout the year. Tobacco leaves ripened seasonally and had to be picked at the right moment for optimal value. Work on tobacco plantations centered entirely on the planting and harvesting of tobacco leaves, which required constant attention throughout the year, but limited additional processing after harvesting was required. However, tobacco production did require a steady supply of good soil (soil that had never been planted or soil that had been left unplanted for several years). This dictated that enslaved Africans and their families adhere to a cycle that required them to move from location to location every two to three years in order to take advantage of fresh or unexhausted soils for planting.

African cultural autonomy from European norms in tobacco plantation environments was often harder to sustain because many enslaved Africans lived in close proximity to European planter families. As a result, opportunities to adapt to or share cultural practices such as language, foods, and religion with Europeans were greater. Although the degree of freedom gained from constant migration and resettlement, as dictated by the tobacco-plantation production cycle, was something many Africans valued, household and family stability was compromised with each required

## Plantations



*Georgia Cotton Plantation, c. 1917. Cotton was an important cash crop in the South and cotton plantations were a common feature in the region throughout most of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.* THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

move. However, this arrangement enabled Africans to form extended communities, learn more about locations and opportunities outside their plantation setting, and obtain knowledge about a range of cultural practices. Thus, a larger mixture of old and new cultural ways and ideas was integrated into family and community practices by Africans in the Chesapeake region.

During the middle part of the eighteenth century, a decline in tobacco productivity coupled with a rise in small-grain production (such as wheat, rye, and oats) began to alter life and the nature of agricultural labor in the region. A demand for skilled laborers and artisans to support grain production resulted in the flow of enslaved African males to work outside the tobacco industry. The tobacco plantation economy in the Chesapeake region became increasingly dominated by women and their children, who were often considered ideal laborers by tobacco plantation owners.

**Cotton.** While tobacco production relied on fresh soils and encouraged short-range migration, the expansion of cotton and its status as the dominant crop in southern agriculture, was responsible for a massive migration of enslaved Africans from the coast to interior regions of America. Between 1790 and 1860, more than 800,000 blacks moved to cotton-producing states, whose boundaries extended from South Carolina to Texas and from Florida to Tennessee. Many of these Africans were from tobacco areas in the Chesapeake region or from rice areas in South Carolina and Florida.

On the cash-crop production hierarchy, cotton was considered more demanding to cultivate than tobacco, although it was far more regimented in terms of labor requirements. The growing market for cotton in the early 1800s led to a rise in the establishment of large cotton plantations (greater than twenty slaves) in regions of fertile soils and easy access to markets. Plantations that

produced cotton (and little if anything else) ranged in land area from forty acres to one thousand acres.

Cotton plantations required two types of labor—an initial labor force dedicated to clearing uncultivated land and making it ready for cultivation (a rigorous and exhausting task), and an established workforce dedicated to planting and harvesting cotton according to its yearly cycle. After the initial clearing of the fields, which was dominated by the labor of young males, field labor on mature cotton plantations required no special strength or skills thought to advantage males over females. Women ranked among the most productive workers, especially during the harvesting period. The harvest period for cotton extended from as early as August into late February. During this time, production quotas were imposed on enslaved Africans and they were typically required to labor in tightly supervised units known as “work gangs” from sun-up to sundown. Because cotton production had limited requirements in terms of processing following the harvest period, workers were called upon to utilize a narrow range of skills in order to maintain plantation operations. Many Africans forced to labor on cotton plantations had lives more restricted and regimented than those on tobacco or rice plantations, and their ability to utilize their skill and knowledge in negotiating various liberties was severely diminished.

The gang system of labor, with its tight supervision requirements, created a relationship that pitted enslaved African workers against plantation owners. Africans fought to minimize exhausting labor demands, while owners sought to maximize production, often employing brutal methods of punishment and control in the process. These tensions escalated to a greater degree on cotton plantations in the southern agricultural region of the United States because of the number of people involved—including the high ratio of blacks to whites, the regimented production

demands and high production quotas, and the diversity of African experiences with other labor systems.

Increasingly large populations of enslaved Africans in concentrated areas typically resulted in the institution of restricted laws, (black) codes of conduct, and prohibitions against social interaction between whites and blacks. White citizens in communities dominated by cotton plantations continually sought measures, passed laws, and participated in acts of violence aimed at limiting the autonomy of blacks. On cotton plantations, African autonomy was often compromised as plantation owners worked to limit worker focus and discourage outside activities. Owners of cotton plantations tended to be more driven to supply food and clothing rations to enslaved Africans, partly to maximize slave dependence and minimize outside distractions on their time.

Cotton dominated markets in the South between the Civil War and World War I. Because cotton plantations commanded such large land areas and employed such large numbers of people, a common culture and basis of connection formed among laborers. On mature cotton plantations, almost everyone engaged in the same tasks, participated in the same routines, and faced the same challenges and threats to freedom exacted by racist laws. In general, enslaved Africans created new traditions, honored old ones, and developed ways of being that emphasized ways of living and surviving.

**Rice Production.** In comparison to cotton, tobacco, and sugar production, rice was a small enterprise, but for more than 200 years (between 1690 and 1890) it was important for the U.S. Sea Island plantations along the coasts of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. Successful rice planter families and merchants created an elite social and political society, and they exercised a high degree of autonomy within and beyond plantation borders. After the Revolutionary War, many individuals in this society served as key figures in American nation-building. In 1843, the rice planter Robert F. W. Allston wrote the following regarding the significance of rice planting in South Carolina: “The cultivation of Rice in South Carolina has added materially to the wealth of the Province—the Colony—the State; and has enhanced, in no inconsiderable degree the value of the active commerce of both the kingdom of Great Britain, and the Federal Republic of the United States” (Allston 1843, pp. 5–6).

Water management is crucial in rice production because rice thrives on land that is saturated in water during all or part of its growth cycle. In much the same ways as cotton, the production of rice on U.S. Sea Island plantations required a tremendous amount of work, both in terms of the initial development of rice fields and the ongoing maintenance of the fields. The historian Mart

Stewart concluded that a “massive application of human energy” went into the initial clearing of swamplands in order to transform them into commercial rice enterprises (1996, p. 147). In many instances, swampland contained cypress forests that had to be cleared, after which miles of ditches, dikes, and canals were constructed in order to provision the huge irrigation system on which tidal-swamp rice production depended. Once created, these artificial systems required constant maintenance to remain productive, and a steady influx of African labor made the creation of these rice ecosystems possible.

Africans dominated the geographic landscape in which the production of rice took place, and population figures affirm the significance of the African presence in commercial agriculture production in the U.S. Sea Islands. In South Carolina, African population growth paralleled the rise in rice production, with over two-thirds of the population being classified as black between 1740 and 1760. Additionally, between 1720 and 1765 the majority of Africans in South Carolina were imported directly from West Africa in European slaving ships. In *Slaves in the Family*, Edward Ball notes that Europeans, such as his ancestors, knew little about rice at first, and thus relied on the knowledge of enslaved Africans who worked for them:

The cultivation of rice was, at least initially, something Elias and his peers knew nothing about. In parts of West Africa, however, rice was an old staple, grown along the Gambia River, for instance, and in Sierra Leone. It wasn't long before the planters recognized that some of the Africans they owned possessed a knowledge that could earn them profits. The strain of rice grown by Carolina slaves, refined through years of experiment, became known as Carolina Gold. (Ball 1998, p. 108)

The global movement of rice and African people links West African, European, and the U.S. Sea Island cultures in ways not typically discussed.

#### RICE PRODUCTION ON JEHOSSEE ISLAND

Imagine an island off the coast of South Carolina on which more than 95 percent of the people are Africans or descendants of Africans. Imagine as well a successful rice business being run on this very same island. The Jehossee Island Plantation off the Edisto and Dawho rivers, about twenty-five miles southeast of Charleston, South Carolina, in what was then St. John Colleton Parish, was such a place. The site of a thriving rice plantation in the 1800s, Jehossee was a community planned and managed around the cultivation and exportation of rice. Between the periods 1830 and 1887, it was owned by William Aiken, a one-time governor of South Carolina.

## Plantations

In the early twenty-first century, Jehossee was owned by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service (USFWS) and was part of the ACE Basin National Wildlife Refuge. The wetlands of Jehossee Island are considered of national and international importance, primarily because of alterations to the landscape that took place during the period of commercial rice production. Jehossee's undeveloped estuaries are home to a variety of flora and fauna.

Public discussion and knowledge of Jehossee generally revolve around the life, wealth, and social and political prominence of the Aiken family, primarily William Aiken Jr. (1806–1887), a respected planter and well-known political figure. However, Jehossee was mainly an African community. When Aiken inherited his share of the family's wealth, he began to focus his attention on agricultural pursuits, particularly rice. In 1830 he began his acquisition of Jehossee. According to U.S. Census records for St. Johns-Colleton County, by 1850 there were 897 enslaved Africans living on the island, and by 1860 there were still 699. These demographics suggest that Aiken actively purchased and retained the labor and services of large numbers of enslaved Africans.

Aiken's notoriety as a major producer and exporter of rice, coupled with his success in the political arena, placed Jehossee in public view. It was the destination of many visitors, who have supplied portraits of their experiences and glimpses into the daily life of Africans living on the island. Solon Robinson, a well-known writer and the agricultural editor for the *American Agriculturist* magazine, made a series of tours throughout rural America, most extensively between 1840 and 1860. After arriving at Jehossee in 1850, by way of a twelve-hour steamboat journey from Charleston (located thirty miles away), Robinson provided the following description of the island:

This island contains about 3,300 acres, no part of which is over ten or fifteen feet above tide, and not more than 200 to 300 acres but what was subject to overflow until diked out by an amount of labor almost inconceivable to be performed by individual enterprise, when we take into account the many miles of navigable canals and smaller ditches. There [are] 1,500 acres of rice lands, divided into convenient compartments for flooding, by substantial banks, and all laid off in beds between ditches 3 feet deep, only 35 feet apart. Part of the land was tide-water marsh, and part of it timber swamp. Besides this, Gov. A. cultivates 500 acres in corn, oats, and potatoes. (Kellar 1936, pp. 364–365)

Robinson also explicitly highlights Jehossee's majority African community as being responsible for every aspect of rice production and plantation maintenance throughout the year, even during the months in which the threat of contracting malaria was especially high.

According to Robinson enslaved Africans performed most of the jobs on the plantation from engineers to sailors:

The average annual sales of the place do not vary materially from \$25,000, and the average annual expenses not far from \$10,000, of which sum \$2,000 is paid the overseer, who is the only white man upon the place, besides the owner, who is always absent during the sickly months of the summer. All the engineers, millers, smiths, carpenters, and sailors are black. A vessel belonging to the island goes twice a week to Charleston, and carries a cargo of 100 casks. The last crop was 1,500 casks. (Kellar 1936, p. 367)

Solon Robinson, like many other visitors, described Jehossee Island plantation under the ownership of Governor William Aiken as having provided the best living and working conditions afforded enslaved persons during that time—primarily with respect to housing, medical care, daily labor demands, and quality of overseer management. He wrote that Governor Aiken's primary concern was making his people "comfortable and happy" (Kellar 1936, p. 368).

However, the severity of the toll exacted on the health of those forced to engage in tidal-swamp rice production, though seldom emphasized, cannot be ignored. For human populations, rice plantation ecosystems present a variety of environmental hazards and stresses, the primary problem being the threat of malaria. Countless numbers of people in rice plantation environs died from diseases resulting from living and working in conditions of high humidity and standing water—considered prime breeding grounds for mosquitoes. Most planters and their families lived away from their plantations, especially between the months of May and November, when malaria was especially prevalent. Many argued that Africans were protected against malaria because they possessed the gene that causes sickle-cell, which provides substantial protection from malaria. The gene is not restricted to Africans, however, and not all Africans carry this gene. In the Sea Islands, sizable portions of the population of enslaved Africans remained vulnerable to malaria and died as a result of living in malaria-infested areas.

The historian William Dusinger's explicit analysis of the child mortality rate on rice plantations serves to further temper portrayals of Jehossee as a business enterprise in which the owner's interests in the comfort and happiness of the workforce superseded the goal of generating wealth and profit. According to Dusinger, "A conservative modern estimate suggests that a least 55 percent of the children born on nineteenth century rice plantations died by age fifteen" (1995, p. 80). In addition to malaria, other conditions (such as sunstroke, dysentery, cholera), escalated by overwork and the requirements of





**African Americans Hoeing Rice, Early 1900s.** *The plantation system relied heavily on the labor, services, and skills of enslaved Africans and their descendents.* THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

standing in ankle deep mud and water during periods when the fields were flooded, contributed to the high number of deaths amongst Africans on rice plantations.

According to research conducted by the historian Edda Fields, the sole reliance on tidal-swamp rice production by planters in South Carolina proved counter to the broad range of strategies for producing rice and other agricultural products practiced by coastal rice planters in many West African societies. The reluctance of many planter families in West Africa to focus exclusively on swamp-rice production because of unhealthy conditions was a sentiment that was recognized by Sea Island planters, but only with respect to their own health and safety.

An analysis of rice production on Jehossee plantation provides a specific example of plantation-owner dependence on majority African communities to sustain plantation-based economies and lifestyles. In spite of a social order based on race that dictated their place as chattel—thus subjecting them to adverse environmental conditions, health disparities, and unequal treatment—enslaved Africans were a dominant force in rice plantation environments in terms of cultural knowledge, population size, and the scope and range of labor and services performed.

In rice-plantation environments, African autonomy was another salient characteristic. Nowhere is the evidence for both the interdependence between whites and blacks and the autonomy of enslaved Africans more evident than in the kitchen and food-provisioning

practices exhibited throughout southern plantations, particularly on Sea Island rice plantations. Here, enslaved Africans not only prepared food for plantation owners and their families, they also proactively secured and prepared food for their own survival above and beyond what was appropriated to them. They often maintained supplementary garden plots; consumed lesser grade foods or foods deemed less marketable by plantation owners; hunted local game; fished; and gathered wild plants for food and medicine. Solon Robinson observed that, in addition to rations, Africans on Jehossee Island grew and ate a great many vegetables; caught large numbers of fish, oysters, and crabs; and raised pigs and poultry (primarily to sell). Edmund Ruffin, another visitor to Jehossee Island in 1843, described the place where Africans resided as a “negro village,” noting that each house had a garden ground attached. This type of culinary initiative stands in stark contrast to the notion that enslaved Africans waited to be fed and survived only on plantation-provided rations.

It can thus be seen that while Africans may have been assigned the status of “slave” on plantations in America, a closer look at plantation life and management reveals something far different. It shows instead how Europeans and Africans were economically and culturally connected within plantation environments around cash-crop production. In addition, it shows how crops such as rice served not only as a cash crops for European planters, but also as a means of securing cultural autonomy for Africans living in plantation environments. Highlighting the dependence of plantation owners on African skill, labor, and services for their economic autonomy is important because it destabilizes fixed notions about race in plantation spaces.

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Antoinette T. Jackson

## “PLAYING INDIAN”

“Playing Indian,” the performance of American Indian identities by non-Indians, has likely been going on since the first contact between people of European descent and indigenous people of North America. It encompasses a wide variety of practices and behaviors, including Halloween costumes, elementary school Thanksgiving pageants, athletic team mascots, the Boston Tea Party, ethnography, and New Age spiritualism. When people play Indian, they put into motion their assumptions about what constitutes “Indianness.” They enact racial tropes or stereotypes of Indianness. Although the most common usage of the term “playing Indian” is in reference to white performance of Indianness, even indigenous Americans can be said to play Indian by acting out non-Indian assumptions, stereotypes, and fantasies of Indianness.

Playing Indian reduces Indianness to a set of racial stereotypes at the expense of a dynamic political and cultural identity derived from the unique powers of tribal sovereignty. Despite this objectionable promotion of racial caricatures and stereotypes, playing Indian is arguably the most widespread form of racial mimicry in the world. People the world over immediately recognize a small set of powerful images—feathered headdresses, breach cloth, beaded moccasins, or bows and arrows—as standing for Indianness. Decontextualized from their origins in the Native communities of the North American plains, these symbols metonymically stand in for American Indians as a whole. These are also the key components of the most familiar form of playing Indian:

... dressing up. School and professional sports team mascots and all the “team spirit” rituals that accompany them—cheers, music, and live action performers—mobilize notions of Indianness to evoke strength and courage, qualities associated with the noble savage, or ruthlessness, a quality associated with the barbaric savage. In so doing, they reinforce the common racial stereotypes of Native savagery and continually reenact essentialized assumptions about Indians.

Playing Indian has been used as a strategy to gain and maintain Euro-American social and political power. Two of the most significant scholarly works on playing Indian—Philip J. Deloria’s *Playing Indian* (1998) and Shari M. Huhndorf’s *Going Native* (2001)—have found that playing Indian revolves around two sociopolitical tensions in American life: the need to prove the legitimacy of American nationhood and recurring anxieties over the meaning of modernity and its impact on American culture. Perhaps one of the most famous American historic examples of playing Indian is the Boston Tea Party of 1773. Protesting British colonial trade and taxation policies, American patriots dressed as Mohawk Indians stormed a ship in Boston Harbor and threw its cargo of tea overboard. In other instances, Revolutionary-era Americans protested British rule by taking on Indian personas through their own fabricated versions of Indian clothing, chants, and even names. Doing so dramatized white American colonists’ claims that they—not the British—were the rightful governors of the land. During the early national era agrarian protesters played staking claims to rural land against landlords and state governments. For example, in the Whiskey Rebellion of the early 1790s rural farmers called on the same traditions of playing Indian used against the British to rally against the incipient federal government’s newly exerted taxation, rent, and land distribution policies.

Decades later white fraternal organizations based around the performance of Indianness, such as Tammany Societies, flourished across New England. Members took “Indian” names, wore face paint and Indian clothes, performed rituals and held public parades and ceremonies to honor a purported Delaware Indian leader (named Tamenend) as a patron saint of America. After the War of 1812, Tammany Societies began to be replaced by organizations like the Improved Order of Red Men that sprouted up throughout the Eastern seaboard. These Indian-themed versions of Masonic organizations allowed the growing middle class to act out elaborate rituals of playing Indian. Red Men organizations claimed to harbor secret knowledge of supposed Native rituals and were structured around hierarchies of Indian-titled leadership. The influence of these Indian-themed fraternal organizations continued late into the antebellum years. The historian and proto-ethnographer Lewis Henry Morgan and

the poet Henry Rowe Schoolcraft researched Native American customs and lore in an attempt to recreate and reenact this knowledge for each other in full “traditional” regalia at monthly campfire meetings in New York forests. Morgan’s New Confederacy of the Iroquois allowed antebellum American cultural arbiters such as historians, writers, poets, and artists to play Indian as a way of forging a national-cultural identity. All of these forms of playing Indian provided white American men with esoteric connections to Native culture and the concept of aboriginality on which they could stake political claims to super-patriotism and position themselves as the legitimate and natural inheritors of Native American customs, traditions, and, most importantly, land.

Playing Indian resurfaced at the end of the nineteenth century and persisted into the twentieth. Americans were growing anxious about sociocultural changes brought about by modernity, including social alienation, urbanization, and the putative “closing” of the Western frontier. Thus “getting back to nature” by playing Indian functioned as a kind of remedy for the social decay of the urban center and the loss of clear notions of masculinity. Boy Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, and a host of Indian-themed summer camps provided opportunities for upper- and middle-class youth to purify themselves and build their moral character through enacting supposed Indianness. These years also saw significant growth in the field of American anthropology as ethnographers “went Native” through living in Native communities as participant-observers. This ethnographic form of playing Indian was popularized through ethnographic texts, exhibits, photography, and cinema seen in museums and at World’s Fairs and through the works of Frank Hamilton Cushing, Edward Curtis, and Robert Flaherty. These recreational and ethnographic enactments of Indianness coincided with and were connected to the rise of the popular notion of Indians as a “vanishing race” doomed to extinction by modernity.

After World War II playing Indian became less about reenacting a disappearing racial identity and more about individual efforts to recover a sense of authenticity. This kind of playing Indian is exemplified by hobbyists, white Americans who participate alongside Native performers in powwows and who are highly devoted to detail-oriented performances of Indianness. Hobbyists spend a great deal of time and energy on creating their dance regalia to produce an authentic performance that aims to be indistinguishable from Native powwow dancers. This quest for personal distinction can be interpreted as a response to the conformist, consumer culture of postwar America. Indianness provided an authenticity and individuality lacking in the sameness of postwar, mass-culture America.

Adherents of the counterculture and New Age spiritualism movements of the 1960s through the present have

followed in the footsteps of hobbyists and antimodernists of the early twentieth century. Although perhaps not with as much attention to detail, they have appropriated Native culture and tradition to critique the purported greed, pollution, and spiritual vapidness of modern America. Though often involving dress and paraphernalia, this kind of playing Indian has been more concerned with channeling a supposed Native ethos that was proverbially at one with nature and that placed communal welfare over individual wealth. Many indigenous communities do hold such values, but counterculturalists and New Agers disregard specific tribal histories and traditions and instead combine a hodge-podge of tribal customs. New Agers often make vague claims to Indian ancestry or suggest that all cultures ought to be open to anyone desiring to learn about and practice them. Many American Indians have strenuously rejected New Agers’ Indian play as a form of cultural appropriation or ethnic fraud. For them, non-Indians’ financial profiteering from playing Indian through spiritual and self-help literature and seminars is especially objectionable.

Playing Indian inflicts damage on Native peoples because it reduces Indianness to a set of racialized tropes and stereotypes. This affects the way Native people, especially children, see themselves. This act of racial formation also overrides the self-determining cultural and political identities of tribal communities, the foundations of tribal sovereignty. The strongest argument for and substantiation of American Indian self-determination and land rights is not based on a collective racial identity, fabricated by phenomena such as playing Indian, but the historical fact of inherent sovereignty and self-governance that Indian communities possessed long before colonization of the Americas.

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*David Kamper*

### PLESSY V. FERGUSON

In the 1896 case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the United States Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of a Louisiana law that required railroads to provide “equal but separate accommodations for the white and colored races.” The case enshrined the constitutional validity of racial segregation laws under what came to be known as the “separate but equal doctrine,” and it permitted the proliferation of mandatory segregation laws across the American South during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These laws formed a pervasive web of racial rules, known as Jim Crow laws, requiring the separation of the races in public accommodations, schools, hospitals, and even cemeteries. Although most Jim Crow laws called for equal facilities, public accommodations and services under the segregated system were glaringly unequal. In addition, laws requiring racial segregation were extended in many jurisdictions to include not only African Americans and “people of color,” but also Native Americans and people of Chinese or Mexican descent.

The separate but equal doctrine operated to enforce a racial caste system that subordinated and disenfranchised nonwhites, denied them basic public services, isolated them in poor neighborhoods and schools, and limited their employment and educational opportunities. In the 1920s the *Plessy* case became the target of a litigation campaign by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), which, after many years of litigation, succeeded in overturning the separate but equal doctrine in the landmark 1954 case of *Brown v. Board of Education*.

#### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Before the American Civil War, racial distinctions existed in the law of virtually every state and territory of the United States. These laws prohibited or limited the migration of slaves and free Negroes, excluded Negroes from public accommodations, prohibited intermarriage, and imposed various civil disabilities on nonwhites. The codes governing the behavior of slaves in the South were particularly onerous, for they prohibited slaves from such activities as learning to read and write, carrying a weapon, or testifying in court. In the immediate aftermath of the Civil War, South-

ern legislatures—still controlled by members of the former Confederacy—enacted Black Codes that resurrected much of the prewar slave-control legislation. Radical Republicans in Congress saw the actions of the former Confederate leaders as a threat to the Union and reacted by enacting federal civil rights statutes and extending federal protection to the civil and political rights of the former slaves.

During this postwar period, known as Reconstruction, three amendments were added to the federal Constitution to achieve these goals. The Thirteenth Amendment formally abolished slavery and involuntary servitude, except as punishment for a crime. The Fourteenth Amendment extended federal and state citizenship to all persons born or naturalized in the United States and prohibited the states from enacting any law abridging the privileges and immunities of citizenship. It further declared that the states may not “deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law” or deny any person “the equal protection of the laws.” The Fifteenth Amendment promised that the right to vote would not be denied or abridged because of “race, color, or previous condition of servitude.”

While federal troops occupied the South, former slaves voted in large numbers across the states of the former Confederacy and began to enjoy some level of political clout. Blacks served on juries, were elected to political office, and opened schools. In some areas a black middle class began to emerge and some public accommodations were desegregated. In 1877, however, when federal troops were withdrawn from the South following the Hayes-Tilden Compromise, the social and political position of blacks in Southern society began a long decline. White “Redeemers” regained control of Southern legislatures; the Ku Klux Klan enlarged its campaign of terror; the number of lynchings increased; whites used poll taxes, literacy tests, violence and fraud to prevent blacks from voting; and new racial segregation laws began to be passed.

In 1890, when the Louisiana legislature enacted a bill requiring the separation of the races in railroad travel, a group of black and mixed-race citizens in New Orleans determined to test the legislation in court. Led by prominent “persons of color” in the Creole community, notably Louis A. Martinet, they formed a Citizens’ Committee and hired Albion Tourgée, a well-known white lawyer, judge, carpetbagger, and activist for civil rights, to begin planning an appropriate test case.

The test case was initiated on June 7, 1892, when Homer Plessy, an octoroon (a person of one-eighth Negro ancestry), bought a first-class ticket for a trip from New Orleans to Covington, Louisiana, on the East Louisiana Railroad. As arranged in advance, Plessy was arrested when he refused to be seated in the car reserved for the colored race. In the state court, Plessy admitted that he had refused to take the assigned seat, but he asserted that he could not



*Expulsion from a Whites-Only Railway Car.* Homer Plessy was arrested after he refused to be seated in a train car reserved for African Americans. PICTURE COLLECTION, THE BRANCH LIBRARIES, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

be punished because the statute was unconstitutional. The Louisiana Supreme Court upheld the statute, and an appeal was taken to the U.S. Supreme Court.

### THE MAJORITY DECISION

Before the Supreme Court, Plessy's lawyers argued that the Louisiana statute violated the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution because it was designed to degrade blacks and impose a badge of servitude on them. Further, they claimed that the statute violated the Fourteenth Amendment guarantee of due process, because any passenger wrongly identified as a colored passenger would be deprived of the status and reputation of being white, which were valuable property. They also argued that the statute violated the Fourteenth Amendment equal protection clause by restricting the personal right of citizens to freely enjoy all public privileges and by unjustly discriminating against one class of citizens.

In a seven-to-one ruling against Plessy, the Supreme Court rejected all of Plessy's arguments. Justice Henry Billings Brown, writing for the majority, found no violation of the Thirteenth Amendment because the statute

"merely implies a legal distinction between the white and colored races" and has "no tendency to destroy the legal equality of the two races, or reestablish a state of involuntary servitude." Further, the statute presented no violation of the Fourteenth Amendment due process clause because any white man wrongly assigned to the colored coach could bring an action for damages against the railroad company. Most importantly, the statute did not violate the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment because it was a reasonable exercise of the state's police power to legislate for the public good, taking into account "the established usages, customs and traditions of the people."

In response to the argument that the separation of the races stamps the colored race with a badge of inferiority, Brown wrote, "If this be so, it is not by reason of anything found in the act, but solely because the colored race chooses to put that construction upon it." Finally, Brown rejected the idea that social prejudices may be overcome by legislation, saying, "If the two races are to meet upon terms of social equality, it must be the result of natural affinities, a mutual appreciation of each other's merits and a voluntary consent of individuals." Brown did not note that members of different races would face criminal penalties if their natural affinities inclined them to sit together on the train.

### THE DISSENT

Justice John Marshall Harlan, a former slaveholder from Kentucky who became a Republican and a Union Army Colonel during the Civil War, wrote a lone dissenting opinion. For Harlan, the denial of equal civil rights to freed blacks in the South presented an affront to the federal power embodied in the Civil War Amendments, as well as a threat to the stability of the federal government. The states did not have the power, he asserted, to regulate the use of a public railroad by citizens on the basis of race. If a white man and black man chose to occupy the same public conveyance, he argued, it was their right to do so. The statute thus violated the personal liberty of members of both races.

Harlan rejected the majority's conclusion that the statute did not discriminate against either race because it applied equally to both, saying "Everyone knows that the statute in question had its origin in the purpose, not so much to exclude white persons from railroad cars occupied by blacks, as to exclude colored people from coaches occupied by or assigned to white persons." Harlan concluded that the law impermissibly stamps the colored race with a badge of inferiority. Although Harlan acknowledged the dominance of the white race in prestige, achievements, education, wealth, and power, he denied the authority of the legislature to draft laws that regulated the enjoyment of civil rights on the basis of race. "There is

no caste here,” he wrote, “Our Constitution is color-blind and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens.” To permit the states to legislate based on race would ignore the fact that “the destinies of the two races, in this country, are indissolubly linked together,” and it would allow the states “to plant the seeds of race hatred under the sanction of law.” Harlan predicted what would happen if similar statutes were enacted across the nation:

Slavery as an institution tolerated by law would, it is true, have disappeared from our country, but there would remain a power in the States, by sinister legislation, to interfere with the full enjoyment of the blessings of freedom; to regulate civil rights, common to all citizens, on the basis of race; and to place in a condition of legal inferiority a large body of American citizens, now constituting a part of the political community called the People of the United States.

Harlan’s dissent accurately predicted the effect of judicial approval of mandatory segregation laws. Such laws proliferated in the wake of *Plessy* and played an important role in consigning people of color to a second-class version of American citizenship. Harlan’s dissent also became important for its articulation of the concept of the color-blind Constitution. Legal color blindness, in the sense of the elimination of legal distinctions based on race, was a central goal of civil rights activists of the mid-twentieth century. Many believe that the ideal of color blindness still holds promise as a tool to be used in achieving racial equality.

On the other hand, the color-blind principle came to be used in the late twentieth century as a rallying cry for conservatives who sought to dismantle programs designed to remedy past discrimination, such as affirmative action programs or minority set-asides. Race-conscious measures designed to benefit historically disadvantaged racial groups are “color conscious” rather than “color blind.” Thus, color blindness is presently viewed by many as a weapon in a battle against minority efforts to improve equality.

SEE ALSO *Color-Blind Racism*.

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*Molly Townes O’Brien*

## PORNOGRAPHY

In the image-based society of the early twenty-first century, images of sexuality circulate widely in advertisements, movies, television, and music videos. Beyond these venues, pornography constitutes a prominent place where cultural notions of sexuality are most clearly articulated. Moreover, whether in mainstream movies and television or in pornography, images of sex never just portray sex, for they also construct representations that are based on collective ideologies of what constitutes both normal and deviant sexuality. James Snead, in his discussion of images of African Americans in white film, argues that “in all Hollywood film portrayals of blacks . . . the political is never far from the sexual” (Snead 1994, p. 8). Indeed, one of the ways in which whites demonize people of color is to define their sexuality as deviant, and thus in need of (white) policing and control.

From the image of the Asian woman as geisha to the black male as sexual savage, mainstream white representations have coded nonwhite sexuality as deviant, excessive, and a threat to the white social order. These images, while somewhat muted in mainstream Hollywood movies, are very much dominant in the pornography that is defined as “interracial” by the industry. While all pornography attempts to push the limits of what is acceptable sexual practice, representations of people of color operate within a regime of representation that defines them as “Other,” and thus outside the realm of “normal” (white) humanity. There has been very little critique of these overtly racist images by academics studying pornography, suggesting that they have become so normalized that they now constitute common-sense assumptions regarding the sexuality of people of color.

#### DEFINITIONS OF PORNOGRAPHY

There is considerable academic debate concerning what constitutes pornography. Definitions are often political in nature, with pro-pornography writers such as Wendy McElroy defining pornography as “the explicit artistic depiction of men and/or women as sexual beings.” (McElroy 1995, p. 43). However, antipornography scholars such as Catherine MacKinnon and Andrea Dworkin tend to take a more critical perspective, seeing pornography as material that sexualizes subordination through pictures and words. An example of such a definition that is widely accepted within antipornography feminist literature is that of Helen Longino, who defines pornography as any material that “represents or describes sexual behavior that is degrading or abusive to one or more of the participants in such as way as to endorse the degradation” (Longino 1980, p. 29). While Longino points out that in most cases it is women and children who are the ones degraded, men must

also be included here, because they are the ones degraded in gay pornography.

While debating definitions may be an interesting academic practice, the reality is that there is a massive global pornography industry that generates estimated revenues of more than \$57 billion dollars per year.

Those working in the pornography industry know what constitutes pornography, for as Gail Dines and Robert Jensen document in “The Content of Mass-Marketed Pornography” (1998), its products are highly formulaic and genre bound. A useful working definition for any discussion that attempts to map out specific genres of pornography is thus those products (in print or image form) produced, distributed, and sold with the aim of sexually arousing the viewer.

#### IMAGES OF RACE IN PORNOGRAPHY

The two largest moneymakers for the pornography industry are feature films and Gonzo movies. The former attempts to mirror mainstream movies. Thus, they include some story line and plot, and they employ a high degree of technological sophistication. Gonzo pornography, on the other hand, strings together a number of sex scenes devoid of a story line. These tend to look quickly made and amateurish and consist of body-punishing, often violent, sex acts where the women are penetrated (orally, anally and vaginally) by a number of men at the same time. The aim here is to facilitate masturbation in the male user as quickly and economically as possible. People of color dominate in Gonzo, which has none of the status or chic associated with the up-market features produced by companies such as Vivid Video. Indeed, in the emerging world of celebratory pornography, it is white women who are fronted by the industry, with regular appearances on syndicated television shows such as *The Howard Stern Show* and photo shoots in mainstream, best-selling men’s magazines such as *FHM* and *Maxim*.

The Gonzo pornography has a sub-category called interracial. Although there are films with Asian and Latina women and men, much of the focus is on sex between black men and white women. Films in this subgenre typically trade in the long-standing racist myth that black men are more animalistic, sexually violent, and less evolved than white men. A central part of this myth is that black men use their sexual savagery mainly against white women, who are coded as “sluts.” One recurring sentence on many interracial pornography sites is “once they go black, they never go back,” thus suggesting that black men are sexually more enticing and exciting because of their lack of restraint.

This visual depiction of black men is actually part of a much larger regime of racial representation that—

beginning with *The Birth of a Nation* (1915) and continuing with pornography—makes the black male’s supposed sexual misconduct a metaphor for the inferior nature of the black race as a whole. *Hustler*, the most widely distributed hard-core pornography magazine in the world, regularly depicts caricatured black men as having oversized genitalia but undersized heads, thus signifying mental inferiority. They are frequently shown as pimps with gold chains, expensive cars, and a stable of black and white women. When not pimping women to make money, the black man is often shown cheating the government by cashing fraudulent welfare checks. The *Hustler* images clearly speak to the dominant racist ideology that black men are criminals and, if left unchecked, will financially drain law-abiding whites.

Representations of black women in pornography also draw on broader racist ideologies embedded in the dominant culture. Black women are repeatedly referred to as ebony whores, sluts from the ghetto, and bad black “sistas.” They are defined as being less attractive than white women, and therefore desperate for sex with anything or anyone. One site, for example, focuses on the supposed inability of black women to dress in a way that attracts men.

In contrast to black women, Asian women in pornography are constructed as the feminine ideal. Referred to as sweet, cute, shy, and vulnerable, these images trade on the long-standing stereotype of Asian women as submissive and coy. A magazine called *Asian Beauties* tells the readers that these “exotic beauties” are “born and bred with the skills to please a man.” Many Internet pornography sites make veiled reference to trafficking in women, but rather than depicting this as sexual slavery, the men are told that “she was imported for your delight.” Totally commodified, these women cease to have any humanity but are instead goods to be traded internationally for white men.

Interestingly, Asian men rarely appear in straight pornography but are a major commodity in gay pornography. Also referred to as submissive, shy, and in many cases young, these men are offered up to a presumably white gay male audience. Black men in gay pornography, however, are represented in the same way that they are in straight pornography. Thus, black men are hypermasculinized in gay pornography, while Asian men are feminized. Commenting on the racialized hierarchy in gay pornography, Christopher Kendall notes that such imagery “justifies through sex the types of attitudes and inequalities that make racism and sexism powerful and interconnected realities” (Kendall 2004, p. 60).

Indeed, all pornography uses sex as a vehicle to transmit messages about the legitimacy of racism and sexism. Hiding behind the facade of fantasy and harmless fun, pornography delivers reactionary racist stereotypes

that would be considered unacceptable were they in any other types of mass-produced media. However, the power of pornography is that these messages have a long history and still resonate, on a subtextual level, with the white supremacist ideologies that continue to inform policies that economically, politically, and socially discriminate against people of color.

SEE ALSO *Feminism and Race; Violence against Women and Girls.*

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Gail Dines

## PORRES, MARTIN DE, ST. 1579–1639

The patron saint of racial and social justice, Martin de Porres was born on December 9, 1579, in Lima, Peru. He was the illegitimate son of a Spanish nobleman and a young, freed black slave named Ana Velasquez. Because of Martin's dark skin, his father refused to acknowledge him as his own and left Martin and his mother alone. Without the support of his father, Martin and his mother lived in terrible poverty.

As a young boy, Martin became a servant in the Dominican priory and would beg money from the rich citizens of Lima in support of the poor and the sick. Eventually, the Dominican superiors accepted Martin as a brother of the order, ignoring the rule that disallowed a black person from taking vows and receiving the Dominican habit.

As a Dominican brother, Martin dedicated himself to working on behalf of the impoverished and oppressed. For the children living in the slums, he established an orphanage, a children's hospital, and a school where they could receive a complete education or learn a trade. He oversaw the Dominicans' infirmary and was known for his tender medical care of those who were ill or suffering. He provided food, clothing, and medicine for the most destitute of Lima's citizens, and he was especially concerned for those who were oppressed because they were black or of mixed-race ancestry. Drawing on his own experience of racial prejudice and discrimination, and on his commitment to the "poor, rejected Christ," his actions on behalf of African slaves and the poor who lived in the slums of Lima demonstrated his deep commitment to racial and social justice.

Martin's kindness toward the impoverished masses and his actions on behalf of justice sometimes led to difficulties between himself and his superiors in the Dominican order. He literally brought the struggles of the poor right into the center of the order's life—often by giving hospitality to the homeless and hungry at the priory itself, sharing his own living space, or even giving up his bed for a sick person who had no place else to turn. For Martin, this practice of solidarity with those who suffered because of economic or racial injustice was an extremely important value of the religious life. All of Martin's skills were placed at the service of those who were oppressed and marginalized, and he never ceased in promoting a world where poverty and prejudice were no more.

Martin died from a fever on November 3, 1639, at the age of sixty. His journey toward sainthood began when he was beatified by the Roman Catholic Church in 1873. He was officially named a saint on May 16, 1962, by Pope John XXIII. He was the first black American saint and is the patron saint of racial and social justice. Many Catholics in the Americas continue to draw inspiration from his life in their own work on behalf of racial reconciliation.

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John J. Zokovitch III

## POVERTY

The term *poverty* has many different and complex meanings. Similar terms exist in various languages, but they often connote different and particular conditions of



landlessness, destitution, deprivation, and inequality. In the Anglo-Saxon world, the usage of the term can be traced to the Middle Ages, though its emergence as a concept is more appropriately located in the writings of Thomas Malthus (1766–1834), specifically in an evolutionary theory that interpreted poverty and famine as natural outcomes of population growth.

#### INDUSTRIALIZATION AND POVERTY

In contemporary times, the concept of poverty as a social problem, and particularly as a problem to be addressed by the modern state, has its origins in the late nineteenth century. In England, the long process of “enclosures,” which started in the thirteenth century and displaced and dispossessed English peasants through the privatization of agrarian and common lands, set the stage for the Industrial Revolution by freeing up labor and concentrating capital. But the system of industrial capitalism was to generate intense forms of poverty. England’s rural poor made their way to cities such as London and Manchester, where they clustered in slums and worked under conditions akin to sweatshops. These conditions made poverty more visible than it had been previously, and social reformers and urban planners set about to create some of the first mappings and categorizations of poverty, sorting the poor into “deserving” and “undeserving” categories. There was charity for the former group and stiff penalties, in the form of poorhouses and vagrancy laws, for the latter. The French philosopher Michel Foucault (1926–1984) later theorized that such institutions of “discipline and punish” are the foundations of modern power.

In England, in France, and elsewhere in Europe, there was also concern that the urban poor would organize in rebellion and revolution, as they did in Paris in 1798, and again in 1848, and as had the rural poor in various peasant revolts. The Second Empire of France thus sought to break up urban enclaves of poverty, vesting Baron Georges-Eugène Haussmann with the powers of urban modernization, including the capacity to demolish the slums of Paris and displace the poor to scattered peripheries of the city. Such techniques of poverty management, both in England and France, were precursors to, and paradigms of, twentieth-century sociospatial control.

#### RACISM AND POVERTY IN THE UNITED STATES

American cities were also convulsed with the visible poverty of industrial capitalism. These cities had large immigrant populations, initially from Europe and then from other parts of the world. The concern with poverty was thus inevitably a concern about racial and ethnic differences. The social reform efforts of the late nineteenth

century, such as the settlement houses, intended to assimilate the immigrant into an American way of life. However, these liberal tendencies did not apply to two social groups that were seen as the racial Other. On the West Coast, Chinese laborers were building the infrastructure that was to make the settlement of the American frontier possible. However, by the early twentieth century, the Chinese were seen as a threat. Racist cartoons depicted the “Chinaman” as an evil and alien figure. Legal mechanisms, such as the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, restricted the ability of Chinese workers to bring their families to America. Urban planning codes made it impossible for the Chinese to rent or own property in any part of the city other than Chinatown, which became a space of quarantine and control.

On the other side of America, large numbers of black families were making their way from the Deep South to the factories of the Northeast and Midwest. This Great Migration made visible the failure of post-Civil War Reconstruction. Despite the formal end of slavery, the American South was a racialized space marked by segregation, violence, and lynchings. But in the cities of the North, black Americans were to find other forms of state-tolerated, even state-sponsored, segregation. These included racially restrictive covenants that protected white neighborhoods in the name of property values; redlining policies that devalued property in black neighborhoods; and segregated public housing that, when integrated, saw massive white flight and a concentration of poor black families. This was in fact an “American apartheid” (Massey and Denton 1998).

In the American context, this racialized experience of poverty has been explained in various ways. In the 1920s, the Chicago School of urban sociology put forth a conceptual model of American cities as ecological zones of social and spatial mobility (Park, Burgess, and McKenzie 1925). This liberal interpretation envisioned the city as a spatial equilibrium where all social groups could be fully accommodated. The political scientist Edward Banfield was to later claim that the explanation for ghettoization and segregation of black Americans lay in the fact that black Americans had simply arrived late to the city, and were thus unable to access jobs and neighborhoods in the same way as European immigrants. Poverty, in other words, had nothing to do with structural racism, but was instead a historical idiosyncrasy. More important, Banfield argued that black Americans did not want to leave their racial enclaves: “there was nothing to stop them from doing so,” he famously argued, concluding the chapter “Race: thinking may make it so” (Banfield 1974). Other scholarship, of course, such as the pathbreaking work of St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton (1945), had already demonstrated why the argument “there was nothing to stop them from doing so” could not have been further from reality. Drake and Cayton delineated a “Black

Metropolis,” a stubborn and persistent spatial concentration of racialized poverty in the heart of Chicago. But Banfield’s work proved influential, reinforcing themes of a “culture of poverty.” Liberal policymakers such as Daniel Patrick Moynihan (1965) argued that black poverty could be partly explained by a tangle of pathologies, including a distinctive matriarchal family structure. Culture-of-poverty arguments have even made their way into the work of the eminent African-American sociologist William Julius Wilson. In his famous research on the American underclass, Wilson noted that the economic restructuring of the 1970s sharply worsened the conditions of black Americans. Work disappeared from the ghetto and, in a “spatial mismatch,” new jobs existed far away, often in the suburbs. He notes that with the civil rights movement, as restrictive covenants and redlining were struck down, black middle-class families did manage to leave the ghetto, but they left behind an underclass mired in a culture of poverty. These liberal frameworks of poverty have faced scathing criticism in the work of Loïc Wacquant. In an essay titled “Three Pernicious Premises in the Study of the American Ghetto” (1997), Wacquant insists that to state that poverty creates the ghetto is to reverse causation. Instead, the ghetto is a space created through the institutional mechanisms of ethn racial closure and control, and such forms of institutionalized racism create poverty.

#### THE EFFECTS OF COLONIALISM

It is, of course, not enough to understand poverty, and its racial dimensions, solely in the Euro-American context. Poverty, in modern times, is inextricably located within structures of colonialism and imperialism. Such forms of colonialism include colonies of settlement that destroyed and wiped out indigenous populations, as in the settlement of the American frontier. They also include colonies of rule, where European powers established rule over colonized populations and lands, as the British did in India or the French did in North Africa. Using the world-systems perspective of theorists such as Immanuel Wallerstein (b. 1930), poverty can therefore be understood as a structural feature of the global extraction of resources. This unequal exchange is expressed as a core-periphery relationship, where colonizing (core) countries exploit colonized (periphery) countries. The core-periphery relationship is replicated at various scales—within the periphery, the primate city (one that is more than two times as large as others in a nation) exploits the countryside, and within cities the formal sector exploits the informal sector. Such a condition is often described as “dependency” or the “dependent city,” a space where poverty is determined not only through internal mechanisms but also through the extractive and exploitative nature of global linkages (Cardoso and Faletto 1978).

While colonialism formally ended in much of the world in the mid-twentieth century, dependency theorists argue that the core-periphery structure persists through new institutions of international development, such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF). While these institutions claim to enable economic growth, stabilize international financial markets, and alleviate poverty, their critics see them as instruments of “neocolonialism” (Escobar 1995). The World Bank stands accused of the widespread displacement and dispossession of vulnerable social groups in the name of development and modernization. The International Monetary Fund is seen to be responsible for severe austerity policies that have sharply restricted the ability of nation-states to maintain social safety nets or subsidize basic consumption. Various global poverty campaigns, such as Jubilee 2000 and Make Poverty History (2005), have called for an overhaul of these institutions and pushed for debt relief for formerly colonized countries.

Colonialism, or neocolonialism, is much more than the extraction of material resources, of course. It is also a racial ideology that claims a “mission of civilization” as a “white man’s burden” (Fanon 1952). In the late nineteenth century, as London and Paris were being reformed and modernized, colonial cities such as Algiers and Calcutta were being managed and rationalized by colonial administrators. Colonial cities were often divided into “white town” and “black town,” with natives cordoned and quarantined in the black town in a manner reminiscent of the slums and ghettos of Europe and America. This “dual city” also emerged under conditions of semi-colonialism in cities such as Cairo and Mexico City, which were formally independent but remained within the sphere of control and authority of European powers. Here, native elites sought to enclose and contain the urban poor, and in some instances, as in Mexico City, they did so to enforce complex hierarchies of whiteness and color. Colonialism also returned “home” to shape ideologies of race. As analyzed in the seminal work of Edward Said (1977), Europe produced the “Orient” through military conquest and economic rule as well as through discourse—through the power to create an image and declare it to be reality. Such forms of “Orientalism” were applied to the colonized Other, but they were also applied to the urban poor in Euro-American cities. Jacob Riis, in his passionate documentation of urban poverty in New York in the 1890s, presented the poor as the “other half,” and designated poor street children as “street Arabs.” Wacquant, therefore, labels more recent instances of American ghetto poverty as the “new urban Orientalism.” Indeed, American public debates about the “Latino metropolis” (i.e., about large numbers of Latino immigrants in U.S. cities), has taken a racist turn. Much like Banfield’s earlier arguments, Samuel Huntington argued in 2004 that



**Poverty in Guatemala.** A homeless woman sleeps on the street in Guatemala. Approximately 80 percent of the population in the former Spanish colony lives in poverty. AP IMAGES.

American culture is under threat from Latinos and their alleged enclave mentality. Similar racial tensions have erupted in France, where the failure of postcolonial integration and assimilation has become evident in the joblessness and frustration of North African immigrants.

### THIRD WORLD POVERTY

While the Euro-American debates about poverty remain marked by racial anxieties, the “Third World” poverty debates have partly moved on. The late 1970s witnessed an important paradigm shift in the study of poverty in the Global South. Social scientists such as Janice Perlman undermined the “myth of marginality” (1976) and drew attention to the ways in which the urban poor create their own informal economies, urban settlements, and forms of social organization. In the important theoretical work of Manuel Castells (1983), these ideas were formalized as a theory of urban social movements. In the early twenty-first century, there is a vast body of research that indicates the tactics, quiet encroachments, and negotiations

through which the urban poor carve out spaces of livelihood in the cities of the Global South (Roy 2003). Such work restores agency to the urban poor and presents an important challenge to “culture of poverty” arguments, while also remaining acutely aware of the structural exploitations and vulnerabilities of poverty. Third World poverty has also been presented in rather romanticized ways. In *The Mystery of Capital* (2000), for example, Hernando de Soto celebrates the poor as heroic entrepreneurs. Such ideas are gaining popularity because of their resonance with neoliberalism, which is the practice and ideology of privatization. Taking hold in the 1980s, neoliberalism has crucial implications for poverty and inequality. Neoliberal practices, such as the dismantling of the welfare state, often deepen poverty. Neoliberal ideology legitimizes such action by making a case against dependency on state welfare and by making a case for the work ethic and family ethic, tropes that are inevitably racialized. As an urban process, neoliberalism also involves an engagement with the inner city. In the 1950s and 1960s, the slums and ghettos of American

cities were demolished to make way for state-led urban development. This was reminiscent of late nineteenth-century Haussmann-led modernization, but such forms of urban renewal also came to be known as “Negro removal.” In the 1980s and 1990s, a second round of urban renewal unfolded. This was a more privatized process of gentrification that scripted the inner city as a new urban frontier of elite consumption and leisure. As covenants and redlining once protected prosperous neighborhoods, so walls and gates and paramilitary forces have come to protect the high-end enclaves of cities around the world. Neoliberal enclave urbanism is made possible through new and renewed forms of displacement and dispossession. These evictions can be understood as part of the long genealogy of colonialism and capitalism, and particularly of their mechanisms of primitive accumulation (Harvey 2005). Race, as a practice and ideology, is an integral part of such accumulation.

SEE ALSO *Brazilian Racial Formations; Capitalism; Children, Racial Disparities and Status of; Cuban Racial Formations; Education, Racial Disparities; Haitian Racial Formations; Health Care Gap; HIV and AIDS; Medical Racism; South African Racial Formations; United Kingdom Racial Formations; Violence against Women and Girls.*

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Ananya Roy

## POWELL, ADAM CLAYTON, JR. 1908–1972

Adam Clayton Powell Jr. was a flamboyant U.S. civil rights leader and clergyman from New York. He became the first African American to wield extensive structural power in the U.S. Congress. Representing New York City's community of Harlem in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1945 to 1971, Powell rose to be chairman of its powerful Education and Labor Committee (1961–1967), where he insured that key laws against racial discrimination and for economic and social justice were enacted.

The only child of Mattie Fletcher Schaefer Powell and the Reverend Adam Clayton Powell Sr., Adam Jr. was born on November 29, 1908, in New Haven, Connecticut, where his father was pastor at the Emmanuel Baptist Church and studied at the Yale Divinity School. It was in that same year

that his father accepted the position of pastor at the famed Abyssinian Baptist Church (ABC) in New York City.

Founded in 1808 by blacks refusing to abide any longer the racial segregation in Manhattan's First Baptist Church, ABC was a venerable African-American institution. In its pulpit, Powell Sr. became one of the leading clergymen of his day. After earning a bachelor's degree from Colgate University (1930) in Hamilton, New York, and a master's degree from Columbia University (1932), Powell Jr. was hired by his father, first as the church's business manager and community center director, and then as assistant pastor. The Depression-era soup kitchen and community outreach programs he developed at the ABC facilities on West 138th St. helped expand the congregation into a megachurch, boasting 14,000 members in the mid-1930s. This experience served as a solid basis for the younger Powell's assaults on racial injustice after he succeeded his ailing father as pastor in 1937.

Powell Jr. led rent strikes to improve living conditions in Harlem and organized boycott campaigns designed to achieve better jobs for blacks. His work helped to improve public health care for blacks, particularly at the city's Harlem Hospital, and to break employment barriers on city transport and other public utilities, as well as in many department stores and at the 1939–1940 World's Fair held in New York City.

Powell never shirked the limelight. His ABC position and work focused further attention on him, which only grew as he matured. He represented a less restrained and more demanding "New Negro" community. He was a major supporter of the union leader A. Philip Randolph's successful effort in setting up the National Negro Congress in Chicago in 1936. The aim of the congress, which was attended by more than 800 delegates, was to get the government to address the needs of blacks during the Depression.

Powell saw the potential of blacks' concerted economic and political power. He believed that the large number of blacks drawn to Chicago in the Great Migration from the South to the North earlier in the century had illustrated that strength. It was in Chicago in 1928 that Oscar DePriest, whose family had moved north from Alabama in the 1878, became the first black in the twentieth century to be elected to the U.S. House of Representatives. Subsequently, Chicago's black voters elected Arthur W. Mitchell and William L. Dawson to that same seat.

Powell believed this process could be repeated in Harlem. He therefore entered electoral politics and was elected to the New York City Council in 1941. Using ABC as a base within the larger community of Harlem, Powell was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1945. Almost immediately he clashed with the legislative establishment, which was dominated by whites from the South. Rejecting practices that restricted blacks from certain congressional facilities, he demanded the

same access as other members of Congress. On the House floor, he challenged segregationist members and programs. He routinely attached antidiscrimination clauses (initially ridiculed as the "Powell Amendment") to federal spending measures, presaging federal antidiscrimination practices that became common in the 1960s. He also championed Third World independence and development in the years following World War II.

Powell rode the crest of the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. Through the rigid seniority rules of Congress, he became chairman of the House Committee on Education and Labor in 1961. He used this position to advance desegregation and antipoverty legislation, raise the federal minimum wage, and increase funding for public education. A key figure behind the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964, he also championed aid for persons with disabilities.

Powell's open disregard for convention and his being one of only a half-dozen African-American congressmen in the mid-1960s made him conspicuous. His high living-style, notorious womanizing, and three marriages grated against traditional images of a suitably religious pastor. His political outspokenness made him an alluring target in the hotly contested civil rights era. Powell paid the consequences of his personal and political flamboyance in 1967. After charges of corruption, tax evasion, and misappropriation of funds, the House Democratic Caucus stripped him of his committee chairmanship, and in March 1967 the full House voted 307 to 116 to exclude him from membership. He challenged the action, appealing all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court, which in *Powell v. McCormack* (1969) ruled his exclusion unconstitutional. In the interim, Powell's Harlem constituency twice reelected him. But he had other legal problems, having become something of a fugitive from his own district because of an unpaid 1963 libel judgment against him.

Fading but still fiery in the late 1960s, Powell represented a militancy that bridged black generations since the 1920s in their struggle against racism and segregation. His 1967 sermon "Black Power: A Form of Godly Power," along with his six-sermon record album titled "Keep the Faith, Baby!" (1967), resonated for yet another generation insistent on more immediate racial and social justice. Emperor Haile Selassie in 1969 personally bestowed on Powell the Golden Cross of Ethiopia for his internationally recognized work. Yet Powell's long peccadilloes, particularly his congressional absenteeism, finally exhausted his Harlem constituency's patience, and in 1970 it replaced him with Charles B. Rangel. In decreasing health from a heart attack, chest tumor, and cancer, Powell withdrew to his Bahamian island retreat of Bimini. He died at sixty-three in Miami, Florida, on April 4, 1972.

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Thomas J. Davis

## PREJUDICE

SEE *Social Psychology of Racism*.

## PROSTITUTION

SEE *Sex Work*.

## PUERTO RICANS

In a republic established by colonizing European settlers and shaped by succeeding waves of immigrants, the Puerto Rican experience is exceptional. Other than the indigenous peoples of North America and the African Americans whose ancestors were brought to the United States as slaves, most U.S. residents are descended from immigrants of many nations, or else are among the current arrivals in a centuries-old progression. The people of Puerto Rico, however, have the distinction of being declared U.S. citizens by a single act of Congress in 1917 after the United States seized possession of Puerto Rico in 1898–1899 following four centuries of Spanish colonial rule.

The identity issues that have arisen from these circumstances are unique, leaving Puerto Ricans as a large ethnic minority among U.S. citizens but without a “hyphenated” identity. Even those born Stateside call themselves Puerto Ricans, not “Puerto Rican–Americans,” and their identification with the island is quite strong. Many scholars, among them Ramon Grosfoguel and Angelo Falcón, have noted the extent to which multiple-generation Stateside Puerto Ricans retain a sense of belonging to the Puerto Rican imagined community even if they have never visited the island.

So many Puerto Ricans have migrated from the island in the last century that today the diaspora in the fifty U.S. states (estimated by the 2003 census at 3,855,608) matches the population of the island nation itself (3,808,610 people in the 2000 census), raising the prospect of a future in which the Puerto Rican majority is “Diasporican.” The political and economic dependency between the United States and Puerto Rico, and U.S. governmental policies with intended and unintended consequences to Puerto Ricans, are critical to understanding the ethnoracial experience of Puerto Ricans Stateside as “people of color,” regardless of skin color (Urciuoli 1996). How complicated these issues become in the racially charged and conflicted context of U.S. society is reflected in data showing that fewer Puerto Ricans (46%) in the U.S. diaspora identified themselves in the 2000 census as “white” compared to 80 percent of island residents.

“Puerto Ricans’ racialization is evident through their imposed racial categorization,” sociologist Vidal-Ortiz wrote in 2004 (p. 188). As the United States worked to Americanize Puerto Rico—for example, with a five-decade-long failed attempt to impose English language education in island schools—and as more island residents traveled Stateside, Puerto Ricans experienced the American racial dichotomy of black and white, as well as divisions based on proficiency in English and Spanish and economic conflicts based on social class under capitalism. The colonial history of the island still matters to the process of racial formation today.

## HISTORY

Táinos, the inhabitants of Puerto Rico at the time of the first Spanish expeditions after 1500, left no written records and died out almost entirely as the result of the brutal Spanish conquest. Survivors were assimilated into the populations of the Spanish colonists: Creoles, Mestizos, African slaves, and Mulattoes who supplanted the Táinos, and from whom modern Puerto Ricans are descended. The Táinos called the island Borikén, meaning “land of the valiant warrior” (later transposed to Borinquén). Today Puerto Ricans self-refer as “Boricuas,” one of many ways in which a link to the island’s indigenous population is kept alive.

European writings from the time of the Spanish conquest described two different indigenous peoples of Puerto Rico, the Táinos—considered “gentle”—and the “warlike” Caribs. There is debate about the degree to which these distinctions were imagined by the Europeans. Modern scholars added confusion through the ambiguous categorization of Táinos as Arawak, based on a linguistic link to South America. The Táino language is not Arawak but belongs to that family of languages and is sometimes called “Island Arawak.” In recent decades the term Táino has come into popular use as part of a revival in Caribbean indigenous self-identification. Some scholars argue that by

focusing on the Amerindian past, Puerto Ricans may be obscuring or downplaying the connections to their African heritage and hence to blackness.

Puerto Rico, including the inhabited islands of Vieques and Culebra and the uninhabited islands of Culebrita, Palomino, and Mona, was colonized by Spain in the sixteenth century. Sovereignty was transferred from one colonial power to another in 1899 with the ratification that year of the Treaty of Paris, ending the Spanish-Cuban-American War. A militarily defeated Spain ceded the Philippines and Guam and dominion over Cuba and the Puerto Rican islands to the United States. Washington passed the Jones Act in 1917, granting U.S. citizenship to Puerto Ricans and all persons subsequently born on the island. Under the island's first elected governor, Luis Muñoz Marín, the Puerto Rican electorate in 1952 ratified Puerto Rico's status with the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

#### STATUS OF PUERTO RICO

Although they are U.S. citizens with the right to travel freely and reside in the fifty states, the island's residents are denied representation in the federal government. While island residents are ineligible to vote for president, they elect a governor. They pay no federal income tax, but they do pay Social Security and Medicare taxes. The island remains subject to the sovereignty of Congress under the Territorial Clause of the U.S. Constitution, leaving open the question of whether its status is properly described as an independent territory or a colony: Congress has all plenary power over Puerto Rico.

Puerto Rican citizenship in the United States is considered second class by many, politically as well as culturally. Some argue that second-class citizenship is evident as Puerto Ricans have long served in the U.S. military— islanders have been subject to conscription in the United States but cannot vote for the commander in chief. Citizens who live Stateside but then move to Puerto Rico cannot exercise the right to vote in federal elections on an absentee ballot in their last state of residence. That same citizen moving to Iran would be able to cast an absentee ballot at the U.S. embassy in Iran. Finally, because the terms of relationship between the island and Washington could change at any time on the authority of Congress, Puerto Rico's ability to govern its own affairs is seriously limited and, according to many, demonstrates policy that maintains the island and its residents as separate and unequal.

#### OPERATION BOOTSTRAP

Operation Bootstrap began in 1948 under the colonial government as an attempt to improve the fortunes of Puerto Rico, thereby improving the fortunes of the United States. In effect, the program industrialized Puerto Rico



**Puerto Rico Anniversary.** Puerto Ricans celebrate the 51st anniversary of the commonwealth's constitution in 2003. In 1952, voters ratified the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, affirming the island's status as a self-governing territory under U.S. sovereignty. AP IMAGES.

and changed the economy from an agricultural base to one reliant on manufacturing and tourism. Whereas sugar corporations dominated the island in the 1940s, today electronics and pharmaceutical companies are drawn there because of the favorable tax laws. Despite the wealth of those industries, the unemployment rate in Puerto Rico stands at about 10 percent.

While Operation Bootstrap encouraged the outmigration of men and the factory employment of the island's women, Puerto Rican elites and U.S. backers behind the transformation also actively sought to reduce the island's population growth. During this period, but having begun in the 1930s, increasing numbers of Puerto Rican women were sterilized. By the 1960s approximately 35 percent of Puerto Rican women had had "la operación," the highest rate of sterilization in the world. Puerto Rican women

were also used as a test population for the development of the birth control pill.

The Great Migration of Puerto Ricans to the United States in the 1940s and 1950s was prompted by the changing labor picture and urbanization on the island brought about by Operation Bootstrap. Tens of thousands of migrants from Puerto Rico went Stateside just before United States industry shifted from manufacturing to office work, which required technical and professional skills that left these workers, without high levels of education, at a particular disadvantage.

### THE NEW YORK CITY DIASPORA

Among U.S. Latinos, Puerto Ricans remain the most residentially segregated, which evidences housing discrimination. People living in segregation face low-performing schools, low-wage jobs, reduced physical and mental health—in short, the exhausting impacts of living in poverty. While Puerto Ricans can be found in increasing density in large and small cities around the country, including Chicago, Philadelphia, Newark, and Hartford, New York City has long been and remains a hub for those migrating from the island.

According to the 2000 census, New York City is still home to the highest concentration of Stateside Puerto Ricans. They were most active in building cultural, educational, and political institutions in New York from 1945 to 1970, when the majority of Stateside Puerto Ricans lived in the city. Even with steady decline since then, 23 percent of Diasporicans live in the city's five boroughs. The term Nuyoricano became widely used when Miguel Algarín coedited an anthology of poetry in 1973 with Miguel Piñero titled *Nuyoricano Poetry: An Anthology of Puerto Rican Words and Feelings*. When asked about his coinage, he explained that the term was used in the San Juan airport as an insult against him and Piñero because they spoke fluent English; they appropriated the word to remove its sting. He would go on to found the still-flourishing Nuyoricano Poets Café in the Lower East Side (Loisaida) of Manhattan.

A rich cultural tradition of art—including literature, poetry and music, particularly salsa—was born in Nueva York. By 1964, Puerto Ricans were 9 percent of the city's population. Their art was sometimes born of the pain of exclusion, racism, and hostility faced Stateside. It can be difficult to document or measure discrimination, but looking at the history of education of Puerto Ricans Stateside provides concrete evidence of that manifestation of racism.

When Puerto Rican children began attending New York public schools in the 1900s, the environment placed no value on their ethnic heritage and held low expectations for their academic performance. As detailed by Rodríguez-Morazzani, the New York City Chamber of

Commerce issued a report in 1935: *Study on Reactions of Puerto Rican Children in New York City to Psychological Tests*. Based on the results of an English-language exam administered to Puerto Rican children whose mother tongue was Spanish, they scored quite poorly. Concluding that Puerto Rican children were “retarded in school according to age,” the report claimed that “the majority of Puerto Rican children here are so low in intelligence that they require education of a simplified, manual sort, preferably industrial, for they cannot adjust in a school system emphasizing the three R's” (Rodríguez-Morazzani 1997, p. 61). The committee also determined that Puerto Ricans would tend to become delinquents and criminals.

Having conceptualized the presence of Puerto Rican children as a problem, both reflecting and setting the tone for the school system's interaction with these students for decades to come, another study undertaken by the Board of Education was released in 1958. Whereas previous studies had no participation from the Puerto Rican community, “The Puerto Rican Study, 1953–1957” did include some Puerto Rican staff and consultants. The release of the study overlapped with the growing organization of Puerto Rican groups pushing for school reform, including the Puerto Rican Forum, *Aspira*, and United Bronx Parents, as well as the beginning of the “great school wars” of the late 1960s. Eventually a consent decree was won for bilingual education in city public schools, but the negative impact of early experience, combined with minimal funding and discrimination against Spanish-English education, would impact generations of Puerto Ricans.

### FUTURE STATUS

Ongoing and fierce political debate over the status of Puerto Rico vis-à-vis the United States frames the development of Puerto Rican identity on the island and Stateside. Several options on a continuum of sovereignty are advanced: independence, free association, commonwealth, and statehood. Independence would mean full self-governance for Puerto Rico and international recognition as a sovereign state. Free association would involve a treaty between two nations assumed to be independently sovereign. Statehood means integration with the United States, including seats in the House and Senate as well as liability for federal taxes. Many argue that the status-quo option for the commonwealth in its current form would maintain colonial status for Puerto Rico, although the United States considers Puerto Rico an unincorporated territory, not a colony.

In 1998, a nonbinding referendum was held asking residents of Puerto Rico which option they wanted for the island. A fifth answer, “None of the above,” received a slim majority of votes (50.3%), followed by statehood (46.5%). The referendum excluded an option that had



won a plurality of votes in a 1993 plebiscite: enhanced commonwealth status (48%), which would shift power away from Congress to Puerto Rico.

Although the island's lack of sovereignty encourages the devaluation of its people and land, and although the people's lack of self-determination fosters an institutionalized racism, there has been no lack of resistance. In April 1999, a civilian U.S. Navy security guard living on Vieques, David Sanes Rodríguez, was killed, and four others were injured, when Marine jets on a training mission for the Kosovo war missed their target and fired two 500-pound bombs at the communications tower where he was working. The event brought together the three Puerto Rican political parties, religious organizations, politicians, and citizens—on the island and Stateside—in what to some represented an unprecedented unity call for the withdrawal of the navy from Vieques. Terms included a return of the two-thirds of the island the United States had purchased in 1941 as a weapons proving ground and a significant cleanup of damage done to the environment by military exercises. With repeated protests and civil disobedience, and after hundreds of people were arrested at a protest camp on Vieques, Viequenses eventually voted in a non-binding referendum to remove the navy from their island. In May 2003, the navy withdrew, although Congress has yet to provide funds for a cleanup.

More recently, U.S. politicians have been prompted to support change by congressmen of Puerto Rican ancestry. In April 2007, two House members from New York introduced bills to demand that Congress act in deciding permanently on Puerto Rico's political future. One bill, the Puerto Rico Democracy Act of 2007, with ninety-six cosponsors, calls for a federally sanctioned self-determination process, but the bill is criticized as being pro-statehood. Another bill, the Puerto Rico Self-Determination Act, with thirty-four cosponsors, by contrast, would recognize the right of Puerto Ricans to call a constitutional convention through which they would exercise their right to self-determination. These recent bills will likely raise calls for a resolution to Puerto Rico's political status by 2009.

Despite concentrated poverty, Stateside Puerto Ricans are increasingly diverse economically, with a small, growing

middle class. While still experiencing prejudice and discrimination, Puerto Ricans stand poised for a new era of self-determination. Cultural nationalism remains strong, for there is a consistent circular migration of people between the fifty states and the island (known as *vaíven*, or "coming and going"). The possible imminent resolution of the island's status is likely to redefine the future form of this coming and going and the relations between Puerto Ricans Stateside and those on the island.

**SEE ALSO** *Blackness in Latin America; Central Americans; Immigration to the United States; Latin American Racial Transformations; Latinos.*

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*Michelle Ronda*

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## **RACE RIOTS (U.S.), 1900–1910**

The racial situation of the early twentieth century was presaged by the last black-dominated local government in the nation being swept away in the Wilmington, North Carolina white riot of 1898, and by the last nineteenth-century black member of the U.S. House of Representatives, George White of South Carolina, leaving Congress in 1901, a victim of vicious black exclusion politics. Three years into the new century, Booker T. Washington—the most powerful black man in America, who had urged blacks to eschew politics in return for social peace—would be attacked by W. E. B. Du Bois for aiding and abetting whites in their oppression of blacks. The turn of the century found blacks increasingly urbanized and competing with lower-income whites for jobs and living space. This process of change occurred as whites defined the Progressive era as one of Anglo-Saxon superiority and hegemony. Blacks attempting to escape the racism of the old order encountered it in the new, the results being nearly three decades of riots between the races.

### **RIOTS OF 1900**

In 1900, the same year James Weldon Johnson wrote “Lift Ev’ry Voice and Sing” to celebrate thirty-five years of black emancipation, there were two major race riots—one in New York City’s Tenderloin District, and the other in the city of New Orleans and in scattered locations in the Deep South—and at least 106 blacks were lynched. The New York City riot began with a series of misperceptions between one Arthur Harris, a black newcomer to New York, who thought a white undercover policeman, Robert

Thorpe, was making improper advances toward his female friend on August 2. For his part, Thorpe thought the friend was soliciting. When Harris approached Thorpe, an argument ensued; Thorpe hit Harris with his billy club, and Harris knifed Thorpe, who died of his wounds several days later. Harris fled to Washington, D.C. Between this initial event and Thorpe’s funeral on August 12, rumors circulated that the black community was heavily armed. On the day of Thorpe’s funeral, rumors turned to rioting between whites and blacks in the low-income Hell’s Kitchen neighborhood. For four days, some 10,000 young whites, the city police among them, attacked virtually every black they encountered, leaving scores of both races injured and one black man dead.

In the case of New Orleans, the riot began when one Robert Charles, a black man, shot a white police officer to death while fleeing from an earlier encounter with other officers. While a mob began burning black homes and attacking and killing blacks, other whites tracked down Charles, who had holed up in a house and refused commands to come out and surrender. When they began shooting into the residence, Charles returned the fire, killing seven of them. The house was set ablaze and Charles was shot to death as he fled the flames. In addition to burning a number of black properties, the rampaging white mob killed at least twenty-seven other blacks.

### **RACE RIOT IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA**

The 1906 riot in Atlanta was caused by reasons very similar to other riots and violence against blacks all over the South. The city had seen a tremendous population growth in the last decades of the nineteenth century,

especially of the black citizenry. This had led to an additional pressure on the city's public services, increased competition among the races for work, heightened social distinctions and stratifications, a widening of the gap between the elite and working-class blacks, and an increase in fears of miscegenation.

The presence of a black intelligentsia created a competition for control over the administration and organization of the city, while the presence of lower-class businesses like saloons, bars, and barbershops created a fear of moral and social pollution due to the myths the media perpetuated about the degeneracy of the black male and his unreliable, brutish character. The fear of black people's capability to organize businesses and create social capital, and their aspirations to political and social equality, further strengthened the resolve of the political parties to snuff out the idea of black enfranchisement. This is what the gubernatorial campaign set up as its main agenda during 1906. The white elite tried to control the black population in predictable ways: They imposed severe restrictions on public conduct and increased segregation through Jim Crow laws in public transportation and housing.

As a result, Democratic gubernatorial candidate M. Hoke Smith (with the aid of Populist politician Tom Watson), and the opposing candidate Clark Howell vied with each other in provoking white sentiment against black people by promising to control black "uppity-ness" and to disfranchise the black male. To achieve this, the political parties covertly sponsored a campaign against black men by making unsubstantiated charges of black males attacking white women. This was the easiest and surest way of provoking mob violence against blacks. By the last week of September 1906, several such allegations had repeatedly appeared in the local newspapers, and on Saturday, September 22, the newspaper published four such accounts, which immediately provoked a mob to gather in the city's Decatur Street and the violence to start. The mob raided black businesses, killed several barbers, stopped streetcars and beat and killed black men and women, attacked households and other known black dwellings. The city leaders could not calm the mob down, and eventually, around midnight, the state militia was called in. While the mob was off the main streets, violence continued in sporadic outbursts in the smaller back streets. Walter White, a future secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), was an eyewitness to the rioting. His father was a mailman who had finished the mail delivery route early that day upon hearing rumors of the riot. Later that night, White helped his father defend their home and family against the rioters. The intense hatred and brutality of the mob against poor and helpless black children and women made White aware of his racial position and the need to fight against that hatred.



**The Progress of Civilization, c. 1897.** This political cartoon depicts an emancipated slave shaking John Brown's hand (left), while on the right a former slave is burned at the stake. As this illustration shows, the abolition of slavery did not alter the racist mindset of white Americans. MANUSCRIPTS, ARCHIVES AND RARE BOOKS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

On Monday, September 24, some blacks armed themselves and organized a defensive group in Brownsville, a community south of Atlanta. The county police heard of the gathering and attacked the group; one police officer was killed in the shootout that ensued. Over 200 black men were then disarmed and arrested, while the white mobsters had gone unpunished. By Tuesday, the city's businessmen and clergy had called for a stop to the violence as the incidents were reported nationwide and would sully Atlanta's reputation as a prosperous city. The rioting stopped but its repercussions were felt deeply by Atlanta's black community, which had to limit its political activities. The failure of Washington's "accommodationist" strategies and the setback to black suffrage through the passage of statewide prohibition and restrictions on black franchise gave an added impetus to the growing discontent among the more radical black leadership that had never adhered to Washington's policies. The riot was one among the many incidents that served to violently negate the reforms promised for blacks by the Reconstruction. This was a setback that would not be overcome until the civil rights era five decades later.

#### RACE RIOT IN SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

While a higher concentration of blacks in the population could be assigned as one reason for violence against blacks in other regions, in a city like Springfield, Illinois,

the population of blacks had been steadily declining (from 7.2 percent in 1890 to 5.7 percent in 1910) (Senechal 1990, p. 60) as compared to the white population, which had risen. Black and white coalminers had coexisted mainly peacefully (Senechal 1990, pp. 58–59). Blacks generally occupied menial positions in Springfield and were not a threat to the economic prosperity of the whites. There were a few middle-class black families in the city who were mentioned in biographical accounts of city residents before 1880.

Before the 1908 riot the white majority had decried the behavior of black people living in the Badlands and Levee neighborhoods as the major reason for animosity toward them. Newspaper editorials lambasted their “drinking, gambling, drug use, criminal acts and general disorderliness” (Senechal 1990, p. 73). Several influential whites in the city felt after the fact that the riot was a sign of the decaying morality of the population as a whole.

The incident that sparked the riot was the jailing of two black men. One of them, Joe James, was allegedly involved in a sexual attack on the daughter of a well-liked white man, Clergy Ballard, on July 4, 1908. The fleeing James killed Ballard. The other was George Richardson, accused of molesting Mabel Hallam, a poor white woman, on August 13, 1908. Hallam later recanted her accusation. The attack on white purity, even among the lowest of the citizenry, was a strong incitement to an angry response. The mob wanted to carry out a more public justice by lynching the as yet untried black men. When the jailers refused to release the men to the angry mob (and transferred them secretly to a jail in Bloomington), the mob, led by an irate woman, Kate Howard, decided to direct its violence against the representatives and supporters of black people in the city. The hesitation of Sheriff Charles Werner to call in the militia (National Guard), even when asked directly by one of the citizens, caused an unnecessary delay in restoring peace and order, and the deaths of many black people, as well as the destruction of property worth thousands of dollars.

It seems that anti-black race riots were not uncommon in northern cities early in the twentieth century. White people were just as hostile toward blacks in the North as in the South at this time. In Springfield and elsewhere blacks were barred from many restaurants, hotels, parks, and other public facilities. Numerous race riots had occurred in the North as early as the first half of the 1800s. From 1900 to 1908, anti-black riots had broken out in cities like New York, and in smaller places like Evansville and Greensburg, Indiana, and Springfield, Ohio. But the riot in the Illinois capital brought attention to the issue as many of the nation’s newspapers reported the riot. It was even more shocking as all this happened in the city where Abraham Lincoln practiced

Law as a young man. It has been widely debated why this one black man’s crime led to so much violence against blacks.

In 1908, Springfield did not seem to be such a volatile place. It had a stable, mixed economy based on coal, transportation, and manufacturing, as well as many businesses that catered to the large number of travelers. The reason for the riot was definitely not economic. Jobs were not scarce and blacks were kept out of respectable and more lucrative jobs systematically. Since whites almost had a monopoly on the well-paid, skilled jobs, the fear of losing jobs to a population that was rapidly declining in numbers was highly unlikely. The major threat was to the idea of white superiority.

Local politicians used the racism prevalent in the political sphere to garner support from the marginalized poor white people, setting the stage for the riot. Division across racial lines was one of the ways that politicians could gain power. The blacks were definitely pro-Republican in the South, while the Democratic Party candidates were anti-liberal.

The newspapers, politicians, and other influential actors in mainstream society raised the specter of miscegenation again by publishing highly falsified and inflammatory accounts of black men assaulting and defiling white women. It seems they had forgotten about the miscegenation already achieved through white slave owners and white men generally coercing black women into sexual relationships and raping them without any fear of reprisal. The large number of light-skinned, at times almost white “black” people did not register in the consciousness of most white people. Defiling white womanhood was sacrilegious, while defiling black women for two centuries had been of economic and sociopolitical advantage to white men. This also showed the clear-cut demarcation of ideas associated with whiteness and blackness: Whites were pure and superior, while blacks were inherently inferior, lewd, uncontrolled, sexually aggressive, and without a moral core.

In the riots in Atlanta, Springfield, and other cities, the immediate cause of the riot was the fear of defilement and the sexual and moral degeneration presumably caused by the presence of black people. The white newspapers kindled public outrage by inflaming already existing prejudice, hatred, and fear of black people. In each case police action proved reluctant and inadequate.

The mobs were mainly composed of the lower classes, the unruly, uncouth elements of white people from the cities. They were the main actors in the rioting, burning, looting of black businesses and homes, and the brutal killing of black people, but they had the moral support and silent acquiescence of the middle- and upper-class white citizens.

In each riot the number of reported black deaths was probably much lower than the actual number. For instance, the records showed only two black men dead (William Donnegan and Scott Burton, both lynched) and twelve injured, while further research revealed serious injuries (which may have resulted in deaths as the black people were afraid of reporting their injuries to the police or taking the injured to the hospital) to 83 victims of the riot in Springfield, Illinois (Senechal 1990, pp. 130–131). The cases of rioting were reported in the American as well as European press, which pushed the political authorities to intercede and prevent further violence from spreading. They had to keep up the pretense of being fair and concerned about the violence against black people.

In each riot, black people did arm themselves and group together to fight any more violence against them. But in each case they were disarmed and disbanded by the authorities that had failed to disarm the white mob. In some instances, they were forced to give up and were even attacked, arrested, and put on trial by the authorities. The incident that occurred in Brownsville, Texas, was inspired by very similar prejudices.

#### THE TEXAS BROWNSVILLE INCIDENT

When the black soldiers of the 25th Infantry moved into Fort Brown, Texas, they arrived in a place that had already had problems with the presence of armed troops in its midst. Several sections of the town resented the soldiers' presence and openly expressed their hostility. The soldiers were subjected to racial slurs and taunts, and received biased or surly hospitality from the white businesses. Customs inspector Fred Tate pistol-whipped Private James W. Newton for "jostling" Tate's wife and another white woman (Christian 1995, p. 72). Private Oscar W. Reed was pushed into the river for being seemingly drunk and loud (Christian 1995, p. 72). On August 12, 1906, rumors circulated that a black soldier had attacked a white woman, Mrs. Lon Evans, near the red-light district (Christian 1995, pp. 72–73), which provoked the post commander to impose an eight o'clock curfew on the men. However, the peace was disturbed permanently between the townspeople and the troops when shots, allegedly fired by some black soldiers, were heard around midnight and reports of attacks by black soldiers spread through town. Many witnesses surfaced, claiming that they had actually seen black soldiers, while others asserted that the shots were from military Springfield rifles. These reports were dubious and inspired at best. Mayor Frederick Combe brought forth some spent shells that proved the guilt of the black soldiers beyond doubt for many people, for whom this was only a confirmation of their racist beliefs and paranoia about armed black men (Christian 1995, p. 73). Even though Major

Charles W. Penrose had checked the presence of all his men on the night of the shooting, and found all enlisted men accounted for and their weapons clean and undischarged, he still believed in the veracity of the mayor's "evidence."

Despite the questionable circumstantial evidence, it seems everyone believed in the guilt of the black soldiers. U.S. senators Charles Culberson and Joseph Weldon Bailey wrote to the secretary of war William Howard Taft for immediate removal of the black troops (Christian 1995, p. 74). The editors and writers at several newspapers, mainly the *Houston Post*, *Dallas Morning News*, and *Austin Statesman*, further stoked the public sentiment against the black troops by publishing inflammatory editorials and irresponsibly exaggerated accounts of assaults against white citizens by armed soldiers. They described the soldiers' provocations to be minimal and unjustified and actively called for the soldiers to be removed from Texas.

Major Augustus P. Blocksom, assistant inspector-general of the Southwestern Division, was in charge of the investigation and found twelve members of the garrison of companies B, C, and D guilty, and arrested them (Christian 1995, pp. 76, 78). Later, President Roosevelt ordered the dismissal of 167 men of the regiment without a trial in December 1907 (Christian 1995, p. 81). He did not offer a reprimand to the white men who had been guilty of assault or decry the racism of the townspeople, but commented that blacks were more proud and unaccepting of rude treatment than before. He gave more credence to the accounts of the raid given by the townspeople than to the protestations of the black soldiers of their innocence. He did not even credit the testimony of the white officers of the division who claimed that assertions of the men's involvement were not creditable. Major Blocksom recommended that all enlisted men in the battalion be discharged dishonorably unless they gave up the names of the guilty parties.

Twelve men of the garrison were arrested subsequently under the persuasion of Texas Ranger William Jesse McDonald (Christian 1995, p. 78). This openly defied the stance of General William S. McCaskey that there was no evidence of the direct involvement of any of the men. Further removal of the troops to Fort Reno, Oklahoma Territory, and the twelve incarcerated men to Fort Sam Houston did not resolve the situation. President Theodore Roosevelt asked General Ernest A. Garlington to discharge the 167 men of the companies A, B, and C if they did not give forth the guilty men's names (Christian 1995, p. 79). The investigations of General Garlington did not provide any conclusive results, and subsequently, on November 4, Roosevelt's dismissal order was signed and published. The fact that Roosevelt withheld his decision until after Election Day provoked charges from black newspapers and leaders that his act

was politically motivated and unconstitutional. Du Bois urged black men to vote Democratic in the next election in 1908, while Washington remained silent and loyal to the white administration, resulting in increasing criticism of his conciliatory policies. The Military Affairs Committee convened on February 4, 1907, and nine of its members eventually suggested that the decision was justified, while four members found considerable flaws and gaps in the evidence (Christian 1995, p. 82). The campaign by Ohio senator Joseph B. Foraker to provide the 167 men due process through trial and possible acquittal did not succeed. Foraker and Senator Morgan Bulkeley (of Connecticut) submitted a minority report, which suggested that the eyewitnesses were unreliable and the shells produced as evidence had been brought from a firing range at Fort Niobrara (Christian 1995, p. 83). Roosevelt only conceded to allowing fifteen of the men to reenlist in the face of growing criticism of his decision. This event only highlighted the racism present in the social and political system, which denied black men justice. The men were subsequently given an honorable discharge by the Richard Nixon administration in 1972, which did not result in due reparations to more than one survivor from among the 167 men. Another casualty of this incident was Corporal Edward A. Knowles, who was charged with a shooting attempt on Captain Edgar A. Macklin of the 25th; despite lack of direct evidence, Knowles was sentenced to fifteen years of hard labor. He never received an honorable discharge posthumously. It was widely felt by black leaders, newspapers and their editors, black ministers, and even W. E. B. Du Bois (Christian 1995, p. 80) that the government was merely catering to racist public sentiment and evincing support for itself by acting highhandedly in disallowing due process to black soldiers.

All of these incidents reinforced the racism that prevailed in the country and clearly defined the different moderate and extremist ideologies of black leaders, politicians, and organizers. The failure of the political strategies of Washington and Du Bois led to the more radical movements of Marcus Garvey and A. Philip Randolph. While neither movement quite succeeded, both helped continue the struggle of black people toward attaining full citizenship and leading lives of dignity and equality.

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*Abha Sood Patel*

## RACE RIOTS (U.S.), 1917–1923

Race riots have played a pivotal role in the social construction of race and racism throughout U.S. history. Since the early nineteenth century, race riots have shed light on race and class relations as well as the political dynamics in the nation. In general, riots—and the way a society responds to those riots—reveal which groups in the polity wield power at the expense of others. Race riots also fit within the histories of racism and colonialism in Western civilization. In *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, the philosopher Hannah Arendt observed that the brutality that culminated in the Holocaust was rooted in a long "subterranean stream of Western history." Arendt noted:

When the European mob discovered what a "lovely virtue" a white skin could be in Africa, when the English conqueror in India became an administrator who no longer believed in the universal validity of law, but was convinced of his own innate capacity to rule and dominate . . . the stage seemed to be set for all possible horrors. Lying under anybody's nose were many of the elements which gathered together could create a totalitarian government on the basis of racism. (Arendt 1958, p. 221)

Race riots expose underlying tensions in societies undergoing rapid technological and economic changes. The riots that transpired in the aftermath of World War I happened during a time characterized by segregation, white rule in the South, and the Great Migration of African Americans to the North. This was also an age marked by rapid social changes including industrialization, the transition to a war production economy, and technological advances in many fields. Technology was implicated in racial bloodshed as a new generation of vigilantes used telephones, electronic signboards, and telegraph messages to mobilize their forces. Night riders used motor vehicles instead of horses to inflict widespread carnage.

This era also witnessed the invention of the modern motion picture and the emergence of the mass viewing audience. The most popular and technically sophisticated

film of the age was D. W. Griffith's *The Birth of a Nation* (1915). *Birth* was a complex film. It attacked African-American political aspirations during the Reconstruction era as inherently corrupt even as it celebrated the Ku Klux Klan's paramilitary decimation of black politics after emancipation. One famous scene depicted hooded Klansmen routing federal soldiers in battle, an acceptable scenario to the general public because the troops were black. *The Birth of a Nation* celebrated white national unity on the fiftieth anniversary of the end of the Civil War. According to the civil rights historian Philip Dray, the first modern motion picture in U.S. history "carried Americans back to what now appeared as a simpler, heroic time when a divided America had reunited, and rediscovered its purpose, by suppressing the unruly minority populace in its midst" (Dray 2002, p. 191). *The Birth of a Nation* was based in part on Woodrow Wilson's *A History of the American People* (1902), published when Wilson was a Princeton University historian. In 1915, while serving as president of the United States, Wilson heartily endorsed *Birth* and marveled that the film "is like writing history with lightning." *The Birth of a Nation* sparked the rebirth of the new Ku Klux Klan, which soon boasted chapters in every state of the union. Some of these chapters were implicated in race riots. Equally important, the film was part of a larger mass media culture that routinely depicted antiblack violence as a necessary and even admirable dimension of U.S. culture.

The race riots that occurred from 1917 to 1923 may be understood as a continuation of the tradition of publicly sanctioned assaults against the progress of African Americans as a group. This national wave of riots was in part a response to the fact that black people were waging increasingly effective struggles against white supremacy. In 1909 a group of liberal whites and African Americans founded the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). The NAACP scored a major victory in 1915 with the Supreme Court's *Guinn v. United States* decision. This decision outlawed the "grandfather clauses" in certain state constitutions that had allowed white men to vote without passing a literacy test as long as their grandparents had voted prior to 1867. It also gave registrars the discretion they needed to exclude black southerners whose grandparents had not been legally able to vote prior to the end of the Civil War, 1866, or 1867, depending on the state. The *Guinn* decision encouraged African Americans across the South to undertake new initiatives to becoming registered voters.

Meanwhile, large numbers of black southerners were moving to the North in order to take factory jobs in the burgeoning war economy. By the time thousands of black World War I veterans returned from France demanding their civil rights, the NAACP was becoming a mass-membership protest organization with hundreds of new branches forming in the South and Midwest. African Americans in Florida

organized the first statewide civil rights movement of the century, and black voters began to flex their political muscles in Chicago, East St. Louis, New York, and other cities. Many white citizens, however, interpreted black advancement as threatening their own interests. The leadership of the Democratic Party in Miami, Florida, responded to African-American voter registration with the following broadside published in the *Miami Herald*:

WHITE VOTERS, REMEMBER!  
WHITE SUPREMACY  
IS BEING ASSAULTED IN OUR MIDST,  
AND THE MOST  
SACRED  
INSTITUTIONS OF THE SOUTH  
ARE BEING UNDERMINED BY THE  
ENEMY FROM WITHIN (Ortiz 2005, p. 206)

#### A VIOLENT ERA

African Americans endured a renewed wave of riots, massacres, and acts of racial terrorism between 1917 and 1923. All too often, rising black aspirations were met with violence. The peak period of recorded violence occurred during the tumultuous months between April and October 1919, a season James Weldon Johnson called the "Red Summer." Race riots broke out in Washington, D.C.; Charleston, South Carolina; and Longview, Texas, among other places. Lynching was also prevalent during these years. Eleven African-American men were burned alive at the stake in 1919. In the same year lynch mobs murdered sixty-nine black people, including ten World War I veterans whose military service was viewed by some whites as a threat to the racial status quo. Antiblack race riots were often waged over the course of several days, and garnered international attention. The riots cost hundreds of lives and incalculable property damage. The riots also undermined the political and economic status of African Americans in numerous communities across the nation.

The intensity of these riots may be explained in part by examining the social context of violence in this period. White rioters enjoyed an almost universal immunity from prosecution, whereas their black counterparts were often incarcerated for defending their homes and neighborhoods. White citizens who shot or beat a black person to death in broad daylight had little to fear from law enforcement authorities, who in any case often participated in vigilante activities themselves.

Race riots were not inspired by blind racist hatred. White citizens who rioted were motivated by political and economic, as well as social, factors. For example, the 1920 Election Day massacre of African Americans who attempted to vote in Orange County, Florida, was



**Tulsa Riot, 1921.** African American detainees, rounded up by the National Guard, are marched to the Convention Hall in Tulsa during the race riot in 1921. The guardsmen failed to disarm white citizens as they looted and destroyed black property. AP IMAGES/TULSA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

designed to enforce black disfranchisement. The East St. Louis Race Riot of 1917 was aimed in part at keeping African Americans from moving up the occupational ladder. The Tulsa, Oklahoma, Race Riot of 1921 destroyed a thriving black business district, and white rioters explicitly targeted properties owned by African Americans. Remembering the years she spent building up a successful hairdressing practice in Tulsa, Mabel Little recalled decades later, “At the time of the riot, we had ten different business places for rent. Today, I pay rent” (Hirsch 2002, p. 8). Riots in small towns and rural areas drove African Americans off the land and often allowed white residents to take control of black property for drastically reduced rates or for nothing at all. The massacre and forced removal of the African-American community in Rosewood, Florida, in 1923 wiped out generations of black land ownership.

It is important to place these riots in historical context. In terms of lives lost per capita, these riots were far bloodier than the 1960s race riots but not as deadly as the antiblack riots of the nineteenth century. In each of the major race riots between 1917 and 1923—with the partial exception of the Houston Race Riot of 1917—the instigators and perpetrators of violence as well as property destruction were white citizens. This does not mean that white people in the United States were somehow biologically or culturally predisposed to violence. Instead,

white rioters were acting on behalf of perceived pressures, interests, and ideologies. It is necessary to examine the roots of white violence in order to understand the genesis of the race riots. The savagery of the riots, the losses African-American communities suffered, and the effects on race relations between whites and blacks continue to echo down into the twenty-first century.

#### GLOBAL CONTEXT

W. E. B. Du Bois, A. Philip Randolph, and other African-American leaders believed that the social forces unleashed by World War I would help blacks challenge the system of white supremacy in the United States. In addition, a number of industrial labor union organizing committees undertook major interracial unionizing campaigns in Chicago, Birmingham, and other urban areas. The most powerful unions had traditionally operated with color bars that excluded African Americans, Chinese, and others. Black workers, however, responded with guarded optimism to organizers’ efforts to build interracial locals. James Weldon Johnson sensed a revived spirit of hope among African Americans as he traveled throughout the country during the war:

I was impressed with the fact that everywhere there was a rise in the level of the Negro’s morale. The exodus of Negroes to the North... was in



full motion; the tremors of the war in Europe were shaking America with increasing intensity; circumstances were combining to put a higher premium on Negro muscle, Negro hands, and Negro brains than ever before; all these forces had a quickening effect that was running through the entire mass of the race. (Johnson 1933, p. 315)

It was not long, however, before the forces of reaction regained the upper hand. Anticolonial and revolutionary movements were defeated, many by military force. In the United States, fear of working-class and black militancy led to a right-wing political backlash known as the “Red Scare.” J. Edgar Hoover, the attorney general Alexander Mitchell Palmer, and others used their authority to arrest, detain, and ultimately expel thousands of “alien” political activists. As “law and order” types such as Hoover gained ascendancy, spaces for social and economic justice organizing diminished rapidly. State and federal authorities used powers gained through the Espionage Act of 1917 and the Sedition Act of 1918 to disrupt legitimate protest groups while ignoring the real crimes that exacerbated racial tensions. For example, in the two years leading up to the Chicago Race Riot of 1919, scores of African-American homes were bombed, and yet state authorities conducted no meaningful investigations nor were any of the perpetrators ever found. When similar bombing attacks rocked black homes in Miami, Florida, undercover federal agents appeared more interested in spying on African Americans than in catching the guilty parties. In contrast, the African-American soldiers who were involved in the Houston Race Riot of 1917 were vigorously prosecuted and nineteen were executed.

The Red Scare and the federal government’s campaign to uncover “agitators” reinforced white supremacy and increased the likelihood of racial violence. As Department of Justice investigators bullied and interrogated African Americans in Chicago and East St. Louis about their true reasons for coming North, the larger public was encouraged to see black people as subversive outcasts in a virtuous “White Republic.” The mainstream media fueled the fire of antiblack racism by publishing sensational headlines such as: “Negroes Flock in from South to Evade Draft” (*St. Louis Times*), “North Does Not Welcome Influx of South’s Negroes” (*Chicago Herald*), “Negro Migration: Is It a Menace?” (*Philadelphia Record*), and “Negro Influx On, Plan to Dam It” (*Newark [N.J.] News*) (Gregory 2005, p. 47.)

Rising postwar unemployment and inflation added fuel to the competitive fire. The race riots that broke out in East St. Louis (1917) and Chicago (1919) occurred in the wake of failed strikes as well as stillborn attempts to create multi-racial trade unions. As corporations and their organizations methodically destroyed the most important vehicle for collective working-class economic improvement—unions—a sense of anger and desperation swept through urban neigh-

borhoods. As competition between workers intensified, racial tensions flared anew. The economic dimensions of the riots cannot be overestimated.

## SEGREGATION AND THE RACE RIOTS

The race riots of 1917 to 1923 occurred during the era of legal segregation (or Jim Crow as it was commonly called). Segregation was designed to generate chronic interracial strife and distrust. In his monumental study of segregation, *An American Dilemma* (1944), Gunnar Myrdal pointed out that one of the major goals of segregation was to separate black and white working-class people so that southern elites would be able to quash social reforms. Thus, the once-promising moments of solidarity between whites and blacks in the post-Reconstruction years were replaced by the ascendancy of “Judge Lynch” in the latter half of the 1880s. The defeat of the Federal Elections Bill of 1890, which had been introduced by the Massachusetts senator Henry Cabot Lodge, quickened the federal government’s general retreat from its role as a guarantor of Constitutional equality and civil rights. Between 1877 and the eve of the East St. Louis Race Riot of 1917, antiblack violence was viewed by the majority of white Americans as an inevitable albeit sometimes embarrassing fact of U.S. political life.

Why was the segregation era marked by so much violence and so many race riots? Segregation—like slavery—was a labor system designed to extract surplus labor power, property, tax revenue, wealth, and economic opportunities from African Americans and redistribute these resources to the dominant society. “Race prejudice,” the sociologist Oliver C. Cox observed, “is a social attitude propagated among the public by an exploiting class for the purpose of stigmatizing some group as inferior so that the exploitation of either the group itself or its resources or both may be justified” (Cox 1948, p. 393).

Industrial and agricultural employers were the major beneficiaries of this racial wealth redistribution, and they treated black workers’ efforts to organize or even assert themselves in their workplaces with repressive measures. Convict labor, debt peonage, and the chain gang may be seen in this context as institutionalized forms of economic—and often physical—violence.

Thus, when African Americans attempted to seize the opportunities offered by the improved economic climate of the early war years, it was not hard to predict that employers would react in a visceral manner. As African Americans began to leave the South in large numbers in 1916, state and local authorities in some areas ordered police forces to try to halt the exodus. African-American workers in Macon, Georgia, and Jacksonville, Florida, among other towns, were beaten and driven away from train stations. African-American

sharecroppers in the Arkansas Delta began organizing an agricultural labor union as well as challenging large farm owners for a larger share of King Cotton's profits. Landowners responded by assaulting the union's meeting place, and ordering law enforcement officials to crush the sharecroppers. These activities led to the Elaine, Arkansas, Race Riot of 1919, which destroyed agricultural unionism in the Delta and drove cotton wages back down. When African Americans in Longview, Texas, began experimenting with cooperative purchasing and marketing of farm produce—thus bypassing creditors and merchants—whites in the area launched a major assault against the black community. While the Longview Race Riot of 1919 was allegedly sparked by a black man's presence in a white woman's bedroom, the NAACP and local African Americans understood that the violence had been sparked by the cooperative venture and growing black assertiveness. The racial dynamics exposed in the Arkansas Delta and Longview, Texas, would be repeated over and over again between 1917 and 1923 as the white elite responded—sometimes with violence—to black gains by acting to reassert the status quo.

#### SEX AND RACIAL VIOLENCE

One common excuse used to rationalize racial terrorism was black male sexual violence—rape or assault—against white women. A careful study of the historical record, however, shows that alleged sexual assault was given as the stated reason in only about 15 to 20 percent of all lynching incidents. In spite of the pioneering investigative work of Ida B. Wells-Barnett, the NAACP, and the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching—all of whom demolished the myth of the black rapist—racial violence is still associated with sexual assault in the popular mind. In *At the Hands of Persons Unknown* (2002), Philip Dray noted that “Wells was one of the first people in America to perceive that the talk of chivalry and beastlike blacks ravishing white girls was largely fallacious, and that such ideas were being used to help maintain a permanent hysteria to legitimize lynching, as it reinforced the notion that the races must be kept separate at all costs” (p. 64). One white North Carolinian disavowed this racial hysteria in an editorial letter that appeared in the *Raleigh News and Observer* on February 5, 1922:

We have a reputation of being bloodthirsty murderers down here in North Carolina, and it is our industrious lynchers who have secured that reputation for us. . . . All this snorting about the fierce pride of the Anglo-Saxon race is the most disgusting poppycock ever invented. If no [N]egro were ever lynched for anything but rape, it might have some shadow of excuse. But alleged rapists constitute only a small proportion of the victims

of mobs in the south these days. Negroes are lynched for all manner of crimes, ranging down to simple misdemeanors.

The Jim Crow system did sanction one form of sexual license: white exploitation of black women. African-American domestic workers who toiled in white households were frequently subjected to sexual assaults. Cleaster Mitchell, who worked as a domestic in Arkansas, recalled in *Remembering Jim Crow* that “one time in the South, it's bad to say, white men was crazy about black women. They would come to your house. They would attack you. They took it for granted when they saw a black lady that they could just approach her, that it was not an insult to her for them to approach her” (Chafe, Gavins, and Korstad 2001, p. 214). In fact, while white supremacists often cloaked their attacks on black communities with the excuse of black-on-white sexual violence, they understood that white men and women often initiated interracial sexual unions. In 1921 the Houston, Texas, Ku Klux Klan issued a warning to white male citizens against interracial sex. The warning was reprinted in the February 4 edition of the *Afro-American*:

Proclamation: Co-habitation of white men with Negro women is against the laws of this state, is against the interest of both races and is the direct cause of racial trouble. Such practices must stop. We want no more half-breeds. . . . This warning will not be repeated. Mene Mene Tekel Upharsen. Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

#### POSTWAR RIOT PATTERNS

The Philadelphia Race Riot of 1918 illustrates many of the dominant patterns of the urban conflagrations of 1917 to 1923. The Philadelphia riot started after African Americans began purchasing homes in predominantly white residential communities. White homeowners protested black homeownership because they believed it would devalue their own investments. The political scientist Michael Jones-Correa argues that urban race riots occurred more often in areas with higher rates of preexisting white homeownership. According to Jones-Correa, “The higher the number of white homeowners, the greater the chances of an urban disturbance. This provides some confirmation to the notion that it was the resistance of white homeowners to the increasing movement of blacks into formerly all-white residential neighborhoods that helped contribute to the civil disturbances of the period” (Jones-Correa 1999, p. 13).

It was the newly purchased home of Adelia Bonds, a black probation officer, that became the flashpoint of the Philadelphia Race Riot. Bonds had violated an unwritten rule by purchasing a house in a predominantly white area. Bonds's neighbors began harassing her on a daily basis,

threw objects at her home, and attacked nearby African-American churches in retaliation. On July 26, a group of white citizens gathered in front of Bonds's residence at 2936 Ellsworth and began throwing large stones at the house. Fearing for her safety, Bonds fled to the top story of the house and fired warning shots at the crowd. One of these rounds hit Joseph Kelly, a white person, and the riot began. The Philadelphia police were unable to quell the violence, and in any case, many sided openly with the white rioters. The Philadelphia Race Riot resulted in four deaths and approximately sixty wounded. Leaders of the Methodist ministers' Meeting of Philadelphia lodged a formal protest with the mayor's office, stating:

We desire you to understand that we put the whole blame upon your incompetent police force. But for the sympathy of the police, their hobnobbing with the mob, what has now become the disgrace of Philadelphia would have been nothing more than a petty row, if that much.

Your police have for a long time winked at disorder, at the beating up of Negroes, the stoning of their homes and the attacking of their churches. In this very neighborhood divine worship has time and again been disturbed by white hoodlums and there has been no redress. In nearly every part of the city, decent law-abiding Negroes have been set upon by irresponsible white hoodlums, their property damaged and destroyed, while your police seemed powerless to protect.

We also call your attention to the fact that this riot was not started by Negroes; that the Negroes who were annoyed were of the orderly, law-abiding type; that your police arrested Negroes almost exclusively and let the white hoodlums roam the street to do more damage. . . . Further, your police disarmed only colored people and permitted whites to pursue them with guns. This is the cause of this condition and the whole blame is on your own police force. ("Race Riots in Philadelphia," *Afro-American* [Baltimore, MD], August 2, 1918).

Many of the social behaviors demonstrated in the Philadelphia Race Riot were repeated in the much larger Chicago riot the following year as well as in the other Red Summer race riots. In general, when these riots broke out local police and law enforcement officers openly fraternized with white citizens who were assaulting African Americans. In some instances—Philadelphia for example—the eventual presence of state troops appears to have quelled the violence. In the Tulsa Race Riot, however, state guardsmen contributed to an already disastrous situation by failing to disarm white citizens as they looted and destroyed black property. Some white troops openly referred to African Americans as “the

enemy,” as if the rioters were engaged in an Allied military invasion. In East St. Louis, William Tuttle reports that “State troops fraternized and joked with lawbreaking whites and many were seen helping in the murders and arson” (Tuttle 1970, p. 13).

African Americans attempted to defend their neighborhoods—sometimes using armed self-defense—during the Philadelphia Race Riot, and this was also a pattern played out in Chicago, Tulsa, and East St. Louis among other places that experienced riots. This was not a new phenomenon. African Americans had periodically engaged in armed self-defense in order to prevent lynching or other acts of racial violence. For example, some antebellum northern black communities created “vigilance committees” in order to protect escaped slaves from being recaptured and re-enslaved by their masters. In regard to the riots that occurred between 1917 and 1923, it is also important to remember that many black men of the period had received military training, and it is likely such expertise was used in the thick of the urban riots. Armed self-defense was a double-edged sword, however. African Americans might prevent an immediate act of violence from occurring only to incur the wrath of whites who simply regrouped and called for reinforcements. For example, the Tulsa Race Riot began after a group of armed African Americans gathered to help law enforcement officials prevent the lynching of a young man accused of bumping a white woman in an elevator. When white Tulsans realized that the black community was organizing to stop the lynching, they attempted to disarm a group of black veterans. Gunshots broke out and the riot commenced.

Active-duty military members as well as recently discharged white veterans played a major role in sparking and sustaining antiblack violence in the Charleston, South Carolina, and Washington, D.C., race riots of 1919. African Americans and their communities expected that their military service and patriotic support for the war effort would lead to first-class citizenship. White officers however, tried to convince black troops that they should continue to play a subordinate role to their white peers. Even the relatively liberal General C. C. Ballou ordered the African-American soldiers of the 92nd Infantry Division to respect segregation and to “refrain from going where their presence will be resented” (“Soldiers Must Not Ask for Legal Rights,” *Afro-American*, April 12, 1918).

Ironically, the all-black 92nd Division went on to become one of the most highly decorated infantry units in U.S. history. Its record of facing and defeating numerous elite German combat units earned this division high honors. White officers and soldiers, however, were alarmed that African-American soldiers in the 92nd and other black units had received a hero's welcome in occupied France, and they sought to show after the war that



**Rosewood Riot, 1923.** A cabin burns during the massacre in Rosewood, Florida, January 4, 1923. An unknown number of African Americans were killed and landowners were driven out of the community. COURTESY OF STATE ARCHIVE OF FLORIDA.

black war service would not change race relations in the United States. One letter writer in Florida warned:

The Negro returned soldier who is full of the “equal rights” treatment he got in Europe during the past months will do exceedingly well to remember that for every one of him there are about a thousand white returned soldiers who were completely fed up on the same equal rights stuff over there, and they are not going to stand for one moment any internal rot started by any yellow-faced coon who has the hellish idea that he is as good as a white man or a white woman (Ortiz 2005, p. 162).

#### THE ROSEWOOD MASSACRE IN FLORIDA

The final race riot of the period, the Rosewood Massacre, is shrouded in mystery. One explanation for the white riot that killed an undetermined number of African

Americans is that it began after a black man sexually assaulted a married white woman on New Year’s Day, 1923. However, Sarah Carrier, an African-American woman who worked as a maid for the white woman in question, testified that this woman was actually assaulted by her white lover. Because Carrier was subsequently murdered by white citizens who claimed they were looking for the alleged rapist, her side of the story was quickly suppressed. Another explanation for the riot’s origin was given by a white eyewitness who later claimed that area whites were jealous of the relative prosperity of African Americans in Rosewood. Whatever the case, whites from the nearby sawmill community of Sumner and other places further away gathered in Rosewood in the first week of 1923 and completely annihilated the African-American community. Black landowners were permanently driven out of Rosewood, and many of their descendents were financially impoverished. In 1994 the State of Florida granted partial restitution to some of the Rosewood survivors and their descendents.

The race riots of 1917 to 1923 were not driven primarily by what later analysts would refer to as “racial hatred.” White rioters were motivated by economic, political, and social considerations. There are several common assumptions about race relations that are unsustainable after a careful survey of these riots. The role of so-called poor whites in initiating racial violence has been exaggerated. In fact, many of the whites involved in the riots appear to have been homeowners (especially in Chicago and East St. Louis) or large landowners and employers (especially in the Arkansas Delta). These groups sought to defend their material interests against perceived African-American gains or accomplishments. Class conflict played a major role in the making of racial violence.

Local police forces as well as military units played crucial roles in these riots. In general, law enforcement officers sided with the rioters in the early stages of these conflicts, and this led to an escalation in the violence. The rioters, however, did not need police officers to lend credibility to their activities; they were acting in a long tradition of antiblack violence that was supported by the media and many political leaders of the day.

African Americans suffered enormous material, physical, and psychological damage as a consequence of the riots. Some historians have argued that the riots of 1917 to 1923 led to an eventual quickening of black protest activity. In the short term, however, the riots dispersed black communities, destroyed black businesses, and wiped out fragile economic gains that African Americans had made in the preceding half-century. U.S. society continued to wrestle with the troubling legacies of these race riots into the early twenty-first century.

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Paul Ortiz

## RACIAL DEMOGRAPHICS IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

Africans, Europeans, and Asians migrated to the Americas for a variety of reasons, and the volume, motives, and circumstances of this migration changed over time. In the Western Hemisphere, the majority of Africans were forced to work on sugar, coffee, tobacco, and rice plantations, as well as in mines, but there were a few free Africans who willingly made the journey. Europeans also migrated for different motives, including religious persecution, economic opportunities, or judicial condemnation.

The arrival of Europeans and Africans resulted in the near annihilation of the Amerindian population. The indigenous societies that originally inhabited the continent were displaced, massacred, or alienated from their land in order to accommodate the settlement of Europeans. Asians also came to the Americas, mainly in the nineteenth century. With the end of the transatlantic slave trade, plantation owners used Asian indentured laborers to replace slaves in Jamaica, Guyana, and elsewhere.

In many countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, after the decimation of the local populations prior to the nineteenth century, Africans and their descendents constituted the majority of the population. Their influence was vital for the formation of various societies, from Canada to the Mexican highlands, and from the Peruvian Pacific coast to the Brazilian Atlantic shore. Slavery and its stigma became associated with the descendents of Africans, becoming a key issue in race relations in the Americas. From the fluid race classifications that occurred in Latin America to the more bipolar race perception that occurred in the United States, people's skin color became associated with four centuries of slavery.

During the four centuries of the transatlantic slave trade, which occurred approximately from 1519 to 1867, it has been conservatively estimated that around 10 mil-

### Total of Africans Disembarked, 1519–1867

1519–1600	73,400
1601–1700	540,970
1701–1800	1,427,900
1801–1867	1,561,350
1519–1867	3,850,000

SOURCE: Reprinted from Eltis et al. (1999). *The Transatlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-ROM*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Table 1.

lion Africans arrived in the Western Hemisphere. Most of the slaves disembarked in the Americas, with 40.6 percent being shipped to Brazil. The territories under British control absorbed 29 percent of all African slaves, while Spanish America imported 14.3 percent. Around 12 percent of the total African slaves that were imported went to the territories under French subjugation. A smaller number, somewhere around 2.7 percent, ended up in the Dutch Americas, and about 1 percent went to Danish America. The majority of these Africans disembarked in the Western Hemisphere during the nineteenth century (see Table 1).

### NORTH AMERICA

Following the European overseas expansion and conquest of the Americas, there were several waves of forced and free migrations to the Western Hemisphere (see Table 2). Estimates on the indigenous population of North America suggest that around the year 1500 approximately 4.5 million people lived in what is referred to as the mainland region of the United States of America in the early twenty-first century. Until the end of the seventeenth century, most of the immigrants who went to British America were Europeans (approximately 152,000 Europeans, compared to 22,000 Africans). This pattern changed in the first half of the eighteenth century, when the volume of European and African immigrants was almost equal. However, for most of the period, Europeans constituted the majority of the incoming immigrants. Sometimes, however, such as the period from 1740 to 1759, the number of African slaves imported into British Americas was up to twice the number of European immigrants.

In the eighteenth century, British North America received 522,400 African slaves. However, this number decreased significantly during the following century. By the eve of the American Revolution, less than 20 percent of the slave population was African born. Instead, most of the slaves were born in the Americas. From 1801 to

Date	European	African	Total
1620-1639	22,000	0	22,000
1640-1659	34,000	1,000	35,000
1660-1679	60,000	5,000	65,000
1680-1699	36,000	16,000	52,000
1700-1719	33,000	38,000	71,000
1720-1739	70,000	78,000	148,000
1740-1759	35,000	69,000	104,000
1760-1779	68,000	40,000	108,000
Total	358,000	247,000	605,000

SOURCE: Adapted from Menard, Russell. (1991). "Migration, Ethnicity, and the Rise of an Atlantic Economy: The Re-Peopleing of the British America, 1600–1790." In *A Century of European Migration, 1830–1930*, edited by Rudolph Vecoli and Suzanne Sinke. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Table 2.

1808, when the importation of new slaves was outlawed, 14,450 slaves (less than 1 percent of all the African slaves forcibly transported to the Americas during the nineteenth century) arrived in the United States. Unlike other slave societies in the Western Hemisphere, slave populations in the United States increased through natural reproduction rather than by the arrival of new slaves. The slave population of the United States increased from approximately one million in 1800 to more than four million by the 1860s (see Table 3).

In the territories of modern Canada, which were controlled by the British after 1759, most of the indentured laborers were whites from Ireland or Germany, despite the fact that African slavery was also a source of labor. Unlike other places in the Americas, African slave labor was utilized in urban centers and in domestic spheres. In New France, 1,132 African slaves arrived directly from Africa between 1628 and 1759. After that, traders did not import slaves directly from Africa, but did so either through the British colonies in North America or the French West Indies. However, most of the immigrants were still Europeans. By the mid-eighteenth century, 96 percent of the inhabitants of Montreal were classified as whites, while Amerindians and blacks represented 3 and 0.7 percent of the population, respectively. Until the end of the American Revolution, there were relatively few blacks in the northern colonies. Their number increased only after the arrival of white loyalists fleeing the new American Republic, who brought over 2,000 black slaves to British Canada. Besides their slaves, Loyalists also brought with them 3,500 free blacks. These new immigrants, both whites and blacks, settled mainly in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, where local Amerindian populations had also been established. In addition,

Years	Number	Percent of total population
1790	757,208	19.3
1800	1,002,037	18.9
1810	1,377,808	19.0
1820	1,771,656	18.4
1830	2,328,642	18.1
1840	2,873,648	16.8
1850	3,638,808	15.7
1860	4,441,830	14.1
1870	4,880,009	12.7
1880	6,580,793	13.1
1890	7,488,788	11.9
1900	8,833,994	11.6
1910	9,827,763	10.7
1920	10,500,000	9.9
1930	11,900,000	9.7
1940	12,900,000	9.8
1950	15,000,000	10.0
1960	18,900,000	10.5
1970	22,600,000	11.1
1980	26,500,000	11.7
1990	30,000,000	12.1
2000	34,600,000	12.3

SOURCE: Adapted from *Time Almanac 2005*, Needham, 2004, p. 377.

Table 3.

a wave of runaway American slaves migrated to Canada beginning in the 1790s. Most of them headed for Ontario, where a 1793 act guaranteed the freedom of any former slave entering the province. By the time of the American Civil War, it is estimated that about 30,000 blacks had found their way to Canada, establishing themselves near the American border, in places such as Chatham, Toronto, London, Windsor, St. Catherine, and Hamilton. The black population of Canada did not increase substantially again until the 1960s, when immigration restrictions, based on color and origin, were removed.

In Mexico, a smaller white immigration and a larger Amerindian population contributed to the idea that it was a nation composed solely by Spaniards and Amerindians (and their descendents). The local population of the territory now known as Mexico was estimated to be at least 4.5 million by the time of the Spanish Conquest. African slaves arrived with the first Spaniards and were employed in the exploitation of the new territory. In the 1500s and 1600s, it was estimated that the number of blacks was double the number of whites in Mexico. By the 1650s the African slave population was estimated to be around 35,000. On the other hand, it is estimated that there were thirty Amerindians to every black and white combined. The result is that African descendents are almost invisible in the modern population of Mexico.

African and Amerindian labor were employed together in mixed farming enterprises, urban activities, and domestic tasks. Given its large local population, European settlers used local labor, which was cheaper than African slaves. This resulted in a decline in the number of African slaves over time, and by the end of the eighteenth century there were only 6,000 in Mexico.

**CARIBBEAN**

In the Caribbean and Latin America, a small number of white settlers controlled a large slave population, and modern societies still reflect this dichotomy. Unlike British North America, race classification was very fluid, which led to race distinctions that were very arbitrary and ambiguous. Cultural ascriptions, such as hairstyle and dressing, contributed just as much as physical appearance in classifying someone as being white or black. The legacy of slavery played a major role in defining people’s classifications and shaped the way nations were created in the Caribbean.

The British and the French Caribbean each accounted for about one-fifth of the total slave trade to the Americas. This trade supplied plantation economies with cheap labor. In the eighteenth century, Jamaica and Saint Domingue were the largest plantation economies in the region and the principal destination for most African captives. In the nineteenth century, Cuba emerged as the main destination for African slaves.

Slavery is intrinsically associated with Jamaica, though the slave boom only took place after Jamaica fell into British control in the 1650s. Many Amerindians died in the first decades of contact with the Spaniards due to harsh conditions and diseases introduced by European settlers and later by African slaves. By 1611, a century after the Spanish arrived, 558 slaves were present in Jamaica, one for every Spanish settler. During the first two centuries of Spanish occupation, there were no major plantations established on the island and the number of African slaves never exceeded 1,000. Under British control, however, the transatlantic slave trade expanded. In 1661, six years after the British invasion and occupation of the island, the number of immigrants started to increase. It is estimated that there were 3,000 whites and 500 blacks on the island at that time. In 1673, however, the number of blacks exploded, and 55 percent of the total population of 17,272 was classified as black.

The 1673 census indicated the presence of approximately 7,768 whites and 9,504 blacks in Jamaica. In 1690, however, the black population was three times larger than the white (10,000 whites and 30,000 blacks). African slaves from the Gold Coast, the Bight of Benin, and modern-day Nigeria were exported to Jamaica to work on the sugar plantations. Jamaica became a major British port in the transatlantic slave trade, and it served

Years	Slaves	Free Blacks	Whites	Total
1774	44,333	30,847	96,440	171,620
1792	84,590	54,152	133,559	272,301
1817	199,145	114,058	239,830	553,033
1827	286,942	106,494	311,051	704,487
1841	436,495	152,838	418,291	1,007,624
1846	323,759	149,226	425,767	898,752
1862	370,553	232,493	793,484	1,396,530
1877	199,094	272,478	963,394	1,434,747

SOURCE: Adapted from Knight, Franklin. (1970). *Slave Society in Cuba during the Nineteenth Century*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Table 4.

as a commercial transshipment center for ships going to British North America.

In 1713 there were approximately 7,000 whites and 55,000 blacks. By the early 1730s blacks represented 90 percent of the total population, and by the end of the 1730s the white population increased to 10,000 people, while the number of black slaves jumped to 100,000.

The slave trade and the introduction of sugar plantations changed Jamaican society, imposing a strict hierarchical division in which race played a major role. A small number of white settlers regulated labor and controlled the slave population. Even when slavery was abolished in 1833, freeing 800,000 slaves, a strict racial hierarchy continued to inhibit the political and economic achievements of blacks, and power remained in the hands of the white elite. Between 1834 and 1845, more than 4,000 European indentured servants migrated to Jamaica, mostly from England, Ireland, Germany, and Scotland, in an effort to replace slave labor. Up to 10,000 African indentured servants were also recruited between 1841 and 1867. Between 1845 and 1930, more than 20,000 Indians and 6,000 Chinese migrated to Jamaica as indentured or contract workers seeking a better life.

Similarly, in Cuba, the local population was quickly decimated after the arrival of the Spaniards. The first shipment of slaves disembarked in Cuba in 1526, but it was not until more than two centuries later that a massive African migration took place. The slave imports expanded first with the British occupation of the island (1762–1763) and exploded after the Haitian Revolution (1791–1804). In the fifty years after the Haitian Revolution, an estimated one million slaves landed in Cuba (see Table 4).

African slaves who arrived in Cuba came from different parts of Africa; estimates indicate that no single part of Africa supplied more than 28 percent of arrivals to Cuba. In addition to Africans, an estimated 150,000 to 250,000



Years	Whites	Black Slaves
1655	23,000	20,000
1673	21,309	33,184
1676	21,725	32,473
1680	-	38,782
1684	19,568	46,602
1696	-	42,000
1712	12,528	41,970
1715	16,888	

SOURCE: Reprinted from Dunn, Richard. (1972). *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624–1713*. New York: W. W. Norton.

Table 5.

Chinese indenture laborers were taken to Cuba between 1847 and 1887.

The situation was different in Barbados. Since the beginning of its occupation, white settlers established plantation economies on the island. Tobacco plantations came first, then cotton and sugar, which required large numbers of highly regimented enslaved workers. In 1655, 23,000 whites and 20,000 blacks lived on the island (see Table 5). In 1673 the number of whites decreased slightly to 21,309, while the number of blacks jumped to 33,184. The growth of the black population was associated with the economic shift to sugar plantations and the increased demand for African slaves. In 1684 approximately 19,568 whites controlled a black population estimated at 46,602.

First called La Isla Espanola, the island of Saint Domingue (modern-day Haiti and the Dominican Republic), was the wealthiest colony in the Caribbean. It was considered the “Pearl of the Antilles,” by the French. By the end of the eighteenth century, the more than 450,000 black slaves on the island produced half of the world’s sugar and coffee, plus indigo and cotton. Some 40,000 white settlers and 30,000 free people of color also lived on the island. The enslaved Africans came from diverse backgrounds. Before 1725, most of the Africans who landed at Saint Domingue came from the Bight of Benin, and were mostly Adja speakers. From 1725 to 1750, half of the slaves who disembarked in Saint Domingue came from Angola. From 1750 onward, different African regions supplied slaves to this Caribbean island. In 1791, slaves rose up to free themselves from bondage, and after thirteen years of war, Haiti became a free country.

#### CENTRAL AMERICA

Only a few settlements were established in Central America. The presence of only a small number of mines and

the existence of only small-scale agricultural production prevented a large importation of African slaves. Initially, the Amerindian population fulfilled the labor requirement. However, the number of African slaves increased when the Amerindian population started to decline. In many parts of Central America, the number of slaves was so small that descendants of Africans were not visible by the 1800s, because many had integrated with the local population. They became virtually indistinguishable from the *mestizo* (descendants of Amerindians and Europeans). After emancipation, the expansion of infrastructure and the establishment of plantations attracted impoverished blacks from the Caribbean islands. They contributed to the construction of bridges, railroads, and channels, but employment was temporary and social integration was extremely difficult.

By the early nineteenth century, blacks and their descendants made up as much as 17 percent of the population of Costa Rica. More African descendants arrived by the end of the nineteenth century to work in the banana fields, but they remained marginalized and segregated from mainstream society. In 1992 the black population of Costa Rica was estimated at 2 percent.

In Honduras, the first slaves arrived in 1540, at the beginning of Spanish presence. In 1545, approximately 5,000 slaves were imported to carry out domestic tasks or labor on small farms. Yet the number of slaves never attained the proportion of the Caribbean island settlements. As was the case in Costa Rica, by the early twentieth century, plantations geared towards the external market attracted the immigration of workers, mainly free blacks from West Indies. Estimates of African descendants in Honduras varied from 1.8 to 5.8 percent of the total population.

Panama had the largest black community in Central America. Since the arrival of the Spaniards, Panama grew in importance because it offered the narrowest land route from the Atlantic to the Pacific. At first, Spaniards relied primarily on Amerindian labor as porters to transport goods from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast. However, in less than fifty years following the arrival of the Spanish, hard labor and diseases decimated the Amerindian population, which was estimated at being more than a half million by the late fifteenth century. In 1610, some 1,057 whites, 294 free persons of color, and 3,500 slaves lived in Panama City. By 1625, blacks numbered 12,000 in Panama City. By 1789, there were 22,504 blacks, representing 64 percent of the total population of 35,920 persons in the Province of Panama. In exchange for the support for Panama’s secession from Colombia, the U.S. government received the right to build a channel unifying the Atlantic and the Pacific. By the early twentieth century, about 44,000 blacks had arrived in

Years	White	Mulattos	Blacks	Asians	Total Population
1819			1,081,174		3,598,132
1872	3,787,289	4,188,737	1,954,452		9,930,478
1890	6,302,198	5,934,291	2,097,426		14,333,915
1940	26,171,778	8,744,365	6,035,869	242,320	41,236,315

SOURCE: Adapted from Reis, João José. (2000). "Presença Negra: conflitos e encontros." In *Brasil: 500 anos de povoamento*. Rio de Janeiro: IBGE.; Skidmore, Thomas. (1993). *Black into White: Race and Nationality in Brazilian Thought*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Table 6.

Panama, mainly from Jamaica, Barbados, and Trinidad, to work on the Panama Canal.

### SOUTH AMERICA

At the time of the arrival of the Portuguese, an estimated 2 to 5 million Amerindians lived in what has become Brazil. The growing Portuguese presence after 1530 changed the lives of the Amerindians who lived along the coast. From the early sixteenth century until the mid-nineteenth century, almost 4 million African slaves arrived in Brazil, the largest number of slaves in any colony in the Americas.

By the early seventeenth century, the establishment of sugar plantations had accelerated the importation of slaves, and by the eighteenth century, the expansion of the mining economy in Minas Gerais had had a similar effect. By the end of the eighteenth century, Africans and their descendents in Brazil represented the majority of the population in the four major regions of the colony: Minas Gerais (75%), Pernambuco (68%), Bahia (79%) and Rio de Janeiro (64%). Only in São Paulo did whites constitute a larger percentage of the population than blacks (whites were 56% of the population).

The transfer of the Portuguese Crown to Brazil in 1808 led to a high demand for cheap labor to attend the court that was installed in Rio de Janeiro. The expansion of coffee and sugar plantations also contributed to this demand. As a result, the demand for slaves continued until 1850, when the slave trade was finally abolished. Slavery lasted in Brazil until 1888.

For more than 300 years, the societies of the Western Hemisphere depended on the forced labor of imported Africans. No other social institution surpassed slavery in its demands on all aspects of social organization and intergroup relations. Force, both military and moral, was the ultimate factor in its survival. Once established,

slavery required its primary victims, Africans, to do its bidding without question or recourse, and its European advocates and managers had to be more vigilant about its continuation than about their own liberties. The abolition of slavery as an institution did not, however, mean the immediate end of the values and attitudes that shaped it, or of the consequences that flowed from it.

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## RACIAL DESEGREGATION (U.S.)

The process of desegregation is connected to the evolution of segregation and the simultaneous resistance to segregation by African Americans. It is equally important to see that segregation in some places developed as a middle path between outright exclusion and integration. Thus, for example, in the 1830s Ohio excluded blacks from all public schools, then later allowed them to attend segregated schools, and then later integrated its schools.

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The same evolution can be seen in the U.S. Army, which went from exclusion, to segregation, to integration.

### FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE CIVIL WAR

Starting with the growth of a free black population during the American Revolution, whites sought to separate themselves from blacks. With few public institutions and little legal regulation of personal behavior, most early segregation was based on private decision making. Thus, many churches welcomed blacks and offered to save their souls but required them to sit in separate pews, usually in the back of the church, off to one side, or in a gallery. Most schools were private or only quasi-public, and in northern cities they were usually segregated. At the beginning of the Revolution most of the northern militias were integrated, and blacks fought side by side with whites in the early battles. The former slave Peter Salem fought at Lexington and Concord and at Bunker Hill. Salem Poor, also a former slave, was one of the heroes of Bunker Hill. When George Washington took over the Revolutionary Army in early 1775, he was shocked to see scores of black soldiers in the New England regiments and initially ordered that they be discharged. When unable to accomplish this, he demanded that no new blacks be allowed to enlist.

This was the first formal attempt at racial segregation in the new nation. By the end of the year, however, Washington had changed his mind and welcomed black troops. Both Salem Poor and Peter Salem reenlisted and served throughout the war, as did thousands of other blacks. At the end of the war one of Washington's favorite units was the First Rhode Island, which was made up of mostly former slaves and free blacks from that state. After the war, however, Congress quickly forgot about the many contributions of the thousands of blacks who fought for American liberty. In the Militia Act of 1792 Congress prohibited blacks from serving in the state militias. This was the new nation's first statutory requirement of racial exclusion. Shortly after this Congress prohibited blacks from serving as postmasters.

From the early national period to the eve of the Civil War, segregation developed in a variety of ways. In the South churches continued to segregate pews, but most white-dominated churches did not exclude blacks. Some masters took their slaves to church but did not sit with them. Southern free blacks and slaves also created their own religious institutions, particularly in urban settings, but whites often came to watch these services, fearing that these gatherings would lead to slave revolts. Thus, by the time of the Civil War a pattern of segregation in churches was well entrenched. Every southern state prohibited slaves from being educated and most prohibited the

education of free blacks as well. No southern state provided public education for blacks and in only a few places were they able to attend private schools. Thus, for example, in 1860, only about 2,800 school-aged blacks, out of a school-age population of about 95,000, were in any school in the South. More than half of these lived in the four slave states that did not join the Confederacy.

Other antebellum southern institutions were not segregated, in the sense that there were separate accommodations for blacks. Whites often traveled with slaves attending to them as personal servants, and thus segregation would have been impractical. Moreover, to the extent that exclusion and segregation developed to support white supremacy, such rules were unnecessary in a society where over 95 percent of all blacks were slaves, and thus already legally and socially subordinated. Free blacks were excluded from most public accommodations, although no laws required this. The antebellum South was a totally closed society, where race was a symbol of enslavement and free blacks lived on the edge of society, with no claims to citizenship or rights beyond the most basic legal protections. Laws requiring or even allowing segregation were unnecessary in such a world.

In the North, free blacks formed their own churches after facing discrimination and exclusion in white churches; although in many places blacks attended the same churches as whites. Before the 1830s most states initially provided no public education for blacks, and then later segregated their public schools by providing separate schools for blacks. Practices varied greatly between states and within states. In the 1830s most of the public schools in New York State's growing cities were segregated, but within a decade the public schools in Syracuse, Rochester, and Utica were integrated, whereas those in New York City, Albany, and Buffalo were segregated. By the 1840s most of the schools in Massachusetts were integrated, including the Boston Latin School and Boston English, both prestigious high schools; however, the city's 117 grammar schools were segregated with the exception of the Smith School, a white school open to blacks. Similarly, while the city had 161 primary schools (for children ages four through seven), blacks were allowed to attend only two, including the Belknap Street School, where Sarah Roberts was assigned. In 1849 Benjamin Roberts sued the school board to allow his daughter, Sarah, to attend the school nearest to her house.

In many ways *Roberts v. City of Boston* (1850) anticipated the Supreme Court case—but not the outcome—in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954). Both cases were brought against northern schools. Like Linda Brown, who passed by a number of elementary schools for whites to get to her school for blacks only, Sarah Roberts had to pass five elementary schools every day to get to her

designated school. Charles Sumner, who would later become a U.S. senator, argued that the segregated school was inherently inferior, even though it had the same books and some other facilities as the schools for white children. He also argued the segregation itself was psychologically damaging to black children.

Lawyers in the *Brown* case would make similar arguments. Unlike the U.S. Supreme Court in *Brown*, however, the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court rejected integrationist arguments. Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw framed the question of this case just as the Supreme Court would in 1954: "Conceding, therefore, in the fullest manner, that colored persons, the descendants of Africans, are entitled by law, in this commonwealth, to equal rights, constitutional and political, civil and social, the question then arises, whether the regulation in question, which provides separate schools for colored children, is a violation of any of these rights." He concluded that under the Massachusetts Constitution the school board was free to assign students in whatever manner it chose, and that segregation was neither against state law nor unconstitutional. This case established the judicially created doctrine of "separate but equal," with Shaw holding that as long as the schools for blacks has the same facilities as the schools for whites, the city could maintain separate schools. Black activists and white abolitionists in Boston did not cease their struggle for equality, and in 1855 the state legislature prohibited all public schools from segregating blacks.

By the time of the Civil War, segregation in schools across the North varied. In the 1830s Ohio had refused to provide public schools for blacks and also prohibited them from attending public schools for whites. However, blacks were also exempt from paying school taxes. This led to private schools in such places as Cincinnati, but in other parts of the state blacks attended the public schools by paying tuition that was roughly the same as the taxes their parents might otherwise have paid. By the 1850s the legislature had mandated that all communities provide a free public education for blacks, but it allowed districts to do so on either an integrated or a segregated basis.

In 1860 ten times as many black children attended school in the North (about 27,000) as in the South, even though the northern free black population was smaller. Northern black attendance rates were not as high as those for whites, but they were much greater than in the South. For example, in 1860 with a school-age population of more than 22,000, only forty-one black children were enrolled in schools in Virginia, while in Pennsylvania more than 7,000 black children (out of fewer than 20,000) were in school. Some blacks also attended northern colleges that were otherwise overwhelmingly white. In some places in the North, public accommodations

(inns, restaurants, theaters, railroad cars, streetcars) were open to blacks on the same basis as whites, but more commonly, private owners segregated these facilities and the states did little to stop them. Almost everywhere in the North, blacks protested these conditions with some success. Some states, such as Massachusetts, banned segregation in railroad cars, and protests in New York City forced streetcar companies to allow patrons to sit anywhere. Most businesses in the North, however, were able to segregate without any interference from the courts or the legislature. On the eve of the Civil War it was possible to find substantial integration and substantial segregation in the same states and even in the same cities across the North.

#### FROM THE CIVIL WAR TO WORLD WAR II: THE NORTH

The Civil War brought vast changes to race relations. From the moment the war began, blacks volunteered for the army to fight the Confederacy. Initially the U.S. Army did not allow blacks to enlist, although the navy did. In late 1862 the Lincoln administration authorized the enlistment of blacks in segregated regiments, with mostly white officers. By the end of the war approximately 180,000 blacks had served in the army and another 20,000 or so in the navy. Initially black soldiers were paid at a lower rate than their white counterparts, but Congress rectified this by 1864. After the war the army did not revert to the exclusionist policy as it had done in the wake of the Revolution. Blacks, however, would remain in separate units and only a token few were allowed to rise above the rank of noncommissioned officer.

A few other racial barriers began to break down during the war. Congress, which had jurisdiction over the District of Columbia, granted charters to streetcar companies that were obligated to seat patrons without regard to race. During the war the state department began to issue passports for blacks, thus rejecting the logic of the *Dred Scott* decision—that blacks, even if free, could never be considered "citizens" of the United States. President Lincoln met with some black leaders at the White House and invited Frederick Douglass to have tea with him at his summer residence, The Soldiers' Home. This was a symbolically powerful moment, as the Kentucky-born president of the United States treated a leading African American as a social equal by sitting down with him to share food, drink, and conversation. After his reelection, Lincoln invited Douglass to his inauguration party. When a guard, not knowing who Douglass was, barred his entry, Lincoln personally escorted him into the room.

Immediately after the war a number of southern states, still dominated by legislatures elected during the

war, passed laws requiring segregation in public facilities. In 1865 Florida became the first state to require segregation on railroad cars, with other states following close behind. Texas, for example, passed a law requiring a separate railroad car for blacks. However, during Reconstruction these laws were repealed, and some were replaced with laws requiring integration of public facilities. Southern public schools were open to children of all races, but most whites boycotted them. Louisiana passed laws prohibiting segregation on railroad cars and steamships. In 1870 Louisiana allowed interracial marriage, as did Arkansas in 1874. Other southern states dropped their ban on interracial marriage as well during this period. Meanwhile, in the Civil Rights Act of 1875 Congress required integration at the national level of most places of public accommodation. That year Congress also allowed black immigrants to become naturalized citizens. The law was drawn carefully, however, to exclude immigrants from Asia.

After 1877 this brief moment of racial fairness for former slaves began to fade. Southern states began to segregate transportation, schools, and other public facilities. In *The Civil Rights Cases* (1883) the Supreme Court struck down the Civil Rights Act of 1875, paving the way for rampant private discrimination in the South. In *Pace v. Alabama*, decided the same year, the Court also upheld an Alabama law making it a criminal offense for blacks and whites to marry each other.

Most northern states responded to these decisions by passing their own civil rights acts, banning restaurants, hotels, theaters, streetcars, and the like from discriminating on the basis of race. In 1883, for example, Michigan specifically allowed interracial marriage, and two years later the state passed a sweeping equal accommodations law that did at the state level what the Congress had tried to do nationally in the Civil Rights Act of 1875. Almost every other northern state passed a similar law in the next decade. Many northern states also prohibited school districts from maintaining separate schools for blacks. Courts in many northern states enforced these laws.

By 1900 segregation was not legal in most of the North. In theory schools, hotels, restaurants, theaters, streetcars, and railroad cars were open to blacks on the same basis as whites. By the eve of World War II, however, a decidedly different practice had emerged. Most northern blacks lived in cities and were increasingly ghettoized through real estate practices that were rarely regulated by statutes. Thus, segregation—in fact, de facto segregation—became the norm. In most places schools were not officially segregated, but neighborhood schools led to segregated schools in cities where blacks were concentrated into specific neighborhoods. In smaller towns and rural areas discrimination was often the prac-

tice if not the law. Paul Robeson, for example, was denied the right to be valedictorian at his high school in a small town in New Jersey simply because the principal did not want a black speaker at graduation. When he entered Rutgers University in 1915, he was the only black on campus and only the third in the history of the school. As the state university of New Jersey, Rutgers was not officially segregated, but it was effectively so.

Similarly, when future federal judge A. Leon Higginbotham entered Purdue University in Indiana, in 1944, only twelve black civilian students attended this large state university. Higginbotham was allowed to attend classes on an equal basis with whites but was not given dormitory space and was instead forced to live in an unheated attic. The university president told Higginbotham that the law did not mandate integration of the dormitories, only of the classrooms. On the other hand, blacks attended colleges on an equal basis with whites in many urban public universities throughout the North. Higginbotham left Purdue for the integrated, private Antioch College and then Yale Law School. At the time it would have been illegal for him to attend an integrated private college or law school anywhere in the South.

In 1947, the President's Committee on Civil Rights reported that "New York State, in particular, has an impressive variety of civil rights laws on its statute books" and that "few other states and cities have followed suit, especially in the fair employment practice field." However, many, perhaps most, privately owned businesses ignored such laws and rarely had to defend their actions in the courts. Blacks reported to the President's Committee that despite laws that prohibited discrimination, it was "difficult to find a meal or a hotel room in the downtown areas of most northern cities." Enforcement of such laws was lax and businesses "discouraged [blacks] from patronizing places by letting them wait indefinitely for service, charging them higher prices, giving poor service, and publicly embarrassing them in various ways." Although illegal, "whites only" signs could be found in some places in the North. Generally, though, such signs were unnecessary, as some businesses simply refused to accommodate or serve blacks.

By the end of World War II the practices of the North were mixed. In smaller cities and towns schools were integrated because neighborhoods were integrated or because there was only one school to attend. In southern Indiana, Illinois, and New Jersey some local districts maintained segregated schools for blacks even in small towns, despite state laws prohibiting such schools. Almost every northern state had civil rights laws prohibiting all sorts of discrimination, but hotels, restaurants, and landlords nevertheless often successfully ignored such laws. Beaches, pools, and parks were officially integrated,

but local prejudice led to de facto segregation. However, blacks throughout the North could vote, run for office, and in many places find public-sector jobs.

Urban ghettoization led to de facto segregation but also to political power; by the end of World War II both Chicago and New York had black representatives in the U.S. Congress, and scores of blacks served on city councils and in state legislatures across the North. Blacks had access to public and private higher education. Most state universities were integrated, although a few northern states, such as Ohio and Pennsylvania, established public institutions that were not officially segregated but nevertheless had student bodies that were almost entirely black. Private-sector employment was mixed. Small employers easily evaded the fair employment practices acts in such states as Michigan and New York. But by the end of World War II in the industrial states of the Northeast and Midwest, blacks found relatively high paying jobs in steel mills, auto factories, and with similar large employers. Even in these industries, however, promotions were few and management positions almost always were closed to blacks.

On the West Coast a different kind of segregation emerged in the 1840s as Chinese laborers came to the nation during the California gold rush. They were segregated and often faced incredible violence. The phrase “a Chinaman’s chance” emerged in the nation’s lexicon to describe the likelihood of a Chinese gold miner surviving if he was lucky enough (or unlucky enough) to actually find gold. The Chinese faced segregation in schools, were not allowed to testify in cases involving whites, and were prohibited from marrying anyone outside their own race. During the Civil War, California repealed its laws prohibiting blacks from testifying against whites but did not do the same for Chinese. After the war, discrimination against Chinese was so blatant that in at least one case, *Yick Wo v. Hopkins* (1886) the Supreme Court rendered a decision in favor of Chinese laundry owners, who protested a law that required all laundries to be built of brick unless the sheriff gave the owner an exemption. All white owners got this exemption, but not Chinese. In 1882 anti-Chinese sentiment led to the first racially based immigration restriction in U.S. history, the Chinese Exclusion Act.

After 1886 Japanese began to come to the West Coast, where they also faced segregation. At the turn of the century, President Theodore Roosevelt complained that the mistreatment of Japanese immigrants and Japanese American citizens in California threatened international peace. This crisis led to the “Gentlemen’s Agreement,” by which Japan agreed to limit the number of immigrants coming to the United States. Until the 1950s Asian immigrants were prohibited even from becoming naturalized citizens. The West Coast states,

especially California, continued to segregate Japanese, passing laws to prevent aliens “ineligible for citizenship”—which only applied to Asian immigrants—from owning real estate or obtaining certain licenses. After World War II the Supreme Court would strike down most of the laws, but before then Asians on the West Coast faced segregation. The final chapter of this grim history was the internment during World War II of more than 100,000 Japanese Americans, most of whom were citizens because they had been born in the United States. This was done by the federal government, but with the full support of officials in California, Oregon, and Washington.

During this period Hispanics in California, New Mexico, Arizona, and Texas faced some form of de jure segregation, especially in schools, and a significant amount of informal segregation. In *Wysinger v. Crookshank* (1890) the California Supreme Court prohibited the segregation of blacks in the state’s public schools, although de facto segregation developed in the early twentieth century. In 1931 the legislature specifically allowed segregation of Asians and Hispanics in the state’s schools. But between 1944 and 1948 state and federal courts in California banned all forms of segregation in the state and legalized interracial marriage. The key case was *Mendez v. Westminster* (1947), in which the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals became the first federal court to strike down racially based segregation in the public schools. This case was not appealed, because shortly after the decision Governor Earl Warren signed the Anderson Bill, prohibiting all school segregation in the state. A year later, in *Perez v. Lippold* (1948), the California Supreme Court struck down the state’s ban on interracial marriage, making it the first court in the nation to take such a position.

#### SOUTHERN SEGREGATION: FROM RECONSTRUCTION TO *BROWN*

The story in the South was entirely different. Starting with the end of Reconstruction in the 1870s, the southern states began to segregate every institution in southern society. In the 1870s and 1880s the U.S. Supreme Court struck down laws that blatantly prohibited blacks from voting or serving as jurors but gave its blessing to segregation. In *Hall v. DeCuir* (1878) the Court struck down a Louisiana law passed during Reconstruction that prohibited segregation on boats and trains in the state. The Court said this violated the powers of Congress to regulate interstate commerce. In *Louisville, New Orleans & Texas Railway Co. v. Mississippi* (1890), however, the Court upheld a Mississippi law that required segregation, even though presumably that law also placed a burden on interstate commerce. Both cases were argued on issues of interstate commerce and did not focus per se on the constitutional rights of blacks. This issue was brought

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directly before the Court in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), in which the Supreme Court held that the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments did not prevent Louisiana from segregating railroad cars and other public transportation in the state.

This decision opened the floodgates to massive segregation of everything in the South, where 90 percent of all blacks lived in 1900 and where 70 percent still lived in 1950. In 1898 a South Carolina newspaper mocked the growing penchant for southerners to segregate all facilities, noting:

if there must be Jim Crow cars on the railroads, there should be Jim Crow cars on the street rail-ways. Also on all passenger boats. . . . If there are to be Jim Crow cars, moreover, there should be Jim Crow waiting saloons at all stations, and Jim Crow eating houses. . . . There should be Jim Crow sections of the jury box, and a separate Jim Crow dock and witness stand in every court—and a Jim Crow Bible for the colored witnesses to kiss. It would be advisable also to have a Jim Crow section in county auditors' and treasurers' offices for the accommodation of colored taxpayers. The two races are dreadfully mixed in these offices for weeks.

However, as the historian C. Vann Woodward noted in his classic book *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (1974 [1955]), within a few years, except for the “Jim Crow witness stand, all the improbable applications of the principle suggested by the editor in derision had been put into practice—down to and including the Jim Crow Bible” (p. 68).

By 1945 virtually every facet of life in the South was segregated. Southern blacks faced discrimination at every turn in their lives. If born in a hospital, southern blacks entered the world in a separate hospital; they would be buried in segregated cemeteries. As the President's Committee noted, in the South “it is generally illegal for Negroes to attend the same schools as whites; attend theaters patronized by whites; visit parks where whites relax; eat, sleep, or meet in hotels, restaurants, or public halls frequented by whites.” Virtually all public and private educational institutions in the South, from nursery school to college, were segregated. The only exceptions were a few small private historically black colleges that occasionally had a white student or two. At the beginning of the century, Kentucky's Berea College was integrated. In 1904, to stop this breach of southern racial etiquette, Kentucky passed legislation banning private integration, and Berea sued, attempting to remain integrated in the face of laws mandating segregation. In *Berea College v. Kentucky* (1908) the U.S. Supreme Court upheld Kentucky's law mandating that private colleges be segregated, giving a green light to

legally mandated segregation everywhere in the South, even where parties wanted to be integrated.

Most southern states ignored the education of their black citizens as much as they could. Louisiana, for example, created some twenty “trade schools” between 1934 and 1949 for whites but did not provide any trade schools for blacks. At the primary and secondary levels the disparity in public expenditures guaranteed that blacks would have inferior educational facilities. Almost without exception, white principals, supervisors, and teachers were paid more than blacks. Classes for blacks had more children than classes for whites, schools for blacks were open fewer days, and the facilities were vastly inferior. The situation in Clarendon County, South Carolina, illustrates the reality of segregated education. In 1949, the county spent \$179 per pupil for white children and \$43 per pupil for black children. The county had sixty-one school buildings for its 6,531 black students, which were worth \$194,575. The 2,375 white students went to twelve different schools, worth \$673,850.

Segregation profoundly affected criminal justice in the South. By the end of World War II a few southern cities had at least a few black police officers, but most southern blacks still lived in rural areas and small towns, where policing was segregated and often oppressive. Police brutality toward blacks was the norm, and only the most egregious cases ever reached the federal courts where some relief might be found. If arrested, blacks went to segregated jails and, when convicted, to segregated prisons. In Florida, for example, it was illegal for any sheriff or other law enforcement officer to handcuff or chain blacks and whites together, whereas in Georgia black and white prisoners were to be kept separate “as far as practicable.” Segregated facilities meant that black prisoners would face worse conditions than their white counterparts. No matter how bad jail and prison conditions were for whites, they would always be worse for blacks. Furthermore, a convict leasing system gave county and state officials an incentive to prosecute vigorously all black lawbreakers because convicts were laborers who could be rented out to various southern farms and businesses. In court, blacks were invariably represented by white attorneys, if they had representation at all. They faced white judges and all-white juries. In the Deep South, prison often meant laboring on a chain gang or in a rural work camp.

Virtually all other facilities were equally segregated. Southern states segregated homes for the aged, orphanages, and homes or institutions for juvenile delinquents. Industrial schools were segregated where they existed. Louisiana had three industrial schools: one each for young white males, white females, and black males. Black female youthful offenders were not offered the option of

learning a skill or trade in preparation for their rehabilitation. In most southern states, African Americans with a hearing problem, a mental illness, or tuberculosis went to special institutions for blacks only. Ironically, state schools for the blind were segregated in the South, even though, presumably, most of the students could not actually see each other. While all these institutions were in theory “separate but equal,” in practice they were never equal. No matter how bad conditions might be for whites, they were invariably worse for blacks.

As the South became increasingly industrialized after World War II, segregation helped keep blacks economically marginalized. South Carolina provided \$100 fines and up to thirty days’ imprisonment at hard labor for textile manufacturers or their officials who failed to follow elaborate rules for racial separations. The law set out in great detail that no company engaged in textile or cotton manufacturing—the most important industry in the state—could allow members of

different races to labor and work together within the same room, or to use the same doors of entrance and exit at the same time, or to use and occupy the same pay ticket windows or doors for paying off its operatives and laborers at the same time, or to use the same stairway and windows at the same time, or to use at any time the same lavatories, toilets, drinking water buckets, pails, cups, dippers or glasses.

Other states had similar rules. In Oklahoma, Tennessee, and Texas, mines were required to have both separate shower facilities and clothing lockers for workers when they emerged from the ground. These laws did more than just humiliate blacks and remind them of their inferior legal status: The laws also prevented them from advancing in their jobs, or even getting jobs. Separate facilities for blacks meant that factory owners would have to invest more money in their mills, mines, and factories. Where possible, it made greater economic sense simply to hire only whites, leaving blacks outside the growing industrial job market.

Everywhere in the South, public accommodations were segregated by law—separate, but almost never actually equal. The South required that there be separate drinking fountains, restrooms, motels, hotels, elevators, bars, restaurants, and lunch counters for blacks. Trains had separate cars for blacks, and buses reserved the last few rows for blacks, always keeping them, symbolically, at the back of the bus. Taxis served whites or blacks, not both. Waiting rooms at bus stations, train stations, and airports were separate as well. At theaters, blacks sat in separate sections at the back or in the balcony. Practice on these issues always varied. While many states mandated separate waiting rooms at train and bus stations,

Florida found yet one more way to segregate, separate, and humiliate blacks, by requiring that railroads also provide separate ticket windows for black travelers.

Beyond public accommodations, schools, and the workplace, everything else was segregated. Louisiana required separate ticket windows and entrances at circuses and tent shows. The law required that these ticket offices be at least twenty-five feet apart. Southern states banned interracial meetings of fraternal orders, whereas cities and states followed Birmingham’s segregation of “any room, hall, theatre, picture house, auditorium, yard, court, ball park, public park, or other indoor or outdoor place.” Mobile, Alabama had a 10:00 p.m. curfew for blacks. Florida stored textbooks from black and white schools in different buildings, and New Orleans segregated its red light district. Texas specifically prohibited interracial boxing, most cities and towns segregated seating at baseball fields. Local ordinances or customs made it illegal or unlikely that blacks and whites would compete against each other in sporting events, but some states made certain this would not happen. Georgia specifically segregated billiard rooms and poolrooms. South Carolina and Oklahoma segregated public parks and playgrounds. In Louisiana, it was illegal for blacks and whites to reside in the same dwelling, and the existence of “separate entrances or partitions” would not be a defense to a charge under this law. Oklahoma provided for “segregation of the white and colored races as to the exercises of rights of fishing, boating, and bathing” as well as “to the exercise of recreational rights” at parks, playgrounds, and pools. The state required “telephone companies . . . to maintain separate booths for white and colored patrons.”

Even the sacred was not protected from the need of southern whites to separate themselves from blacks: Tennessee required that houses of worship be segregated. Texas and North Carolina segregated their public libraries by statute, whereas other states did not, presumably because they did not imagine blacks using public libraries. Nevertheless, when blacks tried to use them, they were either refused access or forced into segregated facilities. Georgia never seemed to tire of finding things to segregate, and, thus, in its 1937–1938 legislative session, the state provided that the names of white and black taxpayers be made out separately on the tax digest. Beyond the statutes, there were customs and extralegal forms of segregation. Woodward was unable to find a statute requiring separate Bibles in courtrooms, but everywhere that was the practice. As Woodward noted, writing in 1955:

It is well to admit, and even to emphasize, that laws are not an adequate index of the extent and prevalence of segregation and discriminatory practices in the South. The practices often anticipated and sometimes exceeded the law. It may be confidently assumed—and it could be verified by



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present observation—that there is more Jim Crowism practiced in the South than there are Jim Crow laws on the books.

Thus, banks in the South refused to give loans to blacks, even after World War II when housing loans for black veterans were guaranteed by the GI Bill. Southern blacks could usually shop at the same department stores as whites, but they had to take separate elevators (usually the freight elevators) to the different floors. They might buy the same clothing as whites but were usually not allowed to try on the clothing before purchasing it.

What the historian Woodward described for the turn-of-the-century and beyond, the economist Gunnar Myrdal observed in the 1940s. His classic study of American race relations, *An American Dilemma* (1944), detailed the existence of an elaborate system of segregation throughout the American South, as well as less pervasive and systematic, but equally pernicious, forms of discrimination in the North. Myrdal noted:

Every Southern state and most Border states have structures of state laws and municipal regulations which prohibit Negroes from using the same schools, libraries, parks, playgrounds, railroad cars, railroad stations, sections of streetcars and buses, hotels, restaurants and other facilities as do the whites. In the South there are, in addition, a number of sanctions other than the law for enforcing institutional segregation as well as etiquette. Officials frequently take it upon themselves to force Negroes into certain action when they have no authority to do so. (p. 628)

Even before *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) the Supreme Court had upheld numerous southern regulations of race while striking down attempts by Congress and the southern states to create a more racially equal society. After *Plessy* the southern states segregated every private and public institution they could. Under President Woodrow Wilson—the first southerner elected president since the Civil War—almost all facilities in Washington, D.C., were segregated, and blacks were forced out of many civil service jobs. The army remained segregated, and blacks were limited to kitchen work and similar “service jobs” in the navy and totally excluded from the marines. When World War I began, the army forced into retirement its most senior black officer, Colonel Charles Young, because otherwise Young would have been in the position of commanding white soldiers and junior officers.

In 1909 black and white opponents of segregation formed the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), which would become the nation’s largest civil rights organization. The NAACP organized chapters throughout the nation, although in the South member identities had to be kept secret in

many places. The NAACP focused much of its energy on fighting segregation and racism through litigation, winning its first case in 1915 when the Court, in *Guinn v. United States*, struck down Oklahoma’s grandfather clause that effectively disfranchised blacks in the state. In *Buchanan v. Warley* (1917) the NAACP won again when the Court struck down a Kentucky law that prohibited the sale of real estate to members of one race or the other, on the grounds that this would unduly restrict private property. In *Corrigan v. Buckley* (1926), however, the Court upheld the right of private parties to sign restrictive covenants, which prevented white landowners from selling their property to blacks. The Court maintained this public/private distinction in other ways, ruling, for example, that the state of Texas could not prohibit blacks from voting in primary elections, but if the political parties ran the primaries as private organizations, the parties themselves could exclude black voters. In *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada* (1938) the Court ordered the integration of the University of Missouri School of Law, but only because the state had not provided a similar school for blacks.

On the eve of World War II states were free to establish “separate but equal” facilities for blacks and whites, such as schools and colleges, and require “separate but equal” seating on public transportation and other areas of public life. Private enterprises were free to segregate without any laws. Most southern states also required that private enterprises segregate the races, or if that was not possible, be open to only one race. Similarly, the Court struck down laws that restricted the vote to whites but did not interfere with literacy tests, poll taxes, or the privatization of primary elections, which disfranchised most southern blacks and simultaneously kept them off juries. In 1940 most blacks—about 70 percent—lived in the South, where segregation was a way of life, discrimination an everyday fact, and economic opportunity severely limited. The North offered better jobs, housing, educational opportunity, and even some political power, but not full equality.

### **BROWN AND DESEGREGATION**

The New Deal and World War II undermined the South’s system of segregation in a number of ways. New Deal programs were often segregated, but they nevertheless provided some opportunities for blacks in the South. The Roosevelt Court also began to chip away at segregation, starting with the *Gaines* case in 1938. In *Mitchell v. United States*, decided in the spring of 1941, the Court held that state laws requiring segregation on interstate railroads violated the commerce clause and that only the Interstate Commerce Commission could authorize such segregation. In *Morgan v. Virginia* (1946) the Court

applied the logic of this case to interstate bus transportation. Significantly, the opinion was written by a southern justice, Stanley Reed of Kentucky. Neither case was a “civil rights case” per se, since the Court used the commerce clause to overturn the state laws, but both cases clearly indicated that segregation was no longer constitutionally sacrosanct. While both cases were victories in the Court, buses and trains mostly remained segregated in the South.

In between these two cases, the United States fought World War II. During the war millions of northerners saw segregation for the first time, as they were stationed in military bases all over the South. Even northerners who were not sympathetic to civil rights were shocked by seeing blacks sent to the back of a bus or not even allowed on a bus. Segregation in the North was residential, de facto, and often not much in evidence. In the South it was bold, brutal, and evident everywhere one turned. Segregation in the army was also surprising to many men and women who simply never imagined that fellow soldiers would be separated on the basis of race. The ideology of the war was even more damaging to segregation. Nazism was the logical conclusion of racism. The war itself was a statement against racism. Moreover, for the first time in American history the United States was allied with nonwhites—the Chinese, Filipinos, and Koreans—in the war against Japan. Surely there was racism in the antiwar propaganda against the Japanese, but at the same time American propaganda extolled the virtues of the nation’s nonwhite allies. After the war a significant number of GIs came home with Japanese wives, and after 1949, Korean wives. These returning veterans found that in about twenty states—almost all of them in the South—their marriages were void and it was illegal for them even to live with their nonwhite wives.

Returning black veterans were particularly incensed by the segregation that greeted them after risking their lives for American democracy. Using the GI Bill, they gained education and bought houses and stood up to the wall of segregation that awaited them. More blacks tried to vote, although with mixed results. Other blacks, such as Irene Morgan, who had been arrested for not moving to the back of a bus in Virginia, were more aggressive about asserting their rights.

The NAACP, which had rallied against segregation on the margins since the 1920s, fought for equality in housing, voting, and interstate transportation. In the 1930s the organization began to plan for an assault on segregated education, reasoning that without education blacks could never be equal in the workplace or any other part of society. The attack first began by testing the meaning of the “equal” provision of the “separate-but-equal doctrine” that had allowed segregation since the

1890s. Suits in Missouri and Texas forced the integration of graduate and professional schools by arguing that such separate schools could *never* be equal. In *Sweat v. Painter* (1950) the Supreme Court accepted this argument and forced the integration of the University of Texas Law School. This set the stage for the assault on segregation in public schools in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954).

Other events also helped prepare for *Brown*. The most important may have been the decision of Branch Rickey to sign Jackie Robinson to play for the Brooklyn Dodgers, thereby breaking the color line in baseball. In 1947 Robinson became the first black to play in the major leagues since the 1890s. Other teams quickly followed suit, and soon black stars became common in both leagues and essential to the success of most teams. Teams that had not won the World Series in decades (or ever)—the Cleveland Indians, New York Giants, Brooklyn Dodgers, and Milwaukee Braves—won with black stars. By the mid-1950s black players were common, and as television invaded American homes, the whole nation became used to seeing integrated teams winning ball games. In an eleven-year period (from 1949 to 1959) nine of eleven most valuable players in the National League were black, as were most of the rookies of the year in that league.

While baseball made integration seem possible, the cold war and the Korean War made it necessary. As the United States competed with the Soviet Union for international prestige, segregation became increasingly embarrassing. Thus, in 1948 President Harry Truman ordered the integration of the military, ending nearly a century of separate units for blacks. Long an opponent of segregation in his home state of Missouri, Truman also saw that justice dovetailed with both good foreign policy and good politics. Segregation continued in all the services for a few more years, but by the end of the Korean War the military was no longer segregated, although the officer corps in all branches was overwhelmingly white. In 1948 the Democratic Party placed a strong civil rights plank in its platform, which led to a walkout by “Dixiecrats” led by Strom Thurmond of South Carolina. Thurmond contended for the presidency that year as a segregationist, but his poor showing, and his failure to derail Truman, could be seen as an indication that it was politically safe to challenge segregation. Thus, when the *Brown* case finally made it to the U.S. Supreme Court, the Eisenhower administration supported desegregation as a matter of foreign policy necessity, but with knowledge that it was politically acceptable to do so.

In 1952 the Supreme Court heard four cases consolidated as *Brown v. Board of Education*. The Court did not decide the case that year but ordered reargument for the following year. In the interim, California governor Earl Warren, who had signed the law banning

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segregation in that state, became chief justice. Warren fashioned a unanimous Court to support an end to segregation in the public schools but strategically held the decision until the end of the term in May 1954, when most public schools were no longer in session for the year. The key issue was whether segregation in public schools violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The Court found that it did. As Chief Justice Earl Warren put it in his opinion: "We come then to the question presented: Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other 'tangible' factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities?" In other words, could separate schools *ever* be equal. The Court held they could not be equal. Warren wrote:

We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.

This unanimous decision was narrowly limited to schools. It nevertheless signaled a revolution in American society. For the first time since Reconstruction a branch of government—the Supreme Court—had taken a firm stand against racial inequality and segregation. Southerners responded with grim opposition. In 1956 all but three southern members of the Senate and seventy-seven southern House members signed a "Southern Manifesto" denouncing the decision and integration. The nonsigning senators were three men with national ambitions: Lyndon Johnson of Texas and Estes Kefauver and Albert Gore Sr. of Tennessee. Across the South defiant school administrators warned that they would never submit to integration. A few counties in Virginia closed their schools rather than integrate. Schools developed "freedom of choice" programs to allow children to voluntarily choose which schools they would attend, knowing that whites would choose the former white schools and most blacks would be too intimidated to attend them. In 1957 President Eisenhower was forced to send federal troops to Little Rock, Arkansas, to enforce a federal court order requiring the integration of Central High School. Armed airborne troops, with bayonets in place, guarded nine children who entered the previously all-white high school. Federal troops and U.S. marshals would later be used to end segregation in state universities in Mississippi and Alabama.

While *Brown* was directed only at schools, the logic of the decision affected everything else in the South.

Scores of federal court decisions struck down one form of segregation after another in the South. Meanwhile, a mass movement spread across the South, as blacks and white allies (often from the North) organized boycotts and demonstrations. In December 1955 Rosa Parks, a longtime member of the NAACP, was arrested when she refused to give up her seat to a white man on a public bus in Montgomery, Alabama. This sparked a 381-day boycott of the buses by blacks. The boycott thrust a young black preacher, the Reverend Martin Luther King Jr., into the national limelight. After the boycott, King organized the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), which became the most important force for grassroots organizing.

Meanwhile, lawyers for the NAACP challenged bus segregation in the courts and in November 1956, in *Gayle v. Browder*, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld a lower court decision declaring the bus segregation unconstitutional. In late December the Court rejected final appeals from Alabama, and on December 20 the order to desegregate the buses arrived in Montgomery. A day later the boycott ended as blacks were able to sit wherever they wanted on the public buses. This was, in a formal sense, the reversal of *Plessy v. Ferguson*. It also meant that most state laws requiring or mandating segregation were unconstitutional. It would take another decade of demonstrations, court decisions, and interventions by the U.S. government to finally end all state-sponsored segregation in the South. The southern segregationists were, in the end, fighting a losing battle as long as the Supreme Court remained firm in its position that the states could not discriminate.

The Court's decisions, however, applied only to state laws requiring segregation. Private businesses were still free to discriminate. In February 1960 four students from the historically black North Carolina A&T University in Greensboro, North Carolina, sat down at a lunch counter in a Woolworth's to order coffee. When they were refused service, they in turn refused to leave. This was not the first "sit-in" to challenge segregation, but it gained national publicity. Within days hundreds of black students, joined by some whites, were demanding service at downtown stores and lunch counters. In the next two months there were more than fifty sit-ins in nine southern states. For national chains such as Woolworth's the sit-ins were an embarrassment and a threat to business outside the South, as its stores were picketed throughout the North. The sit-ins and demonstrations in Greensboro continued until July, when Woolworth's finally agreed to serve blacks. Because the southern states could no longer require segregation, sit-ins were successful where they focused on national stores and where the public mood led to lethal or near-lethal violence. In big cities of the



**Civil Rights March, 1968.** Civil Rights activists stage a protest in Memphis, Tennessee. Civil Rights marches continued until the late 1960s, as blacks still struggled for equality and economic opportunity. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

upper and mid-South this tactic worked to force an end to segregation.

The Greensboro sit-in stimulated some cities—such as Atlanta and Nashville—to quietly desegregate public space. This led activists to organize “sit-ins” on the road in the spring of 1961. Hundreds of mostly students from the North and the upper South boarded interstate buses, with blacks and whites sitting next to each other. The Freedom Riders, as they were called, integrated lunch counters, rest rooms, and other facilities as their buses headed south. The buses passed peacefully through the upper South, but mobs began to attack the buses once they reached South Carolina. On May 14, 1961—Mother’s Day—a mob in Anniston, Alabama, set a bus on fire and blocked the doors to prevent the Freedom Riders from escaping. The riders were able to leave the bus only when it exploded. But as they exited the bus they were brutally beaten, and only the presence of an armed undercover agent prevent a lynching. The federal government arranged for the National Guard to escort the buses

to Jackson, Mississippi, where all the Freedom Riders were peacefully arrested. In November 1961 the Interstate Commerce Commission ordered the integration of all interstate buses and trains in the nation.

The firebombing of the bus in Alabama helped make that state the symbol of southern white resistance to change. In May 1963 Birmingham’s Eugene “Bull” Connor ordered the use of fire hoses and police dogs to suppress peaceful marches sponsored by the SCLC. These attacks—showing young children being lifted off the ground by the high-pressure fire hoses—were broadcast on national news shows, to the shock of most northerners. In June, Governor George C. Wallace personally blocked the admission of two black students to the University of Alabama. That summer, civil rights leaders from around the nation organized their famous March on Washington to protest segregation. The highlight of the march turned out to be King’s “I Have a Dream Speech,” which in tone and substance was more sermon than speech, more conciliatory than angry. Seen by

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millions on television and repeated on news programs, the speech became a symbol of the civil rights movement and contrasted the movement's call for peaceful change and legal equality with the violence of police officials.

Before his assassination, President John F. Kennedy submitted a major civil rights bill to Congress, where it languished. In the wake of his assassination Lyndon Johnson used his enormous power and longtime Washington knowledge and skills to force Congress to vote on the law. While Congress debated the bill, events in Mississippi riveted the nation and underscored the need for federal protection for civil rights. In June 1964 three young men aged twenty to twenty-four, James Chaney, a black from Meridian, Mississippi, and Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner, both from New York, were arrested on the pretext of a traffic violation, briefly jailed, then released. They were in Mississippi trying to help blacks register to vote. After their release they were captured and murdered by local members of the Ku Klux Klan (some of whom were also in the sheriff's department). Their burned car was found immediately, but their bodies were not discovered until August. Events like this pushed Congress to act on the civil rights legislation. Once the Senate broke a filibuster of southern senators, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 easily passed both houses and was signed into law on July 2, 1964. The law prohibited segregation in restaurants, hotels, and all other forms of public accommodation. Litigation was necessary to secure compliance. In *Katzenbach v. McClung* (1964) the Court upheld the law, ruling that a barbecue restaurant (owned by Ollie McClung) many blocks from an interstate highway was still sufficiently involved in interstate commerce to fall under the law. Lester Maddox sold his Atlanta restaurant rather than integrate and used his status as a "victim" of the federal government to successfully run for governor of the state. Despite laws, equality remained elusive. Civil rights marches—and violence by the police and community—continued until the late 1960s, as blacks still struggled for equality and economic opportunity.

### CONCLUSION

The movement for integration had mixed success. A half century after the *Brown* decision most blacks in the nation attended majority black schools and most whites attended school with very few blacks. Colleges and universities became fully integrated, but black enrollment was slight as huge numbers of blacks lacked the financial means to go beyond high school and blacks in inner-city and rural southern schools continued to receive substandard educations. On the fiftieth anniversary of *Brown* many scholars declared it a failure.

On the other hand, legal segregation is an artifact of history. Many blacks have successfully entered previously

segregated schools and graduated from universities and colleges across the nation. A few blacks have reached the highest levels of the corporate world, such as Richard Parsons, the president of the media giant Time-Warner. Blacks have served in presidential cabinets and on the Supreme Court. When President George H. W. Bush nominated Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court, his strongest advocate in the Senate was the old Dixiecrat candidate Strom Thurmond of South Carolina. Throughout the hearings southern senators praised the nominee, never once commenting on the fact that he had a white wife and that thirty years earlier it would have been a felony for them to live together in Virginia. The emergence of Barack Obama as a presidential candidate for the 2008 presidency illustrates the enormous change in race relations in the nation.

In the early years of the twenty-first century, residential patterns remain segregated, but at the day-to-day level the nation is integrated as blacks and whites work together, ride next to each other on buses and trains, and share meals at restaurants. Blacks still face discrimination in jobs, and there are persistent attempts in the Deep South to prevent blacks from voting and to prevent the creation of districts that will lead to black elected officials. Nevertheless, blacks have significant political power in the South, serving in Congress, as mayors, and in the case of Douglas Wilder, as the governor of Virginia. In the North, blacks have held all possible public offices, including terms as mayor in the three largest cities (New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago), even though none had a black voting majority. In Birmingham, Alabama, Ollie's Bar-B-Q has moved to a bigger space, where blacks and whites serve food to black and white patrons.

**SEE ALSO** *Brown v. Board of Education*; *NAACP*; *NAACP: Legal Actions, 1935-1955*; *Occupational Segregation*; *Plessy v. Ferguson*.

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**Paul Finkelman**

## RACIAL DISEASES

SEE *Diseases, Racial*.

## RACIAL FORMATIONS

Racial formations are social and historical processes by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed. They are also the product of state practices and policies. Michael Omi and Howard Winant outline a theory of racial formations in *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s* (1994). They note that “racial formation is a process of historically situated projects in which human bodies and social structures are represented and organized” (pp. 55–56). Rejecting a nation-based theory of race, Omi and Winant argue that a global perspective on racial formation is essential to understanding all the elements of racial oppression. In their theory of racial formation in the post-civil rights United States, which Winant further elaborates in *The World Is a Ghetto* (2001), Omi and Winant further argue that “colonialism in the age of capitalism differed from previous imperial systems in that it came to encompass the entire world. . . . Racial groups are the outcome of relationships that are global and epochal in character” (p. 37). They identify inequality, political disenfranchisement, territorial and institutional segregation, and cultural domination as the central elements of racial oppression and thus, racial formations.

### EARLY HISTORY OF RACIAL FORMATIONS

During the period of European colonialism, the territorial consolidation of the Americas, the Caribbean, Africa, parts of Asia, and the South Pacific and their control by a minority of European nations (Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, Holland) were the product of state practices such as extermination, enslavement, forced assimilation, segregation, and discrimination. These practices were part of

the racial formation process. Europeans and their descendants established legal and political structures in the colonies and settler nations that racialized non-Europeans and subordinated them. State-sanctioned racism, including diverse practices such as legal statutes, municipal ordinances, private regulations, federal censuses, police practices, and mob violence, were used to establish and enforce white supremacy and racial hierarchies in multiethnic nations.

Carolus Linnaeus (1707–1778), a Swedish botanist, produced the first modern classification of human populations in 1735. Linnaeus, the founder of scientific taxonomy, divided the genus *Homo* into four racial types: Eurapaeus, Americanus, Asiaticus, and Africanus. During this period the dominant view was monogenesis—the view that all humans were the descendants of a common original ancestor. Johann Blumenbach (1752–1840), a German professor of medicine, became the most influential of the scientists who classified human populations. Between 1770 and 1781 Blumenbach proposed the division of humans into four and later five “varieties” that represented the worlds’ major regions: Caucasian, Mongolian, Ethiopian, American, and Malay.

Blumenbach introduced “Caucasian” into the classification scheme to describe a variety of humankind—the Georgian—that had originated on the southern slopes of Mount Caucasus. He considered women from the Caucasus region in Russia to be the most beautiful of all Europeans, so he chose them to represent the European ideal type, and all other human groups were a departure and degeneration from this ideal. These racial typologies were ranked and were not considered equal in aesthetic beauty, intelligence, temperament, or morality. The racial typologies Blumenbach created reflected a belief in European supremacy, legitimated racialized slavery, and the subordination of groups of people based upon their physical and cultural differences. These racial classification schemes linked physical traits such as eye color, skin color, hair texture, nose shape, and mouth size to intellectual capacities, cultural traits, and moral temperaments. To formulate these classification schemes Blumenbach and other scientists relied primarily on the written observations and descriptions of “ordinary” men who earned their living as slave traders, slave owners, merchants, or others in dominant positions over peoples whom they considered “savages.”

Blumenbach and his contemporaries studying the varieties of the human race laid the foundation for the idea that distinct races existed and that they were inherently unequal. Following the 1770s historians begin to see a general shift in thought from the universal, that is what nations and people shared in common, to an interest in the particular, on what made some races “special” and unique.

## RACIAL FORMATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

How did the belief get established in the United States that Anglo Saxons were racially superior to other groups, and thus that it was their “destiny” to racially and culturally dominate all other groups in what became the United States? American historian Reginald Horsman identifies the last decade of the eighteenth century and the first decade of the nineteenth century as a crucial moment in the development of racial Anglo-Saxon superiority. He argues that these two decades witnessed the growth of a European romantic movement that shifted the emphasis from “a continuity of institutions to the continuity of innate racial strengths” (1981, p. 25). Horsman notes:

in the first decades of the nineteenth century, Englishmen and Americans increasingly compared Anglo-Saxon people to others and concluded that blood, not environment or accident, had led to their success. England and America had separated their institutions, but both countries were surging forward to positions of unprecedented power and prosperity. It was now argued that the explanation lay not in the institutions but in the innate characteristics of the race. (p. 63)

Europeans established and employed racial classification systems to establish their control over the people whom they conquered, enslaved, and colonized. By the eighteenth century, racial classification systems were firmly established and economic, political, and social resources were distributed along racial and ethnic lines. Race was firmly established as a “legal” identity, and the state regulated all aspects of an individual’s life. In nations such as the United States and South Africa, one’s racial classification determined where one could reside and attend school, whom one could marry, whether one could hold elected office, and what occupations were suitable. In other words, all aspects of one’s economic, intimate, social, and political life were structured along racial lines.

People who were classified as “white” were granted citizenship rights, property rights, immigration rights, residence rights, the freedom to control their labor, religious freedom, and the ability to freely travel. In the United States, European Americans established laws and state policies that effectively denied citizenship rights to indigenous Americans, individuals of multiracial heritage, and individuals of visible or known African and/or Asian ancestry. For example, Native Americans were not citizens of the United States until 1924 and were classified by the U.S. government as “wards of the government and citizens,” thus denying them political autonomy and subordinating them to European Americans. Between 1800 and 1858 the U.S. Congress passed a series of laws giving the president and commissioner of Indian affairs absolute powers. Indians were forbidden to sell, rent, or lease reservation lands or to sell minerals, timber, fish, cattle, or agricultural products without the prior consent of the government.

## CHANGES IN U.S. RACE CLASSIFICATION SCHEMES

Racial classification schemes have been central to racial formations, and they produced political constituencies and racial inequalities reflecting unstable power relations. For example, in the United States racial categories have been added, removed, revised, and altered during the past 300 years in response to demographic changes, immigration, political mobilization, technologies, cultural shifts, and economic interests.

The U.S. government uses census figures to allocate some resources to members of racialized groups. In the past it distributed citizenship rights, land rights, immigration quotas and other political rights exclusively to Europeans and European-Americans while denying people of African, Indigenous/American Indian, and Asian ancestry the same rights. Consequently, there have always been political and economic stakes involved in the criteria for inclusion and exclusion in specific racial and ethnic minority categories. Racial classification schemes are one dimension of racial projects that reconstitute “racial” groups. Although they are socially produced, they continue to have real material, social, and economic consequences for members of racialized groups.

The United States is unique from all other nations in the Americas in its historical enforcement of what has become known as the “one-drop rule,” in which a person of multiracial ancestry who had known or visible African ancestry is legally classified as “black” regardless of appearance, cultural training, and self-identification. The one-drop rule has been consistently upheld by state and federal courts. In states such as Louisiana, there were so many people of African ancestry socially classified and living as “white” that “race clerks” were hired to strictly enforce the one-drop rule.

In 1918, the U.S. Census Bureau estimated that at least three-fourths of all native blacks were racially mixed, and it predicted that pure blacks would disappear. Consequently, after 1920 the mulatto category was removed from the census and the U.S. government made no further attempt to systematically count the number of visible mulattos in the United States, partly because so many persons with some black ancestry appeared white. Social scientists have documented the inconsistencies in the logic employed by the census and the disparity between social-cultural and scientific definitions of race. By 1960 the practice of self-identification by race replaced the earlier practice in which the census taker assigned race. Beginning in 1960 the head of household indicated the race of all of its members. This change in policy did not introduce any noticeable changes in the number of blacks in the U.S. population.

In 1970 the Hispanic category was added to the census for the first time. And in 1980, for the first time, a question on ancestry was included in the census. In response to increased political mobilization by members of interracial or multiracial families, the United States added the category “multiracial” to the 2000 census. In the following year the United Kingdom also added a “mixed race” category to its 2001 census. These changes in the official census reflect political struggles over the boundaries between and within racial groups, and they produce new racial formations in the post-civil rights United States. In the late twentieth century, as state-sanctioned racial inequality such as Jim Crow segregation in the United States and apartheid in South Africa were dismantled, nations established a range of public policies designed to remedy past group-based discrimination. These policies have taken various forms, such as affirmative action in the United States and positive discrimination in the United Kingdom. Although nation-states have dismantled *de jure* (legal) racial segregation and formally criminalized discrimination against members of racial and ethnic minorities, racial status continues to overdetermine an individual’s life chances and access to resources in multiracial societies.

**SEE ALSO** *Brazilian Racial Formations; Canadian Racial Formations; Caribbean Racial Formations; Cuban Racial Formations; Haitian Racial Formations; South African Racial Formations; United Kingdom Racial Formations.*

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## RACIAL HIERARCHY

*This composite entry will cover:*

#### OVERVIEW

*Peter N. Peregrine*

#### RACES RANKED BY EARLY SCIENTISTS

*C. Loring Brace*

#### DISPROVEN

*C. Loring Brace*

## OVERVIEW

Racial hierarchy refers to the idea that races can be usefully categorized as being higher or lower on a given dimension. Historically, the dimensions of hierarchy have been intelligence and behavior, with behavior falling into the realm of “civilized” versus “uncivilized.” Because race is seen as a fixed characteristic, linking race to a hierarchy of intelligence or behavior essentially fixes the capabilities of whole groups of people. There can be no “civilized” Africans if all Africans are categorized as “uncivilized” in a racial hierarchy. The utility of such hierarchies was in conquest and exploitation, since they made it both logical and necessary to control the “uncivilized” and “unintelligent” races.

Distinguishing one’s own social group from others has been part of human life from its beginnings, and the earliest written records describe others in what are often unflattering terms. The Greek historian Herodotus (484–425 BCE), for example, describes the non-Greek peoples living around the Black Sea as “barbarians” and “primitive” because they lacked things that to Herodotus made civil life possible—stable communities with clear legal structures. However, Herodotus does not define a racial hierarchy. It is their lifestyle and not their biology that makes them barbarians, and they are, at least in theory, transformable into civilized people.

The classification of plants and animals into distinct biological groups began in the Enlightenment, and the first universal taxonomy was by Swedish naturalist Carolus Linnaeus (1707–1778). In his groundbreaking work of taxonomy, *Systema Natura* (1758), Linnaeus classified humans into four distinct races (American, European, Asiatic, and African), each defined not only by physical characteristics but also by emotional and behavioral ones. Similarly, Johann Blumenbach (1752–1840), a founder of the field of physical anthropology, divided humans into five races (Caucasian, Mongolian, Malayan, Ethiopian, and American) and is credited with coining the term Caucasian in his doctoral dissertation *On the Natural Varieties of Mankind* (1755). It is interesting that each of his races relates to peoples of recently colonized areas, and Blumenbach makes clear that the purpose of his division of humanity is to help classify the variety of humans that were being encountered by European colonists at the time.

A hierarchy of behavior is implicit in the work of Linnaeus and Blumenbach, but neither scholar focused on behavior. Samuel Morton (1799–1851), a Philadelphia physician, was the first to explicitly link race with behavior and intelligence. Morton collected and measured the skulls of American Indians and in *Crania Americana* (1839)



## Racial Hierarchy: Overview

concluded that not only were American Indians a separate race but their behavioral differences from European Americans was rooted in the physical structures of their brains. Expanding his study, he examined skulls of ancient Egyptians, and in *Crania Aegyptiaca* (1844) concluded that race differences were ancient and unchanging.

Morton's work became important in establishing the alleged inherent inferiority of American Indians and Africans, and influenced a generation of scholars. His work had profound implications, for as Morton's acolytes Josiah Nott and George Glidden argue in a volume dedicated to Morton, "It is the primitive organization of races, their mental *instincts*, which determine their characteristics and destinies, and not blind hazard. All history, as well as anatomy and physiology, prove this" (*Types of Mankind* 1854, p. 460). Or, to reverse the stated causality, history proves that anatomical differences explain why some peoples are the victims of conquest, others the victors.

Fixity of these racial differences was essential, not only to maintain the exploitive relationships of colonialism and slavery but also to fight against the idea of evolution put forward by Charles Darwin in *The Origin of Species* (1859). If God created the world in a fixed and stable form, then racial hierarchy should be fixed as well. Thus, it is not surprising that one of the nineteenth century's strongest critics of evolution, Harvard naturalist Louis Agassiz (1807–1873), was also one of the century's most outspoken supporters of racial hierarchy. From 1863 to 1865 Agassiz measured thousands of Civil War soldiers and used the data he collected to argue that significant and stable differences existed between blacks and whites. He implied that these differences illustrated God's purposeful creation of racial hierarchy.

The concept of racial hierarchy also led some to suggest allegedly profound links between race and society. In his *Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races* (1853–1855), French novelist Arthur de Gobineau (1816–1882) argued that miscegeny (particularly between members of the allegedly superior "Aryan" race and other races) caused social unrest. Gobineau's ideas were widely discussed, and later became central in Nazi efforts to create a pure "Aryan" society. Eminent British scientist Francis Galton (1822–1911) promoted a social and political movement aimed at manipulating racial hierarchy by selectively breeding humans with desirable characteristics and preventing those with undesirable ones from having offspring. Eugenics, as this movement was called, was widely accepted in Europe and had strong supporters in the United States. The eugenics movement was a direct inspiration for the genocidal policies of the

Nazis and continues to influence public thought through works such as Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray's 1994 book, *The Bell Curve*.

The scholarly use of racial hierarchy declined precipitously following World War II, when Nazi genocide against races they viewed as inferior exposed the idea's dangerous potential. At the same time, advances in physical anthropology began to demonstrate that race itself was an analytical concept with very little utility. By the 1970s biologists were able to show that genetic races of humans did not exist. Still, the idea of racial hierarchy has not disappeared completely.

Canadian psychologist J. Philippe Rushton (b. 1943) argued in *Race, Evolution, and Behavior* (1995) that there are three distinct races of humans (Mongoloid, Caucoid, and Negroid), each of which retains a reproductive strategy adapted to the unique environmental conditions under which it evolved. Rushton's ideas are erroneous, in terms of both the evolutionary theory he adopts and the data he employs to support them, yet Rushton has supporters and is widely published. The persistence of arguments based on racial hierarchy in the face of more than a half century of unambiguous refutation suggests that this outmoded concept has a powerful ideological attraction and is not likely to disappear from public debate.

**SEE ALSO** *Colonialism, Internal; Facial Angle; Genetic Distance; Genetic Variation Among Populations; Great Chain of Being; Human Genetics; Morton, Samuel George; Nott, Josiah; Racialization.*

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Peter N. Peregrine

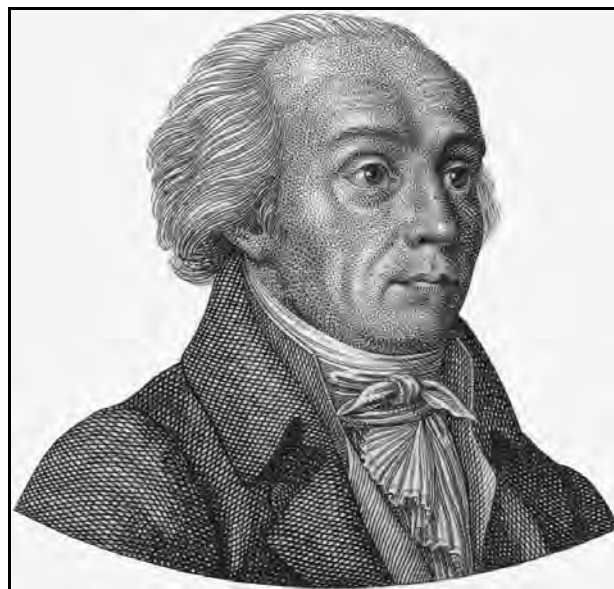
## RACES RANKED BY EARLY SCIENTISTS

Prior to the sixteenth century, human biological variation was not seen as characterized by separate and non-overlapping units, or what have come to be called “races.” Instead, human variation was perceived as a gradual phenomenon with no discernible boundaries between adjacent populations. In his travels, Marco Polo (1254–1324) moved largely over land, one twenty-five-mile segment after another, and nowhere in the world did he find that the people of adjacent segments differed in appearance.

The Renaissance, starting in the fifteenth century, completely changed this outlook. Ocean-going ships and navigational capabilities enabled people to sail from one continent to another without seeing anything in between. The native inhabitants of the end points of such voyages seemed categorically distinct, providing the mind-set that led to the establishment of the idea that human variation was represented by a finite number of separate entities called “races,” although that term did not enter common usage until the nineteenth century.

In the Enlightenment world of the eighteenth century—the “Age of Reason”—it was assumed that the pursuit of science would not only bring the greatest benefits to humankind but would also demonstrate the glory of the “Creator of the world.” The figure credited with naming the categorical distinctions of the living entities of the world was the Swedish botanist Carolus Linnaeus (1707–1778) in his *Systema Naturae* (*The System of Nature*, 1735, especially the 10th edition of 1758). Linnaeus designated all living things by “Class, Order, Genus, and species.” For common usage, he established his “binomial nomenclature,” or two-name designation, using only *Genus* and *species* as the standard way of categorizing all living creatures. Thus, humans were called *Homo sapiens*. This single human species was then divided into four subspecies, in a kind of perpetuation of the old flat earth outlook where there were four sides of the world: north, south, east, and west. The four categories of *Homo sapiens* were *H. s. Europaeus*, *H. s. Afer*, *H. s. Asiaticus*, and *H. s. Americanus*, and each of these subspecies was described in terms of what Linnaeus regarded as its distinguishing behavioral characteristics, which were based on the four “humors” of the Greco-Roman physician, Galen of Pergamon (129–c. 216 CE). Europeans were said to be “sanguine,” Africans “bilious,” Asians “melancholic,” and Americans “choleric.”

The eighteenth-century systematists still honored the traditional Christian assumption of a single creation of all beings, as described in Genesis, a view that did not change fundamentally until the end of Enlightenment in the nineteenth century. Europeans were assigned the most favorable, and Africans the least favorable, of



**Johann Friedrich Blumenbach.** Anatomist Johann Friedrich Blumenbach classified the races with five categories: Caucasian, Mongolian, Ethiopian, American, and Malay. PRINT COLLECTION, MIRIAM AND IRA D. WALLACH DIVISION OF ART, PRINTS AND PHOTOGRAPHS, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

Galen’s four humors, but this only hardened into a picture of permanent “racial” distinctions in the fourth decade of the nineteenth century.

The most influential of the eighteenth century formulations was that of the Göttingen anatomist, Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752–1840) in the third edition (1795) of his doctoral dissertation, *De generis humani varietate native*, translated as *On the Native Varieties of the Human Species* by Thomas Bendyshe (1865). Blumenbach expanded on the four “varieties” of Linnaeus to recognize five, which he labeled Caucasian, Mongolian, Ethiopian, American, and Malay. The Caucasian variety he named after the Caucasus, the strip of land between the Caspian and the Black seas running from southeastern Russia to northwestern Iran. He regarded the Caucasian form of the skull the most beautiful in the human spectrum and believed that there was reason to accept it as representing the original human form, declaring “white... we may fairly assume to have been the primitive colour of mankind” (1865 [1795], p. 269). After all, Mount Ararat is located at the southwestern corner of the Caucasus, and in the traditional Christian view of things the ancestors of all living people got off Noah’s Ark there.

Blumenbach declared that living people depart from that presumed original form by easy gradations on all sides. Because there are no hard and fast lines between

the different human varieties, he acknowledged that the recognition of those varieties is more or less arbitrary. He was also clear that there was no innate inequality between the several varieties. He did note that the differences that had accrued since the time of common origin had occurred by a process of “degeneration,” but in Latin that term simply means “departure from origin,” without the pejorative connotation that the word *degenerate* has taken on in English.

Blumenbach’s attempt to meld the scientific and the Biblical was a classic Enlightenment effort. Things changed in the next century. The most powerful and influential formulation was that of the Philadelphia physician and anatomist Samuel George Morton (1799–1851). In his *Crania Americana* (1839), he was the first to label Blumenbach’s five varieties as “races,” although he used the same identifying adjectives that were in Blumenbach’s scheme. He preferred “race,” rather than “variety,” because it left open the possibility that the various groups might eventually be shown to be fully different species. He certainly specified the differences in innate capabilities and “worth” that characterized his various “races”—and “races” they have been ever since, although virtually no one remembers that it was Morton who pioneered this usage. After Morton’s death, his views were taken up in the American South to justify the institution of slavery. When the South lost the Civil War, the views that had been associated with its “cause” were downgraded, and Morton was largely obliterated from memory.

Morton’s views, however, had been adopted by the founder of French anthropology, Paul Broca (1824–1880), and they have remained at the core of French biological anthropology ever since. When the English-speaking peoples joined the French side in World War I, they adopted many French views, one being the validity of “race.” It had been completely forgotten, however, that those views had been predominantly American in the first place. The American experience of the daily confrontation of people originally from radically different parts of the world initially led to the reification of the concept of “race.”

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#### DISPROVEN

The perception of humans as belonging to “racial” categories dates from the time of the Renaissance and the

European colonization of the New World and those parts of the Old World remote from Europe itself. The aboriginal inhabitants in these areas were perceived, in hierarchical fashion, as being inferior in complexity and categorically different from the colonists, and they were referred to in somewhat derogatory descriptive terms. The European colonizers had technological capabilities that were largely lacking, or at least less developed, in the areas being colonized. The marine technology that created the ships that got them there in the first place was something they took understandable pride in, although it was this technology that got people from one part of the world to another without seeing anything of the inhabitants of the areas in between. This was one of the things that contributed to the perception of the people of the world in categorical “racial” terms. In addition to their marine technology, the literacy of the colonizers and the navigating skills they had learned led them to assume a categorical distinction in their capabilities and achievements as compared to the original inhabitants of the areas being colonized. Inevitably, they looked down on these peoples as being of a lesser order of intellectual worth.

Throughout history, all human groups have felt that they were the best of humankind, and those that looked different and lacked technological sophistication were considered inferior. More than a few psychologically oriented writers of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries have regarded the idea that different human groups had differences in average intellectual capacity as a valid expectation, just as they have gone along with the assumption that “races” are valid biological categories. These writers include J. Philippe Rushton, the author of *Race, Evolution and Behavior: A Life History Perspective* (1995), Arthur R. Jensen, who wrote *The g Factor: The Science of Mental Ability* (1998), and Richard Lynn and Tatu Vanhanen, the authors of *IQ and the Wealth of Nations* (2002).

During the colonial period, both Europeans and Americans assumed that there were no cities in sub-Saharan Africa, and that Africans did not pursue an agricultural way of life. In fact there were many urban centers in Africa, and agriculture was well-established and widespread. Furthermore, African religious sophistication has been widely documented (see Glazer 2001).

The assumption that “races” are valid biological categories has been essentially disproven by the fact that the variance of inherited dimensions of the subjectively assumed categories within “races” is many times greater than that of the variance of those same dimensions between such “racial” categories. Quantitative work on this subject clearly demonstrates that “race” is not a valid biological category (see, for example, Fish 2002, and Templeton 2002). When genetic diversity is tested, it

can be shown that well over 80 percent of the known range of variation occurs between the individuals of any given population while only 6 percent occurs between the populations of different geographical regions.

There is another major reason to deny the folk assumption that various locally identified human groups should be expected to have different biologically inherent capabilities, and this is the appreciation of the nature of the selective forces that demanded a considered understanding and response on the part of the members of the human groups in question. This outlook is derived from an appreciation of what a full anthropological perspective can give, including an assessment of how human populations lived during the distant past, when their physical and mental characteristics were shaped by the forces of evolution that influenced human chances for survival. As it stands, most of the assessments of the survival problems faced by different human populations only consider the way they are living now, not what the lifeways of their ancestors were in the past.

Looking at the human populations of the world, one thing that needs to be emphasized is that virtually none of them are living the way their ancestors did in the Pleistocene era, which ended just over 10,000 years ago. Even the Australian aborigines, so often taken as typifying the lifeway of the “primitive,” were living a late to post-Pleistocene way of life at the time of European invasion and settlement late in the eighteenth century. Starting nearly two million years ago, all ancestral hominid populations were living a hunting-and-gathering way of life, which was essentially the same type of existence in all the occupied portions of the Old World. This lifestyle involved selecting a prey animal, trotting after it for a number of days until it could go no more, and then moving in for the kill. This existence put the same pressures on people throughout the inhabited world. The same was true for the knowledge needed to collect edibles from the plant kingdom. Selective pressures did not differ from one part of the inhabited world to another in regard to what people had to figure out. Of course, selective forces maintaining pigment in the skin did differ from the tropics to the temperate parts of the world, but this had nothing to do with human problem-solving capabilities.

If there are differences in the capabilities of human populations, these tend to be very different from what so many ethnocentric commentators have assumed. Those whose survival has depended upon certain capabilities that have been relaxed in other human populations have retained what almost certainly had been common to all populations during the Pleistocene. For example, tests in the late twentieth century have shown that Australian aborigines have less near-sightedness and astigmatism

than the European-derived people who were testing them. Peoples whose ancestors had most recently survived by hunting have tended to retain more fast-twitch muscle capabilities, which are more frequently found among those who are the best sprinters in the world (see Entine 2000).

If the lifeways of our Pleistocene ancestors required the same problem-solving capabilities throughout the world, it had to have taken just as much wit or intelligence to cope with the problems of making a farm work in the absence of any written instructions. The amount of rote learning needed to carry out such a project had to be every bit as daunting as outwitting prey animals was for the Pleistocene hunters, or as figuring out what was edible and what was not. There is thus no reason to expect that the innate intellectual capabilities of any of the populations of the world differ to any significant extent from those of any other population.

**SEE ALSO** *Forensic Anthropology and Race; Genetic Distance; Genetic Variation Among Populations; Great Chain of Being; Human Genetics.*

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## RACIAL PURITY (U.S.), 1900–1910

The ideology of racial purity has been embraced by various cultures throughout history. Racial purity relates to the idea that human beings can be ranked on a hierarchical scale where one ethnoracial group, or “race,” is ranked as more advanced than another group. For those that subscribe to this ideology, all cultures can be situated within this hierarchy, but there is only one culture and/or race that ranks supreme. Hence, it is not surprising to find that the importance of maintaining a racial hierarchy has been promoted historically by self-defined elite members of society in an attempt to uphold their status. In some cases the purity philosophy has been overt state policy, as in Hitler’s Third Reich.

### THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT

In the United States, the period from 1900 to 1920 witnessed a large-scale racial purity crusade exceeding those of previous decades. The endeavor to protect white, Anglo-Saxon racial purity was applauded by President Theodore Roosevelt in a letter to Charles Davenport, head of the Eugenics Records Office, in 1913. In order to prevent “race suicide”—the envisioned tragic result of a decrease in reproduction by a superior race—“good citizens of the right type” should multiply themselves to cancel out rampant breeding by “citizens of the wrong type.” This attitude went hand in hand with a movement that had begun in 1890: progressivism. Made up of primarily white, middle-class men and women, Progressives faced the new century fearing the further development of what they considered ever-increasing social disorder. In a time of incredible wealth, ease, and leisure for only a small minority of elite white Americans and of ever-increasing poverty and hardships for the lower classes, especially African Americans and eastern European immigrants, many members of the white middle class envisioned a coming world of peace, cleanliness, healthy bodies, and quiet minds. Progressives, through social transformations, desired to create a middle-class paradise patterned on their own idea of Utopia.

Although the urban white middle class lacked the monetary power of the upper elite and was small in number compared to the agrarian and working classes, Progressive Era social reformers did not shirk from decrying the economic control of big businesses, promoting temperance, striving to end prostitution and gambling, and trying to find ways to ameliorate poverty, mainly among the white “deserving poor.”

Black proscription through discrimination and segregation was seen as the proper means of safeguarding the common good from a race deemed decidedly inferior. Preventing miscegenation and removing any potential for

African Americans to gain political power were both viewed as strategies to maintain the social order and, therefore, ensure economic progress and white supremacy.

### ROOTS OF RACIAL PURITY DOCTRINES

In order to understand why racial purity was embraced by Progressives in the 1890s and continued to grip the United States in the early years of the twentieth century, one must examine how race was constructed in the early decades of the nation’s social history and how these constructions were reified by social and evolutionary theory in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Differences between humans in skin color, hair color and texture, language, and customs had been noted by various explorers and philosophers throughout history. European kingdoms, spurred by global exploration and the potential for the exploitation of untapped resources, found it convenient to expand the definition of “resources” to include people, especially people who varied in their appearance and culture from northern Europeans.

In the Western hemisphere, white settlers found themselves in possession of extremely large tracts of land far beyond their individual capacity to cultivate. A huge labor force was required to work in the rice, tobacco, and cotton plantations in the North American colonies. At first, the British attempted to fill this labor gap by enslaving Native Americans and using indentured English servants. They found quickly, however, that enslaved African workers were both more efficient and easier to control. Slaves could be owned for life, while a white indentured worker’s labor tenure usually lasted a maximum of seven years. Moreover, it was believed that an African worker could be forced to do more than twice as much work as white workers, who would eventually become fellow citizens. Enslaved Africans were to work as slaves for the rest of their lives on terms set by others. All in all, African laborers were seen as cheaper and thus more profitable to use.

Karen Brodtkin notes in her discussion on race making in *How Jews Became White Folks and What That Says about Race in America* (1998, p. 68) that Africans were chosen to be slaves not necessarily because they were black, but because they could not escape as easily. As a result, various cultures along the western coast of Africa were subjected to continual threats of enslavement and kidnappings by European slave traders, and slavery became one of the primary economic systems of the colonies and eventually, the United States.

Whiteness as a measure of purity and superiority in the United States fluctuated according to reactionary sentiments against various immigrant groups in the nineteenth century. For example, in the 1840s Irish

immigrants—many of whom were impoverished, Catholic, and poorly educated—were met with ostracism and hatred when they arrived in American cities. Although the Irish, like enslaved and freed African Americans, filled a crucial niche in the American labor market by working primarily as manual laborers and domestic servants, their presence was considered a threat by established whites because of the sheer number of them arriving daily along the northeastern seaboard. Their devout Catholicism was seen as subversive, their deepest allegiance being to Rome rather than the United States with its pristine Protestantism. Stereotypes of the Irish as alcohol abusers, criminals, and beggars were widespread, and although the Irish for all intents and purposes appeared “white,” they were not actually considered or treated as white. Instead, the Irish were socially equated with formerly enslaved African Americans. Embracing this sentiment rather than resisting it, many neighborhoods sprang up that were populated by a mix of Irish settlers and free African Americans. Hell’s Kitchen in New York City was the most notorious of such group combinations. A common saying was that “An Irishman is a nigger turned inside out.” Job discrimination against the Irish was quite common; “the NINA system” meant that “No Irish Need Apply.”

On the other hand, the advantage that the Irish and other “off-white” groups had over African Americans, Native Americans, and other immigrants such as the Chinese was that since they looked white, they had the opportunity eventually to achieve the status of whiteness. As the cities became increasingly populated with scores of Irish immigrants by midcentury, the Irish slowly began to assume positions of power and, as a group, raise their social status on a broader scale. African Americans, Native Americans, and Chinese immigrants faced stronger obstacles to raising their social status because not only were they socially stigmatized, they could never actually *be* white in appearance. African Americans were still bound by the chains of slavery, and Native Americans were continually being pushed west to make way for westward expansion. Chinese immigrants, filling another niche of the labor market, had a much more difficult time being accepted in society than European immigrants and frequently faced violence and hostility as they landed on the shores of California beginning in the late 1840s.

#### SCIENCE AND RACE

During this time of economic and population growth and its concomitant societal changes, the white, privileged sector of society felt that their position at the top of the social ladder was being threatened by the influx of foreign immigrants. To maintain their sense of racial and intellectual supremacy, many members of the white elite

attempted to justify subjugation of other non-whites by publicly portraying them as less intelligent and lazy. Rarely were blacks portrayed during this time as positive individuals to be feared lest this imagery become a reality. For many whites blacks’ assertiveness often was seen as savagery, an additional indicator of their unsuitability for full freedom. For others, blacks were frequently portrayed as childlike, ignorant, and groveling. Caricatures, such as Uncle Tom and the ever-nurturing Mammy, suggested that not only were African Americans suited for slavery, but most of them embraced their roles in bondage. If African Americans required paternalistic treatment, then it could be argued that not only was slavery justifiable, but also morally right.

Another way white supremacy was reinforced was through the realm of science, specifically, scientific inquiry into the origin of races. Men such as Samuel George Morton and Josiah Nott, among others, held blacks to be of a different species from whites. The great Swiss naturalist, Louis Agassiz, held that all humans, wherever located, lived under moral rules common to the universe, although he was convinced that blacks were of a different species from whites. He worried that the presence of large numbers of blacks would result in the collapse of the nation. For him and many other commentators, the physical attributes of blacks were clear indications of their being a different and much lower species. These men felt that one could prove once and for all that a natural racial hierarchy existed and should be upheld by society rather than challenged. In this racial ideology, those blessed by God (i.e., the white elite) were situated at the top of civilization and everyone else ranked somewhere below.

As a means of discovering the origin and character of racial and cultural differences, social theorists developed a classification system of what were dubbed essential natural human types. These essential natural types were based on physical as well as mental and behavioral characteristics, and they were also regarded as intrinsic and unchanging. Traits were passed from one generation to the next, and each race had essential characteristics distinguishing it from other races. Diverse traits such as skin color and intelligence were then measured and used as evidence that cultural and/or racial differences were representative of distinct types of humans (or even that some groups were non- or subhuman, as enslaved African Americans were often categorized).

The question of racial origins spurred many philosophers, biologists, zoologists, naturalists, and early anthropologists to grapple with how these racial differences had developed. Some leaned toward proving the assertion that all groups of people derive from a single, human line (monogenism), but some felt that physical differences

observed between groups of people throughout the world were the result of several different human types, or species, that spontaneously generated at different times (polygenism). For monogenists, the human species was analogous to the trunk of a tree, where races made up the branches and twigs. Polygenists, in contrast, viewed races as separate species or subspecies of humanity created at separate places on the earth.

A consequence of this inquiry into the origins of race and the creation of human typologies was the establishment of racial hierarchies. Science, as opposed to speculation, carried more weight with lawmakers and the public because science was deemed to be based on nature and truth rather than intangible ideas. Although monogenists and polygenists differed in how they viewed racial origins, diversity, and the process of human inheritance, both perspectives regarded white Anglo-Saxons as the superior, ideal human type. To most scientists at the time, races were like individuals with different strengths and weaknesses, and to them, white Europeans had historically proven themselves to have higher willpower, strength, and intelligence. One only had to observe European and American economic and military global dominance to see the truth behind the science (Claeys 2000). Following this train of thought, unique physical characteristics differentiating groups around the world from northern Europeans implied permanent physical as well as mental inferiority that could not be remedied. According to Theodor Waitz in *Anthropologie der Naturvölker* (1859): “All wars of extermination, whenever the lower species are in the way of the white man, are then not only excusable, but fully justifiable, since physical existence only is destroyed, which, without any capacity for higher mental development, may be doomed to extinction in order to afford space to higher organisms” (p. 21).

### SOCIAL DARWINISM

When Charles Darwin published *On the Origin of Species* in 1859, the notion of inherited characteristics was generally accepted. However, what Darwin suggested in opposition to the monogenists and polygenists of the day was the process of natural selection, wherein very simply, those members of a species that survive are those that are best able to adapt to an ever-changing environment. Additionally, contrary to polygenism, new species are created through the process of natural selection rather than spontaneous generation. For Darwin, natural selection was a means for improving species as well as creating new ones. Survival of a species relied upon genetic fitness, which was measured by a species’ ability not only to reproduce but also to have one’s offspring reproduce. Some scientists and social theorists were troubled by these assertions, because if the ability to reproduce in

great numbers increased a species’ chance of survival, then what they viewed as the fecundity of the urban poor could potentially drive the white elite into extinction.

Darwin did not discuss human evolution in *Origin*, but he addressed the issue in his 1871 work, *The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex*. In this book, Darwin attempted to address the fears of the elite who felt that his theories promoted the advancement of the poorer classes over the affluent. He posited in *Descent* that he felt that the “domestic race” was degenerating at a rapid rate because the poor members of society were allowed to reproduce unchecked while the more refined members of society married later in life. To Darwin, this was causing a retrograde effect on human progress, and the elite needed to address this problem (Claeys 2000). However, he also posited that while his theories rested on the premise that all “races” diverged from a single human evolutionary chain, some groups were more evolutionarily advanced and better able to survive than other groups. Contrary to his previous works, he did not focus on the similarities between groups of people throughout the world and the adaptive strategies inherent in different skin tones and other morphological characteristics. Darwin himself was a man of his day and supported the popular tenets that human intelligence could be measured and stratified according to race, and to Darwin, this meant that intelligence was also subject to natural selection. Hence, he conceived that civilized, intellectual, and moral societies could triumph over the lower and more degraded, savage races.

Social Darwinism, a paradigm based on cultural evolution that was embraced by social theorists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, has often been viewed as a bastardization of Darwin’s theories. However, Darwin expressed some of these same racist ideas with his position on the superiority of civilized races and classes. Social Darwinism did not follow Darwin’s theories as much as the foundation of Social Darwinism was already present as a social theory before he published his first book. Social Darwinism holds not only that humans do evolve but that different races and/or cultures also evolve at different rates and are subject to the processes of natural selection. Hence, one culture may be more evolutionarily advanced than another, and all races/cultures can be viewed as being in a constant state of evolution. However, a major tenet of Social Darwinism is that the lower, or more “primitive” and immoral cultures, are never as evolved as the more “civilized” and moral cultures.

Social Darwinists used a variety of ways to measure the level of evolutionary advancement in a society or culture. For example, skulls of white Europeans and African Americans (as well as other ethn racial groups)

were often measured in various ways to gauge cranial capacity, and therefore intelligence. In some cases, these skulls were filled with various materials, such as mustard seeds, which were then weighed to determine the cranial capacity and intelligence of each race. Various experiments placed one culture over another in the evolutionary hierarchy, but not surprisingly, all these experiments resulted in the conclusion that those of northern European descent had larger brains and were therefore more evolutionarily advanced than other ethn racial groups.

#### THE POST-CIVIL WAR PERIOD

The development of evolutionary theory in the late nineteenth century occurred during a time of significant social change in the United States. The defeat of the Confederacy and the ending of slavery created a new dynamic between the races, especially between ex-masters and ex-slaves. The presence of large numbers of emancipated African Americans made many whites uneasy, for they no longer had personal control of their darker fellow citizens. Blacks were quickly discriminated against in employment by white workers and employers alike. Employers occasionally used blacks to keep down wages, thus angering white employees, who resisted any decrease in the value of their services. The Civil War promise of forty acres and a mule went unfulfilled, with neither being given to penniless ex-slaves. Black farmers were residentially segregated to marginal lands. Northern whites, however, were not much different in these sentiments because although many had supported abolition, they did not necessarily consider blacks equal to themselves in any measure. Whites on both sides of the former Mason-Dixon line began publishing books and articles disparaging the end of slavery and arguing that, with freedom, blacks had become socially intolerable and were reverting back to their “savage” roots, and, as a result, respectable society would have to be protected.

While these sentiments were being expressed throughout the nation, relations between poor whites and blacks began to worsen. Before the Civil War, poor whites were sometimes equated with African Americans in terms of intelligence and, at times, considered as being less evolved than their affluent brethren. Following the war, poor whites, with little power to change their economic circumstances as factory workers in the cities and tenant farmers and sharecroppers in the rural areas, had to compete economically with blacks. This competition increased racial hostility between working-class whites and blacks, especially since this competition arose at a time of major labor surplus. As freed blacks and poor whites flocked to the cities in search of work, there were not enough jobs for all who sought them, and many had to face returning to the rural hinterlands to compete for low wages as sharecroppers.



#### 392. A TYPICAL MULATTO FARMER OF THE SOUTHERN UNITED STATES

Shrewd, virile, and thrifty

*Photo from the book The Negro in the New World, 1910. Blacks and people of mixed race were often presented in a negative light in order to justify treating them as inferiors.*  
GENERAL RESEARCH & REFERENCE DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

These setbacks only served to create even further hostility as poor whites then blamed blacks for their inability to secure employment. The white master class did not want the working classes to unite and challenge their control of politics and the economy; therefore, they frequently fostered bad relations between the poor along racial lines by stressing their common physical inheritance (Wilson 1976). Overt antiblack attitudes and conduct gave whiteness an added value, so much so that the white poor of the South eventually became the most rabid of racial purists.

The emergence of a widely dispersed white middle class served only to increase the urge for racial purity. One unanticipated result of the end of the Civil War was the rapid rise of the middle class. The middle class, primarily comprising local politicians, factory owners,



merchants, bankers, and the owners and operators of mines and railroads, achieved a measure of economic power during the postwar years, and together with the white ruling elite, became increasingly wary of the prospects of black and white working-class cohesion. Hence, instead of ignoring the plight of the white working class as the master class had done for years, the white middle class helped poor whites push politically for black disenfranchisement and legal segregation.

Race would still be a status marker, now reinforced by class. What the white working and middle classes wanted was for segregation to extend from education to residency to public transportation. Ultimately, they desired separate facilities for whites and blacks in all public places. By the late 1880s, several states, such as Florida, Mississippi, and Texas, conceded to the concerns of poor whites and enacted laws requiring separate accommodations for blacks on railcars. Hence, the wheels were put in motion for an era of legalized segregation, disenfranchisement, and antimiscegenation regulations known as Jim Crow.

#### THE JIM CROW ERA

The Jim Crow era officially began two decades before the Progressive movement. The price of the North and South reunion was the withdrawal of federal supervision of southern race relations. This left blacks open to informal segregation through the violence of vigilante groups such as the newly organized Ku Klux Klan, beginning shortly after the Civil War ended. In the *Civil Rights Cases* (1883), the U.S. Supreme Court declared that the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection provisions applied only to state action, not to individual acts, and the court was not meant to tell states how to handle race relations. This type of decision led directly to the infamous *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) doctrine of separate-but-equal. Blacks and whites alike understood that this decision was intended to *prevent* equality in transportation. White status purity was to be preserved, the immediate emergence of the "Negro car" being a visible symbol of the racial differences. Of course, this situation did not bar whites from being attended by their black servants or employees. From Reconstruction forward, not only to provide service for upper-status white travelers, but also to reassure them of their personal superiority, George Pullman, inventor of the "sleeping car" for long-distance train travel, took great pains to hire only those black porters who appeared to display unadulterated black genetic inheritance. Their bodies made clear the ranks of all.

Progressives, focused on transforming the nation from a defective society to a middle-class paradise, supported segregation policies and black proscription

because many reformers felt that it would increase social stability. Many blacks resisted these policies, however, refusing to use segregated facilities and public transportation. However, African Americans as a group lacked the political leverage to overturn these racist policies. As the turn of the twentieth century neared, racial tensions continued to increase and the lynching of African Americans in the South continued. Racial tensions between lower-status blacks and whites were exacerbated by a new wave of European—mostly eastern European—immigrants. Poverty, overcrowding, and crime increased in the cities as a result of this rapid population growth and prompted Progressives to campaign for stricter sanctions against immoral behavior as well as sanitation reform at the local and regional levels.

The increase in disease epidemics, overcrowding, and filth in the city streets led many to believe that African Americans and foreign-born immigrants were to blame for social and sanitation problems. That is, African Americans and immigrants were considered carriers of disease because they were viewed as not as evolved as white middle-class Americans. Proponents of Social Darwinism posited that the "inferior races" had no other recourse than to accept their innate condition and hope for improvements only as individuals.

According to Lawrence Friedman in *The White Savage: Racial Fantasies in the Postbellum South* (1970, p. 123), there was also the belief at this time that African Americans were black because the entire race had once been afflicted with leprosy, and that all blacks inherently harbored "venereal [sic] diseases." Because of these afflictions, any contact with African Americans, be it sharing living quarters or occupying a railroad passenger car, could render any white person infected. Hence, white people felt that it was imperative that segregation policies stay in place or be more firmly enforced, and many also believed that foreign immigration had to be stopped, or at least, controlled.

#### THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The threat of "racial pollution" and the question of how to control it became the crux of social and political discourse between 1900 and 1910. Progressives and Social Darwinists alike felt that to protect society, the unfit elements of society, namely people of color, the physically and mentally challenged, criminals, and the undeserving poor (i.e., those who did not ascribe to middle-class social norms), needed to be prevented from reproducing. Even more imperative was the need to prevent marriage, and therefore procreation, between the pure, moral race (i.e., whites) and the socially unfit. Only by maintaining the purity of the white race could society be saved and progress be guaranteed. To save the

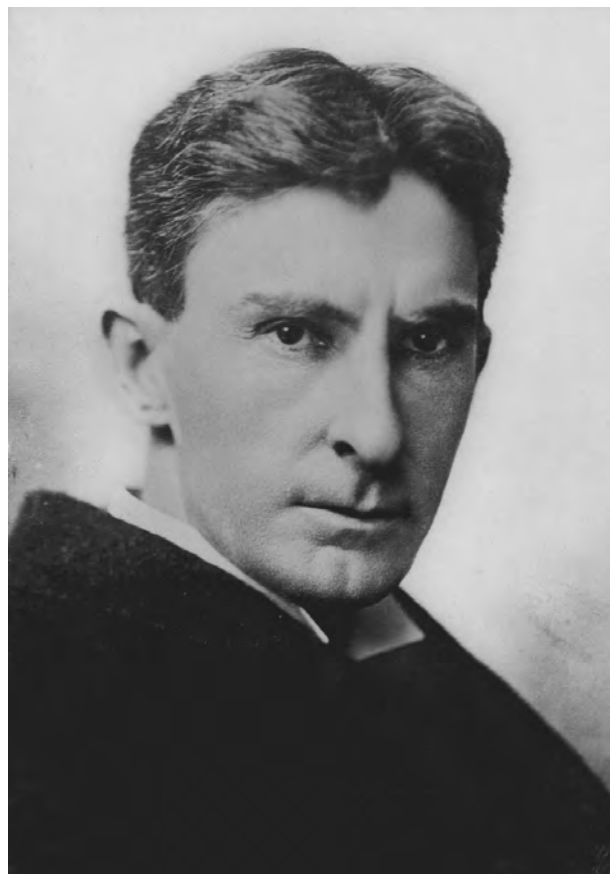
dominant groups' racial purity, some reformers advocated eugenics programs and sterilization laws to prevent breeding by the socially unfit; furthermore, antimiscegenation laws were advocated to control marriage and family life.

The early years of the twentieth century were marked by increasing fears of society's "others," and various articles and books were published demonstrating the inherent savagery of African Americans and the urgent need to protect society from it. In 1900, Charles Carroll published *The Negro a Beast*. Carroll was a devout Christian who questioned the humanity of African Americans by taking Darwin and other evolutionary theorists to task with their ideas that all humans derived from the same evolutionary line. He contrasted the physical characteristics of whites and blacks to prove that in no way could blacks and whites derive from the same origin. Carroll noted differences in skin color, hair, cranial capacity, skull shape, and even brain tissue color, and he argued that African American features were more akin to those of apes than to people of European descent. Hence, to Carroll, African Americans should not be treated as humans. Instead, they should be treated as beasts who exist only for the service of the white man. Protecting the racial purity of the white race was essential, therefore, because, according to Carroll (1900),

the offspring of man and the negro, if bred continuously to pure whites for ages, could never become pure white; you could never breed the ape out, nor breed the spiritual creation in. Hence, they would remain simply mixed bloods, without reference to what their physical and mental characters might be. These measurements demonstrate that if the offspring of whites and negroes were bred continuously to negroes for ages they would never become negroes, but would remain mixed bloods. (p. 49)

*The Clansman* (1905), written by Thomas Ryan Dixon, was another book published during this time that attempted to demonstrate the inferiority of African Americans, especially African American men. Dixon published this book to highlight the beliefs of the Ku Klux Klan, an organization he felt deserved recognition for their service in preserving the purity of the white race. In *The Clansman*, Dixon discussed how the Klan was developed after the Civil War out of necessity to relieve the South from chaos. As opposed to being a terrorist organization based on hatred, Dixon described the Klan as rising from the ashes of the war to protect white southern women from violence perpetrated by African American men, men who were essentially beasts and subhuman.

Robert W. Shufeldt's *The Negro, a Menace to American Civilization* (1907) discussed the origin of Africans



**Thomas Ryan Dixon.** Dixon's *The Clansman* attempted to demonstrate the beast-like nature of African Americans, and African-American men in particular. PRINT COLLECTION, MIRIAM AND IRA D. WALLACH DIVISION OF ART, PRINTS AND PHOTOGRAPHS, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

and African Americans in a similar vein to Carroll. Like Carroll, he attempted to demonstrate the ways in which Africans and Europeans were physically and psychologically different. To Shufeldt, it was devastating to the white race to interbreed with blacks and create "diseased" offspring. This fraternization could only increase the danger of interbreeding and potentially plunge the white race into evolutionary regression.

With this line of racial discourse in the public forefront, it was not difficult for eugenicists to posit that through selective breeding, biologically superior white men and women could be produced and inferior breeds would no longer be reproduced. Several forced sterilization programs were introduced to hinder the ability of the less evolved elements of the population to continue bearing offspring.

One of the most vocal proponents of forced sterilization and restrictions on interracial marriage was Madison Grant. To Grant, miscegenation was a social and

racial crime that could only lead whites to racial suicide. In his book, *The Passing of the Great Race, or the Racial Basis of European History* (1916), Grant noted that interbreeding could only result in the offspring being relegated to the “lower race,” because procreation between a highly evolved white person and a black person would pollute the superior person’s “germ plasm.”

The effects of these perspectives resulted in a high tide of forced sterilizations and tighter restrictions on interracial marriage after 1910. By stringent testing and observation, some argued, the socially unfit and feeble-minded could be identified and sterilized. Many patients in mental hospitals, alcoholics, prison inmates, and epileptics were therefore sterilized without their consent. Forced sterilization was seen as producing a good for all of society.

The focus on sterilization as a means of protecting white racial purity, and therefore white social, economic, and political supremacy, continued unabated in the United States until the 1930s, when the Great Depression and foreign affairs shifted the public’s attention to other matters. Jim Crow segregation policies, disenfranchisement, and antimiscegenation laws continued well into the mid-twentieth century, however, and even after the civil rights movement of the 1960s passed, many people of color in the United States continue to struggle for equal rights.

**SEE ALSO** *Black-White Intermarriage; Dixon, Thomas, Jr.; Forced Sterilization; Irish Americans and Whiteness; Ku Klux Klan; Nott, Josiah; Plessy v. Ferguson; Poverty; Racial Hierarchy; Scientific Racism, History of; Skin Color; Subspecies.*

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*Tanya A. Faberson*

## **RACIAL SLAVE LABOR IN THE AMERICAS**

No other people in the history of the world are as identified with the institution of slavery as peoples of African descent. While they were not the original slaves and have not been the only slaves, black people came to occupy that status to such an extent that at certain times and in certain places, to be black was almost by definition to be a slave. For the purposes of this entry, slavery is defined as “basically a system of political economy in which the production process is carried on by slaves, human beings owned as property by other human beings. Slaves work under direct coercion, and the product of their labor is owned entirely by their owner” (Alkalimat 1986, p. 67). Slavery does not by definition have a racial element. But as Orlando Patterson has insisted, “race is not a factor to be ignored in the study of slavery where phenotypic differences exist.” When Africans became the main, almost exclusive, source of this labor in the Americas, it became the kind of social system most commonly referred to as “racial slavery.” Such systems were motivated by the need for cheap labor and the desire for maximum profit and effectively utilized both socially constructed biological categories of “race” and culturally propagated ideologies of racist animosity.

### **THE GEOGRAPHY OF RACIAL SLAVERY IN THE NEW WORLD**

Patterns of “racial slavery” in the Americas cannot be divorced from historical developments in the broader international arena, especially economic dynamics. A fuller analysis should include a broader and historically deeper context not ordinarily considered: the development of the earth’s natural environment and the emergence, migration, and “racialization” of the human species from the place now called Africa. Europe, Africa, and the Americas are situated amid oceans and ocean and wind currents that made transatlantic navigation possible with the invention of new shipping technologies. Different geographical locations and climates were more conducive to growing some crops such as sugar and cotton than others, and even to where some crops are best processed and manufactured, a reality that spurred international trade. Cotton, for example, grows mostly in a belt between latitudes

36° south and 46° north, with most being harvested in the early twenty-first century above 30° north (New Orleans is at 30.2° north). The skin color and other body features of the world's oldest human ancestors, who lived in Africa more than 100,000 years ago, would become the basis on which ideas about human differences and "racist" ideas about superiority and inferiority could later develop.

More recent historical dynamics, however, are the common starting points and these took on added significance as global economic competition started to unfold. In the waning centuries of the "medieval" period—Latin for the "Middle Ages" between antiquity and modern, generally between the fifth century and the fifteenth century—a new international economy had been established involving all the major powers of Europe. They all tapped into the worldwide economic network that the Muslims had established after they completed their capture of the Byzantine Empire in the early 700s. Central to this were the Muslim-led development of sugar production in the Mediterranean, sugar's discovery and subsequent cultivation by Italians during the Crusades after 1099 and its introduction to Europe around 1150, and the eventual transplantation of sugar production to Iberia (modern Spain and Portugal), to the African Atlantic (e.g., the Canaries), and then to "New World" plantations beginning around 1500. The outcome of all of this was the consolidation of an Atlantic economy based on sugar production, which became the vessel for a new global system. The exploitation of this new set of relationships—to which the term *colonialism* is often applied—laid the foundation for the expansion of European economies and furthered the political development and consolidation of its major nation-states, a fact not fully enough explored in many discussions of global economic history.

In 1494 Spain and Portugal agreed to the Treaty of Tordesillas, which established an imaginary line of demarcation that had been drawn by the Catholic pope 1,100 miles west of Africa's Cape Verde Islands. The treaty gave Spain control over much of the Americas to the West but prevented it from direct participation in securing slaves from Africa to the east of the line, a privilege that was granted to the Portuguese. As a result, Spain issued the *asiento*, an agreement that allowed other nations, including Portugal, Britain, and Holland, to sell slaves to the Spanish colonies between 1543 and 1834.

The lives and personal livelihoods of two men intent on serving their Christian God and seeking their fortunes—Prince Henry the Navigator (1394–1460) of Portugal and Admiral Christopher Columbus (1451–1506), an Italian sailing under the flag of Spain—were closely linked to the developing world economy in which racial slavery in the Americas emerged, and prepared the foundation for it. Prince Henry's successful 1415 conquest of Ceuta, the Moroccan trading center in North Africa,

initiated his lifelong quest to discover and dominate the Eastern sources of the tremendous wealth accumulated by Muslim merchants he found there, especially extensive holdings of gold. Blocked from a route across the Mediterranean because of Muslim control, he sponsored many voyages that eventually led to the rounding of Africa's Cape of Good Hope in 1488. Two of these voyages—in 1441 and 1444—returned to Portugal with Africans, an event that launched the trade of enslaved Africans into Europe. Prince Henry ordered that sugarcane be taken from Sicily to Madeira in the 1420s. By the 1550s these islands and São Tomé all had booming sugar plantations with enslaved African laborers. Prince Henry thus developed the old world precursor of the form of sugar growing—the plantation—as well as laid a foundation for the recruitment of its principal source of labor—Africans.

From his first voyage in 1492, Columbus was eloquent about the importance of gold in a 1503 letter to King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella on his forth voyage, calling it "the most precious of all commodities. . . . He who possesses it has all he needs in this world, as also the means of rescuing souls from purgatory, and restoring them to the enjoyment of paradise." But it was gold *and* sugar that was decisive for the rise of racial slavery in the Americas. In 1493, while looking for gold, Columbus took the first sugarcane from the Spanish Canaries to Hispaniola—now the Dominican Republic and Haiti—and this island became the site of the first sugar industry in the Americas and shipped the first sugar back to Europe in 1516. Three factors combined to create what Alfred W. Crosby Jr. (1972) called "the Columbian exchange," summarizing the global developments of this era: the transplantation of sugar to the Americas, access to vast new lands, and a seemingly unlimited source of labor from Africa. By 1630, sugar had spread from Brazil to Guyana, Surinam, Barbados, St. Christopher, Nevis, Montserrat, Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Vincent, and Tobago. Over the course of the eighteenth century, Jamaica became the leading sugar producer in the British Empire. The Spanish undertook similar promotion in Santo Domingo, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Jamaica.

The colonizing impulse grew out of the system that would in the future be called mercantilism. Because mercantilism sought a favorable balance of trade—where exports exceeded imports—and because precious metals were a primary measure of wealth, the conquest of foreign territory and the subsequent control of the available mineral resources, especially gold and silver, were prime tactics in the arsenal of mercantilism. The demand for labor was shaped by the need for the large-scale labor systems—plantations—on which sugar cultivation was based. Slavery, however, did not emerge immediately as the first system of choice for supplying labor in the colonial territories of European powers, and the slavery that was transferred to the Americas

was not mainly or exclusively the enslavement of Africans. White indentured servants were first used, and attempts to forcefully enslave Native Americans led to a disaster of genocidal proportions, with some scholars estimating that perhaps three-quarters of the entire population of the Americas was wiped out in the 1500s. In 1537 Pope Paul III recognized the humanity of Indians and prohibited their enslavement, a ban not extended to Africans. But millions died in battle with the Spaniards and the Portuguese and in forced labor centers such as the mines of Mexico and Peru, with much greater numbers dying in epidemics. This is what Eric Williams meant in *Capitalism and Slavery* (1944) when he declared: "Slavery in the Caribbean has become too narrowly identified with the Negro. A racial twist has thereby been given to what is basically an economic phenomenon. Slavery was not born of racism: rather, racism was the consequence of slavery. Unfree labor in the New World was brown, white, black, and yellow; Catholic, Protestant, and pagan" (p. 7). It was to meet the demand for labor, to use Williams's even plainer words, that "Negroes therefore were stolen in Africa to work the lands stolen from the Indians in America" (p. 9).

#### SLAVERY, THE SLAVE TRADE, AND THE NUMBERS GAME

As sugar production and mining spread, so too did slavery and the slave trade. Understanding the dimensions of the trade in enslaved Africans as real commodities, not what Sidney W. Mintz (1985) called "false commodities," is necessary to fully understand the impact of racial slave labor in the Americas. One of the most contentious debates in all of world and U.S. history since the 1950s involves the number of Africans enslaved via the slave trade and the social, cultural, economic, and ideological impact and significance for points of origin, points of destination, and the home ports of the traders. This issue was central to one of the two main propositions in Williams's *Capitalism and Slavery*, and it was addressed provocatively in Walter Rodney's classic *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (1972), which challenged prevailing paradigms by asserting that the development of the West and the underdevelopment of Africa and the Third World were flip sides of the same coin.

A recent estimate of the total numbers involved in the slave trade was based on detailed compilations resulting from a project organized by David Eltis and a team of scholars at Harvard University's W. E. B. Du Bois Institute for African and African American Research. Published in 1999 as *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade (TSTD)*, this database initially covered 27,227 voyages. That was increased in a 2007 update by 7,000 new voyages and additional information for more than 10,000 already included voyages that Philip D. Curtin had provided in an earlier estimate of the

slave trade in his 1969 book, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census*. His figure was challenged and revised upward by Joseph E. Inikori and other scholars, leading to the assertion that roughly 9,566,100 slaves were imported into the Americas between 1451 and 1870. Neither this estimate nor the relative shares of its various national participants were substantially altered by the findings of the Du Bois Institute team, which concluded that some 11,062,000 slaves were transported from Africa between 1519—their date for the first transatlantic voyage from Africa to Puerto Rico—and 1864, the year of the last recorded voyages. Additionally, TSTD estimated that 55.1 percent were transported during the eighteenth century and that 29.5 percent were imported during the first half of the nineteenth century. They also found comparatively minor participation by U.S. merchants, a figure shaped more by their small size and not by moral and ethnical considerations. Only about 2.5 percent of slaves were imported into the United States—some 280,000—and almost 48 percent of these Africans were imported after the American Revolution in 1776. The Du Bois Institute database did cast new light on where the enslaved Africans originated and where they were taken and by whom, information that is important for the study of the cultural dynamics of the African "diaspora"—a Greek word meaning "a scattering or sowing of seeds."

Comparing the growth of the African population in the Americas with the population of European ancestry yields important insights. In 1650 there were approximately 100,000 European colonists in British America and only about 16,200 African slaves, with 15,000 in the British West Indies. The mainland British colonies were 97 percent white, and the British Caribbean islands were 75 percent white. One century later, the mainland was 80 percent white, and the islands were only 16 percent white. In most decades between 1650 and 1750, the percentage increase was greater for blacks than for Europeans. During this period more African people than European people entered the Americas. Up to 1820, among those people who were transported across the Atlantic, Africans outnumbered Europeans by a ratio of more than three to one: almost 8.4 million Africans and 2.4 million Europeans. Between 1820 and 1840, the number of Africans imported as slaves totaled 1,165,900, whereas the number of free migrants totaled only 824,500. The result was the firm establishment of the Atlantic economy based on slave labor from Africa—the demographic revolution long labeled as "the Africanization of the Americas." Scholars who study this issue often ignore the fact that the Americas were already "peopled"—Columbus in 1493 described Native Americans as "a population of incalculable number." They also ignore or slight the role of Africans in the process of "re-peopling" British North America after the genocidal impact on the population of Native Americans,

the original inhabitants who were mislabeled by Columbus as “Indians.”

#### ROOTS OF GLOBALIZATION AND THE CAPITALIST WORLD ECONOMY

When comparing the history and geographical distributions of African slaves in the Americas with other economic activity, one is led to the same conclusion reached by Williams (1944): “Negro slavery, thus, had nothing to do with climate. Its origin can be expressed in three words: in the Caribbean, Sugar; on the mainland, Tobacco and Cotton” (p. 23). In fact, it had everything to do with climate, specifically a climate—and geographical regions—that offered competitive advantages in the growth and shipment of sugar, tobacco, and cotton for plantation slave economies. Williams, by contrast, was battling against a climate-based theory that suggested Africans were more fit to work in tropical regions than Europeans.

Some scholars continue to misconstrue the argument in *Capitalism and Slavery* by asserting that Williams emphasized *only* the slave trade rather than slavery as an integral part of a broader global economic dynamic called “the triangular trade” or “the slave(ry) trade” (Bailey 1992, 1990). Inikori’s *Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England: A Study in International Trade and Economic Development* (2002) is a powerful contribution to this discussion. His analysis includes the role and impact of African labor in several sectors: commodity production and the growth of Atlantic commerce; the growth of shipping; the development of financial institutions; the mining and production of raw materials and industrial production; expansion of markets; and the rise of manufacturing. Discussions of slave labor in the Americas should not be considered complete without such breadth of coverage.

Inikori concludes that the share of export commodities produced by Africans in the Americas can be summarized as follows: 1501–1550, 54 percent; 1601–1650, 69 percent; 1711–1760, 80.6 percent; 1781–1800, 79.9 percent; and 1848–1850, 68.8 percent. Overall, during this same span, the average annual value of export commodities increased from almost £1.3 million to more than £61 million. These trends can be seen in the big three of British exports: tobacco, sugar, and cotton. Between 1752–1754 and 1854–1856, they comprised between 69 and 77 percent of the value of all exports. Over this same period, the value of tobacco exports increased 2.2 times, that of sugar 2.5 times, and that of cotton an astounding 329 times. The link between these crops and slave labor is clear.

Sugar, for example, shaped the Atlantic slave trade in the early period. “It was Europe’s sweet tooth, rather than its addiction to tobacco or its infatuation with

cotton cloth, that determined the extent of the Atlantic slave trade,” according to Robert William Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman (1974). “Sugar was the greatest of the slave crops. Between 60 and 70 percent of all the Africans who survived the Atlantic voyages ended up in one or the other of Europe’s sugar colonies” (p. 16). And most of the world’s sugar supply was produced by enslaved African labor in the Americas.

Overall, the significance of commodities produced by enslaved African labor has been vastly underestimated, an important issue in economics theory when the “multiplier effect”—when spending or economic activity in one sector stimulates activity and expansion in other sectors—is ignored by historical and static approaches. Combined, two African-produced commodities—cotton and sugar—accounted for 63 percent of all imports into England in the 1854–1856 period.

Cotton is by far the best example of how the processing of African-produced raw materials undergirded England’s Industrial Revolution and highlights the impact of racial slavery first in America and later in the United States. As a share of the total value added in manufacturing, cotton increased its share from 2.9 percent in 1770 to 29.2 percent in 1831. Raw cotton consumption grew from £312,000 in 1770 to £13 million in 1831. The source of this raw cotton is key in understanding slave labor in the Americas. In the 1854–1856 period, raw materials from Africa and the Americas accounted for 43.3 percent of total imports into England. In this same period, raw cotton from the United States and produced by enslaved African labor contributed 91.1 percent of this total. Further, Africa and slave-dominated economies in the Americas were important as “vents” or markets for British manufactures and helped in their expansion, consuming almost all of a British cloth called “checks” in 1769. The need for credit in the Atlantic slave economy had a major impact on the development of financial institutions that arose primarily to deal with bills of exchange originating in overseas trade centered in the Atlantic basin (Inikori 2002).

Because of the demand for cotton, the slave population in the United States grew from 697,124 in 1790 to almost four million in 1860 owned by 393,967 slave owners. Forty-five percent of these owners held six or more slaves. It is no accident that the leading cotton-producing state in the United States in 1860—Mississippi—was the state with the largest population of slaves, and it remained a majority-black state until 1940 when cotton was still the largest earner of export dollars for the U.S. economy. But slavery in the United States was a national institution. Slavery in the U.S. North is so often neglected that many people express surprise that owning slaves was an established practice in all of the original thirteen colonies,



***Slaves Working on a Cotton Plantation.*** Slavery began in America as an answer to the need for cheap labor and the desire for greater profits. GENERAL RESEARCH & REFERENCE DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

with almost 50,000 above the Mason-Dixon Line in 1790. Slaves in the North were mainly concentrated along the seacoast, in major cities, and in the few regions such as southern Rhode Island and Connecticut where plantation-style agriculture was conducted (Greene 1942, Melish 1998).

But it was not the numerical presence of slaves and slave labor in the North that was most significant, but rather the North's dependence on the raw materials produced by the labor of enslaved Africans in the southern United States, especially cotton. This provided the platform from which industrial capitalism was launched, a case that parallels the story in England. Between 1787 and 1825, three groups concerned about the economic independence of the new nation used wealth largely accumulated in the slave(ry) trade—buying and selling slaves, manufacturing commodities using slave-produced raw materials, selling to slave-based economies, and so on—

to finance and expand the industrial revolution in the United States (Bailey 1990, 1992) the first was the Beverly Cotton Manufactory of Beverly, Massachusetts, launched in 1787 by the Cabot family (brothers John, George, and Andrew, and sister Deborah) and other prominent investors. It lasted for more than a decade and was influential in several ways. It pioneered the use of public credit for private capitalist ventures, employed forty workers, invented new equipment, produced as much as 10,000 yards of cloth of increasing quality per year, and educated and inspired the next generation of industrial innovators.

The second was Moses Brown, a member of the founding family of Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island, in 1791. With the help of Samuel Slater, a young mechanic who violated British laws against the emigration of textile specialists, Brown built the first U.S. mill to use British technology and waterpower to spin raw cotton into yarn. The third and most decisive was

Francis Cabot Lowell and a group that came to be known as the Boston Associates, which founded the Boston Manufacturing Company in Waltham, Massachusetts, in 1813. Eli Whitney's cotton gin solved the bottleneck in the supply of raw cotton by mechanically removing its seed, and this laid the basis for the explosion of cotton production and slavery in the South and of cotton textile manufacturing in the North. Between 1815 and 1860, the consumption of raw cotton in the United States increased from 31.5 million pounds to 470 million pounds, mainly as a result of demand in New England. The contribution of slave-produced cotton did not stop there. In emphasizing that the extension of the domestic market was the key influence on manufacturing development in the United States and that this resulted from regional specialization, Douglass C. North (1961) puts the cotton trade at the very center of this process of regional specialization, concluding that "the growth of cotton income in the 1830s was the most important proximate influence upon the spurt of manufacturing growth of that decade" (pp. 166–167). Karl Marx had already extended this line of thinking on a global scale: "Direct slavery is as much the pivot upon which our present-day industrialism turns as are machinery, credit, etc. Without slavery there would be no cotton, without cotton there would be no modern industry. It is slavery which has given value to the colonies, it is the colonies which have created world trade, and world trade is the necessary condition for large-scale machine industry" (quoted in Bailey 1986, p.10).

Finally, one can also see the impact of slave labor in the Americas not only on nations but also on corporations and their owners that developed through historical ties to the slave trade and slavery and their exploitation of African labor. The controversy sparked by the call for reparations is based in part on such evidence. Among British financial institutions with links to the slave(ry) trade are the Bank of England; Barclays Bank, the third largest in Great Britain in the early twenty-first century; and the insurance underwriter Lloyd's. The Anglo-French financial firm Rothschild is also reported to have such links. In the United States, Wachovia Bank contracted with a historical research firm to explore the role of its predecessors in slavery, and its research revealed that two of its predecessor institutions—the Georgia Railroad and Banking Co. and the Bank of Charleston—owned slaves. The former FleetBoston—once Bank of Boston and subsequently owned by Bank of America—has acknowledged that one of its predecessors was Providence Bank, owned by the slave trader John Brown. Aetna issued an apology in 2000 because it had once issued insurance on slaves.

The State of California and the City of Chicago are among the governmental units that currently require corporations desiring to do business with them to specify any historical relations with slavery, and it was such a law that

prompted Wachovia's disclosure. President Bill Clinton came close to an apology for U.S. complicity in slavery on his Africa tour in March 1998, and in November 2006 Tony Blair, then the British prime minister, issued "a public statement of sorrow" over Great Britain's role in slavery and the slave trade. Virginia's 2007 apology was rare among states, and others have followed suit. Even institutions of higher education have engaged this aspect of their legacies, among them Brown University's self-study initiated in 2003 by Ruth Simmons, its first African-American president. Whether the demands for reparations are historically justifiable and exactly how such reparations are to be realized—through payments to individuals, through funding expanded educational opportunities, or through statements of apologies—are the focal points of spirited discussion and debate.

#### SLAVE LABOR AND THE NONAGRICULTURAL SECTOR

Much scholarly research and debate has centered on slavery in the rise of commercial, manufacturing, and industrial capitalism, and the production of agricultural products. Ironically, the roles enslaved Africans played outside the agricultural and industrial sectors as domestic and personal aides have been more important both historically and currently in shaping the public mind-set of slaves as a subservient class. This fact, for example, was dramatized both by the role of Mammy in the 1939 movie *Gone with the Wind* and by the controversy that this portrayal sparked. For that portrayal, Hattie McDaniel won the first Academy Award presented to an African American. Slaves were essential as maids, cooks, tailors, seamstresses, butlers, and barbers. Traditional economic theorists have been as reluctant to include the important contribution of unpaid slave labor to national productivity—especially the unpaid labor of enslaved service workers—as they have been to include a full accounting of the importance of unpaid labor of women's household work, a point of considerable controversy.

It is in this economic sector where the particular experiences of black women in the slave labor force must be highlighted, a condition described by many scholars as "triple oppression" on the basis of race, class, and gender. "As blacks, slave women were exploited for their skills and physical strength in the production of staple crops," writes Jacqueline Jones in *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow* (1985); "as women, they performed a reproductive function vital to the individual slaveholders' financial interests and to the inherently expansive system of slavery in general" (p. 12). In the "Valley of the Shadow" database, a powerful database of Civil War information, one can glimpse service occupations for enslaved women of Augusta County, Virginia—housekeeper, house servant, maid, seamstress,



and washerwoman. Men worked in such unskilled jobs as attendants, carriage drivers, gatekeepers, shoeblacks, stage drivers, and waiters. These roles can be confirmed by firsthand testimony in such works as the slave narratives compiled by the Works Progress Administration (WPA) and, especially for black women, in such literary works as Zora Neale Hurston's *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (1937) and Margaret Walker's *Jubilee* (1966).

It is also important to highlight the role of slavery outside the agricultural section in the section of the United States that one scholar called "North of Slavery." In *The Negro in Colonial New England* (1942), Lorenzo Johnston Greene concludes that "to meet the demands of New England's diversified economy, the slave had to be more skilled and more versatile than the average plantation Negro accustomed to . . . a single crop. The New England slave had to be equally at home in the cabbage patch and in the cornfield; he must be prepared . . . not only to care for stock, to act as servant, repair a fence, serve on board ship, shoe a horse, print a newspaper, but even to manage his master's business" (p. 101).

#### CONCLUSION: RACIAL SLAVERY, THEN AND NOW

Widespread commemorations and celebrations were planned for 2007 and 2008 to mark the two-hundredth anniversary of the abolition of the slave trade. In the minds of some observers, such celebrations are misplaced. Despite Great Britain's slave trade abolition in 1808 and the Congressional mandate to end the slave trade to the United States that same year, slavery continued in Great Britain until 1833 and in the United States until the Civil War, which cost the lives of more than 620,000 people between 1861 and the abolition of slavery in 1865 with the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment. The fact that more slaves were imported into the United States after the 1808 decree than before demonstrates that racial slavery in the Americas flourished rather than subsided.

The significance of slavery and its legacy continue to echo in the history of the Americas, and in world history, and the debates will continue. Some argue that putting too much emphasis on race and ethnicity—and on racial slavery—hampers progress in achieving racial unity and a color-blind society. Others argue that a focus on racial slavery distorts one's grasp of the economic or class component of slavery in the Americas, and the dynamics and impact of capitalism that should unite working people across racial lines. Still others argue that such historical considerations have little bearing on the current conditions of black people in the United States or around the world, and should be discouraged because they divert the search for solutions to such pressing problems as poverty.

Regardless of what position is taken, one should grasp that the abolition of the slave trade and racial slavery in America and the recognition of the progress since is no substitute for fully understanding the phenomenal contribution that slave labor made to the rise of Europe and the United States. While the debate over profitability may continue, there is too much evidence to dispute that slave labor in the Americas produced an enormous economic surplus or profit that financed many new economic ventures and social and political initiatives. But E. J. Hobsbawm (1968) reminds his readers that the real contribution of the slave(ry) trade was well beyond profits collected by any individual and resides in structural transformation during the period called the "general crisis" that marked the last stage of transition from feudalism to capitalism. It involved the expansion of the consumer market in Europe, the rise of overseas colonies tied to supplying Europe's needs, and the spread of colonial enterprises to provide more consumer goods for Europe and more markets to consume what Europe produced. Racialized slave labor in the Americas was an inextricable component of the very foundation for these developments.

What is needed most is a theoretical paradigm or framework that can be used as a guide to considering how an array of factors—color, class, culture, and consciousness—all interacted (and still interact) simultaneously and across all periods of history to shape the complexity of the black experience in the Americas and, in fact, the experiences of all the peoples who lived and live in what is now popularly called "the Atlantic world." With such a framework, it would be easier to understand that the historical issues connected to racial slavery in the Americas go well beyond academic debate. Worsening race relations amid a deepening crisis of the U.S. and global capitalist economy is one of the dynamics of general interest. The deepening poverty and the spread of AIDS are also disturbing. And the sharpening debates about reparations and the Supreme Court's leanings to revisit and revise affirmative action rulings in the United States, including its June 2007 ruling, are examples of things to come.

If it is true that "the significance of race in the American past can scarcely be exaggerated," as Leon F. Litwack asserts (1987, p. 317), it is even more powerfully the case that the significant contributions that flowed from the confluence of race and color with class and wealth that is the essence of racial slave labor have shaped the history of the Americas in ways that have eluded all but the most perceptive observers. As people seek to understand the realities of a post-9/11 world, the dangerous rise of terrorism, and the appropriate relationship between the developed and underdeveloped sectors of the globe, it would help to have an accurate view of the economic contributions of racial slave labor in the Americas and its broader social and political impact in order to

properly grasp the contemporary significance of this bygone era, and to choose the most appropriate road forward for the future.

**SEE ALSO** *Plantations; Poverty; Slavery, Racial; Slavery and Race.*

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**Ronald Bailey**

## RACISM

**SEE** *Aversive Racism; Color-Blind Racism; Cultural Racism; Everyday Racism; Implicit Racism; Institutional Racism; Medical Racism; Racism, China; Scientific Racism, History of; Social Psychology of Racism; Symbolic and Modern Racism.*

## RACISM, CHINA

The Chinese people have plural origins. They commonly believe that they are “descendents of Yan and Huang” (*Yan Huang zisun*). By all accounts, Yan Di (literally Emperor of Fire) and Huang Di (literally Yellow Emperor) were chiefs of two large tribal unions living in the middle and lower reaches of the Yellow River during the legendary Sage King period (c. 3rd to 2nd millennium BCE). Conflicts between the tribal unions culminated in the War of Banquan, in which Huang Di thoroughly defeated Yan Di and annexed all his tribes. The unified conglomeration of tribes formed the kernel of a growing body of people that would become the Chinese nation. Although Huang Di and Yan Di were hostile opponents, they have been equally remembered as the apical ancestors of the Chinese. Huang Di and his people rose to dominate the drainage areas of the Yellow River known as Zhongyuan, or the “Central Land.” The concepts of “Zhongyuan people” and “Zhongyuan culture” became categories to distinguish “self” from “others”: “Zhongyuan people” were “us”; “Zhongyuan culture” was “ours.” Those who were non-Zhongyuan were “others.”

During the so-called Spring and Autumn period (770 BCE–476 BCE) of the Zhou dynasty (c. eleventh century BCE–256 BCE), while the power of the king dwindled, that of the dukes and marquises grew stronger. They were engaged in constant wars of annexation, and by the end of that period, seven of the most powerful states survived. In 221 BCE, the Qin State finally wiped out the last of the other six states and unified China. With the establishment of the Qin dynasty (221 BCE–206 BCE), the Chinese nation took a definitive shape, which has perpetuated and enlarged itself into the early twenty-first century. The term *China*, and its equivalents in the other Western languages, derive from the Chinese word *Qin* (pronounced “chin”).

### CONCEPTUALIZATION OF HUMAN DIFFERENCES IN EARLY CHINESE HISTORY

Ethnographic literature reveals that ethnocentrism seems to be a cultural universal by default. The ancient Chinese were no exception. They took pride in their sophisticated forms of writings, rituals, and music, while looking down upon those of all others. In early Chinese history, however, human differences were understood as cultural attributes that were individually acquired through enculturation. They were therefore changeable rather than innate and fixed biological features. Moreover, the early Chinese understood that cultural attributes of a certain group were not inherent to that group. Rather, they could be adopted by members of different groups. For the early Chinese, while members of barbarian groups could be civilized, members of civilized groups could also

become barbarians. It all depended on what one chose to believe and how one chose to behave. All cultures and practices, of course, were judged against the standard of Zhongyuan culture.

The ancient Chinese summarized their ethnic environment into the conception of *wufang*, or the “five regions”—namely, the Central, East, South, West, and North. The region occupied by the people of Huang Di was called the Central Region, also known as *Zhongyuan* (Central Land) or *Zhongguo* (Central State, also the same term for “China” in contemporary Chinese). The people of Zhongyuan or Zhongguo called themselves Xia or Huaxia, with “Xia” meaning “big” or “great” and “Hua” meaning “beautiful” or “glorious.” The Xia called their neighbors to the east Yi, those to the south Man, those to the west Rong, and those to the north Di. The concept of the “five regions” was the Xia’s ethnocentric conceptualization of their ethnic environment. The names of the others were general terms referring to the numerous peoples who lived in those regions, rather than names of any peoples in their own languages.

From the second century BCE up to the early twentieth century, Confucianism was upheld as the orthodox ideology by each and every imperial dynasty of China, regardless of the ethnic origins of the rulers. In Confucian classics, there is a coherent and comprehensive theory regarding human differences. According to Confucianism, all human beings are born undifferentiated. Differences in human ways of thinking and behavior, as well as kinds and levels of ability, are results of differences in education. In Confucius’s own words: “Disregarding origin, everyone has the capacity to be educated. When the Yi-Di come to Zhongguo, they become (the people of) Zhongguo; when (the people of) Zhongguo go to (the regions of) Yi-Di, they become the Yi-Di. If the Yi-Di practice the rituals of the Huaxia, they are the Huaxia; if the Huaxia practice the rituals of the Yi-Di, they are the Yi-Di.”

This open, culturalistic approach to human differences made it possible for the later non-Huaxia rulers of the Chinese Empire to claim to be the legitimate inheritors of the orthodox Chinese tradition. It also enabled members of countless smaller groups to mingle into the ever-growing body of the Chinese nation.

### PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION IN IMPERIAL CHINA

Ethnic differences, however, often entail profound political and economic differences that cannot be easily settled by cultural attraction and voluntary assimilation. Records about conflict and culture-based prejudice and discrimination are replete in Chinese historical materials since earliest antiquity.

The Huaxia feared the Man-Yi or Yi-Di peoples even more for their uncivilized culture than for their brutal force.

For the ancient Chinese, if the Man-Yi were unwilling to convert to Huaxia culture, they had to be kept away from the realm of the Huaxia. Confucius pointed out that “the Yi should never covet (the territory of) the Xia and disturb (the culture of) the Hua” and that “(Huaxia culture was so superior that) even a Yi-Di society with a king was lesser than a Xia society without a king.” During the Spring and Autumn period, Duke Huan of the Qi State established his hegemony among the competing aristocrats by touting the slogan “Revere the king and expel the Yi” (*zun wang rang yi*). After that, alarming cries, such as “those who are not of my group must have a different mind” (*fei wo zulei, qixin biyi*) and “keep a clear distinction between the Yi and the Xia” (*yan Yi-Xia zhi fang*), became a recurrent theme.

Chinese history entered a prolonged period of fragmentation in the third century CE, after more than four hundred years of unity. Whereas nomads of various ethnic backgrounds invaded from the north, successors to the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE) were driven to the south. It was during this period of great cultural conflict and cross-fertilization that the agriculturalists who had been subjects of the former Han dynasty were generically called “Han” by the nomads. This label has since become the name of the dominant ethnic group in China.

During the period of split between the third and sixth centuries, suspicion and prejudice between the Han and non-Hans ran deep on each side. In a famous essay titled “On the Emigration of the Rong” (*Xi rong lun*), Jiang Tong (?–310) of the West Jin dynasty (265–317) forcefully states that the threat of the non-Hans is due to their ultimate cultural incompatibility with the Han, and he suggests the expulsion of the non-Hans from the Han-controlled areas. About the same time, several non-Han regimes in the north instituted segregation systems to rule their own people and the conquered Han separately.

In late imperial China, two of the nomad groups from the north, the Mongols and the Manchus, succeeded in establishing rule over the entire empire. Both the Yuan Dynasty (1271–1368) established by the Mongols and the Qing Dynasty (1644–1911) by the Manchus claimed their legitimacy based on the Confucian tradition and ruled their empires mainly with the Chinese bureaucratic institutions. At the same time, however, both also took draconian measures of discrimination against the Han in order to safeguard their rule of the minority. People with different ethnic origins had different access to social and political resources. They were also charged taxes and corvee at different rates, and they were subjected to differential criminal codes. Conversely, the Confucian open approach to ethnic differences notwithstanding, both the Yuan and Qing dynasties were overthrown by campaigns of the Han under exactly the same

rallying cry: “Drive out the Tartar devils and recover China (*quzhu dalu, hui fu Zhonghua*)!”

## RACE AND RACISM IN CHINA

The Chinese enjoyed an assured sense of cultural superiority for thousands of years, until it was shattered by the British in the Opium War of 1840–1842. With painful humiliation, the Chinese were forced to assess the causes for the triumph of the Westerners, as well as for their own fiasco. With an urgent sense of desperation, a large number of Chinese intellectuals turned their attention away from the traditional single subject of Confucian classics to the diversified studies of the Western world. Among other Western theories, especially influential were Darwin’s evolutionism (popularized in China at the time mostly through a loose translation of part of Thomas H. Huxley’s *Evolution and Ethics*) and Johann F. Blumenbach’s fivefold division of human races. In the course of reorienting their world by means of the newly borrowed ideas, the Chinese elites replaced “culture” with “race” as the determinant in their conceptualization of human differences.

Kang Youwei (1858–1927) was the most influential Chinese reformist and thinker by the end of the Qing dynasty (1644–1911). Based on a deeply rooted hierarchical conception of culture, and inspired by Blumenbach’s racial classification, Kang determined that the “yellow race” should be strengthened through intermarriage with the “white race.” In his book expounding the philosophy of the “great unity” (*Da Tong* or *Ta Tung*), Kang acknowledged the strength and prevalence of the white race. From there he proceeded to suggest that because the yellow race was both populous and wise, an indestructible new race could be produced by intermarriage between the white and the yellow. In addition, the children of this union should be raised in the Western way. According to Kang, while the yellow could be directly whitened, the darker-colored races (except the black) had to first be yellowed, through intermarriage with the yellow race, before they could be whitened. As to the “black race,” Kang thought they were so inferior that they had to first be sent to northern regions, such as North America and Scandinavia, to improve their breed before they could be yellowed and then whitened. According to Kang, the “great unity” of the world could be reached when all races were eventually whitened.

The utopian suggestion to reinvigorate China’s competitiveness by means of intermarriage with the white race was embraced by a considerable number of vanguard elites, and eugenics started to catch people’s imaginations. More and more social and cultural differences were subjected to examination through the prism of racism. In an attempt to understand the world anew, the

intellectuals did not hesitate to reinterpret established categories with their newly acquired perspectives. Zhang Binglin (1868–1936), an early nationalist revolutionary and accomplished linguist, went so far as to suggest that while most humans, including the white, had derived from the yellow race, the Di descended from dogs and the Qiang descended from goats. He also reinterpreted culture in terms of consanguinity by proposing that “common culture derives from common blood lineage.”

As the racist perspective became the talk of the nation, the usage of the term *race* (*zhongzu*) also spilled out of Blumenbach’s five categories. The Han came to be referred to as the “Han race,” and the Manchu the “Manchu race.” Indeed, the revolution that overthrew the last Chinese imperial dynasty was characterized by the revolutionary leader, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, as a “racial revolution” against the Manchus.

Kang’s suggestion for the yellow to intermarry the white, of course, could be nothing but an unrequited wish. As much as he discriminated against the darker-colored “races,” the Chinese were discriminated against by the white. An epitome of such discrimination was a sign at the entrance of a park in the British concession in Shanghai reading “No Chinese or dogs are permitted to enter.” This sign became one of the best-known materials for patriotic education in China. Becoming victims of racial discrimination, however, did not prompt the Chinese to categorically condemn racism. The notion of the biology-based and hierarchically differentiated races came to China under the rubric of science, and science was a newly found path to modernization. As a proud nation that had just lost its long-standing cultural confidence, the Chinese were too preoccupied with the desire for revival to circumspectly reflect upon the notion of racism. To the Chinese at the turn of the twentieth century, discrimination and oppression by Westerners were simply understood as due to differences in wealth, technology, and military prowess. They believed that if China could strengthen itself in those areas, the nation could rid itself of the humiliation and recover its freedom and glory. Thus, with a strong sense of loss and perplexity, and in a hasty reaction to the adverse reality, the Chinese internalized the concept of racism and justified both the racism of others against themselves and their racism against others.

More than a hundred years later, despite much progress in the social sciences and many changes in official discourse, this racist legacy still lingers among the average Chinese. In a press conference held immediately after the men’s 110-meter hurdles in the 2004 Athens Olympic Games, the Chinese gold medalist Liu Xiang remarked: “I did not think of many things (to be possible). I did not think I could possibly win the gold

medal. . . . Now that I finished within 13 seconds, it is proven that the yellow-skinned Chinese can also do well in short distance track games. I thought it was a miracle. It was unbelievable” (Hao et al 2004, Internet site). In dispelling the myth of racial inferiority of the yellow-skinned Chinese, Liu also testified to the tenacious presence of racism in China.

SEE ALSO *Language*.

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*Chuan-kang Shib*

## RAP MUSIC

In his 1976 book *Roots*, Alex Haley wrote about his extraordinary journey to excavate the narratives of his African ancestry, including his encounter with a griot (an oral historian) in a West African village. This seventy-three-year-old griot recited an extensive history of the tribe, recounting its origins and establishing connections between Alex Haley and his mythological ancestor, Kunta Kinte. Haley was overcome with weeping as members of the tribal community worked together to bring his long-lost African relatives to him.

Amid the powerful energy of ancestral reconnection and historical continuity, one might gloss over a key element in this story: How is it that the griot is able to retain centuries of genealogical information, and perform

it basically on demand? He can do this because he performs history in verse. The griot is, in this instance, the ancestral progenitor of the modern-day rapper. Griots retain tremendous amounts of cultural information for spontaneous performances in verse for tribal communities. Of course, years of repetition help to instantiate these tribal histories in the collective memories of the griot as well as his audience, but Alex Haley's experiences, and the powerful narrative that emerged from these experiences, suggest tremendous connections between ancient African griots and rappers of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

In no small way, the history and political economy of rap music is reflected in this *Roots* moment. First, the power and political potential of rhymed verse is readily apparent in Haley's interaction with the West African griot. Second, rap music, notwithstanding its modern-day origins as pure entertainment, has always been challenged to shoulder the social responsibilities of the communities from which it emerged. In 1979, rap music exploded onto the popular music landscape with the enormous success of a single by the Sugarhill Gang entitled *Rapper's Delight*. After its release in October 1979, *Rapper's Delight*, with its complete sample of the group CHIC's disco hit *Good Times*, was a mainstay on the Billboard Pop charts for twelve weeks. Although it was not the first rap record—Fatback Band's *King Tim III (Personality Jock)*, released earlier in 1979, is considered to be the first “modern” rap record—*Rapper's Delight* is still considered the popular point of departure for rap music.

### RAP INFLUENCES

The griot is only one of several African or African American progenitors of the rapper. In fact, there is a continuous trajectory from griot to rapper that underscores the ever-present relationship between the oral poet and the community within the African and African-American traditions. Other oratorical precedents to rappers and rap music that emerge after the griot but before *Rapper's Delight*, include Jamaican-style “toasts” (a form of poetic narrative performed to instrumental music); various Blues songs (especially where conversational talking styles are present); prison toasts; “playing the dozens” (a game of verbal insults); disc-jockey announcer styles, such as that of Douglas “Jocko” Henderson; the Black Power poetry of Amiri Baraka; the street-inflected sermons of Malcolm X; and the oratorical prowess of nearly all of the prominent black poets of the early 70s, such as Gil Scott Heron, Nikki Giovanni, Sonia Sanchez, the Watts Poets, and the Last Poets.

In addition, rap music might not exist without the powerful influence of James Brown. Known as the “Godfather of Soul,” Brown was also the preeminent forefather

of rap music. His call-and-response, conversational vocal style; his incredible interaction with his band and audience; and his ear for the most contagious break-down arrangements in the history of black music position him at the genesis of hip-hop culture, from which rap music was derived. Listening to a Brown classic, such as “Funky Drummer” or “Funky President,” will immediately make his impact on rap music apparent. Indeed, Brown was rapping before rap music became reified as a popular phenomenon. It is no mistake that Brown's music is still the most sampled and copied sound in rap music.

### TYPES OF RAP MUSIC

When all of the historical and influential touchstones for rap music are considered, the fact that rap has become the premier element of hip-hop culture, a culture that has spread all over the world, should be fairly clear. Since 1979, hundreds of rappers have made thousands of records, and many of these have found a wide audience. In order to develop a definitive sense of rap music—especially its connections to race and African-American culture and its relationship to inner-city populations and American popular culture—various subcategories of the genre bear elucidation. The following taxonomy divides rap music into four categories: mainstream, underground, conscious, and gangsta.

Mainstream rap music is the category most widely listened to by the majority population. It is a fairly fluid category. At one point (during the “old school” and “golden age” eras of hip-hop, from about 1975 to 1990), mainstream rap was consciously and consistently political. For example, during their heyday (c. 1988–1989), Public Enemy, whose music was very political, was the most popular rap group on the most popular recording label, Def Jam. By the mid-1990s, mainstream rap's content had completed a dramatic shift toward more violent and misogynistic narratives, allegedly designed to report on the horrific conditions of American inner cities. By the late 1990s and through the first half of the first decade of the 2000s, the content of mainstream rap shifted yet again, this time toward the celebration of conspicuous consumption. Some scholars and fans refer to this current mainstream moment of rap as the “bling bling era” (the term “bling bling” was coined by the New Orleans rapper B.G., short for “Baby Gangsta,” in reference to the glistening radiance of his diamond-encrusted platinum jewelry).

Underground rap music is even more difficult to define because it generally takes its cues from mainstream rap and often does not (and by definition cannot) enjoy the popular distribution, exposure, and financial attention and rewards of mainstream music. Underground rap tends to be predicated on regional or local development and support, although with the advent of the Internet



*Members of Public Enemy, 1995. Public Enemy helped to introduce the hip-hop world to overtly political messages through albums such as It Takes a Nation of Millions to Hold Us Back. © S.I.N./CORBIS.*

and imminently transferable mp3 music files, underground networks have developed across local, regional, and even international barriers. Underground rap must also, in both content and form, distinguish itself from popular mainstream rap. Thus, when mainstream rap is about being a gangster, underground rap tends to be more politically conscious, and vice versa. When mainstream rap production is sample-heavy with beats per minute (BPM) hovering in the mid-90s, underground rap will dispense with samples and sport BPM well into the 100s. This symbiotic relationship between the mainstream and the underground is far too complex to fully detail, but inevitably one defines itself against the other in various ways. All mainstream styles of rap were at one time or another considered underground. Some of the most talented underground rappers and rap groups are: The Living Legends, MF Doom, Immortal Technique, The V. I. Kings, The Last Emperor, Medusa, Chillin Villain Empire, Aceyalone, and Murs.

Conscious rap music came into popular prominence in 1982 with the release of Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five's *The Message*. Conscious, in this case, refers to an artist's

lyrical realization of the social forces at play in the poor and working-class environments from which many rappers hail, and in which the music and culture of hip-hop originally developed. *The Message* was a powerful response to postindustrial inner-city conditions in America. Since then, the subgenre of conscious rap music has continued to produce some of the most important songs for the enlightenment and uplift of black and brown people. Run-DMC's "Proud to Be Black," KRS-One's "Self-Destruction," "Why Is That?" and "Black Cop," and Public Enemy's "Can't Truss It," "Shut Em Down," and "9-1-1 Is a Joke" are examples. Conscious rap thrives in the shadows of both underground rap and mainstream rap, even as it innovates and informs a genre that most people associate with violence and consumerism.

Gangsta rap is a subgenre that originates from a complex set of cultural and sociological circumstances. Gangsta rap is a media term partially borrowed from the African-American vernacular form of the word *gangster*. (African American Vernacular English [AAVE], sometimes referred to as Ebonics, employs many systemic rules and features. One of these features is "r-lessness," meaning that speakers drop or significantly reduce the "r" in various linguistic

situations.) When the popularity of rap music shifted from New York City and the East Coast to Los Angeles and the West Coast (between 1988 and 1992), this geographic reorientation was accompanied by distinct stylistic shifts and striking differences in the contents and sound of the music. This shift took place in the late 1980s through the early 1990s and is most readily represented in the career peak of the late-1980s conscious group Public Enemy (PE), as well as the subsequent, meteoric rise of NWA (Niggaz With Attitude), a group from Compton, California. Just as the marketing and retail potential of rap music was coming into prominence (both PE and NWA were early beneficiaries of rap music's now legendary platinum-selling potential), the music-industry media clamored to find terminology with which to report on this new, powerful, and vulgar phenomenon. Since the challenges of gang warfare in Los Angeles (and gangster narratives in general—consider *The Godfather Saga*, *Goodfellas*, and *Scarface*, in particular) were already journalistic (and cinematic) legend, the term “gangsta rap” was coined, and it stuck.

Yet even at its inception, gangsta rap forced scholars, journalists, and critics to deal with the cruel realities of inner-city living (initially in the South Bronx and Philadelphia with KRS-One and Schoolly D, and almost simultaneously with Ice-T and NWA on the West Coast). Still, only the very general realities of poverty, police brutality, gang violence, and brutally truncated opportunity have been subject to any real investigation or comprehension. The whole point of a rapper rapping is to exaggerate, through narrative, in order to “represent” one's community and one's culture in the face of violent social invisibility (consider the collective shock at the rampant poverty in New Orleans unveiled after the devastation caused by Hurricane Katrina). It is not surprising then that gangsta rap was a radical wake-up call, highlighting the aforementioned social ills. Its popularity, however, is more a reflection of mainstream audience's insatiable appetite for violent narratives than it is a reflection of any one individual's particular reality. That is to say, in all forms of rap music, the relationships between author and narrative are not necessarily autobiographical. However, these narratives, in their most authentic forms, tend to be representative of certain post-industrial, inner-city African-American realities.

**SEE ALSO** *Black Popular Culture; Hip-Hop Culture.*

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James Peterson

## RAPE

Rape is an act of sexual violence, typically perpetrated by males against females or other males. The concept of rape suggests some degree of force in that the sexual encounter is not consensual. Rape is an act of brutality and terror; the rapist is primarily motivated by the need to dominate and control the victim. In the United States, the relationship of rape to race and racism lies in myths created and perpetuated by Europeans about black sexuality that fueled racial violence for centuries. From the slavery era until the mid-twentieth century, myths surrounding black sexuality perpetuated the notion of the hypersexual black woman and the criminally sexual black man. Grounded in the belief that black people were inherently primitive and sexually deviant, these myths served as justifications for various forms of racialized violence by whites toward black men and women. Rape is also a racially significant concept because historically, white women were viewed as chaste and in need of protection; black women were considered unchaste and responsible for any violence directed at them. Well into the twentieth century and beyond, studies show that the experiences of black rape victims are very different from those of white rape victims and that in general, white women's charges of rape are given more credence than similar accusations made by black women or other women of color.

### THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Myths surrounding black women's hypersexuality developed during Europeans' initial contacts with Africans. Strongly influenced by Victorian values of purity and chastity, Europeans misinterpreted various forms of African culture, particularly African dress and body movements. Europeans often assigned sensual meanings to common African practices that were related to the climate and geography of the continent, such as partial nudity. As historian Deborah Gray White (1985) argues, “the travel accounts of Europeans contained superficial analyses of African life and spurious conclusions about the character of black women” (p. 29). These spurious conclusions gave Europeans license to act out their sexual fantasies and frustrations through brutal and degrading interactions with black women.

For example, in 1810, a young black South African woman named Sara Bartmann was taken to England, where she was put on display for five years as the “Hottentot Venus.” Europeans were particularly curious about





**Lynching.** A mob surrounds the body of a lynched black man in Ruston, Louisiana. Ida B. Wells's activism directly resulted in a decline in lynchings in the American south. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

African genitalia and were fascinated with the size and shape of Bartmann's buttocks, which were shown publicly in various venues. Upon her death at age twenty-five, Sara Bartmann's genitalia were autopsied by George Cuvier, a leading scientist of the time, who compared her sexual organs to those of an orangutan. Her sexual organs were displayed in a Paris museum until 1974. Thus, two very powerful forces influenced European attitudes toward Africans and affected race relations for centuries: obsessive sexual curiosity about the black body and the belief in black licentiousness. These two forces would form the basis of what some feminist scholars call a rape ideology, which frames rape as an act of uncontrollable male lust and holds women accountable for any forceful behavior directed at them. Rape ideology is strongly intertwined with racism in that sexual violence has often been used as a tool of racial oppression.

For centuries in America, rape was largely defined and conceptualized as a sexual act perpetrated by a black man against a white woman. In fact, any accusation against a black man by a white woman would lead to severe punishment or death of a black man. America's legal system provided black men with no protection against false accusations of rape and no justice to any black woman raped by a white man.

## THE SLAVE ERA AND BEYOND

From the slave era until the mid-twentieth century, interactions between blacks and whites were colored by a complex racial and sexual ideology that contributed to complicated attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors surrounding rape. For example, during the slave era, some black women consented to sexual relations with white men in order to lessen the inherent brutality of slavery. As they sexually exploited black women, slaveholders also utilized rape as a tool for increasing the slave labor force. Some black women consented to sexual relations with black men at their master's command. Thus, sexual assault—in various forms—was a part of the political economy of American slavery. The sexual exploitation of black women workers remained a persistent practice, challenging black women's sense of respectability for centuries. For example, black domestic workers, who worked in northern cities during the Great Migration in the early twentieth century, experienced rampant unwanted sexual advances while employed in white households. These women—who had fled the South in search of economic opportunities and freedom from legal racism—often had to make choices that compromised their images in the black community.

In the documentary *Freedom Bags*, a film recounting the hardships of black domestic workers in the 1920s, one woman indicates that many black women “had babies by their employers.” Thus the complexities of interracial rape were further problematized by what appeared to be black women's willingness to be complicit in their own sexual exploitation. However, black women who consented to unwanted sexual relationships did so because they lacked the power to refuse. These women unwittingly perpetuated the notion of the promiscuous black woman by prioritizing survival over morality.

In 1892 Ida B. Wells turned her attention to the institutionalization of racial violence, particularly in the American South. Deeply angered by the lynching of three black store owners in Memphis, Tennessee, Wells began to reconsider the beliefs that she and most other southerners had about lynching. One was that black men were justifiably lynched for raping white women. Realizing that the three store owners had not committed rape, Wells concluded that lynching was a racist strategy to prevent black economic and political progress. She realized that in the post-Reconstruction South, whites could no longer claim blacks as property, but they could still control blacks by threatening violence. Using her newspaper as a platform, Wells stated unequivocally that many sexual encounters between black men and white women were consensual and that charges of rape against black men were often false. Wells also indicated that rape by white men was far more prevalent, yet white men's sexual brutality went unpunished. Although Wells was

forced to flee the South because of her anti-lynching activism, she continued her campaign in New York and eventually brought international attention to her cause.

### THE MODERN ERA

Lynchings decreased in the American South as a direct result of Wells's activism. Through her campaign she also underscored the sexual victimization of black women by white men. However, it was not until the 1970s that rape—as a form of patriarchal oppression—became a part of the public consciousness, primarily through the activism of white feminists. Although these activists reconceptualized rape as an act of violence specifically directed at women, most ignored the complex racist underpinnings of rape in America. In 1977 the Combahee River Collective, a black feminist group, identified rape as a black feminist issue and championed the need for rape crisis centers in black neighborhoods. Understanding the historical vulnerability of black women, these activists spoke out against sexual violence perpetrated by both white and black men.

Despite antirape activism that has led to more substantive legal protection for women, race-based inequities in arrests, prosecution, and in attitudes toward rape victims are difficult to eliminate. Studies show that black women are less likely to report rape than white women. Some scholars suggest that this reluctance to report rape is related to black women's acceptance of certain rape myths. Aaronette White (1999) refers to these myths as “mythical gutter wisdom,” a rape ideology that dominates and distorts the discourse on violence against women in the black community. White argues, “When Black-on-Black crime is mentioned, rarely do we discuss the sexual brutalization of Black women” (p. 211). When black women do report rape, they are less likely to be believed than white women in similar situations. In court, jurors are more likely to believe that the assailants of white women are guilty than they are to believe a black woman has been sexually assaulted. Across every aspect of the criminal justice process, racial bias can play an influential role.

Throughout America's history, black people have lived with two sources of racist shame: black women's humiliation through rape and various forms of public violence targeting mostly black men. This legacy ripped through the very core of black America when Anita Hill accused U.S. Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas of sexual harassment before a congressional committee in 1991. Sexual harassment is a form of institutionalized rape in that it implies an element of sexual exploitation, particularly in the workplace. Many African Americans were more appalled at Hill's public accusations against a prominent black man than they were at the possibility that the accusations could be true. Referring to the con-

gressional hearing as a high-tech lynching, Thomas unearthed shallowly buried racial skeletons and secured his seat on the U.S. Supreme Court. However, both Hill and Thomas could be viewed as victims of a rape ideology that simply assumes new forms from one century to another.

**SEE ALSO** *Body Politics; Feminism and Race; Sex Work; Sexuality; Violence against Women and Girls.*

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## RASSENHYGIENE

The German turn toward the subject of *Rassenhygiene* (racial hygiene), or “cleansing of the races,” in the middle and late nineteenth century mirrored the international interest in two ideas: (1) the perfectibility of humankind, and (2) the danger of rapid population growth among the lower socioeconomic classes. For many, the improvement of the genetic basis of a nation through the selective breeding of those embodying “ideal” physical characteristics seemed within reach.

Arthur Comte de Gobineau's *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines* (Essay on the inequality of the human race) (1853–1855) placed race in the forefront of causation for the rise and decline of nation-states, giving the concept of race both immediacy and a practical application. In a similar vein, Charles Darwin's theory of evolution, explained in *Origin of Species* (1859), brought about an interest in the concept of “survival of the fittest,” which was inappropriately adapted to the realm of humans by social Darwinists. Thus, individuals such as Stuart Chamberlain, Francis Galton, and Charles Davenport took leading roles in turning social Darwinism from a theory into a program of practical action called *eugenics*.

In 1905 Alfred Ploetz founded the German Society for Racial Hygiene (*Deutsche Gesellschaft für Rassenhygiene*), which later was subsumed by the International Society for Racial Hygiene. Among its members were some of the most prominent scientists and business people in the United States.

The notion of race gained momentum among the scientific community in the context of making the population stronger, healthier, and more uniform. The term *race* was generally used without a definition, and it could thus be manipulated to fit any circumstance. There was no agreement among scientists on how many races there were in the world, nor even how many races might be found in Germany. There was even less agreement on the identity of the races. Several national studies were undertaken in Germany between 1900 and 1930 by biological and social scientists to determine the answers to those dilemmas, but no determination was made.

German biologists and anthropologists began to move from theoretical involvement with the topic of race to a more practical approach in racial hygiene. Eugen Fischer, Fritz Lenz, and Erwin Baur joined forces to write *Grundriss der menschlichen Erblchkeitslehre und Rassenhygiene* (*Human Hereditary Teaching and Racial Hygiene*), a widely used textbook, in 1921. A revised second edition appeared in 1923. Their goal was to use Mendelian genetics and social Darwinist principals to explain the process of inheritance of desired, as well as degenerate, characteristics within populations. It was in this publication that the first use of the term “Nordic Ideal” was used to refer to Ploetz’s earlier claim of Nordic supremacy.

Eugen Fischer, who was named the first director of the prestigious Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Anthropology, Human Genetics, and Eugenics in 1927, was soon in a position to put a major effort into mapping the racial characteristics of the German nation. With funding from the Rockefeller Foundation, he mobilized a team of leading anthropologists and biological scientists to investigate numerous communities throughout the nation to establish the number and variety of racial groups. The results were disappointing, but the ideas they engendered endured.

With the advent of Hitler’s regime in 1933, racial hygiene suddenly had immense political backing. As laws came into effect restricting Jews in all areas of employment and social life, many were forced to seek certificates (*Gutachten*) to prove their Aryan, or non-Jewish, genealogy. Fischer’s institute, as well as universities, hospitals, and other institutions, set up experts in the certifying process. To do this job, more than 1,100 doctors were trained in racial hygiene to assist in the process of sorting the country into racial groups. As World War II started, the idea of sorting people in order to maintain and advance “racial

quality” continued in Poland, where Germans certified non-Jewish Poles.

Implementation of racial hygiene at first urged the “positive selection” of genetic characteristics valued by the predominantly white male proponents. People with “good characteristics” were to marry and have many children, and to provide a healthy, safe, and nurturing environment for these children. “Negative selection” began with discouraging marriage and procreation, but it soon evolved into the sterilization of those considered unworthy to contribute to the genetic mix.

As the Nazi era continued, negative selection came to mean euthanasia and the elimination of “life unworthy of life.” Children were the first to be selected for euthanasia, followed by the mentally ill and eventually those working in concentration camps and as slave laborers who could no longer work due to injury, starvation, or illness. Racial hygiene, which began as a theory of improving the genetic stock of a nation, had evolved into wanton murder and, ultimately, genocide.

**SEE ALSO** *Ethnic Cleansing; Eugenics, History of; Genocide; Genocide and Ethnocide.*

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Gretchen E. Schafft

## REMOND, CHARLES LENOX 1810–1873

Charles Lenox Remond, born in Salem, Massachusetts, on February 1, 1810, was the second child of free blacks, John and Nancy (Lenox) Remond. His father was a descendant of French West Indian immigrants, and his maternal grandfather had fought in the American Revolution.

As free blacks, Charles and his sisters, Sarah Parker Remond and Caroline Remond Putnam, grew up middle class, well educated, and very involved in the abolition movement. Sarah was active in the Salem Female Antislavery Society and the Massachusetts Antislavery Society. In 1856, she became an agent for the American Antislavery Society. Caroline served on the executive committee of the American Antislavery Society.

Remond began his abolitionist career in 1838 as a lecturer for the Massachusetts Antislavery Society. As the first black professional antislavery lecturer, he devoted his life to lecturing against prejudice and slavery and advocating equal rights for free blacks. He believed that when the world realized that mind determines the man, that goodness, moral worth, and integrity of soul are the true measures of character, then prejudice against caste and color would disappear.

Remond became one of the original seventeen members of the American Antislavery Society, the first nationwide society. Later, he served as secretary of the American Antislavery Society and vice president of the New England Antislavery Society, as well as president of his county abolition unit. For several years, Remond was the most distinguished black abolitionist in America, eclipsed only in 1841 by Frederick A. Douglass (with whom he often clashed in the 1840s and 1850s because of Douglass's popularity in the movement). He received recognition as a reformer and an advocate of equality for all people. He advised white abolitionists to employ blacks in decent jobs, and he criticized black businessmen whose fear of alienating their customers kept them from publicly supporting the abolition of slavery. He encouraged black youths to join the antislavery movement. Through his encouragement, the Negro National Convention adopted a resolution advising blacks to leave any church discriminating against them in any capacity, including at the communion table.

Remond spoke at public meetings in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Maine, New York, and Pennsylvania. While a lecturer for the Massachusetts Antislavery Society, he supported leading white abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison, founder of the American Antislavery Society, concerning the principles of nonviolence and nonvoting. He believed, along with Garrison, in the creation of a totally color-blind society, one in which race had no influence at all. Some years later, Remond opposed the appointment of an African American as ambassador to Haiti because he believed a white man would have been the best candidate.

Remond's popularity and social status grew as he continued his quest for equality and freedom. He criticized the foreign slave trade and the domestic slave trade in America, accusing both of supporting slavery because of

the profitability of cotton generated from the use of slave labor. He basically believed it was morally wrong to treat black slaves as property and then to abuse them for the sake of the economy, to treat them without humanity.

In 1840, Remond traveled with Garrison on a European tour for nineteen months as a representative at the World's Anti-Slavery Convention in London to gain support for the abolitionist cause and to speak against America's mistreatment of African Americans. While in Great Britain, he appealed to British abolitionist organizations, where his lectures against slavery received high acclaim. He encouraged British religious denominations to refuse to participate in communion services that discriminated against African Americans and to avoid fellowship with proslavery American Protestants.

In 1841, Remond traveled to Ireland to gain antislavery support and reduce the influence of Irish proslavery sentiment in America. In his lectures, he described America's slave system and the oppression of free blacks. "The nominally free . . . still suffer all the pains incident to a degraded race," he told a Dublin audience (Osofsky 1975, p. 897). He helped compose "An Address of the People of Ireland to Their Countrymen and Countrywomen in America." Members of the Hibernian Antislavery Society and other interested volunteers distributed it until it had 60,000 signatures, and 70,000 had signed by the final count in 1842. In 1843, he spoke at the national antislavery convention in Buffalo, New York, and criticized black abolitionist Henry Highland Garnet's address at the convention advising slaves to liberate themselves through violence.

By 1847, Remond began to abandon his nonviolence stance to end slavery. He advised slaves to take matters in their own hands against their masters to overthrow slavery. As time progressed, Remond also grew increasingly frustrated over the injustices of racial discrimination and segregation. Thereafter, he protested segregated travel in Massachusetts. He spoke against the *Dred Scott* Supreme Court decision (1857), which ruled that the Constitution did not include rights for blacks, thus depriving them of citizenship and due process of law. He was so disturbed by the decision that he felt he could not remain loyal to a country that treated blacks like dogs.

By 1857, Remond had lost hope for the success of nonresistance in the antislavery movement. At the State Convention of Massachusetts Negroes in New Bedford in 1858, he encouraged convention delegates to support an insurrection among the slaves, declaring that he would rather have them die than live in slavery. He remained vigilant against slavery and supported the upcoming war to end it. During the Civil War, he was active in recruiting black troops for the 54th Massachusetts Infantry, the first northern all-black regiment in the United States Colored

Troops (USCT) unit. He was also active in supporting the United States Colored Troops. After the war, he worked as a clerk in the Boston Customs House and as a street lamp inspector until his death on December 22, 1873.

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## REPARATIONS FOR RACIAL ATROCITIES

When a government commits an atrocity such as slavery or genocide, many believe it has, at the very least, a moral duty to make amends to the surviving victims or their descendants in the form of "reparations." The government officials who engineered the atrocity in the name of the government may face individual, criminal prosecution, and they may be subsequently sentenced to death or incarceration, as in the case of some high-ranking Nazi officials after World War II. It has been argued, however, that the government itself has an independent moral or legal responsibility to the victims of the atrocity and that it should provide reparations to the victims in the form of cash payments, community assets, scholarships, educational programs, museums, monuments, or other forms of redress.

### REPARATIONS FROM VERSAILLES TO THE HOLOCAUST

The idea that a government should provide reparations to the victims of its past atrocities is a fairly modern notion. Between World Wars I and II, reparations acquired a bad name. The Treaty of Versailles, which ended World War I, imposed reparations on Germany and other members of the Central Powers for atrocities committed during the war. Many in the international community, including the British general Henry Wilson and the economist John Maynard Keynes, believed that reparations authorized under the treaty were excessively punitive, stripped Ger-

many of its dignity, and were therefore a mistake. These and other international figures came to believe that the treaty's draconian reparations program created geopolitical conditions that helped Hitler come to power in postwar Germany. More recently, revisionist scholars have argued that this indictment is overstated and that the Third Reich would have arisen even without the burden of war reparations.

Following World War II, however, the beliefs and opinions regarding reparations were reconsidered within the international community. The concept of reparations was now considered in light of the horrific but well-documented "crimes against humanity" committed against the Jews, the Gypsies, and other victims of Nazi persecution that came to be known as the Holocaust. In this case, Allied Forces recorded the Holocaust on film for the entire world to see. German civilians, many of whom claimed to have had no prior knowledge of Hitler's genocidal operations, were walked through the liberated death camps so that they could witness firsthand the atrocities committed in the name of their government. Although there was no way Germany's new government could adequately compensate the surviving victims or the families of victims of the Holocaust, political leaders of the new German republic felt impelled (some argue they were compelled) to do something. Speaking for the German government and its people, Konrad Adenauer, the first chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, announced: "In our name, unspeakable crimes have been committed and demand compensation and restitution, both moral and material, for the persons and properties of the Jews who have been so seriously harmed." With these words, the first modern reparations program was born.

Following Germany's lead, other governments have created reparations programs to redress past atrocities within their individual histories. Many of these reparation programs were a response to racial atrocities. For example, the South African government created a reparations program in the late 1990s for the victims of apartheid. As another example, in 1988, the U.S. government provided \$20,000 to Japanese Americans who had been transferred to relocation centers after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. The payout, enforced by the Civil Liberties Act, was the culmination of efforts to redress the injustice of discrimination toward Japanese Americans who were variously subject to curfew, restricted from traveling in the Pacific Coast states, and interned during World War II because it was thought that they posed a threat to other American citizens. The signing of the act was the culmination of efforts in the courts and later by individuals and organizations, including the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), to redress discrimination toward Japanese citizens in wartime America.

Rather than providing reparations, some governments have simply issued apologies. For example, Queen Elizabeth issued a formal apology on behalf of the British government in 1993 for the bloody race wars that stripped New Zealand's Maoris of their tribal lands in 1863. Likewise, in 1996 the Vatican apologized for helping to engineer the removal of Australia's aboriginal children from their families between 1850 and 1967.

Although the U.S. government has issued both apologies and reparations for some of its racial atrocities—including an apology in 1993 for the overthrow of the Sovereign Kingdom of Hawaii 100 years earlier, as well as reparations for Japanese Americans—it has as of 2007 not issued either an apology or reparations to Native Americans for essentially stealing their country, massacring their people, and demolishing their culture. Nor has the United States government apologized or provided reparations to African Americans for racial oppression in general.

Some states have responded apologetically to slavery and other past racial injustices. In 2006 and 2007 four southern states—Alabama, Maryland, North Carolina, and Virginia—passed resolutions apologizing for slavery. In each instance, the governor of the state issued a formal apology, following a vote by the state legislature. For example, in May of 2007 Alabama's governor Bob Riley signed a resolution approved by the Democrat-controlled legislature expressing "profound regret" for Alabama's role in slavery and apologizing for slavery's wrongs and lingering effects. Although it did not issue an apology, the Florida legislature in 1994 provided scholarships to the descendants of a racially motivated massacre that took place in Rosewood, Florida, in 1923. The absence of an apology caused some members of Florida's black community to criticize the legislation. Additionally, the Oklahoma legislature passed the Tulsa Race Riot Reconciliation Act of 2001, which purported to provide redress for the survivors of the 1921 Tulsa race riot. Unfortunately, the redress was never funded by the legislature or the governor, which resulted in the filing of a lawsuit against the state by the survivors. A federal judge eventually dismissed the lawsuit.

The movement for black reparations in the United States, also known as the "black redress movement," seeks to obtain redress, mainly from the federal government, for slavery and Jim Crow, or government-sanctioned racial segregation and discrimination. This American movement is but part of a worldwide effort to gain reparations for African people for the ravages of slavery and colonialism.

Although chattel slavery, or human bondage, has a long and ubiquitous history in Western civilization—extending from ancient Mesopotamia to 1888, the year Brazil freed its last slave, and appearing in virtually every Western society, even among the pacifist Quakers—the Atlantic slave trade was uniquely evil. As one scholar

points out, "The trans-Atlantic slave trade vastly devalued human life compared to what existed virtually anywhere on the continent before. . . . For centuries in Africa, ethical conventions had governed the taking and use of slaves, who in most cases resembled the serfs of Europe more than the chattel of the Americas" (French 1999, p. 357).

Lasting more than two centuries (c. 1638 to 1865), slavery in America not only denied basic liberties to an innocent people, it also visited capital deficiencies upon African Americans—particularly financial capital deficiencies (property and investments), human capital deficiencies (formal education and skills), and social capital deficiencies (social respect and the ability to get things done). These deficiencies and the racist rhetoric used to justify "the peculiar institution," as slavery in America was sometimes called, have survived slavery. They have been handed down to each succeeding generation of African Americans, beginning with the postbellum generation.

When slavery ended in 1865, four million African Americans were set free. Slavery did not, however, fold into a system of racial equality. Instead, after a brief period of Reconstruction in which federal troops were sent to the South to protect civil rights, the southern states imposed a system of racial apartheid on the former slaves. In his retirement years, former president Ulysses Grant wrote about the objectives of southern whites: "by force and terror [southern whites intended] to . . . deprive colored citizens of the right to . . . a free ballot; to suppress schools in which colored children were taught, and to reduce the colored people to a condition closely akin to that of slavery" (Kunhardt et al. 1999, p. 28). While the South created a regime of racially repressive laws, the North fashioned an elaborate scheme of racially repressive customs. "The concept of white supremacy had been exalted in the South in defense of slavery, but it was by no means confined to the region" (Ashmore 1982, p. 138). Jim Crow, in short, was not relegated to the South.

The death of Jim Crow came with the passage of federal civil rights laws in the 1960s and early 1970s. African Americans are, however, still at or near the bottom of almost every measure of socioeconomic success in American society, including educational attainment, income level, employment status, and infant mortality. The effects of slavery and Jim Crow can still be felt in the twenty-first century, and reparations are seen as a way to redress these lingering effects.

#### POSTWAR APPROACHES TO REPARATIONS

Two competing approaches to redressing past atrocities have developed since the Holocaust. These approaches, or models, apply not only to the black redress movement



**Pro-Reparations Demonstration, 2002.** African Americans gather to voice their disappointment in the U.S. government for not offering reparations as of 2002. AP IMAGES.

but also to all redress movements around the world. One model is called the “tort model,” and the other the “atonement model.”

Although it can be used in the context of legislation, the tort model focuses mainly on litigation as a strategy for achieving redress for slavery or Jim Crow. The tort model’s central aim is victim compensation. While a few proponents of the tort model seek to punish the perpetrator government for the atrocity, most “would be satisfied if the government . . . were simply to write a check for X amount of dollars to every slave descendant” (Brooks 2004, p. 98). Since 1917, numerous lawsuits have been brought to achieve this objective. Some have been filed against the federal government, at least one against a state government, and, more recently, many have been directed against private corporations that supported or benefited financially from slavery in the past (some corporations can trace their lineage as far back as the antebellum period).

Whether litigation is brought against a government or a corporation, the claim for compensation is based on a variety of legal theories, including unjust enrichment and international law. Not only in the United States, but in other countries as well, the courts have been unmistakably indisposed toward lawsuits that seek redress for past atrocities. None of these lawsuits has gotten very far, therefore. “In the absence of special legislation or settlement, these lawsuits have been dismissed before the judge has had an opportunity to consider the merits of the claims at trial. Procedural barriers—including questionable subject-matter jurisdiction due to problems of sovereign immunity or the ‘political question doctrine,’ the lack of a clear right of

action, and violations of applicable statutes of limitations—have resulted in pretrial dismissals of every unsettled case” (Brooks 2004, p. 99).

In contrast to the tort model, the atonement model focuses less on the victim than on the perpetrator. It seeks to establish conditions necessary for moral clarity and the prospect of repairing a broken relationship between the perpetrator and victims of an atrocity. Under the atonement model, the victim first and foremost seeks a genuine apology from the perpetrator. The victim then calculates the sincerity of the apology by the weight of the reparations. If the reparations are sufficient, the perpetrator reclaims its moral character in the aftermath of an atrocity, and the victim forgives and moves forward with the perpetrator into a new, healthier relationship. But if the reparations are insufficient to make the apology believable, there is no redemption, no forgiveness, and, consequently, no repair of a broken relationship.

Perhaps the most significant example of the atonement model is the reparations program implemented by the South African government after the dismantling of apartheid in the 1990s. The South African parliament established its Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in 1995. This body was charged with the task of investigating apartheid-era human-rights violations and recommending ways to mend the cultural and racial divides that remained. The TRC was divided into three committees: the Human Rights Committee was responsible for investigating human rights violations that occurred from 1960 to 1994; the Amnesty Committee considered applications for amnesty from those persons who cooperated in the TRC’s investigations; and the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee was charged with “the taking of measures aimed at the granting of reparation to, and the rehabilitation and the restoration of the human and civil dignity of, victims of violations of human rights.”

Reparations recommended by the TRC included individual payments and symbolic gestures, such as renaming of streets and building memorials. Individual payments were limited to those individuals who appeared or were mentioned in testimony before the TRC and were formally designated as victims of apartheid. Although the TRC recommended that these persons receive pensions of up to R23,000 a year for a six-year period, ultimately victims of apartheid only received a one-time payment of R30,000 (approximately \$4,500). This relatively low amount, along with the fact that victims of apartheid were prevented from suing directly for damages, led some to claim the reparations paid under the TRC process were insufficient to allow for proper reconciliation.

More broadly, the atonement model, unlike the tort model, attempts to position the black redress movement within the larger international redress movement that has

evolved since the end of World War II. Proponents of the atonement model believe there is a fundamental nexus between, on the one hand, a government that would exterminate millions of Jews or permit the sexual enslavement of thousands of teenage girls (the so-called “Comfort Women” who were sexually enslaved by the Japanese Imperial Army during World War II) and, on the other hand, a government that would enslave millions of blacks over two-and-a-quarter centuries and then spend another 100 years persecuting these innocent people. In each case, the perpetrator does not identify with the victim. In each case, the perpetrator sees the victim as something other than a person of equal moral standing.

This absence of identity is the essential mechanism that gives rise to any atrocity, and it is the essential factor that underpins each claim for redress. Proponents of the atonement model ask, “How is it that a Nazi officer (Otto Ohlendorf), a man with degrees in engineering and law, a father of six, a deacon in his church, an outstanding member of his community can be responsible for the murder of more than a thousand Jews. How is it that Japanese soldiers can march into Nanjing, the capital of China prior to World War II, and within the space of a few months kill more people than the number of people that died in Hiroshima, tossing babies in the air and catching them on their bayonets? It is because in each case *the perpetrator does not identify with the victim*” (Brooks 2005, pp. 8–9).

In summary, the tort model is backward-looking, victim-focused, and compensatory, while the atonement model is forward-looking, perpetrator-focused, and racially conciliatory. Although the atonement model is becoming the dominant model in the American black redress movement, as it is worldwide, it has yet to yield any tangible benefits in redressing slavery or Jim Crow. As of 2007 a bill calling for a study of the redress question has been languishing in the U.S. Congress since it was first introduced in 1989 by Representative John Conyers (D-Mich.). Yet the struggle for reparations continues.

SEE ALSO *Apartheid; Holocaust.*

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Roy L. Brooks

## REPATRIATION OF NATIVE AMERICANS

SEE *Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA).*

## REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS

Reproductive rights are usually defined as “pro-choice,” meaning abortion should be legal, safe, and affordable for any woman who desires it. As it relates to sexual reproduction, reproductive rights advocates believe that women should have the right to control their reproductive functions, decide whether to have children or not, and have access to contraception, family planning, and medical coverage. Advocates believe that such rights are human rights encompassing education about birth control and sexually transmitted infections and freedom from forced sterilization and contraception. They also believe that such rights fall within the realm of the right to privacy where women have freedom from government interference in their lives.

Groups and individuals who oppose abortion have been critical of the use of the terminology “reproductive rights” or “reproductive choice” as being ambiguous and vague. It is their belief that once fertilization occurs, reproduction has been completed and abortion is the killing of a human being. Because of these varying opinions on reproductive rights, two self-proclaimed groups have emerged as part of the national and international dialogue: pro-choice versus pro-life.

### EARLY BIRTH CONTROL AND EUGENICS MOVEMENT

From the beginning of time, women found ways to prevent or terminate unwanted pregnancies. The *Kahun Papyrus*, a 4,000-year-old document cited as the oldest



written document on birth control, mentions vaginal pessaries made of crocodile dung and fermented dough. Early condoms were made from linen and from the skins of sheep, goats, or snakes and were used in many early societies. Dilators and curettes similar to those used in modern-day abortion were found in the ruins of Pompeii, the Italian city that was destroyed by a volcanic eruption more than 2,000 years ago. Other forms of birth control have included herbs and chemicals, dried fish, glass or metal diaphragms, and bloodletting.

The modern birth control movement is said to have originated with Margaret Sanger in the early twentieth century. Sanger was a feminist socialist from New York City and coined the term “birth control.” She viewed birth control as a means by which women could be freed from the “tyranny of pregnancy and birth.” She championed a woman’s right to contraception in the face of early-twentieth-century laws that prohibited it. She felt that women’s ability to control their own reproduction was essential to their freedom and equal participation in society. Sanger was founder of the Birth Control Federation of America (BCFA), forerunner to the Planned Parenthood Federation of America. She took the birth control movement a step further by incorporating a eugenics agenda that sought to regulate the reproduction rights of the poor, immigrants, and African Americans.

Thomas Malthus, an eighteenth-century British clergyman and economist, published data that became the basis of the population control movement. Malthus argued that the world’s population was growing faster than the Earth’s capacity for food production. If measures were not taken to curtail the overpopulation trend, then the world would be faced with poverty, famine, pestilence, and war. He felt that population growth should be restricted to certain groups of people to maintain Western civilization. Specifically, unfit, poor, diseased, racially inferior, and mentally incompetent individuals had to be isolated, suppressed, or eliminated.

Margaret Sanger became a disciple of Malthusian philosophy. She also followed the lead of Emma Goldman, a famous anarchist who had been arrested for distributing a pamphlet titled “Why and How the Poor Should Not Have Many Children.” These beliefs ultimately evolved into the eugenics movement in the United States. Eugenics embraced the notion that intelligence and personality traits were genetically determined and inherited.

The eugenics movement gained momentum because of the large numbers of immigrants coming into the United States at the turn of the twentieth century. Because of the fear of “race suicide,” native whites were encouraged at the highest levels to have more children for the good of the nation. In his 1903 *State of the Union*

speech, President Theodore Roosevelt stated that willful sterility was a sin for which there was no atonement. This thinking, along with the established belief that there were biological distinctions between whites and African Americans, with one group being superior to the other, underscored the appeal of eugenics in America. The targets were immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, Asians, Jews, and African Americans.

Many states began to enact laws forbidding marriage between people considered to be genetically defective, including drunks, criminals, and paupers. Southern states created publicly funded birth control clinics to lower the black birth rate. Politicians supported eugenic sterilization laws. Minority women were considered incompetent to make decisions about their reproductive lives. In 1924 Congress passed the National Origins Act, which established a quota for immigrants from southern and eastern Europe. Eugenists opposed social programs designed to improve the living conditions of the poor. They argued that the minimum wage, good medical care, and better working conditions were not good for society because they only prolonged the life of inferior people who would continue to have children. Socially undesirable people were prevented from having children because eugenists advocated compulsory sterilization as the way to improve society.

Sanger created the “Negro Project” in the 1930s. This project led to the placing of experimental birth control clinics in African American communities. She convinced African American civic groups, prominent black newspapers, churches, and leaders that these clinics would be beneficial to the welfare of “colored people.” Such leaders as Adam Clayton Powell Sr. invited her to his Harlem church to speak on the issue. Other leaders such as Charles Johnson, the president of Fisk University, argued that “eugenic discrimination” was necessary. Sanger also recruited such prominent African Americans as Mary McLeod Bethune, Adam Clayton Powell Jr., and Arthur Spingarn to serve on the board of the BCFA. As a result, she and her supporters were able to push birth control and ethnic cleansing as the panacea for societal problems rather than address the role of racism in infant mortality, poverty, and unemployment rates.

### POST-WORLD WAR II TO THE 1960S

After World War II and the horrors of Adolf Hitler’s eugenics experiments, support for eugenics waned. Efforts at population control shifted from Western countries to the developing world, where populations were growing rapidly. Both India and China devised plans to control population growth. Millions of women in many parts of the developing world were sterilized as a result of mass campaigns to control burgeoning populations. In South Africa, the

apartheid government withheld basic health care for African women and promoted population control in its experiment with social engineering. In many African countries, female genital mutilation became a cultural practice. In such countries as Peru women in poor communities were faced with coercion and nonconsensual tubal ligations. In the United States, Native American women had long had foreign values, beliefs, and practices forced upon them, especially decisions regarding reproductive health. Decisions were imposed at the expense of individual rights.

In the 1950s experimentation with oral birth control was tested first on Puerto Rican and Haitian women before being “perfected.” The “Pill” was launched in the 1960s as the safest method of birth control. This coincided with the new wave of feminism and the women’s movement.

Many women’s groups took up the cause of reproductive rights. Support for these rights ran the gamut from abortion to discussions on menopause. Women’s groups supported the concept of family planning and were strong advocates of the U.S. Supreme Court interpreting abortion and contraceptive rights within the realm of the Ninth Amendment’s statement of the enumeration of certain rights are not to be construed to deny or disparage others returned by the people. The Supreme Court legalized the use of contraception by married people in *Griswold v. Connecticut* (1965) and abortion on the federal level in *Roe v. Wade* (1973). The mainstream movement equated reproductive rights with contraception and access to a safe and legal abortion. Because of this, poor and minority women felt excluded and felt the need to define reproductive rights within their realm of reality.

#### REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS FOR WOMEN OF COLOR

Women of color ultimately moved the discussion of reproductive rights beyond contraception and abortion as discussed by the mainstream women’s movement. They began to focus on women’s access to reproductive health care and the costs associated with such care. They also advocated reproductive justice as a component of reproductive rights, claiming that it was not enough for contraception and abortion to be legal if choices were limited to those with resources. Women of color argued that what happened to women’s bodies derived from their circumstances, whether poverty, racism, injustice. Thus, the definition of reproductive rights was grounded by the experiences of their communities and by oppression. For women of color, economic and institutional constraints restricted their choices. Women of color also fully understood the difference between population control and voluntary birth control. The mainstream women’s movement failed to connect

sterilization abuse to abortion rights. Thus, women of color forged their own movements to broaden the definition of reproductive rights.

The National Black Women’s Health Project, formed in 1984, was the first minority women’s reproductive health organization. This group and others formed later addressed state-imposed policies designed to control minority women’s fertility and focused on issues of reproductive justice. Minority women’s organizations felt that the women’s movement needed to incorporate “bread and butter” issues (health care, forced sterilization, welfare rights) into discussions about reproductive rights. The movement needed to include minority women, working women, and poor women, not just white women of means; thus, they pushed for the movement to become more inclusive, especially acknowledging the role of racism.

#### RACISM AND REPRODUCTION ISSUES

The control of African American women’s reproductive rights has its origins in slavery. Procreation helped maintain involuntary servitude through the slave owners’ ability to control African American women’s reproductive lives for economic gain. African American women were used to breed children who would be especially suited for labor or sale, and they had no control over what happened to their children. Oftentimes, slave owners rented physically fit males to serve as studs for their female slaves. Historian Catherine Clinton points out that males considered “runty” were often castrated “so dat dey can’t have no little runty chilluns.” The rape and exploitation of African American women both before and immediately following emancipation was not considered a crime.

Racism is also credited with birth control becoming a means of solving social problems. Birth control and racial injustice split the African American community. On the one hand were those activists who viewed birth control as a means of racial betterment, whereas on the other hand were those who saw it as racial genocide. The duality of birth control was whether poor and minority women had reproductive freedom through access to contraception and abortion juxtaposed with birth control being imposed on them as a means of reducing fertility. Public policy was forged around this duality.

In 1989 Charleston, South Carolina, instituted a policy of incarcerating pregnant women whose prenatal tests showed crack cocaine use. Local police tracked down pregnant women in the poorest neighborhoods of the city, handcuffed them, and took them to jail. Pregnant women who were already jailed and began labor were taken to the hospital in chains and remained shackled during delivery. Of the more than forty women arrested

for prenatal crimes, only one was white. This policy was an example of the rhetoric that degraded and penalized African American women.

On December 12, 1990, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* ran an editorial entitled “Poverty and Norplant: Can Contraception Reduce the Underclass?” suggesting forced contraception as the solution for eliminating the African American underclass. The article indicated that those who were least able to afford and support children were having them and contributing to the poverty level. The article called for the implantation of the long-lasting contraceptive Norplant as the solution. This argument was supported by such books as Richard J. Herrnstein and Charles Murray’s *The Bell Curve* (1994), which argued that the higher rate of fertility among “genetically less intelligent groups, including Blacks” was the cause of social disparities. As a result of such arguments, reproductive regulations such as the mandatory insertion of Norplant as a condition of receiving welfare assistance were initiated. The argument made was that if America’s social problems were to be solved, then the birth rates of African American women had to be curtailed. As a result, African American organizations and women’s groups argued that denying African American women reproductive autonomy served the interests of white supremacy and subscribed to what Dorothy Roberts, in *Killing the Black Body* (1997), argues is a belief that “reproductive politics in America inevitably involves racial politics.”

For women in the developing world, reproductive rights cover a broad range of issues, including unsafe abortion, genital mutilation, rape, lack of available contraception, reproductive health policies, and comprehensive sex education. In May 2007 women throughout Africa came together in Accra, Ghana, to march for women’s reproductive health rights and issues pertinent to control of those rights.

For women of color, reproductive rights go beyond simply the right to choose. There must also be options from which to choose and the ability to actualize choices made. They have been left out of reproductive rights discussions that had an inherent racist tenor. Thus, for women of color, reproductive rights parallel the quest for justice and equality, broadening the scope of reproductive freedom.

**SEE ALSO** *Eugenics, History of; Feminism and Race; Forced Sterilization; Forced Sterilization of Native Americans; Motherhood; Poverty; Powell, Adam Clayton, Jr.; Rape; Reproductive Technologies; Social Problems.*

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*Mamie E. Locke*

## **REPRODUCTIVE TECHNOLOGIES**

Reproductive technologies involve the techniques and knowledge used to either produce or reduce a woman’s fertility. Like other technologies, reproductive technology became increasingly interdependent with science during the twentieth century. As a result, reproductive technologies are becoming more sophisticated. It is ideology, however, that drives reproductive technology development and use. The ideas of white supremacy and patriarchy weave through each of the various ideologies that have informed reproductive technology use, including those centered on constructs of choice and autonomy. These ideologies, in turn, link reproductive technology use with other racist and patriarchal practices.

The ideologies that shape contraceptive use have accumulated and intertwined over time. In the late nineteenth century, social reformers cast contraceptive use as a means of achieving “voluntary motherhood,” a concept that, in a limited sense, foretold the late twentieth-century reproductive choice framework for reproductive technology use. The campaign called for women to decide on family size, but it did so to improve women’s ability to

fulfill their roles as wives and mothers. During the same period, eugenicists campaigned for contraceptive use by members of the lower class and racial minority groups to achieve negative eugenic goals—that is, to prevent births by those deemed genetically unfit by virtue of their poverty or nonwhiteness. They also labeled declining birth rates among wealthy whites as “race suicide,” thus undermining the potential gender equality approach to contraceptive use embedded in the voluntary motherhood campaign. Instead, eugenicists’ support for contraceptive use made explicit the assumption that ideal motherhood, whether voluntary or not, was white.

Permutations of each of these concerns persist in population policy, where contraceptive technology is critical. Some population experts and programs take a human development approach, which posits that empowering individuals with reproductive autonomy and other human rights is the best way to address the lack of resources in developing nations and impoverished communities. In the human development approach, contraceptives and other birth-control methods are available, but their use is not the immediate goal. Population-control advocates see overpopulation as the primary cause of poverty and other problems. Contraceptive use, sterilization, and immigration restrictions, particularly in developing nations and low-income communities, are their immediate goals.

The ideological conflicts in population policy and contraceptive use play out in debates over specific contraceptive technologies. Efforts by population-control advocates led to the first birth-control pill and other highly reliable contraceptives. Feminists acknowledge that effective contraceptives enhance the ability of women to control opportunities for parenthood, education, and work. However, some also point to problems. The vast majority of contraceptives developed since the 1960s are for use by women, who therefore disproportionately bear the responsibility, cost, and medical risks of contraceptive use. Most of these contraceptives are expensive and therefore inaccessible to low-income women, who are disproportionately women of color. They also require a prescription or implantation by a physician, thus undermining the goal of reproductive autonomy. Most are hormonal or implantable, and while they are more effective than most barrier methods, they also create more medical risk than do barrier methods. The inability of nonbarrier methods to prevent infection by the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) and other sexually transmissible diseases only adds to the risk factors that women bear.

The development of long-term contraceptives that take control away from the woman have heightened concerns that doctors and officials will abuse these technologies in the pursuit of population control or other goals. Use of the injectable hormonal contraceptive Depo-Provera on

low-income black women, Native American women, mentally retarded women, incarcerated women, and drug-addicted women, with little or no explanation of its potentially serious side effects, seems to substantiate this concern. Depo Provera’s side effects include loss of bone density and irregular bleeding, as well as the inability to stop the symptoms for the twelve to fourteen weeks it takes for the shot to wear off. Because target populations in both developed and developing nations are disproportionately nonwhite, the goal of reducing population size, paired with concerns about removing control from women raises questions about the eugenic effects, if not the goals, of some population-control efforts.

Eugenics has shaped reproductive technologies other than contraceptives. While nineteenth-century concerns about “race suicide” or the low birth rate among wealthy whites led to pronatalism aimed at wealthy white women, negative eugenic methods included surgical sterilization, segregation, and under the Nazi regime, genocide. By the 1930s, a majority of western nations had enacted laws authorizing involuntary sterilization of those perceived to carry specific hereditary forms of unfitnes, including the “feeble-minded” and mentally retarded, those of Asian and African descent, and perpetrators of certain types of crimes. In the United States, during the same period, eugenics merged with racist nativism and produced racially targeted immigration restrictions that overlapped with eugenic sterilization laws. The Page Law of 1875, for example, all but prohibited immigration by Chinese women. This had the effect of inhibiting family formation and birth rates among Chinese immigrants. Since then, other immigration restrictions aimed at racial and ethnic minorities have sought to preserve the whiteness of U.S. national identity by restricting immigration from racialized nations or inhibiting birth rates among immigrants of color.

Abortion may be the most ideology-laden reproductive technology. During the twentieth century, abortion went from being a widely used but socially undiscussed form of birth control to a highly regulated procedure subject to vigorous public debate. The two prevailing ideological frameworks have formed in opposition to each other. The dominant approach of those who support legalized abortion uses a liberal rights-based analysis. This approach casts abortion as the key to gender equality. From this perspective, self-determination for women must include the right to decide whether or not to terminate a pregnancy. Without rights of bodily integrity and decisional autonomy, women cannot fully participate in the political economy or counter norms that define women primarily in terms of their reproductive capacity. The dominant approach of those who oppose abortion and who would restrict access to abortion focuses on the moral status of the fetus. This approach characterizes



**First Test Tube Baby, 1978.** In the 1970s and 1980s, assisted reproductive technologies changed the understanding of infertility from a social disability to a potentially treatable condition.  
AP IMAGES.

abortion as the killing of a human. From this perspective, society's primary duty is to protect the fetus, even at the expense of the woman who is pregnant.

While the U.S. Supreme Court recognized in *Roe v. Wade* (1973) that the Constitution protects a woman's right to decide whether or not to terminate a pregnancy, the Court's analysis also permits some regulation of abortion. Abortion restrictions can have a cumulative effect with the greater barriers to health care access that women of color generally face. For example, women of color and low-income women are less likely to have employment-based health insurance or other means of paying for health care. They are more likely, therefore, to depend on government funding, and thus on political will and social policy for access. As a result, the 1976 Hyde Amendment's prohibition of federal funding for nearly all abortions made abortion financially impossible and the right to decide ineffective for many low-income women and women of color in the United States.

The level of conflict over abortion and the interlocking nature of the dominant ideological frameworks make abortion seem unique among reproductive technologies. The level of conflict also reflects the time and effort that both sides of the debate have invested in the issue. To some extent, the focus on abortion has confined the understanding of reproductive liberty to abortion rights. Yet eugenic pronatalism, eugenic population control, and racist nativism so thoroughly inform reproductive technology use that women of color often experience it differ-

ently than white women. They have been, for example, more vulnerable to contraceptive and sterilization abuse. The prevailing understanding of reproductive liberty, therefore, fails the needs of minority women.

In the 1970s and 1980s, assisted reproductive technologies changed the understanding of infertility from a social disability to a potentially treatable condition. Physicians, embryologists, and other experts created a fertility industry, premised on the use of assisted reproductive technology, which has been marketed primarily to middle-class, and often professional, women. The juxtaposition of these infertile women with those deemed by social policy as too fertile (low-income women and immigrants of color) created an ideology of infertility that echoed late nineteenth-century eugenic pronatalism. One result is that, despite higher infertility rates, infertility among persons of color has not been recognized as a problem. On the other hand, many have used assisted reproductive technology to create parent-child relationships that challenge heterosexist, marriage-based notions of family. The deliberate use of assisted reproductive technologies to form families with one parent, or with two unmarried parents, often in gay or lesbian unions, undercuts the strength of norms often used to criticize parents of color for failure to use birth-preventing technologies.

Preconception and prenatal testing produces choices for individuals regarding conception, pregnancy, and, to some extent, the health of their potential children. As with abortion, for many women of color the ability to choose depends on the interplay of health-care barriers and the vagaries of government funding. The more subtle issue is that these technologies normalize genetic selection, the core premise of eugenics. Individuals, not government officials, make the selections. But individual selections are subject to the ideological pressures that shape other reproductive technology use.

**SEE ALSO** *Forced Sterilization; Motherhood; Reproductive Rights.*

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Lisa C. Ikemoto

## RESERVATION SYSTEM

Colonial and imperial governments tend to view subordinate populations as problems to be solved, and they design political, legal, and administrative instruments to manage such populations. The Native American reservation system in the United States is one such instrument. The reservation system grew out of earlier colonial policies dealing with land acquisition, access to resources, and the forced relocation of Native American groups. The reservation system is not a necessary or evolutionary stage in the management of Native American peoples, however, but rather a contingent historical development that grew out of prior policies, practices, and ideological formations. In order to understand the reservation system as it exists in the early twenty-first century, one must trace the political and legal antecedents that produced it.

### COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION

The colonial roots of the reservation system can be traced to Elizabethan England's expansionist ventures into Ireland and the administration of colonial government there in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. One of the key objectives of the colonial apparatus was the "civilizing mission," which sought to bring subordinate populations into conformity with English norms of economy, political and legal standards, social organization, and religion. Civility was held to be coextensive with an agricultural lifeway, democratic governance, common law, and Anglican Christianity. The forced capitulation of the native populations of colonized regions to these

criteria was a mandate adhered to by English colonizers. Indigenous populations were uniformly presumed to be inferior races in need of the civilizing institutions and values of Anglo society.

Colonial experiments also sought to develop new mechanisms for dealing with domestic problems, including criminality; population growth and urbanization; changes in political, economic, and social structures that resulted from industrialization; and the transition from mercantilism to capitalism. The colony provided seemingly appropriate avenues for the resolution of both domestic and external political problems. Colonial initiatives fostered an emphasis on the profit motive and competition, which were key ideological frames for colonization and the expropriation of land and resources in colonized areas. These motives provided the basis for expansion, opened new avenues of thought for resolving political problems, and structured interactions between English colonizers in Ireland and North America (and between English colonizers and their European colonial adversaries, including France, Spain, the Netherlands, and Russia).

The invention of reservations must be understood against a background of political economy. Under mercantilism, London merchants engaged in long-distance trade, opened markets, and supplied patronage for the development of fleets and the recruitment of labor. These efforts allowed for the effective penetration of trade sites abroad. The market structures that were created were subsequently fulfilled through the enterprises of trading companies, chartered companies, joint stock companies, and various public-private alliances tasked with the extraction and export of resources and reimportation and sale of manufactured goods. This political economy was designed to shift English dependence away from European competitors and toward the supply of its own raw materials through colonial extraction and exchange. The patterns established in Ireland and exported to North America resulted in the system of population management recognized today as the reservation system.

### THE ENGLISH IN IRELAND

The ideology of difference that prevailed in Elizabethan England maintained that the Irish were a savage and inferior race, and the colony was developed to civilize the native population and extract resources for investors and the Crown. Colonial administrators, such as the poet and novelist Edmund Spenser, were assiduous in propagating racial ideas of Irish inferiority and savagery, as well as the absolute necessity of introducing the institutions of civilization to the island. To achieve their objectives, the architects of colonial policy relied upon several instruments of control, including warfare, slaughter, and

terror; the confiscation of land and plantations; and forced capitulation to English rule.

In order to accomplish these goals, colonial administrators perpetrated extreme violence against the Irish and transplanted English and Scottish populations to confiscated lands. The English justified these activities by invoking Roman law and Roman and Renaissance precedents. According to precedent, colonization was a normative and civilized mode of governing for putatively superior peoples. In addition, the natural law doctrines that underwrote colonization were sufficient to enable England's invasion and occupation of Ireland and to defend the brutality committed against its inhabitants. Conquest and *res nullius* (empty things) were key principles by which English conquerors subsequently justified their practices in Ireland.

The colonized world was thus designed to create situated replicas of model English settlements. Much of the early colonial effort in Ireland in the late sixteenth century was sanctioned by the Crown, though without its financial support. These were primarily private military and economic adventures, many of which failed. This created the perceived need to improve the colonial project and make the Crown more responsible for oversight and investment. It was under these circumstances that larger-scale plantations were undertaken. Early movements toward centralization were ad hoc and inchoate, however, and it was not until much later, in North America, that the effort became systematic and consequential.

#### THE ENGLISH IN NATIVE NORTH AMERICA

In North America, the English imported the principles of conquest, *res nullius*, and the just war. Colonists continued to instrumentalize these principles to legitimize the theft of indigenous lands and resources. The English drew heavily upon their experience in Ireland, continuing with successful elements and improving upon the unsuccessful. They were also required to innovate in their interactions with and management of Native American populations. One of these important innovations was the creation of reserves.

Reserves as such had not been created or implemented in Ireland, although the native Irish had been subject to forcible relocation and exclusion from previously held lands. Reserves emerged quickly in North America, however, and they were often established as terms of peace negotiations. Reserves were created for the explicit purpose of bounding populations of Native Americans, of compelling them to remain in designated geographical spaces where their behavior could be supervised. In North America, the English encountered peoples who practiced fundamentally different economic

forms and required large land areas to support those forms. To the English mind, this was the apex of the racial concept of savagery, and the civilizing mission in North America necessitated a more intensive approach. It required settlement and domestication of the indigenous populations, the introduction of row agriculture instead of horticulture, and Christianization. The result was the development of the reserve, or, increasingly, the "reservation," and this element was routinely included in treaty terms by the seventeenth century.

Treaty making was a common and enduring instrument for negotiating relations. Typically, treaties stipulated that reserves would be protected from encroachments by the English, but agreed-upon boundaries and other terms were rarely observed by the English, and they were even more rarely enforced by the Crown or colonial governments. Aggressive encroachment thus became constitutive of English settlers' practice. This fostered frequent hostilities, and conquest and just war came to be claimed as the rationale for virtually every conflict over land. The extent of such hostilities increased in frequency and intensity over the course of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and by the mid-eighteenth century relations with Native Americans were so fractious that their administration was removed from colonial management and centralized under the Crown. This placed the management of Native American relations in royal departments vested with full royal authority, and it also introduced new requirements regarding the acquisition of lands from Native Americans. In particular, colonial governments and individuals could no longer write treaties with Native people, nor could they acquire title directly from Native nations.

Regardless of the Crown's mandate, the colonies refused to comply, and by 1764 it had become obvious that a new policy to regulate commercial and political relations with the Indians was needed. The Crown's key concerns were warfare, the fur trade, land speculation, land encroachments, the frontier, and the boundary negotiations that would permanently separate Native American lands from settler lands along the watershed of the Appalachians. Once formalized, this line was not to be transgressed, but it was constantly moved westward as new treaties, settlements, and purchases were concluded. Thus, the settler frontier moved steadily westward. This policy and the boundary concept were abandoned in 1768 because the costs to the imperial government were too high. Individual colonies, therefore, continued to establish and maintain relationships with Native Americans within their borders, and some of these relationships persisted after the conclusion of the American Revolution. These persisting relationships were codified in the recognition of certain Native American nations by state governments. Many of these state-recognized tribes have state reservations, although

these contain significantly fewer inhabitants than federal reservations.

#### THE U.S. FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND NATIVE AMERICANS

The formal relationships between England and Native Americans were carried forward into the purview of the United States, and the new nation continued the practice of negotiating treaties with Native Americans as the frontier moved west. Following English precedent, these treaties were primarily land cession arrangements in which Native Americans acquiesced to remain on reserved lands or relocate to new reservations. These cessions were usually purchase agreements, in which the United States committed to annuity payments and maintained control of the funds through a trust arrangement. Most reservations were created through treaties, but Congress has created several by statute, while some were negotiated through executive order. Presidential power to create reservations was eliminated by Congress in 1919, and the secretary of the interior received the capacity to create, expand, or restore reservations. Native American tribes must be recognized by the federal government in order to qualify for federal benefits, but there is no direct correlation between recognition and reservation status, and state recognition does not of itself qualify a tribe for federal benefits.

The U.S. Constitution situated the responsibility for the management of Native American relations with the Congress. The initial constitutional relationship with Native Americans was structured around the idea that indigenous polities were independent sovereign nations, equal in political weight to the United States. Formal relations were centered on trade and intercourse. As the American desire for land and resources increased, however, and as this desire was fulfilled at the expense of Native American peoples, the federal government altered its recognition of Native American sovereignty. After Supreme Court chief justice John Marshall's decision in the 1831 *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* case, Native Americans came to be seen as "domestic dependent nations" in a trust relationship with the United States government. This political and ideological reorganization enabled the practice of wholesale expropriation of Native American lands, the destruction and forcible relocation of their peoples to suit U.S. needs, and the consolidation of the reservation system. The political and ideological shifts were accompanied by new legal understandings of Native Americans and new initiatives for the management of their populations.

The earliest of these initiatives was called "removal." This idea was promulgated by Thomas Jefferson as an alternative to failed efforts to assimilate and civilize

Native American peoples. Removal became federal policy under Andrew Jackson with the Indian Removal Act of 1830, and thereafter it resulted in extreme hardship for many Native Americans. Many groups were either conduced to sign treaties to relinquish land claims east of the Mississippi or compelled by military threat to abandon their lands. The justification for removal and subsequent U.S. policies vis-à-vis Native Americans built upon the ideas imported to colonial America by the English; namely conquest, discovery, and *terra nullius* (empty land). The English, and subsequently the United States, maintained the juridical fiction that they had discovered and conquered a land inhabited by peoples who they believed did not cultivate it, and therefore had no claim to ownership of the land on which they resided. This observation ignored the reality and extent of precontact indigenous agriculture, as well as the fact that Native Americans had domesticated more than half the cultigens then in existence. The putative "civilizing mission" was brought fully forward as well. Native Americans were explicitly described as an inferior race, and only those who would accede to an agricultural and Christian lifeway were considered civilizable (if not quite civilized). Those who would not do so were an obstacle to the success of the fledgling American nation, and such obstacles required elimination. Whether through assimilation or destruction, the goal was the same: the eradication of the difference embodied by Native American individuals and nations.

Removal was replaced in the nineteenth century with reservation policy. Early U.S. reservation theory preferred consolidated reservations and envisioned two large areas (north and south) on which all Native Americans were to reside. The rationale was to eliminate multiple agencies and reduce military obligations, thus shrinking government costs. There was also a desire to create a system in which Indians could be more easily surveilled and controlled. Advocates believed that fewer reservations would reduce tensions between Native Americans and encroaching settlers; facilitate control of the illicit trade in liquor, arms, and ammunition; and make it easier to impose agriculture and education. Reservation theory was deeply influenced by the idea that education and agriculture were the most effective means of civilizing, and it was assumed that, once civilized, Native Americans would no longer want to live as tribal members on reservations. They would instead leave the reservations and assimilate, and their former reservation lands would revert to federal title, to be opened to resale and reentry.

As the frontier was pushed westward and aggressive settler encroachment intensified, U.S. policymakers began to favor a scattered approach. By the mid-nineteenth century, the United States had embarked upon a policy of concentrating Native Americans onto fixed reservations with lands deemed sufficient for actual occupancy. The





**Reservation System.** Native Americans pose on the porch on an Apache Indian Mission in Arizona around 1910. The reservation system was established for the settlement and domestication of the indigenous populations, the introduction of agriculture, and Christianization. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

federal government also decided at this time to discontinue money annuities in favor of goods, including stock animals, plows, and tools, as well as facilities for schools to teach industrial and manual labor skills. It was also during this period, in 1871, that the federal government ended the practice of treaty making and instead relied upon treaty substitutes, such as statute and executive orders, to govern the formal relations between the federal government and Native American groups.

By the 1880s, the civilizing and assimilationist mission of the reservation agenda was modified to mandate the allocation of lands in severalty (individual ownership), thus encouraging private property ownership and discouraging tribal relations. The Dawes Act (1887) and the Curtis Act (1898) were the primary legislative documents that implemented the terms of individual ownership. These acts provided for the allotment of small, specific parcels of land to Native American families and individuals, and they provided for non-allotted lands to be opened to non-Indian settlement. The net result was the loss of approximately 90 percent of Native-controlled lands to non-Native ownership.

Since the end of the treaty era, federal Indian policy has vacillated between assimilationist and eradicationist alternatives. Some measure of autonomy and self-government was attained following the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934, but these small successes were soon lost. Following House Concurrent Resolution 108, passed in 1953, the federal government embarked on the termination and relocation policy, according to which Congress sought to terminate the federal relationship with Native Americans and compel their relocation to urban centers. In addition, Public Law 280 (also 1953) conferred on the governments of five states (Minnesota, Wisconsin, California, Nebraska, and Oregon, with Alaska added by amendment in 1958) full criminal and limited civil jurisdiction over reservations. Termination and relocation were catastrophic for Native peoples in the United States, and their effects continue to be felt.

Termination and relocation were followed by the development of self-determination policy. Initially proposed by President Lyndon Johnson in 1968, self-determination was fostered by sovereignty initiatives and Indian activism and resulted in the recognition by the federal government of the

unique status of Indian tribes and individuals. President Richard Nixon arrogated to his administration the development of self-determination policy, and it was enacted as law under President Gerald Ford as the Indian Self-Determination and Educational Assistance Act in 1975. It was amended in 1988, 1994, and 2000, and there are still problems with its implementation, but it continues to garner political support within the federal government and among many Native Americans. Sovereignty and autonomy on the reservation are critical and contentious issues, and the management of reservation resources and populations is fundamental to the concept and practice of self-determination. The ambivalent histories and the multifarious relationships between the United States and Native Americans continue to center on the reservation system and the unequal burdens and benefits that accrue to the differential power positions occupied by each group.

#### INTERNATIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE U.S. RESERVATION SYSTEM

The reservation system had unforeseen effects outside of the United States. For example, Adolf Hitler's efforts to contain and eliminate unwanted groups in Nazi Germany required the importation of American technologies, including punch card technology (developed by IBM), the application and instrumentalization of data systems, and the machinery for creating and implementing systems of containment and eradication, such as the reservation system. Nazi administrators, academics, and scientists studied the reservation system and other procedures and mechanisms for managing unwanted populations, including eugenics, euthanasia, and forced sterilization. American theory and practice were well known in Germany by the 1920s, so much so that many appeared in Hitler's manifesto, *Mein Kampf*, including containment, incarceration, isolation, monitoring and surveillance, antimiscegenation, and identifying, circumscribing, and eliminating populations according to race criteria.

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A. Scott Catey

## ROCKWELL, GEORGE LINCOLN 1918–1967

In the middle of the twentieth century, George Lincoln Rockwell, a disgraced former naval commander and disowned son of a prominent vaudeville comedian, created a bridge between the racial ideology of Adolf Hitler's Third Reich and the racism of postwar America, thus facilitating the emergence of the contemporary white supremacist movement. Few twenty-first-century white supremacists remember Rockwell, and fewer still understand the significance of his contribution to their movement, but he was a significant catalyst in the formation of both the ideology and organization of white supremacist politics in the United States, even after his death in 1967.

George Lincoln Rockwell was born in Bloomington, Illinois, on March 9, 1918, the first child of George Lovejoy "Doc" Rockwell and Claire Schade Rockwell. Doc Rockwell was a rising star on the vaudeville comic circuit and a close friend of fellow performers such as Fred Allen, Groucho Marx, George Burns, and Jack Benny. Rockwell's mother, Claire, was an extraordinarily beautiful woman and a professional dancer, but she gave up her stage career at Doc's insistence once their baby was born. Doc Rockwell soon became a major vaudeville star, headlining throughout the country, appearing in several movies, and earning \$3,500 per week by the early 1930s.

George Lincoln, or "Link," as he was called within the family, took after his mother in both looks and temperament. He grew to be a tall, handsome, athletic boy with a shock of black hair, piercing dark eyes, and a winsome smile. Like his mother, he was sensitive and artistic, but he was also often the object of Doc's caustic and hurtful derision, disguised as humorous banter.

Doc and Claire Rockwell divorced when Link was six years old. Doc structured the divorce and his time with his children to his convenience. Link and his younger brother, Bobby, spent every summer with their father at his luxurious oceanfront home in Maine. As Link grew, Doc, a very small man physically, seemed to

resent Link's physical attributes and frequently used sarcasm to humiliate his son. But Link never stopped seeking Doc's affection and approval, though he never quite seemed to attain either.

Link Rockwell attended several exclusive boarding schools in New England, but he never quite fit in. He was a capable student, bright and clever, but he seldom applied himself. He excelled at art, but did not seem to value what he did best. His charm and charisma were evident from an early age, however.

He attended Brown University but withdrew before graduation to join the U.S. Navy at the outbreak of World War II. Before leaving Brown, Rockwell courted and married a local socialite, Judith Aultman. He became a fighter pilot, eventually earning the rank of commander and seeing action in the Pacific theater during the war.

After World War II, Rockwell tried his hand at commercial art and advertising, but he failed at several businesses, each time failing just as the business seemed on the brink of success, often because of a falling out with a partner or a disagreement with an important client. His first marriage ended in divorce.

During the Korean War, Rockwell was recalled to active duty. While stationed in Iceland he met and married a statuesque blonde, Thora Hallgrímsson, the daughter of a prominent Icelandic businessman. It was at this time that Rockwell became drawn to the philosophy of Adolf Hitler and was awakened to the racial imperative that Hitler represented. At the conclusion of his Korean service, Rockwell returned to the United States and became active in right-wing politics. Whereas his thinking became increasingly radicalized, he remained within the political mainstream, although he steadily gravitated towards the fringe elements of acceptable politics during the 1950s.

In 1959 Rockwell met Harold Noel Arrowsmith, a wealthy racist and anti-Semite who was seeking a bolder political movement to confront what Arrowsmith saw as a Jewish conspiracy to dominate the United States. In Arrowsmith, Rockwell saw an opportunity to finance his transition to a full-time political operative. He would become the bolder alternative Arrowsmith sought, and that same year he formed the American Nazi Party and became its leader. From that point until his death eight years later, Rockwell was the most vocal anti-Semite and racist hatemonger in American politics, using dramatic confrontation, outrageous language, theatrical demonstrations, and violent provocations to garner publicity and coalesce supporters.

Despite its theatricality and prowess at achieving publicity, the American Nazi Party never achieved success by any conventional measure. Its membership never exceeded 1,000, and its sympathizers, broadly defined,

likely never exceeded 25,000 nationwide. It operated in abject poverty and was often the subject of scorn and ridicule. As the leader of a political movement, Rockwell was a total failure. But Rockwell's legacy is felt within the white supremacist movement of the early twenty-first century because of three concepts he developed that were later implemented to broaden the appeal of racism to a degree, and among a constituency, that Rockwell did not reach in his lifetime.

First, Rockwell recognized that in the United States the traditional white Aryan concept of the Hitlerian Nazis presented a natural barrier that doomed any white supremacist movement to failure. Rockwell recognized that there were not enough white people of Northern European stock (e.g., German, English, Irish, Scandinavian) in the United States to sustain a majority movement. So, in 1966, playing off an anticipated backlash to Stokely Carmichael's Black Power movement, Rockwell coined the phrase "White Power," defining "white" as anyone who is not black or a Jew. He thus added great masses of newly "white" people as potential recruits to future white supremacist movements.

By opening the door to the "Master Race" to southern and eastern Europeans (e.g., Italians, Slavs, Poles, Greeks, Russians) Rockwell redefined what it meant to be white in America. Large numbers of ethnic Americans who previously had no common identity began seeing themselves by what they were not: black or a Jew. While white racial identity grew slowly in the 1960s and was primarily still only significant as a force of localized backlash to racial incursion in previously segregated neighborhoods, by the late twentieth century Rockwell's definition of white racial identity was the organizing force behind racist movements such as David Duke's National Socialist White People's Party, William Pierce's National Alliance, and Matthew Hale's World Church of the Creator (later called the Creativity Movement).

Second, Rockwell was the first movement politician to understand the power of combining religious fervor with racist politics. As early as 1961, Rockwell and his German mentor, Bruno Ludtke, were exchanging correspondence regarding the advantages of utilizing a pseudo-Christian veneer for a neo-Nazi movement in America. By 1965, Rockwell was infiltrating fringe Christian sects with American Nazi Party operatives. His lieutenant, Ralph Forbes, became an ordained Christian Identity minister in California with the assigned task of merging that fringe group with Rockwell's racist anti-Semitic politics. Rockwell's death in 1967 denied him the opportunity to reap the poisoned fruit his seeds eventually bore, but by the early twenty-first century, dozens of Christian Identity congregations were flourishing throughout the United States, with a theology infused

with racist and anti-Semitic principles. Other so-called neo-Nazi religious denominations, such as the Creativity Movement, exist within the contemporary racist community based on the Rockwell model.

Third, Rockwell popularized Holocaust denial in the United States as a political strategy. Rockwell recognized that the reality of the Holocaust and the impact of the memory of that tragedy within the human community was an impediment to the resurrection of Nazism as a viable political movement. His strategic response was an assault on historic memory. By altering the historic memory, he reasoned, he would lay the groundwork for the eventual acceptance of Nazism in the future. Rockwell understood that acceptance might not come in his lifetime, but, unlike most politicians, Rockwell was willing to plan and implement a strategy that had far-reaching implications.

Rockwell did not originate Holocaust denial, and he did not introduce the concept to the United States. His role was to bring the “big lie” to a mass audience, initially through an interview he gave to *Playboy* magazine in 1966, an interview conducted by the author Alex Haley and read by more than two million readers. In that forum, for the first time, average Americans were introduced to the outlandish notion that the number of Jews killed by the Nazis during World War II was greatly exaggerated, that the very existence of death camps was a fabrication by the Jews themselves to elicit sympathy for Jews worldwide, and that the State of Israel was behind a worldwide plot to trick the world into paying huge reparations and supporting Israel against its Arab neighbors as a form of guilt response to a genocide that never really happened. Rockwell hammered at this theme consistently whenever he spoke during the last two years of his life, and his Holocaust-denial proselytizing energized anti-Semites worldwide.

Rockwell was a unifying figure in the fractious world of neo-Nazi revival in the decades after World War II. At a time when no one else was willing to openly wear the swastika or openly adhere allegiance to racist and anti-Semitic beliefs, Rockwell held the tattered banner aloft as a rallying point for the demoralized troops of the defeated Reich and its adherents. In 1961 he organized the World Union of National Socialists (WUNS) and became its first commander.

At a time when neo-Nazi activity was banned throughout most of Europe, Rockwell, with the help of a former Nazi soldier, Bruno Ludke, organized a nascent postwar neo-Nazi party in Germany itself, as well as neo-Nazi cells in France, Austria, Belgium, Holland, Italy, England, Ireland, Iceland, Sweden, Argentina, Brazil, and Canada.

In 1962 Rockwell slipped into Great Britain illegally and attended the first WUNS Grand Council Meeting,

held in the Cotswolds, England, and hosted by the English Nazi leader Colin Jordan. The national neo-Nazi leaders greeted Rockwell as their führer and the group signed the Cotswold Agreement, a document that pledged international cooperation in the resurgence of white supremacist, neo-Nazi, and anti-Semitic movements worldwide.

George Lincoln Rockwell was murdered on August 25, 1967, a short distance from his American Nazi Party headquarters (Hatemonger Hill) in Arlington, Virginia, by John Patler, a young captain in his party and his protégé. Although Patler was convicted and went to prison for the killing, he never admitted to the murder and many questions regarding motive remained unanswered. The American Nazi Party did not survive long after Rockwell's death.

SEE ALSO *Christian Identity; Duke, David; Holocaust; National Alliance; Neo-Nazis; White Racial Identity.*

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*Frederick J. Simonelli*

## ROMA

Throughout North and South America, Europe, Oceania, Africa, and Asia there are groups of people—both communities and families—who refer to themselves as *Gypsy*, *Roma*, or similar terms (e.g., *Sinti* in Germany and *Travellers* in Ireland). Such groups are also known by many different names by non-Gypsies. Across Europe, for example, the terms *Gitanos*, *Zigeuner*, and *Cigani* might be heard on the street or in bars and cafes. Such communities, whether nomadic or sedentary, are held together or connected by a culture, tradition, and language (as well as common experiences of racial prejudice and discrimination) that sets them apart from their non-Roma neighbors. Gypsies are a scattered, diasporic people who number some 12 to 15 million persons worldwide, the great majority



**Romanian Gypsy Protest.** Romanian Gypsies carry banners during a march in Bucharest, Romania in February, 2006. Romania's Gypsy community and activists called on the dominant Orthodox church and the government to issue a formal apology for holding them slaves until 1856. AP IMAGES.

living within the borders of Europe. Accurate demographic data is impossible to gather, largely due to the limitations of census indicators as well as an understandable reluctance on the part of many Gypsies to identify themselves to state officials (for fear of victimization and discrimination).

In addition to heated debates over numbers, there is also much discussion regarding the terms *Gypsy* and *Roma* themselves, along with long-running arguments regarding the early history and migratory movements of these peoples. Some communities reject the term *Gypsy*, finding it both insulting and racist (especially in central and eastern Europe). Other communities, however, attach a historical and political significance to the term and have attempted to, in a sense, reclaim it. The English Romanichal Gypsies in the United Kingdom are in this category. Central to such debates, as the Roma academic Ian Hancock has consistently argued, is a fundamental concern with (ethnic) identity, and with the struggle for Gypsies and Roma themselves to take control of their identity and challenge the largely negative stereotypes that have served to fuel anti-Gypsyism over the years.

The term *Gypsy* itself (sometimes spelled *Gipsy*) derives from the word *Egyptian*. Gypsies were thought to have traveled from Egypt in order to reach Europe in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. However, this assumption of an Egyptian origin is inaccurate, and much scholarly work has been conducted on demystifying the early history of Gypsies, with the majority opinion in the early twenty-first century being that such people started to arrive in Europe from about the thirteenth century onward, largely as a result of the Muslim Ottoman Turks taking over the Christian Byzantine Empire. Although an earlier presence in Europe is likely, it is difficult to be certain about this without written records. Confusion also often resulted from Gypsies and Roma being taken as local peripatetic groups. Further academic enquiries (in the eighteenth century, for example) started to suggest a strong connection between the Roma people and India, with close similarities between Romanes (the Romani language) and Indian languages such as Sanskrit and Hindi (among others) being noted and written about. The linguistic evidence appeared to

confirm an Indian origin hypothesis. More recently, genetic work analyzing slow-evolving polymorphisms has been conducted at places such as the Centre for Human Genetics at Edith Cowan University, Australia, and this work appears to confirm a direct lineage link between the Roma and certain areas of India.

At the cultural level, especially on the part of scholars and Roma activists, a focus has been placed on deconstructing the fictional Gypsy of literature, film, and music. Due to these efforts, the term *Gypsy* has slowly been replaced in many countries with the *Roma*. The emphasis here has been on trying to humanize a population that throughout history has been subjected to some of the worst examples of state-sanctioned harassment, discrimination, and genocide. It has been estimated, for example, that during World War II up to one and a half million Roma were systematically killed by the Nazis during the Holocaust. Such treatment is not confined to the vaults of history, however. Even in the early twenty-first century, across central and eastern Europe, as well as other countries, neo-Nazi and fascist activity regularly targets the Roma as a “subhuman” population to be attacked and subjected to racialized forms of violence. In the Siberian town of Iskitim, for example, hundreds of Roma were forced from their homes in 2005, and an arson attack that same year left an eight year-old girl dead.

However, such activities are not just the actions of nationalists and extremists. For example, it has become evident from subsequent enquiries that a general anti-Roma attitude among local people, as well as state officials and the police, led to the pogrom that unfolded in the village of Hadareni, Romania, on the night of September 20, 1993. Three Roma people were killed and eighteen houses were destroyed in this attack.

Organizations such as the European Roma Rights Centre (based in Hungary) and Human Rights Watch (based in the United States) monitor anti-Roma episodes across the world and support Roma communities in their efforts to combat the effects of poverty, discrimination, and racism. Much faith has been placed in the “Decade of Roma Inclusion” (2005–2015) project, an initiative largely driven and financed by the World Bank and the Open Society Institute. The aim of this project is to address the deep structural roots of Roma inequality and exclusion across a number of policy areas including major areas of social policy such as education, employment, health, and housing.

For Gypsy and Roma activists it is not enough to leave it to various international bodies and nongovernmental organizations to talk for them. Gypsy and Roma agency and self-organization has been essential to their cultural, economic, and political survival as diasporic groups over

the years. They have always relied on their adaptability and flexibility in all aspects of life. A transnational politics of “unity in diversity” has emerged, as evidenced by the various World Romani Congresses that have been held since 1971, that allow different Roma groups to witness and understand their common experiences and not simply focus on cultural and linguistic differences.

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Colin Clark

## RURAL WHITE STEREOTYPING

Certain poor rural southern people who are seen as white, yet well apart from mainstream white America, are often referred to by several stereotyping terms, most notably *hillbilly*. The term has been applied primarily to people living in mountainous or otherwise marginalized locations, particularly in the Appalachians and the Ozarks. Their geographical situation has been presumed to have kept them genetically and culturally isolated, a presumption that at times has been the basis for defining them as a biological category separate from mainstream white America. The term, when used by those in the mainstream, is generally strikingly derogatory. However, the term has been embraced by some rural southerners who apply it to themselves, and to their families and communities, as a form of ethnic identity or to emphasize their social distance from what they consider to be corporate-controlled, northern-dominated, oppressive, mainstream white culture. In the early twenty-first century *hillbilly* is used in mainstream culture to refer to white people of rural origins who continue to resist assimilation into mainstream middle-class culture, maintaining what is seen by the mainstream as an insufficient respect for the values of consumerism, an insufficient respect for authority and for getting ahead, a closed-

minded or antagonistic attitude toward the values of a multicultural society, and an irrational resistance to education and “progress.”

### THE RACIALIZATION OF HILLBILLIES

The mountain people who are seen as the original hillbillies lived on land that was unsuited for intensive cash cropping in areas in the rural South that historically were dominated by slave-holding elites, and later by land-owning elites who managed sharecropping and segregation. Inaccurate ideas of American history perpetuate the belief that, unlike “white trash,” who lived among the elites, they were a rural people isolated and independent of the larger stratified society. This version of history implies the existence of a male-centered all-white classless society of small-scale self-sufficient homesteaders, hunters, moonshiners, and craftsmen, hidden away and protected from the outside world by the inaccessibility of their deep mountain valleys and rugged mountain tops. The term *hillbilly* implies that this isolation has produced people who are different from other white people and that this difference lives on in their descendants who have migrated out into the larger, stratified society. The belief in the reality of this genetically or culturally separate race has taken on almost mythic proportions both among outsiders and among some who have embraced the term in reference to themselves.

Supposedly scientific work has lent itself directly or indirectly to the belief that cultural characteristics such as poverty and resistance to what is presumed to be progress are in fact genetic and thus potentially racial. Examples of such “scientific” findings have been frequent over the past two centuries. They include such work as that of Sir Francis Galton in the 1880s and the ensuing four decades of eugenic family studies, purporting to show that traits such as lack of intelligence, criminality, and poverty are biological and inheritable, and also prevalent among mountain families. At the end of the twentieth century, Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray claimed in *The Bell Curve* (1994) that economic failure results from bad genes, most often passed on by overly fertile mothers of low IQ. Such racialization is common when the political and economic power of elite groups depends on legitimizing the creation of a new category of people available for serious exploitation. Like other groups that have been racialized, mountain people and, more generally, marginalized rural white southerners, have been defined as “Other,” so inferior that their very humanity can be called into question. The exploitation of hillbillies is then defined as “benevolence” to the very people being exploited—as providing a civilizing influence, teaching

the value of hard work, and protecting women and girls from the violent sexual proclivities of their male relatives.

The belief in the existence of hillbillies has been critical to the definition of whiteness in the United States. At times they were seen as white, and therefore a genetic pool worth mining to offset the pernicious influence of immigration from southern and eastern Europe in the late 1800s and early 1900s, as in Berea College president William Frost’s 1899 description of mountain people as “our [Anglo-Saxon] contemporary ancestors.” At other times they have served to prove the superiority of “civilized” Americans, as when the historian Arnold Toynbee (in *A Study of History* [1934]) said that Appalachian people were no better than the “white barbarians of the Old-World, the Rifis and Kurds and the Hairy Ainu” (p. 149). Like the Irish and the Jews, the “white barbarians” he listed were regarded as not-quite-white in the eyes of mainstream white America. By turns comic, pathetic, or frightening, but straddling the boundary of whiteness, the hillbilly stereotype, like a number of other race-related stereotypes, helped delineate what “real” whites should be and should not be. Hillbillies were an “Other” close enough to mainstream whites themselves to make comparison meaningful, allowing them to fine-tune their measurements of their own superiority.

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Appalachia, contrary to popular belief, never was home to an isolated, classless, all-white society. Even the most rugged mountains of eastern Kentucky were socially stratified from the earliest days of European settlement. Large landowners, both white and, in some areas, Cherokee, owned slaves. Many poor white families were tenants, not independent landowners and hunters. They bore the brunt of the dangers of the conquest of Native American land, and were evicted by their elite landlords as soon as the land they cleared was safe for plantation agriculture. They became the instruments of Thomas Jefferson’s strategy for depriving Native Americans of their land. They were equally involved in the partial fulfillment of Jefferson’s plan for the construction of a society of small white landowners who would accept elite control of the economic and political system. Wilma Dunaway has shown—in *The First American Frontier* (1996)—that by the mid-1800s large sections of Appalachia were engaged in commercial agriculture, and that large-scale industry, mainly coal mining, lumbering, and textiles, shaped the destiny of much of the area. Despite historical reality, the belief in rugged, independent settlers has persisted, spurred on by both elementary school mythology and a popular culture that claims, for instance, that Davy Crockett (according to a well-known song) was born in the “land of the free,” implying that



**Destitute Ozarks Resident, 1935.** *Certain poor rural southern people who are seen as white, yet well apart from mainstream white America, are often referred to by several stereotyping terms, most notably hillbilly.* THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

the “mountaintops of Tennessee” housed a free people within a slave society, or even that slavery did not exist and that Native Americans had never been driven out.

The origins of the term hillbilly are obscure, but several theories link it to a Scottish background; according to Anthony Harkins (2003, p. 48), one likely explanation is that *billie* refers to a “fellow” or “companion.” The term apparently was in use by the end of the 1800s, and it became common in print during the first decades of the twentieth century. This was a time of intense class strife between rural people of European descent and the large national corporations that were coming to dominate more localized southern economies. The People’s Party, the Farmers’ Alliance, and the Tobacco Wars (or Black Patch War) in Kentucky and Tennessee all signaled an uprising of farmers against the major corporations that controlled the conditions of their lives. Miners’ revolts in the Appalachians likewise underlined the exploitation carried out by corporations and the wealthy elites associated with them.

It was during this time (the decades around the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth century) that two already existing stereotypes, one about “mountaineers” and another about poor white people more generally, came together and

blossomed into the hillbilly—the lazy, feuding, drunken, bearded, bare-footed, overalls-clad, incest-prone, independent, patriarchal male equipped with an overdose of testosterone and a hair-trigger temper in defense of his honor, and the hard-working, child-producing, brow-beaten woman. A shortage of intelligence and rationality supposedly left them bound helplessly to despicable cultural traditions. The national press largely assumed that the stereotypes represented reality. Such stereotypes served effectively to explain to the rest of the country why these irrational hillbillies would resist the supposedly obvious benefits of dependent development or internal colonialism brought to them by corporations that took away their land. They were converted from diversified subsistence farming into a male labor force dependent for their livelihood on inadequate wages, often in the form of scrip paid by coal companies, under conditions where their lives were dependent upon the inadequate safety measures in the mines. Similar reporting in the national press during the Tobacco Wars, in the early years of the twentieth century, made irrationality and backwardness seem to be the real explanation of why tobacco farmers rose up against the monopolistic American Tobacco Company and the starvation prices it paid for tobacco. The stereotypes, then, did double duty in the local press by explaining why many of the poorer tobacco farmers did not follow the lead of their betters, the big planters who headed the boycott against the company. They were called hillbillies and portrayed as irrational and improvident, obscuring the fact that many were so poor they could not afford to withhold their crop from the market. The stereotype then did triple duty, explaining why it was necessary for the state militia to put down the violence-prone boycotters by force of arms to protect American Tobacco Company property.

Parts of the hillbilly stereotype merged with aspects of the “poor white trash” stereotype in national press reports on the Tobacco Wars. The poor white trash category was clearly part of the South’s stratified society—and it was itself, to some degree, racialized. Their poverty was seen as a result of genetic inferiority or sometimes of racial mixing—by the 1920s the Ku Klux Klan was claiming that such people, like Catholics and Eastern European immigrants, were not “100% Americans.” One of the defining characteristics of the poor white trash stereotype was a supposedly inherent malevolent racism that led to racist violence in the segregated South. This violence was believed to contrast with the supposed benevolent attitude of racial superiority of their more genteel betters, who claimed to take seriously their duty to care for their supposedly child-like black servants and sharecroppers.

Middle- and upper-class readers and writers of reports on the Tobacco Wars in Kentucky and Tennessee associated the violence of “feuding, gun-happy hillbillies” resisting progress in the mountains with the violence



of “white trash” resisting progress as represented by the American Tobacco Company. Consequently, the hillbilly stereotype, when used by the middle and upper classes, now often included racism. In fact, vicious racism did play a part in the Tobacco Wars. Nightriders eventually targeted black farmers for violent attacks and lynchings, driving hundreds of black families from the region in an attempt to reduce the supply of tobacco and thus raise the price American Tobacco would pay the remaining white farmers. Many nightriders probably were poor people. However, this racist violence was not specific to poor whites or to hillbillies; most of the leaders, and apparently many of the masked nightriders themselves, were members of the local elite. And the actual “hillbillies” in the region were targets of violence themselves for refusing to participate in the boycott.

These stereotypes quickly became generic, whether or not the term hillbilly was used. This was the lens through which outsiders perceived the poorer Euro-Americans in Kentucky and throughout Appalachia. That lens applied also to the Ozarks, always part of the hillbilly stereotype, but later gaining greater prominence, particularly with the advent of the television show *The Beverly Hillbillies* (1962–1971).

#### THE CONTINUING RELEVANCE OF HILLBILLY IDEOLOGY

Hillbilly jokes, movies such as *Deliverance*, television programs such as *The Beverly Hillbillies*, cartoons such as *L'il Abner*, the comedy of performers such as Minnie Pearl and Jeff Foxworthy, tales about the Hatfields and the McCoys, historical and sociological analyses such as Harry Caudill's *Night Comes to the Cumberlands* (1963), experiences related by missionaries to Appalachia, documentaries such as *American Hollow* (1999) and the proposed reality show *The Real Beverly Hillbillies*, all demonstrate the continuing relevance of the supposed existence of people who fit the hillbilly stereotype. They feature, in varying combinations and in varying tones of voice, implications of hillbilly backwardness, stupidity, slovenliness, barbarism, a propensity for addiction, the mistreatment of women, genetic deficiencies, and inbreeding. The inaccuracies of this portrayal of people living in the Appalachian mountains or the Ozarks have been completely irrelevant to the continuing production of the stereotypes. It is important to note that these stereotyping movies, jokes, TV programs, documentaries, and missionary expeditions are produced by people in the mainstream, often with the backing of corporations and of people wielding considerable power; they depict people with very little power who nevertheless seem to refuse to buy into the values of corporate America.

These warped versions of history and of the reality of the lives of poor rural southerners carry a heavy ideological freight. Upper-class exploiters have used them to justify their own use of child labor and the poor wages and lack

of safe work environments of miners and textile workers. They use them to explain the continuing high unemployment and low wages of southern workers generally and to justify paying low wages when southerners go north looking for better jobs. This same warped vision keeps the middle class from recognizing this exploitation and, therefore, from questioning the legitimacy of the elite.

For the country in general, racialization of the hillbilly, whether by the new cultural or the old biological version of racism, has played a critical role at various points in the legitimation of the continuously evolving system of race, class, ethnic, gender, and sexual-identity inequalities in the United States. It has been an important ingredient in the racial wedge used to divide and rule the working class, causing black and white members to define each other as the enemy. Equally important, the racialization of hillbillies has been an ingredient in the smokescreen that disguises class in the United States. Hillbilly identity, rather than class, can be invoked to explain ongoing poverty wages for those who are employed, high levels of unemployment, and inequities in health and educational opportunities in Appalachia and the Ozarks among people of European descent. The myth that the United States provides a level playing field, at least for whites, is thus left intact.

The hillbilly stereotype continues to provide white America with both a mirror in which to judge itself and a scapegoat for its failings. Along with stereotypes about rednecks and white trash, it allows middle-class people (through comparison) to perpetuate an inaccurate perception of themselves as free of racism, sexism, and homophobia, as people who are open-minded, progressive, and civilized. If the country continues to have problems with racism, for instance, those problems can often be laid at the door of poor southern whites whose culture or genetics supposedly predisposes them to intolerance and violence. The violence committed or orchestrated by elites can thus be ignored. Presumably, “civilized” elites would not use race to justify the disproportionate jailing of black, Latino, and Native American people, nor would they use a racialized version of religion to justify war. Neither would they beat their wives or discriminate against women in hiring. The persistence of the production of the hillbilly stereotype, and the willingness of the reading and television- and movie-viewing public to consume that stereotype, indicates that it continues to fulfill an ideological need in the lives of people dealing with the inequalities of life in the United States.

SEE ALSO *Galton, Francis*.

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*Pem Davidson Buck*

## RUSTIN, BAYARD 1912–1987

Bayard Rustin (1912–1987) was a civil rights strategist and humanitarian who shaped the course of social protest in the twentieth century. Born in West Chester, Pennsylvania, on March 17, 1912, Rustin served as Martin Luther King Jr.'s political adviser and as the organizer of the 1963 March on

Washington. Although he was best known for his influence on the course of the black protest agenda, Rustin's political engagements extended to organized labor and world affairs. However, Rustin remained an outsider in black civil-rights circles because, unlike most of his peers, he was gay. Throughout much of his career, Rustin tried to control the potential negative impact his sexuality could have on the causes for which he worked.

After a youth grounded in his grandmother's Quaker teachings, Rustin began college in 1932 at Wilberforce University, but he transferred to Cheney State Teachers' College two years later. Finally, in 1937, Rustin moved to New York to enroll in City College. However, rather than immerse himself in academics, Rustin plunged into the cultural and political circles of New York and Harlem. He began his pursuit of social justice by joining the Young Communists League. Then, in 1941, he joined Abraham Johannes (A. J.) Muste's Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), an organization guided by the Gandhian principles of nonviolent protest that would later be deployed by civil rights leaders. Rustin became Muste's chief acolyte, but his rise to leadership left him politically vulnerable, and in 1943 he was sentenced to three years in prison for refusing to register for selective service. After leading several civil-disobedience campaigns, Rustin fell under the scrutiny of prison officials, and when inmates complained about Rustin's sexual relationships with other men, he was placed in isolation. He worried that his actions would detract from FOR's cause, and his conduct earned a swift reprimand from Muste.

Rustin began the most productive period of his career upon his release from prison in March 1947. Working with the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), Rustin orchestrated the Journey of Reconciliation, which involved sixteen CORE members traveling by bus between southern cities in order to test a recent Supreme Court ruling that banned racial discrimination in interstate travel. In the late 1940s, Rustin also traveled abroad as a representative of the pacifist movement. These travels brought him to Africa, where he discovered a sense of kinship that kept him committed to African politics and decolonization efforts. To finance a return trip to Africa, Rustin commenced a speaking tour of the United States. However, in 1953, following one of his speaking engagements in Pasadena, Rustin was charged with lewd conduct for engaging in gay sex. Outraged by actions that he believed jeopardized FOR's mission, Muste asked Rustin to leave the organization.

After resigning from FOR, Rustin became a key player in the civil rights movement. On the recommendation of A. Philip Randolph, a leader in both the trade union and civil rights movements, Rustin went to Montgomery in 1956 to advise King during the bus boycott. Rustin intentionally remained in the background,

advising colleagues that his presence in Montgomery should remain clandestine. However, when Montgomery commissioners charged civil rights leaders for illegal organizing, it was Rustin who proposed that the accused turn themselves in to authorities before arrest warrants were issued. Later, on Rustin's advice, King banished firearms from his household, marking a turn in the moral temper of the civil rights movement. However, Rustin's presence eventually drew attention, and he was extracted from Montgomery after a local newspaper alleged that he was wanted for inciting a riot.

Unable to participate directly in the boycott, Rustin did so by proxy from New York. He formed an organization called In Friendship in March 1956, and he publishing King's writings in the journal *Liberation*. In January 1957, Rustin and other In Friendship cofounders Ella Baker and Stanley Levison presented King with a series of working papers that served as the basis for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). The papers, authored by Rustin and Levison, situated the events and provided a political and structural framework for the organization, emphasizing the need for a federation of southern civil rights leaders that would coordinate mass direct action, voter education, and outreach against racial oppression. In the late 1950s, Rustin helped draft King's speeches and articles, and he coordinated his public appearances. Nonetheless, Rustin was again forced to leave his work because of his sexuality. Adam Clayton Powell Jr., an African-American congressman, threatened to announce to the press a fabricated gay coupling between Rustin and King unless they halted plans for a march at the Democratic National Convention. Rustin again put the interests of the movement before his own, voluntarily stepping down from the SCLC.

This did not end Rustin's civil rights career, however. He was once again tapped by Randolph, this time to help orchestrate the 1963 March on Washington. Originally conceived as a militant demonstration against employment discrimination, the march assumed greater breadth with the participation of major civil rights leaders. But with this participation came a number of political conflicts that Rustin and Randolph compelled to deal with. King advised the march organizers that the SCLC's primary concern was civil rights, not unemployment. Roy Wilkins of the NAACP and Whitney Young of the National Urban League sought to de-emphasize civil disobedience and militancy in fear that such action would threaten President Kennedy's proposed civil rights legislation. As a result, Rustin's conception of the march was moderated. Because of focal changes effected by Randolph's efforts to cement the participation of King and other leaders, President Kennedy publicly endorsed the March in July. Still, some

leaders questioned whether Rustin, a known gay man, was an appropriate choice as the march's director. As a compromise, Randolph was named director, and, in a show of unqualified support, he named Rustin his deputy.

Randolph's support was well founded. Under Rustin's direction, the March on Washington proved to be a turning point in American history. For the first time, civil rights leaders peacefully coalesced to articulate demands for economic empowerment and civil rights. Again, Rustin's diplomatic ability to smooth over conflicts among march leaders was key. At Rustin's urging, John Lewis of the SNCC modified his speech to eliminate what Wilkins perceived as inflammatory comments. Further, when the SCLC complained that Rustin had purposely marginalized King by placing him last in the program, he explained that each of the other speakers had asked not to follow King. Rustin's instinct was correct: King's "I Have a Dream" speech was the pinnacle of the march, if not a symbolic culmination of the entire movement.

The march was equally a personal triumph for Rustin, who in seven weeks had orchestrated the largest public protest in American history. In addition to providing behind-the-scenes diplomacy, Rustin drafted multiple manuals to guide march organizers, engaged in group training sessions, and recruited a troop of plainclothes black police officers to ensure peace during the march. This work required Rustin to engage in multiple negotiations not only with the march organizers, but also with federal and municipal agencies.

Following the march, Rustin spent the last twenty years of his career with the A. Philip Randolph Institute, engaged in a broad campaign to end discrimination in labor and employment. Increasingly, this work led Rustin away from a strict focus on civil rights and toward international human rights issues. During this period of active outreach, Rustin also became publicly vocal about his gay identity, challenging the civil rights establishment to adopt an agenda more inclusive of black gay men and lesbians and urging community leaders to respond to the ravages of the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Following a humanitarian trip to Haiti, Rustin died from cardiac arrest on August 24, 1987, at the age of seventy-five.

**SEE ALSO** *Civil Rights Movement; Heterosexism and Homophobia; Powell, Adam Clayton, Jr.*

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**Devon W. Carbado**

*Encyclopedia of Race and Racism*

# *Encyclopedia of Race and Racism*

VOLUME 3

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**primary sources, index**

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## SAINT MARTIN DE PORRES

SEE *Porres, Martin de, St.*

## SANTA BARBARA PLAN

SEE *El Plan de Santa Barbara.*

## SCIENTIFIC RACISM, HISTORY OF

Scientific racism is the act of justifying inequalities between natural groups of people by recourse to science. It is the result of a conjunction of two cultural values or ideologies: (1) that natural categories of the human species exist and are of different overall worth; and (2) that science provides a source of authoritative knowledge. These ideas arose separately, but at about the same time in the late seventeenth century.

The rise of science in the seventeenth century challenged the authority of other forms of knowledge—such as revelation and meditation. In particular, two new forms of knowledge came to assume privileged positions: mathematical generalization (most famously embodied in the work of Sir Isaac Newton [1642–1727]), and empirical demonstration or experiment (in the works of early scientists such as Galileo, William Harvey, and Robert Hooke). Along with newly emerging standards of truth

and validity came public authority, and with this public authority came the usurpation of that authority in the gray zone of “pseudoscience,” usually only distinguishable as such in retrospect.

The term *pseudoscience* refers to any work that appeals to the authority of science despite being methodologically flawed or incompetently reasoned, even if carried out by credentialed scientists. Such misrepresentations are usually caused by a conflict of interest, whether it be personal ambition, class or financial interests, or ideological commitment.

Racism, the attribution of inferiority to large natural groups of people, is a relatively recent idea. To the extent that ancient peoples held various groups in different degrees of regard, this was predicated on nonracial features—such as the ability to speak Greek, dignified behavior, or valor—and to the extent that they recognized differences of physical appearance, these carried no codes of social rank (Isaac 2004; Snowden 1948) and each was considered to be a local variation, not a continental quintessence. The concept of race was a product of the rise of scientific biological taxonomy, which is the formal clustering of animals analytically into groups, along with a parallel dissolution of large groups of animals into their constituent smaller groups. Scientific racism, then, being predicated on newly emerging concepts of science and of race, must be regarded as a Euro-American product of the last three centuries. This obviously does not mean that group hatreds have not existed elsewhere and at other times, but only that they have usually not been based upon a theory of race and were not considered to be validated by science; they thus fall outside the scope of scientific racism.

Subspecies of <i>Homo sapiens</i> , rearranged from Linnaeus				
	American	European	Asian	African
<b>Color</b>	Red	White	Yellow	Black
<b>Temperament</b>	Irascible, impassive	Hearty, muscular	Melancholy, stern	Sluggish, lazy
<b>Face</b>	Thick, straight, black hair; broad nose; harsh appearance; chin beardless	Long blond hair, blue eyes	Black hair, dark eyes	Black kinky hair, silky skin, short nose, thick lips, females with genital flap, elongated breasts
<b>Personality</b>	Stubborn, happy, free	Sensitive, very smart, creative	Strict, contemptuous, greedy	Sly, slow, careless
<b>Covered by</b>	Fine red lines	Tight clothing	Loose garments	Grease
<b>Ruled by</b>	Custom	Law	Opinion	Caprice

SOURCE: Reprinted from *systema Naturae*, 10<sup>th</sup> ed., 1758.

Table 1.

Early taxonomic practice relied on an intellectual framework that was largely intact since the time of the ancient Greeks. Real, existing creatures, human or otherwise, were considered to be deviants or degenerates from an ideal form, whose true nature was perfect, transcendent, and otherworldly. As applied to people, this involved specifying features that were not necessarily accurate descriptors, but rather represented the underlying form or essence of which real people were simply imperfect embodiments. Thus, the Swedish botanist-physician Carl (Carolus) Linnaeus (1707–1778) could formally define the European subspecies as having long, flowing blond hair and blue eyes, regardless of the fact that most of them did not actually possess these characteristics. His purpose was to describe the idealized form that underlay the observable variation. Likewise, his descriptions of Africans as lazy or Asians as greedy was intended to be a statement of their basic natures, not necessarily an empirically based generalization.

Clearly Linnaeus was inscribing popular or folk prejudices upon the continental groups he was formally defining. To some extent he recognized this, as he grouped the Lapps, or Saami, (Scandinavian reindeer-herders) within the European subspecies; he consciously strove to romanticize the Saami, even as they were commonly “othered” in both popular and scholarly minds. Human taxonomy thus served to formalize social ideologies about sameness and difference.

By the end of the eighteenth century, German zoologist and anthropologist Johann Friedrich Blumenbach had jettisoned the personality and cultural traits used by Linnaeus in favor of only physical traits. However, he also modified the Linnaean system by ranking, rather than simply listing, the races (Gould 1998). Moreover, scholars at this time began to apply the previously informal term “race” (which had been used by the French naturalist Count de Buffon to refer to a local strain of people) to the formal Linnaean subspecies. The result was a parallel

usage of the term, in which groups of people, diversely constituted, could be called “races,” and their essences could be defined in accordance with whatever they were taken to be. Concurrently, the natures of large continental “races” could stand as formal taxonomic entities. Thus, races could exist within races, or they could crosscut other races. Because the attributes of the Irish, Italians, or Jews were Platonic essences taken to be inscribed in the very cores of the people in question—by virtue of simply being born into the group—it did not much matter what an individual representative looked like or acted like. These were not so much group-level generalizations, which have always existed as folk taxonomies, but group-level scientific definitions, which were something new.

#### THE ORIGINS OF RACES

A French scholar named Isaac de la Peyrère published a controversial hypothesis in 1655. He suggested that certain biblical passages were consistent with multiple divine creations of people, of which the story related in Genesis was only one. These “Pre-Adamites” were the progenitors of the most divergent forms of people, who might thereby be considered to be different in both nature and origin, as they were the product of different creative acts by God. La Peyrère was subsequently invoked as the founder of a school called *polygenism*, which gained popularity in the nineteenth century as American scholars increasingly sought to justify the practice of slavery by recourse to science (although that had not been La Peyrère’s intent).

As the slavery debate crystallized in America and Europe, the scientific issues centered on whether races had a single origin (monogenism) or separate origins (polygenism). Monogenists tended to invoke a literal reading of the Book of Genesis in support of abolitionist politics, which also necessitated the development of explanations for the emergence of human physical diversity since the time of Adam and Eve. They thus tended to be biblical



literalists, social liberals, and early evolutionists, a fusion of ideologies that may seem incongruous from a modern standpoint. Polygenists rejected biblical literalism in favor of textual interpretation, yet they held to a strictly creationist view of human origins in which people are as they always have been. This view was used to support the oppression of presumably inferior peoples.

The linkage of these ideas can be seen in the writings of the Count de Buffon, whose *Histoire Naturelle* was one of the most widely owned and read works of the French Enlightenment. A monogenist, Buffon surveyed human diversity in 1749 and included a stinging digression on the treatment of Africans:

They are therefore endowed, as can be seen, with excellent hearts, and possess the seeds of every human virtue. I cannot write their history without addressing their state. Is it not wretched enough to be reduced to servitude and to be obliged to labor perpetually, without being allowed to acquire anything? Is it necessary to degrade them, beat them, and to abuse them worse than beasts? Humanity revolts against these odious oppressions which have been put into practice because of greed, and which would have been reinforced virtually every day, had our laws not curbed the brutality of masters, and fixed limits to the sufferings of their slaves. They are forced to labor, and yet commonly are not even adequately nourished. It is said that they tolerate hunger easily, that they can live for three days on a portion of a European meal; that however little they eat or sleep, they are always equally tough, equally strong, and equally fit for labor. How can men in whom there rests any feeling of humanity adopt such views? How do they presume to attempt to legitimize by such reasoning those oppressions that spring solely from their thirst for gold? But let us abandon those callous men, and return to our subject.

In 1766, speculating on the origins of animal diversity, Buffon used the diversity and interfertility of the human species as a key argument both for monogenism and microevolution:

The Asian, European, and Negro all reproduce with equal ease with the American. There can be no greater proof that they are the issue of a single and identical stock than the facility with which they consolidate to the common stock. The blood is different, but the germ is the same.

The polygenist position underwent a revival in the mid-nineteenth century, however, as the American Civil War loomed. In England, the Ethnological Society of London, founded in 1842, was torn apart as polygenists left to form the Anthropological Society of London in

1862. A similar schism took place in France, with the formation of Paul Broca's *Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*. Ultimately, the Darwinian naturalists would side with the monogenist "ethnologists" against the polygenist "anthropologists," whose societies and cause would become obsolete before the end of the century (Stocking 1987).

#### CRANIAL SIZE AND SHAPE

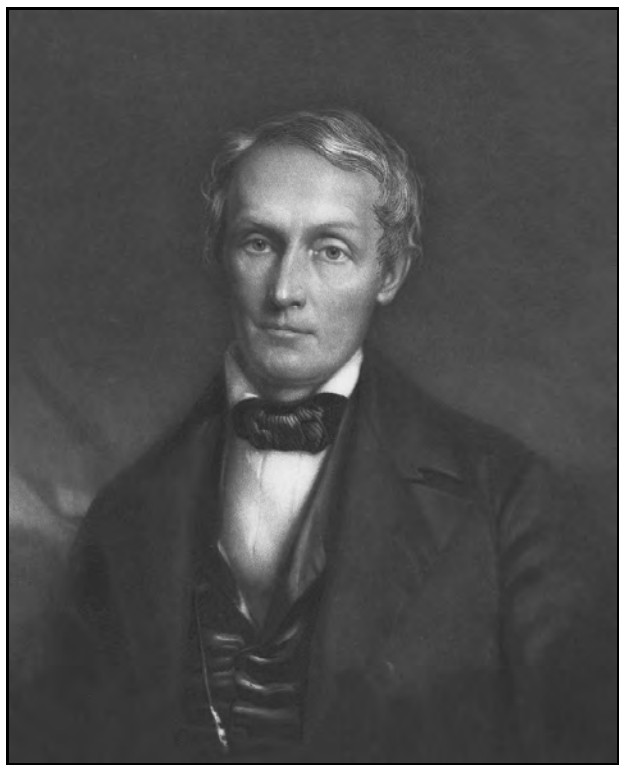
There is a crudely materialist proposition that identifies the qualities of one's mind by the features of one's brain. While this affords a theoretical basis for modern neurophysiology, it also has proved very easy to overvalue. In practice, this overvaluation has ranged from the estimation of intelligence based on the size of the brain to inferences of personality from the bulges on particular parts of the skull (phrenology). Indeed, the most prominent nineteenth-century craniologist, Dr. Samuel George Morton (1799–1851) of Philadelphia, was also an avid phrenologist.

Morton amassed a large collection of skulls from Native Americans, and subsequently from other peoples as well. While his analytical tools were primitive, he nevertheless was able to establish a scientific, anatomical basis for the fundamental difference and alleged relative inferiority of the nonwhite races by the 1830s. That difference, he said, lay in the inferior quality (due to the inferior size) of their brains.

One key question addressed at this time was whether the prehistoric architectural and cultural features of the Midwest could reasonably be ascribed to the ancestors of the local Indians, or whether they could be attributed instead to a mysterious, cranially distinct and intellectually superior people. It was not until the latter half of the century that careful archaeological excavations would settle the question of "who built the mounds" with clear evidence of cultural continuity: They were built by Native Americans, not by Vikings, Egyptian emigrants, or anyone else.

Other anatomists discovered other features of the heads of non-Europeans that seemed to explain or reinforce their inferiority. The cranial or cephalic index, devised by the Swedish anatomist Anders Retzius, measured the shape of the head. When applied to the peoples of the world, the Europeans appeared more brachycephalic (broad-headed) than the Africans, who were dolichocephalic (long-headed).

Josiah Nott, who had studied anatomy with Morton and went on to become one of the leading physicians in Mobile, Alabama, developed the theory of the fundamental craniological difference and inferiority of the African, and explicitly tied it to the slavery question. His principal work, *Types of Mankind* (1854), written with the diplomat George C. Gliddon, found considerable popularity in the South.



**Dr. Samuel George Morton.** A prominent nineteenth-century craniologist, Morton studied the skulls of Native Americans and determined that their brains were smaller than those of whites. EMMET COLLECTION, MIRIAM AND IRA D. WALLACH DIVISION OF ART, PRINTS AND PHOTOGRAPHS, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

Certainly the most prestigious American involved on the scientific polygenist side was the Harvard naturalist and Swiss émigré Louis Agassiz (1807–1873). Agassiz wrote a preface to Nott and Gliddon's volume and lent scientific credibility to the entire enterprise through his advocacy of their work and politics. In France as well, the leading anatomist, Paul Broca (1824–1880), was also the leading craniologist and polygenist.

Darwinism should have put the lie to the polygenism-monogenism question once and for all, because interbreeding made all people one species, and taxonomic entities at any level were now seen to be related by common descent. Thus, all humans had to have a common origin. Nevertheless, versions of polygenism invoking parallel evolution were revived in the twentieth century by the German anatomist Hermann Klaatsch (who held that the races were particularly related to different species of great apes), the Canadian botanical geneticist R. R. Ruggles Gates (who considered the question of interbreeding irrelevant), and the American anthropologist Carleton Coon (who held that different races evolved into *Homo sapiens* separately from different races of *Homo erectus*).

## THE RADICAL CRITIQUE OF EGALITARIANISM (I)

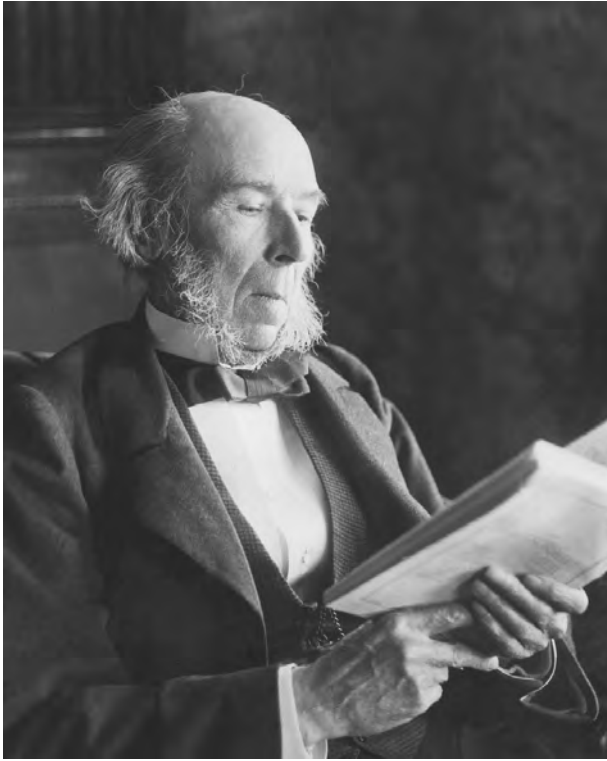
The same year that Nott and Gliddon published *Types of Mankind*, a disaffected French nobleman published an original and brilliant synthesis of contemporary conservative politics and racist scientific thought. His name was Count Arthur de Gobineau (1816–1882), and his *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines* (Essay on the inequality of the human race) (1854) would serve as a model for the leading racist writers of the next two generations.

Gobineau's goal was to justify the existence, and to emphasize the necessity, of the declining ancient social order by producing a unified theory of race and civilization. Observing that civilizations had risen and fallen, he asked why. His answer was that civilizations rise as a function of the intellects of their individual members, or, more specifically, of their leaders, and that civilizations fall as that elite blood is dissipated through interbreeding with the masses. Steering a course between the monogenists and polygenists, he argued that, irrespective of Adam and Eve, races since biblical times have been stable strains. Citing the craniometric work, Gobineau argued that the white intellect is higher than the black or yellow, and that, within the white race, the Aryans are the intellectually superior subrace. Of his ten identifiable civilizations, Gobineau attributed at least seven to Aryan blood, and found no civilization at all in sub-Saharan Africa. An American edition of Gobineau was supervised and prefaced by Josiah Nott.

There was, of course, no alternative theory of civilization, and as curious as Gobineau's thesis was, it was tightly argued. Past civilizations, and by implication, the fate of the present one, were governed by the purity of blood of the aristocracy, whose position in the social order was ordained by nature. Social change and mobility, as well as social equality, were contrary to nature. The future of civilization lay in the recognition of the unequal abilities of races, and in the preservation of the social hierarchy from which it sprang. It is worth noting that Gobineau was nearly an exact contemporary of Karl Marx (1818–1883), whose considerably more erudite writings lay on the other end of the political spectrum, promoting human equality regardless of biology, real or imaginary. Gobineau's argument would be reiterated and adapted in the writings of Houston Stewart Chamberlain (1855–1927) in Europe (*Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, 1899) and Madison Grant (1865–1937) in America (*The Passing of the Great Race*, 1916).

## SOCIAL DARWINISM

In his own lifetime, Gobineau's racial theory of civilization was eclipsed by the arrival of Darwinism, which seemed to imply a much more unstable biological nature



**Herbert Spencer, c. 1900.** English philosopher Herbert Spencer is credited with coining the phrase “survival of the fittest.”

ERNEST H. MILLS/GETTY IMAGES

than Gobineau supposed. And yet there was an attraction inherent in Gobineau’s scientific rationalization for the aristocracy. As the social and economic power of the ancient aristocracy was replaced in the nineteenth century by a newer aristocracy—that of capitalist entrepreneurs—Gobineau’s ideas were blended with Darwin’s to construct a powerful rationalization for the emergence of the new elite. This was embodied in English philosopher Herbert Spencer’s phrase “survival of the fittest” and came to be known as “social Darwinism.”

The argument of social Darwinism was rooted in Victorian ideas of progress. Because civilization was an obvious improvement over savagery and barbarism, just as science was an obvious improvement over superstition and religion, it was reasonable to ask (as Gobineau did) what the engine of progress was. To Spencer, it was not “race” *per se*, but unfettered competition. Competition led to differentiation and specialization, which led to overall complexity and improvement, not only in the natural world, but also in the social and political worlds. If the old aristocracy was in decline, it was not a threat to civilization, but a consequence of it. The aristocrats were losing out to the emergent class of tycoons, moguls, and robber barons, who had taken over the leadership of civilization. The

masses still had little, and deserved little, in this theory, but competition replaced race as the impetus for progress.

Within the class structure of Anglo-American society, social Darwinism was only tangentially a racial theory, for it had little formal recognition of race. It retained the goal of justifying the social hierarchy by recourse to nature, but the hierarchy it justified was differently composed. The *nouveau riche* were now the vanguards of progress and civilization, and it was neither clear nor relevant whether their endowments were innate, lucky, or simply the product of hard work. The ultimate goal of social Darwinism was simply to get government off the backs of the people—or at least of the rich people—by removing or resisting limits on their power and control, as reflected in social reforms like child labor laws and collective bargaining.

The principal American exponent of social Darwinism was the Yale political scientist William Graham Sumner (1840–1910). Sumner aggressively taught and wrote on behalf of the survival of the fittest, and he maintained that “if we do not like the survival of the fittest, we have only one possible alternative, and that is the survival of the unfittest. The former is the law of civilization; the latter is the law of anti-civilization. We have our choice between the two, or we can go on, as in the past, vacillating between the two, but a third plan—the socialist desideratum—a plan for nourishing the unfittest and yet advancing in civilization, no man will ever find.”

Unsurprisingly, some of the most well-known tycoons of the era—most notably, John D. Rockefeller and Andrew Carnegie—were attracted to the theory. It encoded a Puritan ethic of advancement through hard work, justified their own social position, and supported their business practices. That it was also a shamelessly self-serving appeal to nature in support of avarice was not lost on its critics.

There was a darker racial side to social Darwinism, however. While the theory was constructed to justify the newly emerging class structure in Europe and America, it could also be applied to the relative ranking of the colonized nations, who had apparently not yet risen above a state of savagery or barbarism. A militaristic version of progress-via-competition, easily understood as a justification for genocide, could be found in diverse social Darwinian writings, such as those of the German Ernst Haeckel and the Frenchman Georges Vacher de Lapouge. The pre-Darwinian evolutionist Robert Chambers had written in 1844: “Look at the progress even now making over the barbaric parts of the earth by the best examples of the Caucasian type, promising not only to fill up the waste places, but to supersede the imperfect nations already existing.” According to this theory, if the people over there were less perfect, if they had not progressed as far in the struggle that is life’s history, then they were simply standing in the way of the glorious future of the species,

which was emanating from Europe. The English paleontologist William J. Sollas put it this way in his 1911 book, *Ancient Hunters*: “Justice belongs to the strong, and has been meted out to each race according to its strength; each has received as much justice as it deserved. . . . It is not priority of occupation, but the power to utilize, which establishes a claim to the land. Hence it is a duty which every race owes to itself, and to the human family as well, to cultivate by every possible means its own strength . . . [lest it incur] a penalty which Natural Selection, the stern but beneficent tyrant of the organic world, will assuredly exact, and that speedily, to the full” (Bowler 1995; Sommer 2005). It was precisely this kind of bio-political rhetoric that set the American politician William Jennings Bryan, a staunch pacifist and isolationist, against Darwinism.

### CIVILIZATION AS CULTURE

Darwinism had actually already been rescued from social Darwinism through the conceptual innovation of a Quaker scholar, Edward B. Tylor. In his *Primitive Culture* (1871), Tylor set out a program for a “reformer’s science,” based on the conceptual divorce of a people’s biological or racial features from their learned or behavioral features. He called these latter aspects “culture, or civilization” and the science he called “anthropology.”

Culture/civilization was, to Tylor, “that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.” Since all peoples had roughly the same mental powers (a doctrine known as “the psychic unity of mankind”), but some simply had not come as far as others in the trajectory of civilization, and had thus not acquired its maximum benefits, one could reasonably conclude that a rational and humane approach to other peoples was not to dispossess them and kill them, as the militaristic social Darwinians would have it, but to civilize them. Tylor thus substituted ethnocentrism for the racist genocidal ideas of the militarist social Darwinians, which was certainly an improvement.

Somewhat later, a young German-born anthropologist named Franz Boas would spearhead a move to reconceptualize culture as something that all peoples had, not to greater or lesser degrees, but equally. All cultures provided a particular way of seeing the world, of thinking and communicating about it, with rules governing the interaction of its members and a means for extracting the necessities of life. While “culture” was still put forward as a contrast to “race,” representing learned knowledge, there was no longer a forward march to culture (*qua* civilization); there were only different individual cultures, each successfully permitting its members to cope, understand, and reproduce.

Anthropology thus became reinvigorated as the field that studied cultures, some of which were modern or “civilized,” but whose properties were located externally to the bodies of the people, the biological organisms. Thus, as Franz Boas forcefully articulated in his 1911 classic, *The Mind of Primitive Man*, race was not a determinant of civilization; rather, social processes and events—the vagaries of history—were.

### INTELLIGENCE

Anthropology had little to offer in the way of marketable skills or products, however. Psychology, on the other hand, grew rapidly in size and prestige with the development of standardized mental tests, or psychometrics. Initially developed by the Frenchman Alfred Binet as a way of identifying schoolchildren who might require special attention, the intelligence test was imported into America in the early part of the twentieth century, principally by Lewis Terman of Stanford and Robert Yerkes of Yale. They modified the original interpretation of the results, however, by believing that the number they generated (an “intelligence quotient,” or IQ) was a measure of overall mental output, minimally affected by the conditions of life and set by heredity.

Giving a large battery of such tests to American soldiers in World War I, psychologists concluded that Americans were “feeble-minded”—that is to say, stupid—and in imminent danger of becoming more so. In addition, tests given to immigrants showed that feeble-minded people were arriving on American shores in large numbers. In fact, the only people who seemed to do consistently well on these tests were urban, acculturated, wealthy English speakers. Cultural biases in the tests were widely acknowledged, such as a question asking which path was best to take to get from here to there. Samoans picked the prettiest path, while the “correct” answer was actually the shortest path. Privileging American efficiency is reasonable but arbitrary, and thus hardly a valid way to estimate anyone’s raw intellectual powers.

The inheritance of intelligence—or more precisely of its opposite, feeble-mindedness—was shown “scientifically” to be due to a single major recessive allele by Charles Davenport, the most prominent human geneticist in America. Feeble-mindedness seemed to be most prominently associated with poor people and especially with poor people from outside of northern Europe. It was to be found especially commonly in nonwhites, poor whites of the South, and in the poor immigrants arriving in America in large numbers from southern and eastern Europe early in the twentieth century. Feeble-mindedness was diagnosable from several key behavioral features, Davenport explained in his 1911 textbook on human genetics: “the acts of taking and keeping loose articles,

of tearing away obstructions to get at something desired, of picking valuables out of holes and pockets, of assaulting a neighbor who has something desirable or who has caused pain or who is in the way, of deserting family and other relatives, and of promiscuous sexual relations.”

With such a loose set of phenotypes as a guide, the feeble-mindedness allele could obviously be identified very widely. Family studies seemed to show that it was indeed inherited simply. The most famous of these was a study of the pseudonymous Kallikak family, published by the psychologist Henry H. Goddard in 1912. Tracing back two sides of a family to a single eighteenth-century progenitor, Martin Kallikak, Goddard purported to show that the hundreds of modern descendants through his dalliance with a “nameless feeble-minded tavern girl” were mainly feeble-minded burdens on society; while those modern descendants through Martin’s Quaker wife, Rachel, were solid citizens. The clear implications were that feeble-mindedness is everywhere, is transmitted genetically, and if only the tavern girl had never bred, the social problems caused by her descendants would never have come to exist.

In fact, most of the fieldwork of the Kallikak study was carried out by Goddard’s assistants, who gave intelligence tests to some of the people they interviewed, but used surrogate estimators of intelligence in other cases. Goddard’s book candidly noted that these surrogates ranged from interpreting the way dead ancestors were talked about to just looking at people:

The father, a strong, healthy, broad-shouldered man, was sitting helplessly in a corner. The mother, a pretty woman still, with remnants of ragged garments drawn about her, sat in a chair, the picture of despondency. Three children, scantily clad and with shoes that would barely hold together, stood about with drooping jaws and the unmistakable look of the feeble-minded. Another child, neither more intelligent nor better clad, was attempting to wash a few greasy dishes in cold water. The deaf boy was nowhere to be seen. On being urgently requested, the mother went out of the room to get him, for he was not yet out of bed. . . . A glance sufficed to establish his mentality, which was low. . . . The father himself, though strong and vigorous, showed by his face that he had only a child’s mentality.

The shoddiness of the research upon which the strong conclusions were founded did not prevent the results from being widely disseminated in the genetics and psychology literature for decades. In fact, when challenged on the question of how he could know that the tavern girl was feeble-minded when he didn’t even know her name, Goddard consulted his field worker and then publicly responded with a barefaced lie to the effect that her name was indeed known, but had been deliberately concealed.

## THE EUGENICS MOVEMENT

The take-home message of the Kallikaks was that an ounce of genetic prevention was worth the proverbial pound of cure—if only something had been done about the tavern girl, society would have been spared the burden of her feeble-minded degenerate descendants. Both sides of the Kallikak family were white (indeed, they were Anglo-Saxon) so racism was not an overt issue, but if feeble-mindedness was a unitary phenomenon with a single cause, then the Kallikak conclusions would have significant implications for global feeble-mindedness.

An Englishman named Francis Galton had been working on mathematical approaches to heredity, particularly to the heredity of intelligence, since the mid-nineteenth century. Thomas Malthus had famously founded the science of demography at the turn of the century with the argument that the human population was increasing in size faster than its resource base, which entailed a gloomy forecast for the distant future. But fertility rates were not equal across all economic strata, and the poor were outbreeding the rich. While this might seem to necessitate the development of social programs for the poor, Galton saw things in a more pessimistic light. If the poor were outbreeding the rich, and if one believed the poor were genetically inferior to the rich, then the future could only hold catastrophe for the entire species. Indeed, the very existence of the prolific poor seemed to be a subversion of the natural order, if it were believed they were genetically inferior to the rich. Galton’s cousin, Charles Darwin, had devised a theory to account for the diversity of life on earth that was premised on “the fittest” surviving and breeding disproportionately. If the human species were being led by the prolific poor, that would seem to go against the history of life on earth.

Clearly something needed to be done. People, Galton argued, must take control of their own genetic future. The poor must be discouraged from breeding, and the rich must be encouraged to breed. Galton called for the scientific control of human breeding, a plan he called “eugenics.” It is the first of many ironies of the eugenics movement that Galton died without issue.

The eugenics movement gained scientific credibility, and international popularity, after the rise of Mendelian genetics at the beginning of the twentieth century. Across diverse political systems, eugenics implied a utopian, scientific approach to impending social problems. Eugenics was adopted and integrated into diverse national traditions: In England, it involved biometry and class; in America, it involved genes and race; in Germany, the metaphor of national illness and health prescribed a movement of “race hygiene;” while in Latin America the focus was more on public sanitation.

The eugenics movement inherited from the social Darwinists the idea that natural hierarchies were at the

root of social hierarchies in human societies. However, the eugenicists tied their ideas to the emerging science of genetics, and they sought active government intervention in the problems they perceived, which was quite antithetical to the social Darwinists' *laissez-faire* political goals. But the social landscape had changed. The first decade of the twentieth century had seen an enormous rise in the number of poor immigrants into the United States from Italy and eastern Europe. In an era without federal assistance for the poor, they lived in crime-ridden urban slums.

An International Congress in 1912 stimulated much interest in the eugenics movement. In America, its leading exponent was Charles Davenport, whose 1911 book, *Heredity in Relation to Eugenics*, was the first major text of human genetics in America. Davenport tackled many of the same problems as Franz Boas, whose book *The Mind of Primitive Man* was published the same year. But where Boas saw biology as largely irrelevant to the past or future of civilization, Davenport saw things quite differently. Civilizations rose and fell on account of their genes, and one's lot in life was determined by one's genes. Phrenologists and craniologists had justified their inferences on the grounds that the brain was the seat of thought and was contained within the skull, whose features could therefore stand as surrogate measures for the quality of one's thoughts. Davenport's eugenics took this one step further, for it was the genes that determined the structure of the brain and skull, and thus of the quality of the thoughts they contained. Like phrenology, then, there was a seductively materialist, if stunningly crude, logic to it.

Davenport's friend, a Yale-educated lawyer and amateur naturalist named Madison Grant, syncretized Davenport's genetics with Gobineau's racism and articulated a political platform for social change based on modern science. For Grant the problem was genetics; in particular, racial genetics. What concerned him most was the relative quality of the impoverished Italians and Jews immigrating in large numbers and living in crime and squalor. Grant contrasted the "Nordic" northern European to the "Mediterranean" southern European (a distinction drawn by the anthropologist William Z. Ripley in his 1899 *The Races of Europe*), and found the Nordic to be superior in body and mind; indeed (as per Gobineau), he found the Nordic "race" to be the fountain of all civilization. This interpretation of the past led to a nightmarish projection for the future, when one considered the flood of dirty, swarthy, unfit, and prolific poor people now entering America—worse even than the poor Irish immigrants of the previous generation.

In his 1916 bestseller, *The Passing of the Great Race*, Madison Grant articulated a solution that would empty the jails, balance the budget, and send America on the

path to world leadership. It involved the scientific control of reproduction, with the main goal being the widespread application of surgical sterilization for men and women. In chilling terms, he explained:

A rigid system of selection through the elimination of those who are weak or unfit—in other words, social failures—would . . . enable us to get rid of the undesirables who crowd our jails, hospitals, and insane asylums. . . . [Sterilization] can be applied to an ever widening circle of social discards, beginning always with the criminal, the diseased, and the insane, and extending gradually to types which may be called weaklings rather than defectives, and perhaps ultimately to worthless race types.

Grant's book was criticized by a few scholars, such as Franz Boas, but was well received in the scientific community generally. When the American Eugenics Society was formally incorporated in the 1920s, Madison Grant was one of its directors, and most of America's leading biologists served on its advisory board under him. Grant and the eugenicists had two principal political goals for the short term: a program for sterilizing the poor, and one for restricting the immigration of "alien scum," as they liked to call the non-northern European immigrants.

In addition to the scientific community, Grant's 1916 book was well received across a diverse political spectrum. Theodore Roosevelt, with whom Grant had worked in founding the New York Zoological Society, wrote him a letter of effusive praise. (After reading the 1925 German translation, so did Adolf Hitler.)

By the late 1920s, the eugenicists had had considerable success in the United States. In 1924, Congress enacted a major restriction of the immigration of Italians and eastern European Jews. Two years later, the Supreme Court decided that the state of Virginia had the right to sterilize Carrie Buck, a poor white woman, against her will. Basing their ruling on the latest science, which had convinced them that America was destined to be "swamped with incompetence" unless action was taken, the Court ruled 8 to 1 that "three generations of imbeciles are enough."

American sterilization laws were enacted at the state level, though often half-heartedly. Thirty states actually sterilized people over the next few decades, with California leading the way (sterilizing more than 20,000 citizens), and eleven other states each sterilizing more than 1,000 citizens. Europe provided more fertile ground for a state that wanted to subsume reproduction to its perceived scientific needs, and the emergence of a racist totalitarian government in Germany gave German eugenicists a chance to take the movement to its logical conclusion.

### THE DECLINE OF EUGENICS IN AMERICA, AND ITS RISE IN GERMANY

American biologists, particularly geneticists, were reluctant to criticize the eugenics movement. In the first place, two of the most powerful biologists in America were among its leaders: Charles Davenport of the Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory, and Henry Fairfield Osborn of the American Museum of Natural History. In the second place, the biologists were themselves products of their own era and class, and they thus often shared the values and prejudices of the eugenics movement. And finally, even if one did feel that Madison Grant overstated the case for genetics, he was nevertheless an advocate for the field.

The fruit fly geneticist (and later, Nobel laureate) Thomas Hunt Morgan, who worked in the same building as Franz Boas at Columbia University, was the only major figure in his field who played no part in the American Eugenics Society. But even Morgan refrained from using his scientific stature to criticize the eugenics program. The bacterial geneticist Herbert Spencer Jennings of Johns Hopkins University found that the statistics presented by the eugenicists to Congress in the early 1920s, ostensibly showing that American immigrants from southern Europe were more prone to crime than those from northern Europe, had been improperly analyzed. He alerted the American Eugenics Society's president, the Yale economist Irving Fisher, but was dissatisfied with the Society's lack of interest in the scientific mistakes it had presented to Congress, and he quietly resigned and dissociated himself from the Society. In 1927, his colleague Raymond Pearl published the first critique of eugenics program by an American biologist.

Prior to the publication of Pearl's 1927 article, the only critiques of eugenics had been published by people outside the mainstream of modern biological science. The journalist Walter Lippman had taken on the IQ testers in an angry series of articles in the *New Republic* in 1922–1923. Conservative Christians, especially Catholics, objected to governmental intervention in reproduction, which they took to be the affairs of God. Social scientists objected to the eugenicists' naïve genetic theory of history and civilization, while civil libertarians objected to their insistence on the perceived needs of the state taking precedence over the individual's civil rights, especially the right to privacy. The famed lawyer Clarence Darrow, who had defended modern biology in the 1925 trial of John T. Scopes for teaching evolution, savaged modern biology the following year for its devotion to eugenics. In the literary magazine *The American Mercury*, Darrow argued that “amongst the schemes for remolding society this is the most senseless and impudent that has ever been put forward by irresponsible fanatics to plague a long-suffering race.”

*The American Mercury* was edited by the Baltimore-based journalist and critic H. L. Mencken, who called eugenics “mainly blather” in his column in the *Baltimore Sun* in May 1927. He prevailed upon his friend and fellow Baltimore intellectual Raymond Pearl to write up his reservations about eugenics, publishing them under the title “The Biology of Superiority” in November 1927. Pearl acknowledged the social prejudices underlying the research, and exposed the flimsy science backing it up. Since Pearl was a respected biologist, his article caused a sensation and was picked up by the major news services. Of course, publicly challenging the power structure of the scientific community was not without its risks, and Pearl found that his offer of a professorship at Harvard was quickly retracted.

Other critiques by biologists soon came out, notably by the American geneticist Hermann Muller (“The Dominance of Economics over Eugenics,” 1932). These scholars, however, did not necessarily dispense with the foolishly utopian view of a state-guided, scientific approach to love, marriage, and procreation, based on popular prejudices; they merely rebelled against the ways in which the ideas were being implemented at the time. Pearl himself believed that Jews, after centuries of life in crowded ghettos, had become better adapted to urban life than non-Jews, and he urged that strict quotas be placed on their admission to medical schools, lest their ranks in the professional classes swell excessively at the expense of ordinary Americans. Muller, for his part, tried to convince Josef Stalin to implement a state-sponsored program of eugenic breeding, and barely escaped the Soviet Union with his life in 1937.

It was in Germany that eugenicists were given the opportunity to work with the state most closely to implement their ideas. Adolf Hitler had found inspiration in the compatibility between his political goals and the writings of Madison Grant and the eugenicists. He had read the genetics textbook by Eugen Fischer, Erwin Baur, and Fritz Lenz, who advocated the same social prejudices as their American counterparts. When Hitler came to power in 1932, he promoted like-minded scholars. Eugen Fischer became the director of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute of Anthropology, Human Heredity, and Eugenics, and he implemented the Nazi policies with such enthusiasm that Franz Weidenreich, a distinguished anatomist who had been forced to emigrate because of his ancestry, later suggested in the pages of the journal *Science* that he be tried as a war criminal.

In 1934, the prestigious journal *Zeitschrift für Morphologie und Anthropologie* published a special volume in Fischer's honor. In the preface to the volume, two of Fischer's former students wrote, “We stand upon the threshold of a new era. For the first time in world history, the Führer Adolf Hitler is putting into practice the insights about the



**Dr. Eugen Fischer.** Fischer, who considered that racial mixing was a threat to European culture, became director of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute of Anthropology and Genetics. ARCHIV ZUR GESCHICHTE DER MAX-PLANCK-GESELLSCHAFT, BERLIN DAHLEM.

biological foundations of the development of peoples—race, heredity, selection. It is no coincidence that Germany is the locus of this event: German science provides the tools for the politician.” Among the essays that followed were contributions from two Americans, Raymond Pearl and Charles Davenport.

The sterilization laws enacted by the Nazis in 1935 were modeled on the state laws in America, which had been drafted by Charles Davenport’s assistant, the geneticist Harry Laughlin. As a result, Nazi-controlled Heidelberg University awarded Laughlin an honorary doctorate in 1936. By then, however, any formal association with the Nazis was sufficiently embarrassing that Laughlin was discouraged from traveling to Germany to accept it in person.

The Nazis were mobilizing the full force of the modern industrial state in support of the eugenic program, and the doctrines of human progress culminating in the Nordic race, that had been promoted for decades in the name of science. The people who felt the full brunt of their efficient technologies in the 1940s were almost precisely the groups initially targeted by Madison Grant in 1916: criminals, the diseased, “weaklings,” and “worthless race types”. In practice, this meant Jews, Gypsies, homosexuals, and others. Moreover, the sterilization advocated by the scientists was costly and time consuming. To deal with people who were

not deemed worthy of reproducing, a hail of bullets or a vial of poison gas was assuredly a more efficient and cost-effective means. If they were not worthy of breeding, why should they be worthy of living?

American support for eugenics waned in America with the accession of the Nazis in Germany. Certainly the stock market crash and the ensuing Depression showed how weakly biological endowments counted in comparison to the life-determining effects of economics and culture. By the end of the 1930s, the Carnegie Foundation had withdrawn its long-standing support for the Eugenics Record Office at Cold Spring Harbor, and full-length criticisms of racist science began to appear in England and America, notably *We Europeans* (1935) by the biologist Julian Huxley and anthropologist Alfred Cort Haddon; *Race: A Study in Superstition* (1937) by the historian Jacques Barzun; and *Man’s Most Dangerous Myth* (1942) by the anthropologist Ashley Montagu.

America was not without its deep scientific racist issues, however. Respected anatomists such as Milo Hellman and Adolph Schultz found a relative primitiveness and apishness in the teeth and skeletons of blacks. The physical anthropologist Earnest Hooton of Harvard struggled mightily to differentiate his science from that of his German counterparts, but he was not very successful and clung to theories of genetically based criminality and eugenics long after most American scientists had abandoned them. In a study that continued for decades, medical practitioners in Tuskegee, Alabama, studied black men infected with syphilis and monitored the course of the disease without treating them. In much of America, where segregation was a fact of life, the inherent inferiority and lesser value of black lives (and Native American lives) was widely taken for granted.

#### THE REFORMATION OF PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY AND HUMAN GENETICS

At the end of World War II, the sciences of physical anthropology (as the study of human physical diversity) and human genetics lay largely in tatters, and both fields had to be reinvented. James Neel provided the inspiration for rebuilding human genetics into a science that focused on real genes rather than imaginary ones, on medical rather than social pathologies, and on the availability of voluntary services for the sake of the family rather than coerced procedures for the good of the state or race. As a founding ancestor, Charles Davenport was quietly buried and Archibald Garrod, who had discovered the Mendelian basis of a metabolic disease in 1902, was installed in his place.

In physical anthropology, Sherwood Washburn took the lead in outlining a new physical anthropology





**Ota Benga in the Bronx Zoo, 1906.** Ota Benga, a Congolese pygmy, was put on display at the Bronx Zoo after first coming to the United States to be featured in the anthropology exhibits at the St. Louis World's Fair in 1904. © WILDLIFE CONSERVATION SOCIETY.

that focused on adaptation rather than classification, evolution rather than typology, real human breeding populations rather than abstract agglomerated races, and common themes of ancient humanity rather than divisive themes of contemporary biological chauvinism. A newer scientific approach to human variation would see the human species, in the words of British physical anthropologist Joseph S. Weiner, “as constituting a widespread network of more-or-less interrelated, ecologically adapted and functional entities.”

The rooting of Nazi ideology in the science of race attracted the attention of the fledgling United Nations, which commissioned an international panel of scholars to draft a formal statement summarizing the (nonthreatening) science of race. The anthropologist Ashley Montagu emerged as its principal framer, and the UNESCO Statement on Race was issued in 1950. In twenty-one paragraphs, this statement articulated a view of race in which the cultural forces shaping a human being were far stronger than any biological differences. Thus, “each group arbitrarily tends to misinterpret the variability which

occurs as a fundamental difference which separates that group from all others,” and “so far as temperament is concerned, there is . . . evidence that whatever group differences of the kind there might be are greatly overridden by the individual differences, and by the differences springing from environmental factors.” Further, “for all practical social purposes ‘race’ is not so much a biological phenomenon as a social myth. . . . Lastly, biological studies lend support to the ethic of universal brotherhood; for man is born with drives toward cooperation, and unless these drives are satisfied, men and nations alike fall ill.”

This language proved too radical for the senior generation of racial scholars, however, and they asked UNESCO to have the document re-drafted. UNESCO capitulated to the pressure, and produced another Statement on Race in 1951. This second statement focused principally on genetics and weakened many of the more forceful assertions of the first. Among the complaints forcing this change was one submitted by the aged former Nazi, Eugen Fischer.

The scientific turmoil at UNESCO, however, was peripheral to racial issues in America. To some extent the key decisions in the civil rights movement of the 1950s, such as *Brown v. the Board of Education* (1954), drew inspiration from a generation of Boasian anthropological thought. Ultimately, issues of relative natural endowments and of the pattern and distribution of human biological differences were deemed to be red herrings; the heart of the matter was the guarantee of constitutionally based freedoms to all parts of American society.

#### THE RADICAL CRITIQUE OF EGALITARIANISM (II)

There was an inevitable backlash to the liberalization of racial thought in the post-Nazi era. As the cold war emerged, a dark secret emerged with it. Back in the 1930s, before America and Germany had gone to war, many Americans held sympathy for Nazi racial views. After all, there was a great deal of continuity between German racial science and its American counterpart. The principal enemies of the Nazis in those days were not the Americans, but the Communists, so many young intellectuals set against Nazi racism naturally tended to gravitate to those who were the strongest opponents of the Nazis—that is, to the Communists. By the 1950s the Nazis had been officially routed, and America’s new enemies were now the Communists, and consequently many middle-aged intellectuals who had worked for egalitarian ideals in their youth were now saddled with an embarrassing Communist past.

In 1943 the USO (United Service Organizations) had commissioned a pamphlet by anthropologists to explain

race to GIs, and to show them what they were ostensibly fighting for. It was written by two Boasians at Columbia University, Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish, and was called "The Races of Man." After extensive distribution of the pamphlet, a group of southern Congressmen, led by Representative Andrew J. May of Kentucky, had it withdrawn and declared subversive for its strongly egalitarian message. A few years later, after Benedict had died, Weltfish was summoned to testify about her Communist past by the House Un-American Activities Committee, after which she was summarily fired by Columbia University. A similar fate befell Ashley Montagu, the principal author of the original UNESCO Statement on Race, who was fired from his position at Rutgers University.

There were also scientists who opposed school integration and the overall goals of the civil rights movement, believing that their positions were validated scientifically. By the early 1960s, however, this group had shrunk to a small, if shrill, minority. Back in 1937, a textile magnate named Wickliffe Draper had set up a philanthropic endowment to support the scientific study of human differences, with a nod towards proving the superiority of the white race. The first president of Draper's Pioneer Fund was the eugenicist Harry Laughlin. By the early 1960s, the Pioneer Fund was supporting psychometric studies purporting to demonstrate the lack of intelligence of blacks. Draper helped underwrite the formation of a journal, the *Mankind Quarterly*, which began publication in 1960 as an outlet for unrepentant racists who felt left out of the liberalized academic mainstream.

The journal's editor was an obscure Scottish nobleman, Robert Gayre, and his associate editors were a psychologist named Henry Garrett and a geneticist named Ruggles Gates. Garrett had testified against school integration and had become convinced that the civil rights movement was the result of a conspiracy of Jews, communists, and anthropologists, all drawing inspiration from Franz Boas. Gates was trained as a botanical geneticist, and because plants commonly profligate outside the accepted taxonomic boundaries of their species, he rejected the interbreeding criterion as evidence of human unity and became the last academic advocate of species status for human races. His book *Human Ancestry* (1948) came with a foreword by his friend Earnest Hooton, who politely disavowed all the ideas that followed.

The *Mankind Quarterly*, edited by Gayre, Garrett, and Gates, caused a sensation with its first issue. The physical anthropologists Geoffrey Harrison, Juan Comas, and Santiago Genoves angrily denounced it in the mainstream scientific literature. An eastern European anthropologist resigned from *Mankind Quarterly's* editorial board upon discovering its ideological stance; as a Dachau survivor he found the response unsatisfactory and condescending, and

therefore criticized the journal, only to be sued by Gayre and Garrett for associating them with Nazi ideologies.

Other prominent segregationists worked to promote a scientific case for their cause. In 1962, Wesley Critz George, an anatomist from the University of North Carolina, authored a study commissioned by the governor of Alabama, called "The Biology of the Race Problem," ostensibly demonstrating the inferiority of black intelligence. The work was assiduously promoted by a propagandist, businessman (founder of Delta Airlines), and sometime historian named Carleton Putnam, whose own segregationist book, *Race and Reason* (1961) echoed Garrett's ideas about the insidious egalitarian cabal of Jews, communists, and anthropologists.

Putnam's work was roundly condemned by the American Anthropological Association at its 1961 meeting. The leading evolutionary geneticist of the era, Theodosius Dobzhansky, also weighed in harshly. Dobzhansky was in an ideal position to criticize the work, for he was not Jewish, not an anthropologist, and an émigré from the Soviet regime. Nevertheless, Putnam and the segregationists had a valuable ally within the anthropological community—Putnam's cousin, the University of Pennsylvania anthropologist Carleton Coon, who was also the sitting president of the American Association of Physical Anthropologists.

Coon's own book, *The Origin of Races* (1962), was being cited by the segregationists even before publication. It purported to demonstrate that Africans had evolved from *Homo erectus* into *Homo sapiens* 200,000 years after Europeans had, which explained their innate backwardness. The scholarly reviews were mixed, with varying degrees of deference paid to Coon's stature in the scholarly community, much querying about the possibility of separate races evolving in parallel across a species boundary, and much private speculation about Coon's political allegiances and motives. Coon maintained a public posture of being apolitical, but he was privately assisting the segregationists.

At the end of the decade, a major beneficiary of the Pioneer Fund, Berkeley psychologist Arthur Jensen, published an article in the *Harvard Educational Review* that rhetorically asked, "How much can we boost IQ and scholastic achievement?" and answered, predictably, not very much at all. Jensen and his British counterparts, Cyril Burt and Hans Eysenck, were the most prominent remaining proponents of the view that intelligence was principally innate and unalterable. Burt's studies of identical twins separated at birth and subsequently reunited seemed to support these ideas, but by the late 1970s it had become clear that Burt was, to put it mildly, an eccentric scientist whose twins and collaborators were largely products of his imagination. Jensen's and Eysenck's arguments relied

heavily on their misinterpretation of a statistic from genetics called “heritability.” Prominent geneticists (such as Richard Lewontin and Luca Cavalli-Sforza) and psychologists (such as Steven Rose and Leon Kamin) rose to show the flaws in their reasoning.

Around 1970, Jensen was joined in his crusade by William Shockley, a Stanford University Nobel laureate in physics who parlayed the invention of the transistor into a bully pulpit for his ideas on the inferiority of blacks and the merits of the discarded ideas of eugenics. Shockley also believed that women should have an opportunity to be fertilized by the highest-quality sperm available, and, along with a California tycoon and visionary named Robert Graham, he started a Nobel-laureate sperm bank. Unfortunately for them, most Nobel laureates were smart enough not to want anything to do with Shockley or his ideas, and the sperm bank never produced a Nobel baby (Plotz 2005).

While the present discussion has focused on Euro-American scientific racism, the ideas were also influential to various degrees elsewhere, and the place where they remained in force the longest as formal state policy was in the former British colony of South Africa. Colonial powers there took pains to manipulate the archaeological record, permitting them to deny the attribution of architecture and metallurgy to the ancestors of the local indigenous people. Much scholarly literature in South Africa prior to World War II employed a crude racialized ideology. After World War II, however, with the passage of the laws collectively known as “apartheid,” the South African government came to use more anthropologically sophisticated ideas about cultural diversity to rationalize its policies for moving dispossessed blacks to reservations, or homelands. The political transition in the 1990s fostered public reflection on the relationship between European science and anti-African racism. Some acknowledgment of the Africans’ early encounters with science was made when the French agreed, in 2002, to repatriate the remains of Sarah Baartman, a Khoen woman who had toured Europe on display and been dissected upon her death by the greatest anatomists of the age, with her remains kept in the *Musée de l’Homme* in Paris for two centuries. Instrumental in the negotiations was the physical anthropologist Phillip Tobias, who had fought against apartheid and its science. Ironically, the apartheid government had also opposed evolution, which has now been embraced by the new government.

#### SCIENTIFIC RACISM SINCE THE 1970s

One of the ironies about the controversy surrounding the publication of *Sociobiology: The New Synthesis* (1975), by the Harvard entomologist Edward O. Wilson, was that it came with no overt political agenda. Its arguments came

from theoretical ecology, its data were from animal behavior, and it said nothing about race, except to raise the possibility that racism (or xenophobia, a Davenport-like neologism meaning “fear of strangers”) might be innate. It made rash generalizations about human nature and presented an overly biologized view of human behavior. Observers were justifiably outraged when a protester poured water on Wilson during a scientific meeting, but probably more outrageous was Wilson’s own naiveté in not realizing that scientific pronouncements about human behavior are invariably politicized.

Two decades later, this became evident once again, when the Harvard hereditarian psychologist Richard Herrnstein collaborated with conservative political theorist Charles Murray on *The Bell Curve*. This work made a case against social programs directed at the poor, on the grounds that the poor were irremediably stupid, as attested by their low IQs, which the authors claimed are genetically fixed. *The Bell Curve* reiterated Arthur Jensen’s arguments (and errors) of the preceding generation, and it cited not only the work of several Pioneer Fund beneficiaries, but several articles published in the *Mankind Quarterly* as well, hardly a mainstream or reputable source. Conservative political activists quickly recognized the value of the book in invoking nature to justify social inequality, just as William Graham Sumner had done a century earlier.

Another quirk of *The Bell Curve* was its citations of the work of a Pioneer Fund beneficiary, the Canadian psychologist Philippe Rushton. In addition, a pre-emptive appendix defended Rushton’s work as “not that of a crackpot or a bigot” and “plainly science.” Rushton envisions a racial spectrum in which natural selection has produced innately large-brained, law-abiding, civilized, and under-sexualized Asians; innately small-brained, criminalistic, primitive, and licentious Africans; and Europeans as a happy medium. *The Bell Curve*’s mild characterization of these bizarre ideas is not simply an understatement, but is more likely just a simple falsehood (Graves 2002; Lieberman 2001). Rushton had his work reprinted in a digested form and sent to the membership lists of the American Anthropological Association, the American Sociological Association, and other academic organizations, with the financial assistance of the Pioneer Fund, of which he was subsequently made president.

*The Bell Curve* came as a shock to scholars of human diversity, who thought they had seen the last of these ideas back in the 1960s. It drove home forcefully the lesson that, because the political stakes are high, the scientific study of human diversity requires constant vigilance to prevent its corruption by those who would use science to make people’s lives more miserable (which would seem to provide an argument against science generally, if that is indeed its result). Consequently, the



**Saartjie Baartman.** Officials stand next to a plaster cast of Saartjie Baartman during a ceremony to mark the return of Baartman's remains to South Africa in 2002. AP IMAGES.

American Anthropological Association and the American Association of Physical Anthropologists adopted public position statements on race, updating the old UNESCO statements.

At century's end, another version of scientific racism briefly surfaced again. Where the body and mind are commonly juxtaposed against one another, and the minds of whites are taken to be superior to those of blacks, a corollary might be that the bodies of blacks are superior to those of whites. Buffon had responded in the eighteenth century to the popular rumor that blacks were considered more physically hale than whites, and thus more fit for manual labor, while the spectacular success of Jack Johnson in boxing and Jesse Owens in track in the twentieth century suggested an innate physical superiority of "the black athlete"—if one took them not as exceptional, gifted, and well-trained individuals, but as gross avatars or symbols. Paradoxically, as anatomists studied Jesse Owens' legs looking for marks of

black superiority, they found none; indeed, they found his feet to be rather "white" (Hoberman 1997).

The gradual entry of blacks into American professional sports, and the opening up of athletics as a professional venue, produced a new crop of excellent black athletes and a new wave of scientific racism to account for their success. The prominence of black football players was accompanied by the underlying sentiment that they could nevertheless not succeed at a "thinking" position such as quarterback. The African-American quarterback Doug Williams subsequently led the Washington Redskins to the National Football League championship in the 1988 Super Bowl. The prominence of black baseball players raised the question of their absence from the managerial ranks in 1987, to which Al Campanis, an executive for the Los Angeles Dodgers, casually responded that perhaps blacks lacked the intellectual abilities for managing (he added that black swimmers also lacked the necessary buoyancy for elite status in that sport). In 1975, Frank

Robinson had become the first black manager in the major leagues, and in 1992 and 1993 Cito Gaston would lead the Toronto Blue Jays to consecutive World Series baseball championships.

Nevertheless, the prominence of blacks in basketball in the 1990s renewed pseudo-scientific suspicions that they were innately endowed, as a group, with athletic prowess. These views were summarized by a journalist named Jon Entine, whose book *Taboo: Why Blacks Dominate Sports and Why We're Afraid to Talk about It* was published in 2000. Entine's answer to black "domination" was racial genetic superiority, and his explanation of the "fear" was an updated version of the old anthropological-Jewish-communist conspiracy. Like all the previous variations on the theme of genetically embedded racial hierarchies, this one was also overtaken by social and historical events—in this case, the collapse of the United States Olympic basketball team in 2004 and the emergence of basketball stars from other parts of the world.

SEE ALSO *Boas, Franz; Chamberlain, Houston Stewart; Eugenics, History of; Exploitation; Galton, Francis; Genocide; Great Chain of Being; Holocaust; IQ and Testing; Jensen, Arthur; Morton, Samuel George; Racial Hierarchy; Slavery, Racial.*

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Jonathan Marks

## SCOTTSBORO BOYS

The Scottsboro Boys case remains one of the most famous examples of racial injustice in the U.S. South during the Jim Crow era. What began with a lie told by two young white women in Alabama to avoid accu-

sations of prostitution, ballooned into perhaps the most infamous legal case involving race in the 1930s, garnering not only national, but also international attention, and even the participation of the U.S. Communist Party. While the accusations landed nine black youths unfairly in prison for years (much of the time under death sentences), the case would commence a slow improvement for African Americans caught up in the southern judicial system, especially for black men accused of the ultimate crime against the repressive racial order of the Jim Crow South—the rape of a white woman.

The case of the Scottsboro Boys began on March 25, 1931. It was near the height of the Great Depression and an estimated 200,000 Americans were living then as virtual vagabonds on the nation's railroads, hopping freight cars from place to place in a desperate search for work. That day, a group of white rail-riders walked into Stevenson, Alabama, claiming some black men had assaulted and thrown them off a Memphis-bound freight train. Authorities promptly stopped the train and pulled off nine young black men. The assault charges they faced quickly grew much more serious when two female rail-riders, Ruby Bates and Victoria Price, accused the black youths of raping them.

The rape of a white woman by a black man was the most serious offense imaginable under Jim Crow. Indeed, thousands of black men were lynched (i.e., extra-legally executed) in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in the U.S. South after having been accused of raping a white woman. Even worse, for a white woman to point the finger at a black man for rape was tantamount to conviction in the eyes of many white Southerners, and the offense considered so grave that in many localities the alleged perpetrator faced a mob-organized execution (usually by hanging) because an outraged white populace could not wait for justice through normal legal channels, where blacks accused of lesser offenses against Jim Crow usually were dealt with. Virtually all white Southerners in the 1930s, to varying degrees, saw African Americans as barely civilized and believed that black men secretly lusted after white women. They were quite ready to believe any accusation of rape leveled by a white woman against a black man and to deal with such offenders as uncivilized brutes who needed to be done away with quickly for the good of society.

Hence, when the Scottsboro Boys (as the nine young men became known)—Olen Montgomery, Clarence Norris, Haywood Patterson, Ozie Powell, Willie Roberson, Charlie Weems, Eugene Williams, and brothers Andrew and Leroy (Roy) Wright—were taken to Scottsboro, the seat of Jackson County, in far northeastern Alabama, for incarceration and trial, many white Southerners congratulated themselves for what they saw as a moderate, even enlightened response to the gravest of crimes. (Although



*The Scottsboro Boys, 1931.* The Scottsboro Boys case remains one of the most famous examples of racial injustice in the U.S. South during the Jim Crow era. The nine men, seen here in an Alabama prison shortly after their arrest, were falsely accused of raping a white woman. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

Alabama governor Benjamin Meeks Miller, afraid of a lynching, still felt it necessary to guarantee the safety of the prisoners by sending 119 armed National Guardsmen to Scottsboro).

If Alabama and the white South felt pride at their restrained reaction to the accusations of gang rape of white women by black men, they squandered whatever goodwill garnered outside the region in the initial trials of the Scottsboro Boys. These proceedings were a travesty of justice. They took place in a carnival atmosphere that emphasized rather than concealed the white populace's furious mood, its anger stirred by wildly inflated rumors about the alleged rape. Given their race, poverty, and the horrific nature of the alleged crime, it proved impossible for the Scottsboro Boys to secure competent legal representation. They were forced to go on trial represented by Stephen R. Roddy, an alcoholic lawyer hired with money raised by leading black citizens in nearby Chattanooga, Tennessee. With inadequate representation and having already been

convicted in the media, the outcome of the nine boys' trial was a foregone conclusion. Each of the Scottsboro Boys was quickly convicted by all-white juries and sentenced to death, except for thirteen-year-old Roy Wright whose jury could not unanimously decide on a death sentence due to his youth and whose case was declared a mistrial.

With the circumstances of the trials widely reported throughout the United States and abroad, outrage quickly developed outside the South against the verdicts and death sentences levied on the Scottsboro Boys. While many observers expected that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) would step in to fund and manage the youths' appeals, the U.S. Communist Party, through its front organization, International Labor Defense (ILD), moved quicker to gain the allegiance of the nine men and their families. With the Great Depression causing many Americans to question the future of capitalism as they never had before, the Communists historically were at the peak of their popularity in the United

States, and saw the Scottsboro case as a way to make inroads among African Americans both in the South and elsewhere. As perhaps the only political organization of that era to practice as well as preach racial equality, the Communists were hopeful the case would garner mass support among black Americans and hasten what they believed would be the inevitable revolution of the working class against capitalism in the United States.

The speed with which the ILD took over the Scottsboro Boys' defense stunned the NAACP, which was initially reluctant to involve itself in the case until convinced of the nine young men's innocence. Its efforts to replace the Communists ignited a fight for control that would continue, off and on, for four years. The battle pitted the NAACP's relatively greater resources and respectability against the ILD's ideological fervor and ruthless determination. For example, the Communists made small payments to the families of the Scottsboro Boys and took some of their mothers on speaking tours to the North and abroad as a way of cementing the youths' allegiance. They would later go so far as to try and bribe Victoria Price to recant her original accusation. The fallout of such disasters and their lack of resources would force the ILD in late 1935 to join forces with the NAACP, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), and other more moderate groups into the "Scottsboro Defense Committee." Nonetheless, the Communist Party through the ILD would take the lead role in organizing and funding the defense of the Scottsboro Boys in its early years.

ILD initially hired George W. Chamlee, a maverick Chattanooga attorney with a history of defending leftist radicals in the South, as the new defense counsel for the Scottsboro Boys. They felt the case needed a white Southerner who would have credibility with the Alabama Supreme Court. Chamlee based his appeal there on the inadequate counsel of Stephen R. Roddy in the original trial. While Chamlee's argument before the Alabama Supreme Court failed, it was a necessary step on the way to the U.S. Supreme Court, where the justices agreed to hear the case, *Powell v. Alabama*, and in November 1932 overturned the conviction of the Scottsboro Boys on the grounds of inadequate representation in the original trial.

The victory in the U.S. Supreme Court sent the case back to Alabama for retrial. Given the case's high profile, the Communists were able to retain for the Scottsboro Boys one of the best lawyers available: Samuel Leibowitz, a New Yorker and Romanian-born Jew, considered by many observers, after the retirement of Clarence Darrow, to be the finest criminal defense attorney in the United States. In fifteen years as a practicing criminal attorney, Leibowitz had not yet had a client convicted. Leibowitz took the case pro bono on the condition that he would work independently of ILD, whose role would be limited to fundraising

and generating public support for Scottsboro Boys (a limitation the Communists were ill-prepared to accept in practice and one that would inevitably lead to repeated clashes with Leibowitz).

Despite his mounting a first-class defense for his nine clients during the second round of trials in March 1933, Samuel Leibowitz's logic and eloquence were insufficient in the face of white southern prejudice. Although the defense was able to obtain a change of venue in the second trial from Scottsboro to Decatur, Alabama (fifty miles to the west), they were still dealing with all-white juries imbued with the Jim Crow system. Indeed, Leibowitz's attempts to discredit Victoria Price as a witness backfired because the Decatur jury, instead of seeing the clear problems with her account, was instead gravely offended that a New York Jew would dare question a white southern women's assertion that she had been raped by African Americans. Despite the fact that Ruby Bates, Price's co-complainant, recanted her accusations at the second trial and the medical testimony clearly indicated no rape had ever occurred, the jury that decided the fate of the first Scottsboro defendant who was re-tried, Haywood Patterson, quickly convicted him and fixed his sentence again at death.

Surprisingly, while Leibowitz had offended the Patterson jury, he had convinced the judge that presided over the Decatur retrial, James Horton, of the Scottsboro Boys' innocence. The first sign of Horton's sentiments came after Patterson's conviction. The judge suspended further proceedings for the other eight defendants because the inflamed public sentiments evident after the Patterson's conviction would clearly prevent them from getting a fair trial. After a three-month delay, Judge Horton granted a defense motion in June 1933 that Patterson receive a new trial. His sentiments reflected the opinion among a small but growing group of moderate whites in Alabama that were willing to entertain the notion the Scottsboro Boys might be innocent or at least did not deserve the death penalty. Yet the vast majority of white Alabamians remained firmly convinced of the need to convict and execute the nine defendants, and made persons with more moderate opinions pay a price if they exhibited them too publicly. For example, Horton failed to retain his judgeship when he came up for reelection in 1934.

The third round of trials, which began in November 1933, reflected the will of most whites in Alabama to press the proceedings toward the conviction and execution of the Scottsboro Boys, whatever it took. Leading the effort to continue the prosecution was Alabama's attorney general, Thomas G. Knight, who had been a central figure in the case since he had argued his state's case before the U.S. Supreme Court in *Powell v. Alabama*. Knight led the prosecution team personally in Haywood Patterson's retrial and in the third round of trials. He found an ally in



William Washington Callahan, the judge who took over the case when proceedings resumed on November 20, 1933, in Decatur, Alabama. Callahan rejected Leibowitz's motions for a change of venue and his efforts to challenge the exclusion of African Americans from the jury pool in Morgan County, Alabama. He also placed severe restrictions on Leibowitz's ability to question Price on her activities prior to the alleged rape, tantamount to blocking the lawyer's ability to cross-examine her adequately. Callahan also frequently added his own objections to those of Knight, and his instructions to the jury essentially served as a second summation for the prosecution. The judge also tried to use the post-trial procedures to create technicalities to deny Leibowitz's ability to appeal the guilty verdict and Patterson's third death sentence.

In any case, the Alabama Supreme Court rejected Leibowitz's appeal on behalf of Patterson, and the case once again went before the U.S. Supreme Court. The appeal was complicated not only by the procedural roadblock created by Judge Callahan, but also because at this time the attempt of ILD to bribe Price became public. The revelation led to a temporary break in relations between Leibowitz and the ILD, which were repaired in time for the oral arguments before the U.S. Supreme Court in February 1935. Unlike before, the Scottsboro Boys' second appeal to the nation's highest court was based on the exclusion of African Americans from the jury pool in Decatur, Alabama. Leibowitz had carefully made an issue of this practice during jury selection in the trials there. His argument before the justices was bolstered by clear evidence that someone had amateurishly inserted names of potential black jurors to the juror rolls before the Decatur trials presided over by Judge Callahan in an attempt to conceal the longstanding exclusion of African Americans from juries there. Although the Supreme Court refused to make new case law in its decision of the second appeal, it remanded the case back to the Alabama Supreme Court with the clear implication that if the Alabama justices did not order a new trial, it would review the case again. (The Alabama Supreme Court complied.)

Yet the second victory of the Scottsboro Boys in the U.S. Supreme Court did not soften the opinions of most white people in Alabama. As the premier historian of the Scottsboro case, Dan T. Carter, stated of white Alabamians,

The majority ... had adopted the position that mass electrocution was necessary in order to insure the 'social stability of this section,' observed John Temple Graves, II. It was the 'inflexible if misguided conviction of many Alabamians ... that [even after three rounds of trials] a fresh start be made in the business of getting the accused men to the electric chair.' (Carter 1979, pp. 328–29)

Hence, a fourth round of trials began in Decatur, Alabama, in January 1936, with Patterson going first.

Leibowitz, although still chief counsel for the defense, was not as prominent as in the earlier trials because he had by this time become a hated figure among white Alabamians for his uncompromising courtroom style, especially his firm cross-examinations of Price, and the fact he was a New York Jew, something that had been politely overlooked prior to his assault on southern womanhood. Judge Callahan remained in charge and continued making his own objections to questions posed by the defense and generally making no secret of his contempt for them. Yet Patterson's 1936 trial proved something of a breakthrough: when after his inevitable conviction, the jury, rather than sentencing him to death, set down his punishment as imprisonment for seventy-five years.

The prison sentence for Patterson demonstrated that as committed as conservative whites in Alabama were to the conviction and execution of all of the Scottsboro Boys to preserve white supremacy, a more moderate and pragmatic element in the state was willing to engineer a face-saving compromise to end the judicial proceedings once and for all. The negotiations of the compromise remain unclear, but the basic terms quickly took shape. First, prosecution would be dropped against those defendants with the weakest cases against them in terms of their alleged culpability for the assault on the white rail-riders. Second, the convictions against the remaining defendants would stand, but they would be not be sentenced to death and eventually would be pardoned and set free. Furthering the atmosphere for compromise was the sudden death, in July 1937, of Thomas G. Knight. Knight had tied his political career to convicting the Scottsboro Boys, and had even continued to lead the prosecution team after his election as Alabama's lieutenant governor in November 1934. While many white Alabamians, Judge Callahan in particular, wanted to continue with the prosecution of all the Scottsboro Boys for rape, Knight's death removed their most effective advocate.

In other words, Knight's death apparently made possible what became known as the "Compromise of 1937." Despite the fact that Clarence Norris went on trial again for his life on July 12, 1937, and despite the fact he was again convicted and sentenced to death, rumors that a grand bargain involving all the Scottsboro Boys was in the making circulated in the press. These rumors continued even when Charlie Weems was convicted of rape in his 1937 trial and sentenced to seventy-five years, as had been the case with Patterson. They took on reality when Ozie Powell was brought to court for his trial, and Judge Callahan informed him the rape charges against him had been dropped and he would instead be prosecuted for assaulting a deputy sheriff (an incident that had occurred during Patterson's last trial). Powell pled guilty to the assault charge and Callahan sentenced him to twenty years. Charges were then quickly dropped against Olen Montgomery, Willie Roberson, Eugene Williams, and Roy Wright. These four men were

## Second Klan

quickly whisked by Leibowitz out of Alabama to New York City, where they received a hero's welcome, but then quickly slipped into obscurity (and in some cases continued to live troubled lives).

The pardons for the remaining Scottsboro defendants still in prison were slow in coming. Governor Bibb Graves of Alabama refused quick pardons, but he did commute the death sentence of Clarence Norris to life imprisonment. Evidently, Graves believed that if he released the remaining Scottsboro Boys it would be the end of his political career. As the U.S. Supreme Court refused further appeals and President Franklin Roosevelt declined to exert more than gentle pressure on Graves, the five men left in prison remained incarcerated for years. It would take a world war and fading memories for freedom to become possible for them. Having finally entered the Alabama corrections system, their cases came under the control of the Alabama Board of Pardons and Paroles. It apparently opted for a policy of gradually releasing without fanfare the remaining Scottsboro Boys. The first to be set free was Charley Weems in November 1943. In January 1944, it paroled Andrew Wright and Clarence Norris. The two men fled the state, in violation of their paroles, were persuaded to return and were re-imprisoned. This episode put a temporary stop to the releases until near the end of 1946, when the board released Powell and re-paroled Norris. Patterson, considered by his jailers the most incorrigible of the Scottsboro Boys, escaped from a work detail in 1948 and successfully eluded recapture, making his way to Michigan, where he permanently gained freedom because the governor of the state refused to extradite him. In 1950, when Wright was re-paroled, the last of the men arrested in 1931 finally went free for good. They, like their compatriots freed in 1937, also faded into obscurity.

Clearly, the resolution of the Scottsboro case was designed in the end for the racist Alabama justice system to save face. Yet it also signaled to the white South that, unlike in the past, people outside the region were watching, not only in the rest of the United States but abroad as well. While racist injustice did not end overnight, change was in the wind, and the Scottsboro Boys helped demonstrate by the 1970s just how much the southern justice system had changed. After NBC in 1976 showed a made-for-television docudrama on the Scottsboro case, Norris, apparently the last surviving Scottsboro Boy, resurfaced asking for a full and unconditional pardon. Alabama governor George Wallace readily gave this pardon. Granted by a politician who had initially made his career as a segregationist but experienced a change of heart, it was a fitting bookend to the case since a "full and unconditional" pardon was generally reserved for those cases where the state recognized the original prosecution and conviction itself had been erroneous.

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Donald R. Shaffer

## SECOND KLAN

The most notorious white supremacist organization in American history, the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), has assumed various forms over time. The original Klan was organized shortly after the end of the Civil War and engaged in violent activities against African Americans and white Republicans in the South. Four decades later, however, a second Klan, the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, would appear and evolve into a mass social and political movement that attracted the support of millions of Americans during the 1920s.

### ORIGINS OF THE SECOND KU KLUX KLAN

The establishment and success of the second Klan largely resulted from a shift in popular attitudes concerning the original KKK. Although the first Klan had been, by any standard, a lawless terrorist organization, the passage of time had imbued it with a romantic aura that appealed to the racist sensibilities of many white Americans in the early twentieth century. The Klan's improved public image was well shown by the remarkable popularity of Thomas Dixon's novels, *The Leopard's Spots* (1902) and *The Clansman* (1905), both of which presented the KKK as intrepid freedom fighters arrayed against the sinister elements that imperiled Anglo-Saxon civilization. This assessment received academic endorsement from influential scholars who emphasized the alleged mistreatment of white southerners by the Radical Republicans and their black allies during Reconstruction. As historian and future president Woodrow Wilson emphasized, the "white men of the South were aroused by the mere instinct of self-preservation"

(Wilson 1902, p. 58) to take up arms against those who threatened their way of life.

In 1914, the famous movie director David Wark (D.W.) Griffith purchased the film rights to *The Clansman* and began work on his cinematic epic *The Birth of a Nation*. For nearly two decades after its release in 1915, the film remained immensely popular. Never before had the public been exposed to cinematography in a way that so successfully stirred emotions and reinforced racial prejudices. Moreover, many viewers were convinced that the film was not a mere exercise in fiction. Having muted many of the excesses found in Dixon's novel, Griffith argued that *The Birth of a Nation* was solidly grounded in historical fact. As the *New York Times* would favorably note in 1916, Americans in all parts of the country were "being taught to idealize the Klan."

The vogue of the Klan created by the popularity of *The Birth of a Nation* presented an opportunity for a revival of the secret organization. For several years, William J. Simmons, a former Methodist circuit rider and recruiter for men's fraternal societies in Atlanta, had considered starting a new Klan, composing an elaborate ritual and designing the masked costume that would become so well known. In the fall of 1915, shortly before the Atlanta premiere of *The Birth of a Nation*, Simmons, who assumed the title Imperial Wizard, began recruiting members for the new KKK, which he would formally incorporate in the state of Georgia as the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Public acknowledgement of the hooded order's revival came on Thanksgiving night of that year, as Simmons and fifteen other Klansmen burned a cross at the summit of nearby Stone Mountain.

The new Klan was at first a mere shadow of its predecessor. Though founded on the principles of "100 percent Americanism" and a militant defense of Protestantism and white supremacy, the group was a fairly typical men's fraternity that concentrated on Masonic-style rituals and the selling of group-rate insurance. American entry into World War I encouraged the Klan to assume a more active role, as its members engaged in the harassment of those they perceived to be enemy aliens and draft evaders, but the KKK's membership remained small, consisting of only a handful of klaverns (local Klan chapters) in Georgia and Alabama. Imperial Wizard Simmons's mediocre leadership skills and chronic financial problems hindered recruiting, and it appeared that the second Klan would probably soon fade away.

#### REORGANIZATION AND EARLY GROWTH OF THE SECOND KLAN

Desperate to breathe new life into his organization, Simmons in 1920 turned to the Southern Publicity Association, a small public relations firm owned by Edward Young

Clarke and Elizabeth Tyler. Skilled salespeople, Clarke and Tyler quickly recognized the Klan's potential for growth, especially if the group more forcefully emphasized its defense of white Protestant Americans against the alleged threat posed by blacks, Catholics, Jews, and immigrants. The early 1920s was an unsettled period still afflicted with the superpatriotism and intolerant zeal of the war years, and longstanding traditions of racism, nativism, and religious bigotry could easily be exploited. Clarke and Tyler also took important steps to improve the Klan's finances and recruiting practices, employing more than a thousand paid recruiters (kleagles) who surreptitiously went from community to community spreading the KKK's message.

Working on commission, kleagles tailored their sales pitch to attract as many recruits as possible. In many instances the KKK's intolerant stance on race and religion was openly emphasized, but recruiters also stressed the hooded order's potential for improving law enforcement, maintaining traditional moral values, and holding corrupt political officials to account. Much of the Klan's early recruiting was done in established men's organizations like the Masons and the Odd Fellows, the kleagles touting the Klan's rich fraternal life and the possibility for making new sales contacts. Thus, while racial and religious intolerance clearly served as the organization's main drawing card, this bigotry was interwoven with a variety of other appeals.

By the summer of 1921 the Klan's improved solicitation procedures began to yield remarkable results, especially in the states of Louisiana, Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Texas, where tens of thousands of new Klansmen entered the fold. In this region, anger over poor law enforcement and a perceived collapse in traditional social morality sustained the organization, with many Klansmen resorting to violent vigilantism. In Texas alone in 1921 there were hundreds of beatings, whippings, and other types of assaults, with both whites and African Americans being targeted. Although the authorities often tried to suppress this violence, it proved difficult to prosecute Klansmen because of the group's tight secrecy and because Klan members on grand juries and in police departments protected their own.

The outbreak of Klan-associated violence in 1921 was extensively detailed in the national press and placed pressure on federal officials to address what appeared to be a deteriorating situation. Shortly after the Joseph Pulitzer-owned *New York World* presented a widely distributed exposé of the Klan that portrayed the group as being inherently lawless, financially corrupt, and violent, the United States House Rules Committee held hearings in October 1921 to determine whether there was a need for governmental action. Despite the best efforts of the KKK's critics, little concrete information came to light, and many Americans concluded that the hooded order

## Second Klan

had been exonerated of any wrongdoing. As a result, Klan recruiting soared as never before in the months right after the hearings.

### NATIONAL EXPANSION

As early as 1920, the Klan had dispatched kleagles to communities outside the South, and by 1922, assisted by the abundance of free publicity resulting from the congressional hearings, their recruiting efforts began to garner impressive results. Several factors contributed to the KKK's expansion to regions where the hooded order had never previously existed. First, and most importantly, the powerful strains of racism, anti-Catholicism, anti-Semitism, and nativism that the Klan exploited were not exclusive to the South. When Klan representatives arrived in the North, Midwest, and West and stressed the need for native-born white Protestants to remain ascendant in America, they found a receptive audience, especially at a time of growing anti-immigration sentiment and anxiety over the increased northward migration of African Americans. Secondly, Americans across the nation, just like southerners, had embraced the romantic and positive image of the Klan presented in *The Birth of a Nation*, and were eager to participate in what appeared to be a novel and exciting movement that stood for admirable values. And thirdly, widespread concerns over rapid social change, a breakdown of effective law enforcement, and political corruption had created a sense among many white Protestant men that some type of forceful action had to be taken to protect their families and communities. Through the Klan, the kleagles stressed, true Americans could band together and oppose the dangerous trends of the times.

From 1922 to 1925, the Klan evolved into a true mass movement, recruiting approximately 5 million men and hundreds of thousands of women, who were organized into the Kamelia and the Women of the Klan, the KKK's two female auxiliaries. In the South, the hooded order encountered the greatest success in Georgia, Alabama, Florida, and Texas, the latter state's membership exceeding 200,000. New York and Pennsylvania together had nearly half a million members, with hundreds of thousands more in Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Illinois. In Indiana, fully one-fourth of all American-born white Protestant men joined the Klan. In the West, Colorado and Oregon became bastions of pro-Klan sentiment. During this heady period of growth, it seemed that the Klan could very likely become an enduring force in American life.

The Klan's opponents were quick to characterize the hooded order as a movement of fanatical, poorly educated, and economically insecure individuals from the declining villages and small towns of rural America. This, however,

was an inaccurate and biased assessment. More than half of all Klansmen resided in urban areas, often large cities like Chicago, Detroit, and Dallas, and the KKK's most prominent leaders were longtime urban residents. Moreover, Klan membership rolls and other official documents reveal that Klansmen were, compared to the overall white male population, significantly above average in terms of socioeconomic standing, being overrepresented in the professions and other prestigious forms of employment. Klansmen typically belonged to mainstream Protestant churches (not small fundamentalist denominations, as was routinely claimed) and were often young family men looking to improve their communities and advance their careers. Nonetheless, these men had willingly joined a secret society that, as numerous undercover reports of Klan activities confirm, lied, conspired, broke the law, and wallowed in the vilest forms of bigotry. That Klan members were otherwise respectable and successful citizens provides strong evidence, therefore, that racism and religious intolerance were not confined to the fringes of society in the 1920s. These dark impulses, to a significant extent, also afflicted the social and economic mainstream.

### THE KLAN ENTERS POLITICS

Its phenomenal growth notwithstanding, the Klan found itself beset by internal problems in the fall of 1922. Angered by a morals scandal involving Edward Clarke and Elizabeth Tyler, and displeased by Imperial Wizard Simmons's continued weak leadership, a small group of Klan officials in the group's Atlanta headquarters succeeded in removing Simmons from his post and replacing him with Hiram W. Evans, a dentist from Texas who had previously served as Exalted Cyclops (klavern president) of the Dallas Klan. Soon afterward, Clarke and Tyler ceased their affiliation with the KKK, but Simmons launched a series of lawsuits that kept the Klan in legal turmoil until a final financial settlement was reached in 1924. This internecine squabbling divided the Klan for a period into pro-Simmons and pro-Evans factions, and did little to inspire confidence among the group's rank and file.

The rise of Evans meant that the Klan would become more involved in politics. The new imperial wizard, in contrast to his predecessor, possessed an ability for long-range planning, and it was his hope to turn the Klan into a powerful political machine. Secretly determining which candidates to support and then using Klan votes as a decisive bloc at polling time, the KKK, working within both the Republican and Democratic parties, became an important factor in state politics in Texas, Oregon, Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama, Colorado, and Indiana from 1922 to 1927. One of the hooded order's first political successes took place in Imperial Wizard Evans's home state of Texas, where in 1922 the Klan's candidate, Earle B. Mayfield, defeated former governor James Ferguson for the

Democratic nomination for United States senator. Obscuring his connection to the KKK and stressing Ferguson's past record of corruption and opposition to prohibition and moral reform, Mayfield attracted the support of many non-Klan voters who were unhappy with established politicians and the general direction of American society. Klan leaders such as John Galen Locke in Colorado and David C. (D. C.) Stephenson in Indiana used a similar approach: They built powerful political organizations by exploiting widespread resentment toward what was perceived to be the corrupt and undemocratic policies of government officials and business elites. The general thrust of the KKK's political efforts, therefore, was populist in nature, the secret order posing as the champion of ordinary citizens who wanted to take back control of their country and revitalize it in accordance with the traditional values of native-white Protestantism. This approach was so successful, and intimidating, that neither the Republicans nor the Democrats were willing to denounce the Klan at their national conventions in 1924.

While the Klan's successes in state and national politics were impressive, the organization's political clout was most profoundly felt at the local level. Although on paper the Klan appeared to possess a tightly organized hierarchy, local klaverns operated with considerable independence and modified their programs according to local circumstances. In some communities, like Detroit, the hooded order stressed the alleged peril of African American migration and pressed for segregation in the public schools. In El Paso, Texas, the Klan exploited anger over an inadequately funded public school system, while Klansmen in Denver focused on government corruption and an alleged breakdown in law enforcement. In much the same way that klegles adapted their sales pitch to attract as many recruits as possible, Klan leaders opportunistically shaped their political programs in the context of the local grassroots issues that could be most successfully exploited. Imperial Wizard Evans openly encouraged this approach, urging that Klansmen not "put into effect any set program, for there are different needs in the various localities." But while the emphasis of Klan political activism varied from community to community, the organization's overall agenda remained clear: the maintenance of native-white Protestant dominance, stricter enforcement of the law (especially Prohibition), and the defense of traditional social and cultural values.

Ultimately, the Klan's entry into politics accomplished little. Despite scores of victories in state and local elections from 1922 to 1927, the hooded order and its allies routinely failed to implement measures that successfully addressed popular concerns over law enforcement, moral issues, public education, and other grassroots issues. Moreover, Klan-backed officials often proved to be just as inept and corrupt as their predecessors. One of the KKK's few legislative successes came in Oregon, where the Klan helped



*The Second Klan.* Imperial Wizard Hiram W. Evans leads his Knights of the Ku Klux Klan on a parade in Washington D.C. in 1926. Evans hoped to turn the Klan into a powerful political machine. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

secure passage of a bill that required all children age eight to sixteen to attend the public schools, a measure that effectively outlawed parochial education. This law was invalidated by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1925, eighteen months before it was scheduled to take effect.

Increasingly in the mid-1920s, the Klan itself became a political issue. The group's hooded secrecy, its use of anonymous messages and cross-burnings to intimidate opponents, and its use of violence and the threat of violence appeared to many citizens to be inherently un-American and a violation of the principles of free and open government. While the Klan had originally seemed a promising means of reordering American society in accordance with white Protestant values, its deficiencies now clearly seemed to outweigh its virtues.

#### THE DECLINE OF THE KLAN

From 1925 on, the Klan experienced a steep decline in both membership and influence. The romantic allure that had first sustained the organization had faded away, and open bickering among Klan leaders continued to undermine recruiting efforts. The successful prosecution

of Indiana Klan leader D. C. Stephenson for the second-degree murder of a young woman in 1925 further tarnished the KKK's reputation and convinced the Klan's opponents to redouble their efforts to undermine the hooded order. By then, a number of states had passed laws prohibiting the wearing of masks in public, and New York had enacted the Walker Law, which required all secret oath-bound societies to file a list of their membership with the state. At the same time, a variety of anti-Klan organizations, such as the Chicago-based American Unity League, hired undercover informers who acquired Klan membership lists, which were subsequently revealed to the public. In Buffalo, New York, the city's Roman Catholic mayor had an agent break into the local Klan's business office and steal the group's membership records, which were then put on public display and published in pamphlet form. These roughshod tactics proved very effective. Unmasked and exposed, the KKK was no longer the intimidating political and social force it had once been, and members began to depart in droves.

Despite the best efforts of Imperial Wizard Evans, who had moved the Klan's headquarters to Washington, DC, the hooded order's membership steadily dwindled. Even the selection of New York Governor Alfred E. Smith, a Roman Catholic, as the Democratic nominee for president in 1928 was not enough to revive the organization's fortunes, with the result that active Klansmen numbered only 30,000 by 1930. Over the next decade, most klaverns focused on fraternal activities, but occasionally the Klan would publicly denounce labor activists, Communists, and New Deal legislation. In 1939, Evans stepped down as imperial wizard and was replaced by James Colescott, a longtime Klan organizer and former veterinarian from Terre Haute, Indiana. Colescott proved to be an uninspiring leader, and he was unable to restore the Klan to health. He also faced a serious challenge to his leadership when a number of northern klaverns developed a close relationship with the pro-Nazi German American Bund, an alliance opposed by southern Klansmen. The Klan's flirtation with the Bund and its continuing criticism of the government after American entry into World War II attracted the attention of federal authorities, who in 1944 belatedly presented the KKK with a huge tax bill for money the group had earned during its heyday in the 1920s. Unable to pay the bill, the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan liquidated its few assets and formally disbanded.

SEE ALSO *Ku Klux Klan; Race Riots (U.S.), 1917-1923.*

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*Shawn Lay*

## SECRET ARMY ORGANIZATION

SEE *Organisation Armée Secrète (Secret Army Organization).*

## SEX WORK

*Sex work* is a multidimensional concept used to redefine sex-related services as income-generating labor. In the broadest sense, sex work refers to all aspects of the lawful and unlawful global sex industry—including street prostitution, massage parlors, brothels, escort services, strip clubs, phone-sex operators, pornography, and sex tourism—as well as the particular social, cultural, political, and economic circumstances that make selling sex a viable option. Within the context of race and racism, sex work represents a contemporary manifestation of race-based sexual exploitation with deep historical roots in slavery and colonialism. Structural inequality, race, and gender intersect in myriad ways within systems of global capitalism to produce disparity and desperation.

Although sex work is often a manifestation of women's economic marginalization, exposure to and experiences in sex work are influenced by race as a reinforcing marker of difference. Crosscultural research suggests that the stereotype of male desire is embodied by youthful whiteness with straight blond hair and creamy skin; therefore, women of color experience restricted access to the most lucrative positions within the sex industry. Although white women from the lower economic classes may face unequal access within sex work, they escape the tripartite system of race, class, and gender relegating



**Cuban Prostitutes Proposition a Tourist.** Havana prostitutes can make more money in one day from foreign tourists than a professional government employee can earn in a month. AP IMAGES.

black and brown women to the lowest rungs of the global socioeconomic ladder. In a world in which hundreds of millions of women live in abject poverty, a majority of these marginalized people are additionally affected by processes of racialization that reinforce a binary opposition between whiteness and blackness. Selling sex within this particular system of racial oppression brings sex workers face to face with a neocolonial agenda of white domination, originally established through marketing black bodies as a personal and private commodity in the political economy of slavery.

Women of color frequently enter into sex work as an alternative to low-wage service sector jobs offering no opportunity for advancement. However, negotiating race and racism opens them up to a host of disadvantages. Sex workers report that discrimination within the industry often means they end up walking the streets in dangerous areas, increasing the risk of police harassment and violent attacks. Nonwhite sex workers receive lower wages for sexual services than their white counterparts, yet they are more heavily targeted for fines, arrest, and imprisonment. Adding insult to injury, women of color must constantly contend with the racialized characteristics that define them as less desirable: wearing wigs to hide their kinky hair, altering their speech to sound more white, or dressing more in keeping with accepted notions of ethnic exoticism, thus giving in to the “jungle” fantasy that some white patrons require. As a result, these women suggest that experiences of racial denigration eventually develop into personal insecurities and self-doubt,

thereby reinforcing their subordinate position within the industry, society, and their personal lives.

#### COLONIZATIONS OLD AND NEW

The heavy burden of race and racism facing black sex workers began centuries ago with the enslavement of their African ancestors. For generations the political economy of slavery in the New World exploited sexual labor to satisfy the economic, political, and personal interests of the white owner class. Enslaved men and women, particularly in the U.S. South, reproduced the slave workforce through a calculated system of slave breeding, while desirable females were offered up by the plantation master for additional profits. This system of structural inequality transformed black bodies into economic commodities, thus establishing an ideological foundation for a worldwide reinvestment in the racial inequality and patriarchal capitalism defining the twenty-first century—often referred to as globalization. Many feminist scholars recognize this system as a *recolonization* effort within which race and gender are reasserted economically, socially, and politically. For women of color, these forces translate into greater instability in the formal economy, making informal activities such as sex work unusually appealing.

The developing regions of the Caribbean and Latin America represent a microcosm of this global reality. In an effort to penetrate the world market, many nations have pursued tourism as an economic development

strategy, assisted by international lending agencies such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank. The policies mandated by these lending agencies redirect infrastructural investment funds away from social programs toward building a market for the target industry. Once established, the tourist economy offers extremely limited opportunities to the local labor force, which has exaggerated consequences for women and children. Consequently, desperate women find themselves marketing an age-old fantasy of white domination and hypersexuality. With assistance from tourism officials, sex workers in the Caribbean and Latin America have created a booming industry around the exotics of racial difference.

Throughout these regions, whiteness occupies a privileged position in the social hierarchy, while blackness is associated with labor and service. More important, race is continually being reinforced by the exoticization of the black female body to increase tourist revenue. Women of color are portrayed as wildly sexual and animalistic, thus naturalizing their involvement in sex work. In places such as Cuba, Brazil, and the Dominican Republic, this conflation of race and sexuality has become part of the national identity. Popular cultural sentiments only serve to reinforce these racial categories. For example, nearly identical sayings in Brazil and Cuba translate as, “white women for marrying, black women for work, and *mulatas* [mixed-race women] for making love.” Categories such as these, while legitimizing white male desires to experience the exotic “other,” draw attention to one of the most important aspects of race-making: whiteness as the standard of beauty and purity. The desirability of mixed-race women has everything to do with the characteristics of whiteness they possess and the way those visual characteristics are perfectly mixed with the primal sexuality of blackness. By casting sex workers as naturally hypersexual, tourism advertisements justify the sexual exploitation of women of color. This commodification of otherness must be addressed in light of the glaring human rights abuses associated with marketing sex under the guise of generating tourist revenues.

Sex work, as a political statement associated with the ongoing struggle between exploitation and body politics, continues to gain momentum as an acknowledgment of the sex worker’s contributions to the economic market. The unwillingness of most countries to legitimize sex work as a valid means of employment prevents sex workers from adequate protection under the law, while increasing the stigma, isolation, and invisibility of both the industry and the workers. The simultaneous criminalization of sex work sustains a discourse of deviance and immorality that further victimizes disenfranchised workers often caught in desperate economic situations. Global reluctance to engage in meaningful dialogue about the push and pull factors of

sex work minimizes the accountability factor for law enforcement officials, governmental agencies, and health care workers. Therefore, sex workers continue to shoulder the blame for their involvement in one of the world’s oldest and most controversial professions.

The resulting frustration has prompted worldwide resistance, with empowerment movements framing the issue in terms of international human rights. Sex workers continue to demand recognition as “workers” who contribute their labor to the market, based on articles within both the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (adopted in 1948 by the United Nations General Assembly) and the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women* (CEDAW) (adopted in 1979 by the UN General Assembly), that proclaim the “inalienable right of all human beings to work and to freely choose their job or profession.” Increased dialogue on the issue has introduced a broader debate about human agency, autonomy, and sexual politics.

The historical relationship between sexuality and race offers distinct examples of how women of color have manipulated their sexuality to redefine cultural norms. In the early twentieth century, for example, women of color exploited the black underworld to become “jook joint” women and sex workers in black and white brothels across the United States. Although some view these steps toward economic betterment as a symbol of sexual independence, others suggest they must be firmly positioned within a global reality of gender inequality. As women of color make a place for themselves in areas of the sex industry that have long denied them access, such as strip clubs and pornography, does that signify their power of self-representation or their collusion with a system that views their bodies as a commodity? Can their participation be viewed as a conscious choice when race and gender inequality still define the parameters of employment economics? These are among the most important unresolved debates about the relationships among race, racism, and sex work. What can be asserted without hesitation, however, is that race continues to be a powerful tool in the marginalization and disenfranchisement of women on a global scale.

**SEE ALSO** *Body Politics; Feminism and Race; Pornography; Poverty; Sexuality.*

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## SEXISM

Sexism consists of a set of attitudes, beliefs, and practices that assume that women are naturally inferior to men in a variety of ways and that use this alleged natural inferiority to promote, protect, and enforce male privilege and deny women full participation in society. Societies that institutionalize male privilege and women's subordination are said to be "patriarchal" in nature. In such male-dominated societies, male privilege is built into virtually every institution and every aspect of culture, so that women's subordination and men's domination are normalized and experienced as natural. In this way, sexist attitudes, policies, and practices reinforce the status quo through the workings of everyday life.

As with racism, sexism can be conscious or unconscious, intentional or unintentional. What defines sexist behavior is not the motivation behind it but the consequences that flow from it. In this regard, failing to hire a woman in order to protect her from work the employer believes is too dangerous is as sexist as failing to hire her because of a belief that women are not as smart as men. In both cases, women are denied equal opportunity. In the same way, a well-meaning teacher who compliments female students on what they are wearing and male students on what they are doing perpetuates sexist stereotypes, regardless of his or her intentions. Other examples of sexism include applying a double standard to men and women so that sexual behavior considered acceptable for men is considered inappropriate for women; preventing women from competing in sporting events; forcing women to conform to rigid dress codes; limiting or denying women's access to education and training; denying women in the military the opportunity to

perform the same duties as their male counterparts; and barring women from positions of leadership in religion, government, business, and other institutions.

## RACISM AND SEXISM

The term *sexism* was first used during the 1960s by women activists in the U.S. civil rights movement. These women wanted to draw a parallel between the ways in which black people in the United States were oppressed based on their race or ethnicity and the ways in which women were oppressed based on their sex. In doing so, they hoped to channel some of the moral outrage directed at racism toward the injustices that women endured. In fact, two essays published in 1969 and 1970 bore the telling title "Woman as Nigger." Drawing this parallel had little early success in winning men to the fight against sexism and often led to heated arguments among activists (women as well as men) over which form of oppression was worse.

Ironically, many of the white women who drew the parallel between sexism and racism proved unable or unwilling to recognize the racism within the women's movement. Another unfortunate consequence of drawing this parallel was the implication that racism and sexism were separate and distinct systems of oppression. Thus, the conversation was framed so that it seemed one could either talk about race-based oppression or sex-based oppression, but not both, which often led to the theoretical erasure and practical invisibility of women of color. This misrepresentation continues in the early twenty-first century, insofar as accounts of racial discrimination often tend to focus on the experiences of men of color, while discussions of gender discrimination tend to leave race out. This implies that white women are the only victims of gender discrimination. Further, within communities of color, sexism has sometimes been portrayed exclusively as a white woman's issue. Women of color have often been asked to set aside concerns about sexism and focus all their energy on eliminating racism, and those who have failed to do so have been severely criticized.

In 1969, the activist Frances Beale (who was then New York coordinator of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee's Black Women's Liberation Committee) wrote a now classic essay titled, "Double Jeopardy: To Be Black and Female." Beale explored the ways in which issues of race, ethnicity, gender, and class intersect to oppress black women. The essay was published in *Sisterhood Is Powerful* (1970), a pathbreaking anthology edited by Robin Morgan. The volume also included an article by Eleanor Holmes Norton titled "For Sadie and Maud," which looked at class divisions within the African American community, and an article by Enriqueta Longeaux y Vasquez that examined the situation of Chicana women within the Mexican-American community. These writings, and others that followed, gave rise to the

argument that in order to do justice to the complexities of women's lives, it is necessary to recognize the ways in which systems of oppression such as racism, sexism, class privilege, heterosexism, and homophobia intersect. In 1985 the poet and writer Audre Lorde, reacting in part to homophobia within the African American community and racism within the lesbian and gay community, published her essay "There Is No Hierarchy of Oppressions."

#### WOMEN'S OPPRESSION AND THE POWER OF PATRIARCHY

Discrimination against women based on their sex has been pervasive worldwide throughout recorded history. As UNICEF (The United Nations Fund for Children) reports on its Internet site, although women do two-thirds of the world's work, they earn only one-tenth of the world's income and own less than one percent of the world's property. Globally, women cultivate more than half of all the food that is grown. In sub-Saharan Africa and the Caribbean, they produce as much as 80 percent of basic foodstuffs, yet the great majority of people living in poverty around the world are women. In the United States, the richest nation in the world, the poorest of the poor are women caring for children. As reported by both Christa Wichterich and Jan Pettman, women throughout the world are paid less than men for the same or comparable work, they are denied basic human rights and the basic rights of citizenship, and they are subject to extraordinary levels of violence. According to Human Rights Watch, "millions of women throughout the world live in conditions of abject deprivation of, and attacks against, their fundamental human rights for no reason other than that they are women." In sexist societies, children are raised to believe that physical and mental abilities are correlated with the individual's sex, and they are encouraged to develop those abilities considered appropriate to their sex while ignoring or denying other talents. In such societies—regardless of whether or not they are permitted to work outside the home, move freely in public spaces, or get an education—women are raised to believe that their primary role is to serve as a wife and mother, and to identify their happiness with the fulfillment of these roles. The poet and writer Adrienne Rich, as well as other theorists, have suggested that such societies rely on "compulsive heterosexuality" as a way of constructing and enforcing male-female relations of dominance and subordination. Both girl and boy children are taught that "normal" sexuality occurs between women and men, usually for the purpose of procreation, and severe penalties are imposed on anyone who deviates from this supposed biological norm.

In patriarchal societies, sexist beliefs and assumptions pervade religion, education, science, culture, and even lan-

guage, so that these institutions all serve to reinforce the existing distribution of power and privilege by either making it appear to be natural or rendering it invisible. Historically, most of the world's major religions have been patriarchal and taught some version of the myth that women were created from or for man, and are thus destined to submit to his rule. Education in such societies teaches an andocentric, or male-centered, curriculum that omits or marginalizes the knowledge and perspective of white women and people of color. The world is presented to children through the eyes of men who are privileged and powerful, so that "women's literature," "African-American women's literature," and "working-class literature" are taught as special-interest fields that inhabit the margins of the discipline. During critical periods in history, science has come forward to provide "scientific evidence" that women of all colors and men of color are biologically and genetically inferior to white males.

Even language has both reflected and perpetuated the status quo by incorporating the sexist and racist biases of patriarchal societies. For example, in many languages where nouns are gendered, there is no female form of the words for doctor, lawyer, or other high-status positions. In English, a man who has relationships with many different women is admired and called a "playboy," while a woman who behaves in a similar fashion is referred to by a derogatory term such as "slut." In some languages, the masculine ending functions as the default, so that groups of children that include both boys and girls become "muchachos." In this way, language is complicit in rendering women invisible. Although taken together, women and men of color constitute the majority of people in the world, in U.S. society the phrase "women and minorities" is used routinely to demote the majority to minority status and portray their interests as being in opposition to the interests and needs of the majority.

#### STEREOTYPES AND SOCIAL CONTROL

Racism and sexism are similar in that both use stereotypes and ascribed attributes to explain and rationalize the subordination and domination of particular populations. For example, the persistent gap in earnings by race and gender—which shows that white men, white families, and male-headed families have significantly higher annual incomes than all other groups—is explained by perpetuating the myth that women work for "pin money" and by portraying black and Latino men as lazy. Mexicans are said to be suited to field labor because of their height and physiognomy. Women in general, and Asian women in particular, are said to be suited to perform delicate work in the electronics and textile industries because they have tiny hands and are physically dexterous. All women are



*Men Pass a Billboard Advertisement for Lingerie, Mexico City, 2002. Many people in Mexico worry that racism, sexism, and violence against women is increasing. AP IMAGES.*

said to be unsuited to positions of leadership because they are overly emotional.

Ascribing certain attributes to people based on their gender or race effectively absolves the system of responsibility for the unequal treatment and unequal rewards it bestows, while also blaming the victims of sexism, racism, and other forms of institutionalized oppression for their own plight. By constructing men and women as different in this way, the unequal distribution of wealth and opportunity is made to appear natural, a consequence of men and women's different natures rather than the result of discriminatory practices and specific policy decisions made by those in power.

As the historian William Chafe and the sociologists Sandra and Daryl Bem have pointed out, discrimination can only frustrate choices that have already been made. A more damaging form of social control frustrates the very ability to choose. In sexist and racist societies, women of all colors and men of color are taught to internalize a set of negative stereotypes that reconcile them to their socially constructed subordination and teach them forms

of behavior that reinforce the prevailing social and economic relations of society. These lessons are often taught to women by other women, and to people of color by other people of color, making it more difficult to recognize their oppressive and harmful nature. While these lessons reflect the internalized sexism and racism of those offering the instruction, they also sometimes grow out of a desire to protect those who are most vulnerable. In both cases, however, members of the subordinate group end up reinforcing the status quo.

While some versions of sexism attribute certain "special" qualities to some women, usually associated with their childbearing function and their supposedly tender nature, even the ways in which women are supposedly superior to men are used to subordinate women in sexist societies. In the United States, for example, men who sought to deny women the right to vote during the late 1800s maintained that women had greater moral sensibilities and more delicate natures than men. They also argued, however, that because voting routinely took place in saloons and barber shops, women should be denied the

right to vote in order to protect them from the crass and corrupt world of politics. Yet while white women, particularly those who are economically privileged, have been socially constructed in ways that portray them as both better and worse than men in some respects, women of color have consistently been portrayed as inferior to men of all colors by virtue of their sex and as inferior to white women by virtue of their race.

Societies have differed greatly over exactly which qualities and abilities are “naturally” male and female. It is not sex alone, however, but also differences in race and class that have played a significant role in determining what kinds of activities are considered appropriate to men and women. In some parts of the world, farming is viewed as a male occupation, while in others it is women who have primary responsibility for agriculture. In some countries, only men go to market and engage in buying and selling, while in others doing so is a female occupation. In the United States, the wives and daughters of white middle-class males were once said to be too delicate for physical labor by virtue of their sex, while at the same time African-American women held in slavery were forced to perform heavy manual labor from sunrise to sunset, and white working-class women and girls were forced to labor for as much as twelve or sixteen hours in dark, airless, factories.

#### VIOLENCE AND SOCIAL CONTROL

In examining the forms of social control that have kept both racism and sexism in place, it is impossible to overstate the role played by physical violence and the threat of such violence. According to the World Health Organization (WHO), violence against women is condoned in almost every society in the world. The United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) reports that violence against women is so widespread that one out of every three women will suffer some form of violence in her lifetime. Throughout much of U.S. history, men and women of color have been subject to vicious and irrational physical attacks, including lynchings, rapes, and bombings, by the white community. These attacks have often gone unacknowledged and unprosecuted. Women of all racial and ethnic groups, and of all classes, live in a world where sexual harassment, rape, and assault are ever-present dangers. Data collected by UNIFEM suggest that half of the women in the world that die from homicide are killed by their husband, former husband, or partner, making domestic violence epidemic. Every year, some two million girls between the ages of five and fifteen are trafficked, sold, or forced into prostitution worldwide. In this way, violence, or the threat of violence, plays a critical role in maintaining and reinforcing gender and race subordination and perpetuating white privilege and male privilege.

**SEE ALSO** *Feminism and Race; Heterosexism and Homophobia.*

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## SEXUALITY

Sexuality can be broadly defined to encompass a wide array of sexual relations, including sexual politics, sexual activities, eroticism, sexual identity, and sexual meaning. Although sexuality is often discussed in terms of biological sex or gender, it is important to note that sexuality and gender form the basis of what Gayle Rubin, in "Thinking Sex: Notes for a Radical Theory of the Politics of Sexuality," calls "two distinct arenas of social practice" (Rubin 1984, p. 308).

Similar to the ways in which gender has been culturally constructed throughout history, sexuality should also be viewed as a cultural phenomenon. The meaning and place of sexuality in cultural relations is not only informed by gender ideology, but also by other intersections of social inequality, such as class and race. Ideas about sexuality have been central to racial ideologies and the social practices associated with institutionalized racism throughout the world. Historically, racialized sexuality has played a significant role in the transnational dynamics of colonialism and postcolonialism, the global diaspora, migration, and global capitalism.

## GENDER VALUES IN COLONIAL SOCIETIES

In colonial contexts, sexual policies were often used by colonizers to subordinate the colonized by punishing what was viewed as immoral behavior, instilling concubinage as common law, or privileging monogamy. In colonial North America, what European colonizers viewed as immoral sexual behavior by Native Americans (i.e., nudity, lack of shamefulness associated with sexual activities, the non-institutionalization of marriage) was often used to rationalize the stealing of land, the breaking of treaties, and the outright genocide of entire populations of people. These policies continued throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as Christian missionaries urged Native Americans to abandon traditional ways and adopt the nuclear family. Hence, Christianity and racist ideology were tools in the oppression and exploitation of Native American peoples. They also allowed whites to rationalize

controlling Native American women's bodies and their sexualities. As the twentieth century progressed, Indian boarding schools attempted to achieve these goals by teaching girls the values of domesticity and purity. The pattern of imposing Euro-American sexual and gender values upon other racial groups has existed for centuries, and these impositions have significantly impacted the way nonwhite bodies are viewed sexually.

## SEXUALITY AND SLAVERY

As such, sexuality was also central to the institution of slavery in the American colonies, as blacks and whites were differentiated in sexual terms and interracial sexual relations were contained. By assigning sexual stereotypes to enslaved Africans (e.g., that Africans were hypersexual, aggressive, and beastlike), European colonists were able to justify their economic and social control of blacks. The focus on the enslaved Africans' darker skin color and what was viewed as animalistic sexuality also prompted white European colonists to conclude that those of African descent were of a different breed, or "race," than Europeans. It was therefore posited that whites and blacks should not interbreed, and it was considered "natural," and even imperative, for whites to dominate blacks. Even after the American Revolution, the institution of slavery continued, along with its racial and sexual stereotypes.

Because enslaved African-American men were frequently regarded as aggressive and beastlike, they were also viewed as overt sexual threats to the chastity of white women. White men suddenly became the protectors of femininity, asserting their masculinity by protecting white women from the sexual threat of African-American men. Enslaved African-American women, on the other hand, were often stereotyped and dichotomized as either non-sexual, nurturing, nonthreatening "Mammies" that were expected to care for white masters' children, or as hypersexual "Jezebels" that lured white slave-owning men into their beds. Both of these stereotypes of black enslaved women were used to subjugate and exploit them economically and reproductively: Mammies were expected to nurture and selflessly raise white children, while Jezebels were expected to produce more enslaved labor through the exploitation of their reproductive abilities.

The Jezebel stereotype played on the white notion of the hypersexuality of the black female. Thus, a female slave was blamed for any sexual relationship she might have with a white man. Her desire for sexual relationships suddenly became her reason for existence—without sex she had no purpose. She was at fault for her own sexual exploitation and eroticization in society. For white society, the black woman fit into these two dichotomies: She was either hypersexual and a threat to white society, or she was mothering and completely desexed. These sexual stereotypes significantly

affected the way society viewed the bodies of both black and white men and women in the nineteenth century, and the repercussions of the stereotypes can still be witnessed in the early twenty-first century.

Sexual stereotypes often transform society's ideas about the body as a physical entity. For instance, the historical notion that black men and women were socially viewed as overtly sexual allowed American white society to view their bodies as sexual objects. Once other aspects of the human form have been omitted and attention is diverted to the body as merely a sexual entity, the body—and entire groups of people—can be socially and economically exploited.

Both historically and contemporarily, the bodies of nonwhite groups have been viewed as directly sexual in comparison to white society. This dichotomy has made it possible for white society to appropriate the labor and resources of other racial groups considered inferior to them. During the colonial period, entire racial populations began to be sexually exploited based on the notion that white society was sexually superior. White men were viewed as protectors of the home thus creating the idea that their sexuality was necessary in order to create family unity and strength. As a result, upper-class white women were viewed as genteel, and their sexuality was viewed as pure in comparison to both women of color and poor white women.

### SEXUALITY IN THE MODERN WORLD

Contemporary ideas of sexuality continue to be influenced by historical perspectives. Stereotypical notions of sexuality, whether positive or negative, influence ideological perspectives. Racial groups are still separated by different sexual ideologies, while white society continues to be held in high esteem based on historically established sexual stereotypes. Socially conservative views place white society in a position hierarchically superior to other racial groups. White men continue to be portrayed as sexually superior, although not overtly sexual, and white women are still considered to be sexually subordinate and in need of sexual protection and instruction by men in general, especially those women who are considered to be part of the middle and upper classes.

Popular contemporary culture influences ideas of black sexuality as well. Black men and women continue to be viewed as highly sexual, and interracial relationships are still often considered taboo. Although these types of relationships are beginning to be much more prevalent, in American society there is still a greater propensity toward sexual relationships between individuals in the same racial group. In addition, the strict differences between the portrayal of white and black social groups significantly impact the way that other racial groups are viewed sexually.

### THE SEXUAL HIERARCHY

When a sexual hierarchy is established, racial groups are often situated along a sexual continuum. In western societies, white sexuality and white bodies are placed at the top of this sexual pyramid. Intersections of gender and class also frequently affect the position of individuals along this continuum, with white women and lower-class whites below white men of all classes and white women belonging to the upper and middle classes. Although many European citizens are viewed as racially white, American society situates these groups into a separate racial category hierarchically. These groups of European whites are placed directly beneath American whites in the sexual continuum. Beneath this group is the Asian population. This group includes not only citizens of Asian countries, but also Asian Americans. As Cynthia Enloe states in *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*, while Asian women's sexuality is not viewed as stereotypically overt, Asian women have often been sexually exploited because they have been viewed as sexual objects to serve foreign men (1991, p. 44). Contemporary research regarding prostitution in Asian countries has exposed a sexually eroticized idea of Asian femininity, and many men in other countries continue to view this racial group as sexually exotic. Red-light districts in Eastern countries grew significantly during colonization, and they continue to grow during postcolonial times as Asian female bodies continue to be sexualized.

Other racial groups, including but not limited to Africans, African-Americans, Latin Americans, and Middle-Easterners, are positioned at the bottom of the sexual continuum. Their sexualities are not only highly exploited, they are also viewed as socially inferior to other groups. The sexualities of these groups have been significantly affected by the historical reconstruction of sexual ideologies, and sexual inequalities clearly go hand in hand with inequalities based on race.

One assumption that is made within this sexual continuum is that heterosexuality is hegemonic and compulsory. Groups that situate themselves outside of heterosexuality are also placed at the bottom of the sexual continuum. Hegemonic heterosexuality supercedes race and impacts views of even white society. People who situate themselves outside of heterosexual hegemony, even whites, find themselves among the downwardly mobile in the sexual continuum based on society's constructed sexual ideology. This constructed social norm affects all racial groups, both inside and outside the United States.

Transnationalism and globalization have also been significantly influenced by this sexual continuum. Western sexual ideologies have been transposed on multiple cultures, and as the worldwide media expands, so do Western ideas of sexuality and the sexual continuum. Transnationalism and globalization have allowed the

sexual hierarchy to become widespread and multiregional, influencing not only American ideas of sexuality but foreign sexual ideologies as well.

The sexual continuum has also led to the global ideology that bodies are objects of consumerism. The rise of the pornography and sex-work industries exposes the transnational marketing of the body as a commodity. The idea that the body as a sexual object can become a marketable item has been heavily influenced by ideas about racially stereotyped sexualities. Although heavily influenced by colonialism, the notion that white sexualities are superior to the sexualities of nonwhites has only increased with the expanse of global capitalism.

Ideas about sexuality have been significantly influenced in the global arena by intersections of race, gender, and class. Racialized sexuality has changed the way that human bodies are viewed cross-culturally and in the transnational arena. Historical notions of colonialism and racial hierarchy have not only changed the way that bodies are viewed, they have also changed the way that sexuality as a whole is viewed. Colonialism and domestic purity have allowed sexuality to be dissected into racial categories that still exist. In particular, transnational dynamics and the shift towards global capitalism dramatically affect the way that sexual hierarchies are continued worldwide. Further, hegemonic notions of sexuality are still transposed on multiple racial groups, eliminating the possibility for racial sexual equality. This inequality affects all people by establishing unconquerable notions of an ideal sexuality.

SEE ALSO *Gay Men; Heterosexism and Homophobia; Institutional Racism; Lesbians; Transnationalism.*

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Tanya A. Faberson

## SHEPPARD, WILLIAM 1865–1927

William Henry Sheppard, born in Waynesboro, Virginia, on March 8, 1865, cofounded the American Presbyterian Congo Mission (APCM) and became an important critic of the brutal colonial regime of King Leopold II of Belgium. When he was fifteen, his parents—Sarah Frances Martin Sheppard, a bath attendant, and William Henry Sheppard Sr., a barber—sent him to Hampton Normal and Industrial Institute in Hampton, Virginia. At Hampton, he was taught by Booker T. Washington, who would soon become the founding principal of Tuskegee Institute in Tuskegee, Alabama.

After completing his seminary education at Tuscaloosa Theological Institute (later renamed Stillman Institute) in Alabama in 1886, Sheppard began lobbying the southern Presbyterian Church (U.S.) to establish a mission in Africa. However, the church refused to commission Sheppard until a white minister was found to accompany him. Finally in 1890, Samuel Norvell Lapsley, the twenty-three-year-old white son of a well-connected Alabama judge, agreed to travel with Sheppard to establish the APCM. The pair set up a station in the town of Luebo at the junction of the Lulua and Kasai Rivers. Following Lapsley's untimely death in 1892, Sheppard, the APCM's senior missionary, traveled to the famously hidden Bakuba capital of Mushenge, where he was welcomed as the reincarnated heir to the throne. Sheppard's frequent recounting of his royal welcome resonated among African Americans and others he addressed at U.S. colleges and churches during his 1893 to 1894 furlough. Beyond sharing information about Africa with his audiences, during this trip he recruited four other African Americans to the APCM, including Henry Hawkins, Maria Fearing, Lillian Thomas, and his fiancée Lucy Gantt. Gantt, a graduate of Talladega College in Alabama and a professional singer, married Sheppard in 1894 before their departure. For the next decade, the APCM was a majority-black, albeit racially integrated mission representing a segregated U.S. church in central Africa.

At the 1884–1885 Berlin Conference, the European powers and the United States approved King Leopold II's claim on the Congo state. During the early 1890s, as Sheppard was shaping the APCM, Leopold's regime was codifying its brutally exploitative system of rubber production. By militarily enforcing compulsory labor, the state was able to increase its export income more than a hundredfold over a decade. Meanwhile, African resistance developed, including mass migration away from state-controlled regions and the assassination of state agents. In September 1899 Sheppard produced one of the first outside eyewitness accounts of the state practice of hand severing; in early 1900 his observations were reported in the Presbyterian Church's *Missionary* and Hampton Institute's *Southern Workman*. Sheppard's report became vital to the work of the Congo Reform Association (CRA), an organization founded in Liverpool, England, in 1903 by shipping company employee E. D. Morel in opposition to Leopold's regime. In his historical account of the international response to Leopold's Congo regime, Adam Hochschild (1999) suggests that the Congo reform movement was a crucial bridge between nineteenth-century antislavery movements and late-twentieth-century international human rights campaigns. Sheppard's report was sent to Mark Twain and Booker T. Washington, who both cited it and served as vice presidents of the American branch of the CRA. In 1905, as activists were trying to get Theodore Roosevelt involved, Sheppard met with the president at the White House.

In 1909 Sheppard was again in the international spotlight when Belgium (which took control of the state in 1908) charged him with libel for reporting in the APCM's *Kasai Herald*, "There are armed sentries of chartered trading companies, who force the men and women to spend most of their days and nights in the forests making rubber, and the price they receive is so meager that they cannot live upon it." The *Compagnie du Kasai*, claiming it was not chartered, filed a suit that forced Sheppard and *Herald* editor William Morrison to travel for several months to the trial in Leopoldville (Kinshasa). Sheppard, who became the sole defendant when charges against Morrison were dropped, was represented by Emile Vandervelde, a prominent Belgian Socialist Party member. At the trial, which was attended by U.S. and British consular officials, Sheppard's accusations were corroborated, resulting in his acquittal. The *Compagnie du Kasai* was ordered to pay court costs.

Despite his unqualified vindication, Sheppard was nonetheless forced to retire by a mission board that was increasingly uncomfortable with the work of its African American missionaries. Between 1908 and 1910, the three senior male missionaries—Sheppard, Hawkins, and Joseph Phipps, all of whom were black—faced charges of adul-

tery, which forced their retirements. Whereas eleven blacks were appointed to the APCM during its first twenty years, the Presbyterian Church appointed only one black person during the next fifty years (and in her case only because she married a recently widowed active missionary).

After quietly confessing to sexual misconduct and serving a one-year suspension from the church, Sheppard was appointed pastor of Grace Church in Louisville, Kentucky, in 1912. Under his direction, the congregation and its programs expanded dramatically. While in Louisville, Sheppard maintained a strong relationship with Hampton, where he continued to give public addresses. In addition to speeches on campus, in 1911 he coheadlined a fundraising tour on its behalf with Booker T. Washington. He sold his visual art collection to Hampton, where it has educated generations of students. Nationally, Sheppard was a prominent public figure who published articles, children's books, and in 1917 *Presbyterian Pioneers in the Congo*. He was profiled in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's (NAACP) *Crisis* in 1915 and addressed an NAACP conference on Africa in 1919. Through his activities, speeches, writings, and art collection, Sheppard influenced writers, visual artists, political activists, and religious leaders. He served as pastor of Grace Church until his death on November 27, 1927. In Louisville, Lucy Gantt Sheppard was a social worker and directed the Grace Church choir. She remained active until her death at the age of eighty-eight on May 26, 1955.

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*Ira Dworkin*

## SICKLE CELL ANEMIA

Sickle cell anemia is a severe and commonly fatal anemia, or failure of oxygen transfer. Its name derives from the fact that the red blood cells (RBCs), the transporters of oxygen, which are normally lozenge shaped, collapse into characteristic sickle-shaped cells under the influence of the disease. These red blood cells have drastically reduced ability to transport oxygen and a reduced life expectancy (10–12 days instead of the normal 120 days). The condition is often punctuated by painful "crises" resulting from the fact that the sickle shaped cells are elongated



and relatively stiff and may periodically block capillaries because they clump, or agglutinate. The condition was first described in Western medicine by James Herrick in a series of publications between 1910 and 1912.

#### SYMPTOMS AND CAUSES

A wide range of symptoms may result, ranging from the weakness and lassitude characteristic of anemia to acute and/or chronic pain. Specific symptoms include shortness of breath, jaundice, poor physical development, small slender bodies, delayed sexual maturity, swelling of hands and feet, impaired mental function, and rheumatism. It may also cause local failure of blood supply, possibly resulting in blindness, strokes, and damage to the heart, brain, lungs, spleen, gastrointestinal tract, and kidneys. In addition, it can cause painful priapism, resulting in damage to the penis. One of its most dangerous consequences is reduced resistance to infection, particularly influenza, pneumonia, and meningitis. Fewer than 10 percent of individuals with sickle cell anemia survive to adulthood, and their evolutionary fitness or reproductive success (compared to average fitness, defined as 1.0) is about 0.1.

Sickle cell anemia was the first genetic disease whose molecular basis was identified. The condition is the result of having two copies (i.e., the homozygote condition) of the HbS allele (variant) of the gene for the production of hemoglobin, a complex molecule of four polypeptide (amino acid) chains. Hemoglobin is found in red blood cells and is the molecule that grabs oxygen from the lungs and transports oxygen in the blood for use in the body. The HbS allele results from a point mutation of the HbA allele, resulting in the substitution of amino acid valine for glutamic acid in position six on the beta chain of the hemoglobin molecule. The codon change is a substitution of GTG for GAG.

HbS is a classic autosomal recessive trait. The alleles are distributed in a normal Mendelian manner such that heterozygote parents (i.e., each with one copy of the allele) will produce homozygote "normals," sickle cell carriers, and homozygotes with full-fledged sickle cell disease in a ratio of 1:2:1. On average, 25 percent of children born to two heterozygote parents will have the disease. Homozygous individuals are heavily afflicted, whereas heterozygotes possess both types of hemoglobin and function normally unless placed in conditions of high oxygen stress such as heavy labor, athletics, or high-altitude activity. It is now known that the disease is carried by about one in twelve African Americans, resulting in sickle cell anemia in one of 500 births to African Americans, although the rate is gradually declining.

The mutation(s) may have occurred separately several times: in as many as four locations in Africa and an

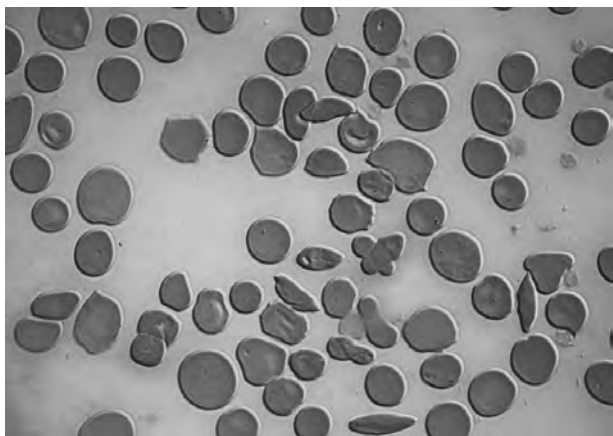
additional one in India or Arabia. However, that interpretation remains controversial. The allele may also have radiated outward from a center in West Africa or, conversely, into Africa from the Middle East. The modern distribution of the allele results in significant part from patterns of trade and travel under Muslim and then Christian dominion of areas of the Middle East and Africa. In the early twenty-first century it occurs with the highest frequency in Central Africa, where 30 percent or more of the population can be carriers, as well as in northeast and northwest India, Turkey, and Saudi Arabia. It also reaches high frequencies in parts of Greece and is found elsewhere in Mediterranean Europe.

#### SICKLE CELL ANEMIA AND MALARIA

The persistence of such a deleterious allele posed an evolutionary paradox for biological scientists: Why doesn't the allele simply disappear through natural selection? The solution to the paradox was first addressed by Anthony C. Allison in the 1950s and has since received considerable attention from other scholars, notably F. B. Livingstone. As a result of this attention, the sickle cell allele has emerged as the first and still best understood example of the role of infectious disease and human behavior in natural selection; it remains the model on which interpretation of other genetic disorders such as Tay-Sachs disease and cystic fibrosis is based.

All three are examples of "balanced polymorphisms" in which an allele deleterious in homozygotes is maintained in a population because in the heterozygote form it provides protection from an infectious disease. In the case of the sickle cell trait, the heterozygote HbS-HbA tends to resist malaria, itself one of the most significant debilitating and often fatal diseases affecting human beings throughout history. Malaria has been a major force in human evolution. The sickle cell trait is an example of how rapidly the spread of a disease can result in significant evolutionary change in the human species. Individuals possessing the allele are less likely to harbor the malarial parasite in significant numbers in comparison to heterozygote normals. They live longer and are less affected by symptoms of malaria. Heterozygote women may be more fertile; men may also be more fertile because high fevers associated with malaria can reduce spermatogenesis. In malarial areas, both the homozygote HbA and the homozygote HbS are selected against. For every 100 heterozygote survivors in malarial areas, there are only about 88 HbA homozygote survivors and only 14 HbS homozygote survivors. The relative success of the heterozygote results in perpetuation of the HbS allele. (Tay-Sachs disease may be a similar response to tuberculosis, cystic fibrosis, cholera, typhoid, or other intestinal infection.)

## Sickle Cell Anemia



**Sickle-Cell Red Blood Cells.** Both normal red blood cells and deformed cells can be seen in this sample of blood taken from a person with sickle cell anemia. DR. DAVID M. PHILLIPS/VISUALS UNLIMITED/GETTY IMAGES.

The relationship between the sickle cell allele and malaria has been demonstrated sequentially in three ways. First, it has been shown that allowing for some movement of populations and malarial zones, the geographical concordance of HbS (and/or other forms of abnormal protective forms of hemoglobin, including HbC, HbE, HbO, variants of the Duffy blood group, various forms of thalassemia, and the enzyme G6PD, or glucose 6 phosphate dehydrogenase) with malaria is striking and too detailed to reflect mere chance. Figure 1 depicts the broad geographical correlation of the allele and the disease. The detailed correlation in specific locations such as various altitudes adds to the strength of the correlation. Allison (1954), for example, reports that there is no indigenous group in Africa with a high percentage of the S allele in which malaria is *not* present. It is, for example, rare in highlands and dry areas inhospitable to *Anopheles* mosquitoes. It is also less common where swidden agriculture is not the norm.

Second, the fitness effects of the HbS allele (as above) have been demonstrated repeatedly. Third, it has been shown that the structure of the sickled red blood cell is less able to support the growth of the protozoan malarial parasite, demonstrating the mechanisms by which heterozygotes are protected against malaria.

The history of the sickle cell allele is bound to that of the spread of malaria, which is in turn bound to the emergence of agricultural economies in the afflicted areas within the last 6,000 years, when falciparum malaria spread in an explosive manner. In West Africa it spread probably in association with the expansion of Bantu farmers into areas previously devoted to hunting and gathering in the last 2,000 to 3,000 years.

Forest clearance associated with farming created the mix of light and shade that in humid climates is highly favorable to *Anopheles* mosquitoes, which are the most efficient vectors of falciparum malaria. In addition, large populations and the sedentary communities that emerged with farming provided a larger pool of susceptible people, permitting the disease to become endemic. Farming also created layers of highly impenetrable lateritic soils, which in turn led to more standing water where mosquitoes could breed. It also tended to remove or displace other mammals as potential victims of mosquitoes, which then focused the attention of the mosquitoes on human beings.

### MODERN-DAY ISSUES

Sickle cell anemia is also in some sense a dietary deficiency disease, at least in the United States. Its effects are mitigated to a significant degree by diets rich in cyanate and thiocyanate, which are typically found in tropical foods such as yams, manioc (cassava), sorghum, and some millets that are rarely eaten in the United States. Symptoms are often worse in the United States than in areas where these foods are more often consumed. The sickle cell trait has been found to be more common in areas of Africa where these foods are eaten, presumably because they reduce the severity of the symptoms, thus changing the balance of selective pressures. Yams, however, also reduce resistance to malaria, often resulting in patterns of yam consumption in Central Africa carefully balanced with seasonal malaria.

In the United States and other areas with the benefits of modern biomedicine, the symptoms of this disease can be alleviated by a therapeutic diet rich in cyanates and antioxidants. It has become possible to identify the presence of the gene by a simple blood test. Prenatal testing of fetuses for the presence of HbS and genetic counseling for heterozygote parents are available. Since 1984 it has been possible to fight HbS with bone marrow transplants from “normal” homozygotes. As of 1995 there has also been a therapy, hydroxyurea, that effectively treats symptoms.

Although often considered a “racial” concomitant of dark skin, sickle cell genetics actually provides one of many pieces of evidence demonstrating that biologically, “races” do not exist. Sickle cell hemoglobin is not limited to individuals of dark skin, and its correlation with dark skin is actually weak. Even in populations where it is endemic, such as in malarial regions of West Africa, no more than 10 to 30 percent of hemoglobin alleles are of the HbS form. The comparable figure in African Americans is no more than 5 percent. In other areas of Africa where malaria is less of a problem, the allele occurs in far lower frequencies or not at all. It does not occur among unrelated dark-skinned populations of Oceania or

Australia. That is, the overwhelming majority of dark-skinned people, even those from or derived from West Africa, do not carry the allele. Conversely, the allele is known in malarial areas north of the Mediterranean, from southern Europe to India, among populations normally considered "white." It is interesting to speculate that if Mediterranean populations from Spain, Portugal, Greece, Italy, or Turkey had been the main colonizers of the New World, and if they had obtained their slaves from some areas of North and South Africa or Australia, the sickle cell trait might be associated with light rather than dark skin.

**SEE ALSO** *Diseases, Racial; Life Expectancy; Tay-Sachs and "Jewish" Diseases.*

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*Mark Nathan Cohen*

## SINGLETON, BENJAMIN "PAP" 1809–1892

Benjamin "Pap" Singleton called himself "the Moses of the Colored Exodus." Singleton became a black separatist and, along with Henry Adams, a leader in one of the largest internal migrations of African Americans in U.S. history. In 1879–1880, he served as a spokesperson for the "Exodusters," formerly enslaved blacks who moved from Tennessee, Kentucky, and other southern states, to settle mainly in Kansas. In a U.S. Senate report (1880), formerly enslaved Henry Adams of Louisiana stated that as early as 1874 blacks from several Deep South states had organized a semisecret "colonization council," which reportedly enrolled upwards of 98,000 persons desiring to migrate westward. Singleton, though, was very open about his activities, often conducting meetings in churches. Hence,

he was much better known than Adams, whose group may have motivated more people to emigrate than Singleton.

By the time Singleton became the public voice of emigration, he was in his sixties and gray-haired; his age and pleasant manner gained him the nickname "Pap." He claimed credit for establishing eleven colonies of African Americans in Kansas, but the record shows only two communities, in Dunlap County and Morris County. In 1880 he informed a special U.S. Senate committee seeking the causes of the migration that he had brought 7,432 people out of the South, and he proudly but erroneously proclaimed, "I am the whole cause of Kansas migration!"

Singleton was born in Nashville, Tennessee, to an enslaved mother. He fled slavery and went to Canada via the Underground Railroad. He soon returned to the United States and found a job in Detroit. After Emancipation, he went back to Tennessee and encountered ongoing economic oppression and white violence against African Americans. He continued to work in cabinetry and carpentry. In his work making coffins, he saw the bodies of black men and women whom whites had sexually assaulted and lynched. Well-to-do whites who controlled the economy exploited black workers, creating and perpetuating black poverty and hunger. A major crop failure in 1868 in the South intensified the hardship of many newly freed southern blacks. With the withdrawal of federal troops from the region in 1877, oppression of blacks intensified.

Singleton had once hoped that African Americans in the South could develop economic security by saving money, purchasing homes, and moving out of sharecropping. He helped create the Tennessee Real Estate and Homestead Association, which later became the Edgefield Real Estate and Homestead Association. This association vainly sought local land inexpensive enough for blacks to purchase. This effort failed, and Singleton soon began to believe that blacks should settle in new communities separated from whites, and thereby avoid white violence, oppression, and economic competition. He felt that life for southern blacks would begin to improve but, that in the short term, leaving was the best option. Singleton asserted that God had given him the message to lead blacks out of the South. In contrast to Henry Adams, who spent time in dialogue learning people's needs and opinions, Singleton asserted that he had been told by God to advocate for creating African American settlements outside the South.

Working alongside clergyman Columbus Johnson, also of Tennessee, Singleton selected Kansas as the most attractive destination for new black settlement. It appeared to have a pleasant climate and affordable public lands. Despite opposition from some black politicians, Singleton believed the new colonies would "consolidate the race" and create African American economic independence. Singleton's promotional pamphlets often contained appealing

pictures of lush farm and attractive dwellings. The circulars also contained “exodus” songs such as “The Land that Gives Birth to Freedom.” Kansas was presented as the Promised Land. The movement into Kansas was dramatic. In 1860, there were only 625 free blacks and two enslaved blacks in the state. By 1870, there were 17,108 blacks, and in 1880, 43,107. The migrants came not only from Tennessee, but also from Louisiana and Mississippi.

The colonies in Kansas did not live up to the advertising, and many migrants struggled greatly, some returning to the South. In his later years Singleton continued to work for black progress. In 1881 he founded and became president of United Colored Links, which aimed to use black resources to help blacks break into trades from which whites had excluded them, to help the community’s poor, and to promote black progress.

The black and white working class had little solidarity in this period in Kansas because of the racism of white workers and the racially divisive tactics of factory owners, who paid black laborers lower wages and used them as “scabs.” Although the Links tried to work with white labor groups to end the bar against black membership in labor organizations, the Links ultimately sought to unite blacks to form a separate, distinct, but coexisting black society.

Financial strain and other factors led to the dissolution of the United Colored Links. White discrimination, racism, and economic blockage continued to plague blacks in both the South and North, and Singleton began to believe that blacks could not achieve full success and security in the United States. Singleton then founded the United Transatlantic Society, a black separatist group that advocated migrating to Africa, considering both Liberia and Ethiopia as potential destinations. This organization did not succeed in relocating anyone to Africa, in large part because of the great cost of transoceanic travel. Despite his many setbacks, Singleton continued to fight for better conditions for blacks until the end of his life. He died in 1892 in St. Louis, Missouri.

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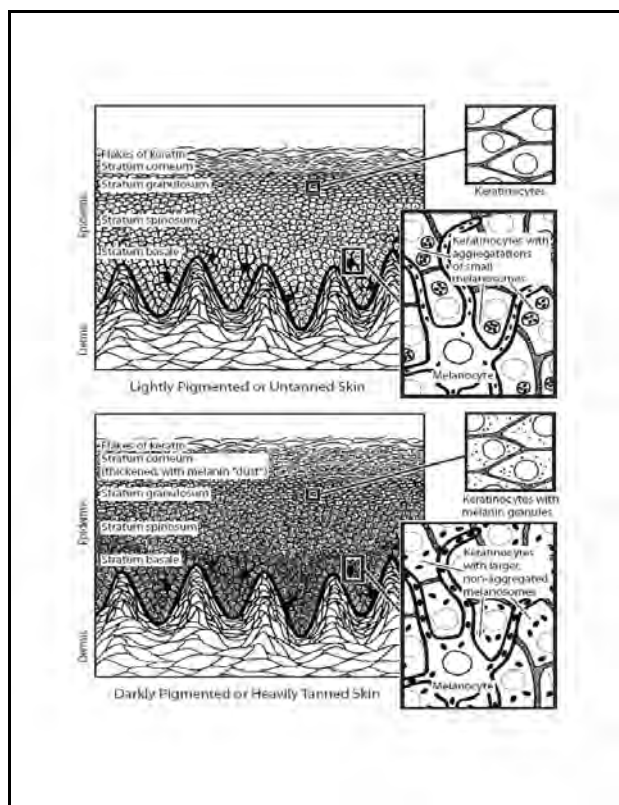
*Michelle VanNatta*

## **SKIN COLOR**

The skin of modern humans, *Homo sapiens*, varies from near ebony black to ivory white. Skin color is important to people because it is one of the most highly visible aspects of a person’s external appearance. As one of the most obvious and geographically variable aspects of the human phenotype, skin color long served as the primary basis for classification of people into what were considered distinct biological groups, which were designated variously as species, subspecies, or races. Research findings from anthropology and genetics now demonstrate that a person’s visible skin color is useless as a marker of unique genetic identity and that it is invalid as a basis for classifying people into biologically distinct groups. Despite this fact, skin color continues to be used in many countries and in many social contexts to evaluate a person’s group affiliation or social worth, often with prejudice.

Human skin color is determined by several pigments, the most important of which is melanin. Human skin contains the two types of melanin found in all mammals, the brownish-black eumelanin and the reddish-yellow pheomelanin. Eumelanin imparts color to darker skin and tanned skin, and is an extremely dense, virtually insoluble, high-molecular-weight polymer attached to a structural protein. Pheomelanin is largely responsible for freckles but is otherwise present in very small quantities in the skin; it is best known for giving red hair its color. Melanin is produced in specialized cells within the epidermis (the top layer of skin cells) called melanocytes. Melanocytes produce melanins in specialized cytoplasmic organelles called melanosomes, which vary in size and degree of aggregation depending on skin type and pigmentation (Figure 1). Natural melanin compounds absorb, scatter, and reflect light of different wavelengths, from the ultraviolet (UV) through the visible range. These processes are influenced by the density and distribution of melanosomes within skin cells and the presence in darker skin of flecks of melanin pigment (“melanin dust”) in the superficial parts of the epidermis. When present in high concentrations in the skin, eumelanin provides protection against sunburning and other harmful effects of UV radiation (UVR). Melanin also helps to prevent damage to DNA in the skin by inhibiting destructive oxidative processes caused by UVR.

Accurate measurement of skin color is required in many scientific and medical settings. Skin color was for many years simply described as “white,” “yellow,” “black,” “brown,” and “red.” During the early twentieth century, these imprecise descriptions gave way to color-matching methods, which utilized colored tablets or tiles of different colors and hues. Because these methods could not be consistently reproduced, the more objective method of reflectance spectrophotometry was widely adopted soon after its



**Figure 1.** Schematic rendering of cross-sections of lightly pigmented and darkly pigmented human skin, showing its laminar structure and mail cell types. Darkly pigmented skin contains larger melanosomes (melanin-containing organelles) and “melanin dust” in the epidermis. © JENNIFER KANE, 2007.

introduction in the early 1950s. This method utilizes a light source of known wavelength that is shown upon the surface of the skin. A detector on the apparatus then measures the amount of light reemitted or reflected by the skin. The resulting measurement is called skin reflectance. This procedure is carried out on skin that is not routinely exposed to sunlight, with the inner surface of the upper arm being preferred.

In recent years, several new and highly portable types of spectrophotometers and other measurement devices have been introduced to measure skin color in the field, laboratory, and doctor’s office. Unexposed skin provides information on a person’s constitutive skin color, that is, the genetically determined skin color not affected by exposure to the sun. In most people, the skin darkens (tans) to greater or lesser extents with sun exposure. This temporary darkening imparts a person’s facultative skin color. In clinical settings, the need to assess skin color quickly and without complex instrumentation led to the creation of skin phototypes, ranging from Type I (very sensitive, easily burned, with little or no potential for

tanning) to Type VI (insensitive, never burns, and deeply pigmented).

Among the indigenous peoples of the world, skin color varies continuously and forms a natural cline, or gradient, from darkly pigmented peoples near the equator to lighter ones closer to the poles. This distribution led early observers to think that skin color must be related to the distribution of sunlight on the Earth’s surface, and most research on the evolution of skin color has been concerned with identifying the nature of the relationship between sunlight and skin color.

### THE EVOLUTION OF SKIN COLOR

Human skin is distinguished mainly by its naked appearance, its greatly enhanced abilities to dissipate body heat through sweating, and the great range of genetically determined skin colors that it exhibits. Although skin is rarely preserved in the fossil record, many aspects of the evolution of human skin and skin color can be now reconstructed using comparative anatomy, physiology, and genomics. The evolutionary lineage leading to humans separated from that leading to chimpanzees, our closest relatives, about six million years ago. The skin of this species probably had lightly pigmented skin covered with dark hair, as chimpanzees and most other Old World anthropoid primates do. As the human lineage evolved, important changes occurred in body shape and proportions, and in brain size.

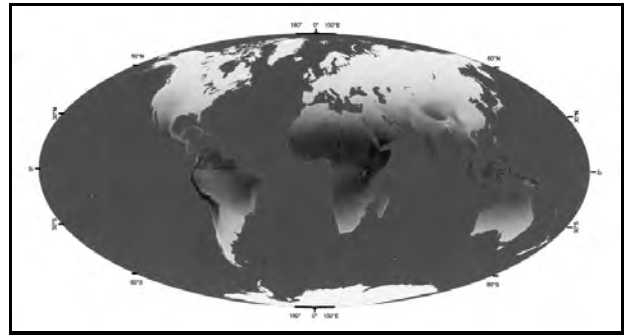
The earliest members of the genus *Homo* living in equatorial Africa from about 2 to 1.5 million years ago exhibited larger bodies, relatively larger brains, and relatively longer lower limbs than their predecessors. Their activity levels are thought to have been correspondingly higher and their range of daily travel longer than those of their ancestors. This situation would have required that their skin be functionally naked and endowed with a high density of sweat glands in order to facilitate heat loss and protect the brain from hyperthermia, especially during periods of exertion in hot environments. The dense, hairy coats of other mammals protect their skin from UVR-induced damage because the hairs themselves absorb or reflect most short-wavelength solar radiation. Lacking this protection, the mostly naked skin of early *Homo* became darker, because the greatly increased melanin content helped to protect the body from the harmful effects of UVR. The ancestral stock from which all later humans evolved was, thus, darkly pigmented. This interpretation has recently been supported by genetic evidence demonstrating that strong natural selection acted over one million years ago to produce darkly pigmented skin in early members of the genus *Homo* (Rogers, Iltis, and Wooding 2004).

## Skin Color

Skin pigmentation among indigenous populations of modern humans shows remarkable regularity in its geographic distribution. Darker skins occur in more tropical regions and lighter skin in temperate regions, although this gradient is less intense in the New World as compared to the Old World. In 1958, Hubert von Walter was the first to suggest that the pigmentation gradient observed was linked to the intensity of UVR, and he established this relationship by calculation of correlation coefficients between skin color and estimated UVR. More recent studies utilizing remotely sensed data gained from earth-orbiting satellites established a conclusive correlation UVR and skin reflectance. Further, skin color is more strongly correlated with UVA, which is consistently higher throughout the year at all latitudes than with UVB. Using the known relationship between environmental parameters (primarily UVR) and skin color in indigenous human populations, it is possible to derive a map of predicted human skin colors (Figure 2). This map depicts an idealized situation in which humans are assumed to have lived in their respective regions for the same lengths of time and have followed similar cultural practices that could affect their skin color. Populations of native peoples in the Americas tend to be lighter than those in the Old World mostly because they have not inhabited their lands for as long a time. The pace and extent of human migrations in the last 500 years have also contributed to departures from the idealized pattern. Specifically, there are now many lightly pigmented people living in regions with high UVR levels that were originally inhabited only by darkly pigmented people, and many darkly pigmented people living in regions with low UVR levels that were originally inhabited only by lightly pigmented people.

Melanin pigmentation is adaptive and has been maintained by natural selection, but until recently a consensus had not been reached as to why differences in melanin pigmentation among human populations evolved and have been maintained. Many ideas about the adaptive value of skin color have been brought forward in the last century. Dark skin was thought to protect against sunburn and skin cancer, to enhance immune protection of the body, or to serve as concealment in forest environments. Light skin was thought to facilitate vitamin D production in the skin or to help resist cold injury. None of these explanations alone, however, satisfies the criteria for a true evolutionary adaptation. In order for skin color to be considered a true biological adaptation, differences in survivorship and reproductive success between people of different skin colors under the same environmental conditions must be demonstrated.

Current understanding of the evolution of skin color is that varying degrees of melanin pigmentation evolved in *Homo sapiens* to regulate the penetration of UVR into the skin. The amount of melanin present represents enough to



**Figure 2.** The distribution of predicted human skin color as determined from the known relationship between skin reflectance in indigenous human populations and environmental factors, the most important of which being UVR. © GEORGE CHAPLIN, 2007.

prevent the breakdown of certain light-sensitive compounds while permitting the production of others. This theory is based on two equally important facts. The first is that the B vitamin folate (folic acid) is destroyed by UVR (UVA), and that folate deficiency endangers successful reproduction in both females and males. This is because folate is necessary for production of all DNA in the body and is therefore required for all cell division. Rapid cell division is required during development of the human embryo and fetus and during the production of sperm. A lack of sufficient folate compromises cell division and can lead to serious or fatal birth defects and the slowing or cessation of sperm production. The second important fact is that vitamin D<sub>3</sub> is produced in the skin by wavelength UVR (UVB) and that severe vitamin D deficiencies adversely affect survival and eventual reproductive success by interfering with uptake of calcium from the diet. Vitamin D is important for building and maintaining the bones of the skeleton and for maintaining a strong immune system. Insufficient amounts of vitamin D during early childhood inhibit proper skeletal development, leading to rickets, while deficiencies later in life lead to bone thinning (osteomalacia) and compromised functioning of the immune system.

Evolution has, therefore, produced two clines of skin pigmentation. The first grades from darkly pigmented skin at the equator to lightly pigmented skin near the poles and can be thought of as the cline of folate protection. The second grades from lightly pigmented near the poles to darkly pigmented at the equator and can be referred to as the cline of vitamin D production. Loss of melanin pigmentation was important for humans living outside of the tropics because the large quantities of melanin present in dark skin greatly slow the process of vitamin D<sub>3</sub> production in the skin. In the middle of the two clines are people with enhanced abilities to gain and lose facultative pigmentation (a tan) according to seasonal UVR levels.

Adaptive explanations for human skin pigmentation have dominated the literature, but some authorities downplayed or discounted the role of adaptation by natural selection in determining human skin color. Some have emphasized the role of sexual selection, especially by way of explaining the lighter constitutive pigmentation of women relative to men. Others have argued that loss of melanin pigment in the skin of people outside of tropical latitudes occurred not because lighter skin color was selected for but because selective pressures for deep pigmentation were relieved as people inhabited increasingly high latitudes where dark pigmentation was no longer required as a shield against UVR.

The evolution of skin pigmentation in humans has been determined by many factors, the most important being UVR. Through human history, however, the number of factors influencing human skin pigmentation has increased, and culture has reduced the scope for the action of natural selection on human skin. Cultural behaviors such as wearing clothes and using shelters have become more common through time and have affected the evolution of skin pigmentation because they have tended to reduce individual UVR exposure. In early prehistory, people had a simpler material culture and had fewer cultural trappings to buffer themselves against the environment. Under these conditions, natural selection promoted biological adaptations to the environment, such as changes in skin coloration and body proportions. With increasing cultural complexity, nonbiological solutions to environmental problems became more common.

In the early 2000s the genetic basis of human skin pigmentation is not yet well understood, but this situation is rapidly improving with advances in comparative and functional genomics. Skin pigmentation is a trait determined by the interaction of many genes with the environment, and determining the relative importance of variant forms of genes in different environments has been challenging. The greatest attention so far has been focused on the nature and function of the melanocortin-1 receptor (MC1R) gene in people of different skin colors. The MC1R gene is one of the major genes involved in the determination of human hair and skin pigmentation. It is characterized by high levels of variation in light-skinned individuals outside of Africa and lower levels of variation in dark-skinned individuals within Africa. Natural selection favored people with sun-resistant forms of the MC1R gene, probably when humans first became hairless in tropical Africa. Later movements of modern people into the less sunny climes of Eurasia favored variant forms of the gene that did not produce dark skin.

The timing and nature of movements of groups of early *Homo* species and of *Homo sapiens* in prehistory suggests that human populations have moved in and out

of regions with different UVR regimes over the course of thousands of years. Natural selection, therefore, would have favored the evolution of dark and light skin pigmentation in disparate places at different times, resulting in the independent evolution of dark and light skin phenotypes and recurrent episodes of repigmentation and depigmentation. This hypothesis is supported by genetic evidence, which indicates that the lightly pigmented skin characteristic of northern Europeans evolved as the result of a mutation in a gene that affects the properties of melanin-containing organelles within skin cells. The absence of the same mutation in lightly pigmented northern and eastern Asians denotes that the depigmented skin of these peoples evolved independently (Lamason et al. 2005).

### SKIN COLOR AND RACE

Throughout history and in most countries, skin color has been the primary characteristic used to classify people into purportedly genetically distinct geographic groups or races. The biological basis of skin pigmentation in humans strongly argues against the use of the trait in this way. Skin pigmentation is adaptive, and its evolution in specific populations has been strongly influenced by environmental conditions in specific places. Highly adaptive characteristics are not useful for classifying people or other organisms because they often recur under similar environmental conditions; that is, they evolve in parallel. Genetic evidence indicates that the evolution of pigmentation genes has been driven by natural selection working to produce adaptive responses in different environments, suggesting that similar skin colors have evolved independently in human populations inhabiting similar environments. Darkly or lightly pigmented skin, therefore, provides evidence only about the nature of the past environments in which people have lived, not their membership in a unique group or race.

Skin color continues to influence human affairs because people are strongly visually oriented and are highly culturally attuned to noticing even small differences in external appearance. The existence of differences between so-called human races based on skin color is the result of an exaggerated perception and heightened sensitivity to a visually obvious attribute of human appearance. Different skin colors have taken on different cultural values in different places throughout history, and human societies have tended to maintain culturally ingrained values about individual worth based on skin color. This remains one of the most sinister forces affecting human affairs throughout the world today.

**SEE ALSO** *Clines; Genetic Variation Among Populations; Human and Primate Evolution; Human Biological Variation; Human Genetics.*

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*Nina G. Jablonski*

**SKINHEADS**

SEE *English Skinheads; Neo-Nazis.*

**SLAVE CODES**

Slave codes were elaborate sets of laws or statutes passed to regulate slavery in all its aspects. In civil-law societies, they were organized into specific codes, such as *Le Code Noir* in French Louisiana, which brought together all the laws and regulations pertaining to enslaved persons and free blacks. In the rest of the United States, however, the slave codes were more amorphous. The entire corpus of laws regulating slavery would be considered the "slave code" for a particular state, though no state ever published all of its laws pertaining to slavery in any one place.

The *Code Noir* and other civil slave codes were based on Roman law, which contained a number of well-developed provisions regulating the status of enslaved persons. However, Roman slavery differed from chattel slavery in the Americas in several key ways. First, Roman slavery was nonracial in character. Race did not determine who could be enslaved, nor did it describe the limits of personal capabilities in the way that proslavery ideology did in the British mainland colonies and the United States from the late seventeenth century to the end of the Civil War. Second, the state of enslavement resulted from a variety of universal causes, including capture during wartime, satisfaction of debt, and punishment for a crime. Finally, under the Roman code, enslaved persons retained a number of rights, including the right to own property and the right to purchase one's own freedom. However, at the same time, Roman law placed no limits on the punishments a master might inflict on a slave and allowed the master to kill a slave without fear of any legal sanction. Third parties who killed Roman slaves could only be charged with destruction of property. Furthermore, if a slave was used as a witness in a trial the law *required* that the slave be tortured before his testimony would be accepted. In the United States, some masters (as well as third parties) were punished for murdering slaves, there were limits on the kinds of punishments slaves could receive, and it was illegal for the courts to order that slaves be tortured.

**EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF SLAVE CODES**

The mature slave codes of the late antebellum South were products of years of statutory development. These codes regulated free blacks as well as those who were enslaved, and they often had provisions that affected whites as well. Many antebellum statute books had entire sections devoted to slavery. For example, the Georgia Code of 1845 contained forty-nine pages under the general title "Slaves and Free Persons of Color." Similarly, Title 30 of the Virginia Code of 1849, contained five separate chapters, gathered under the heading "Slaves and Free Negroes." Both of these codified sections contained scores of statutes that had been passed over many years and were now put together in one convenient place. Yet even these sections did not contain all the laws



in force that dealt with slavery. Thus, the 1845 Georgia code had more than seven additional pages on "Offences Relative to Slaves," whereas other parts of the code also had references to slaves and free blacks.

The first Africans arrived in the British North American colonies in the early seventeenth century. Traditional chronologies date the arrival of blacks in Virginia as occurring in 1619. Initially, these blacks were treated as indentured servants, and some gained their freedom. Gradually, however, some blacks were reduced to slavery, while others remained free. Starting in the 1660s, Virginia began to pass laws to regulate slavery, but these laws were scattered and not part of any coherent legislative program.

The early laws of Virginia and the other colonies tended to regulate race and labor, as much as slavery itself. In 1640 the Virginia legislature passed a law requiring that "All persons except negroes to be provided with arms and ammunition or be fined at pleasure of the Governor and Council." The law was designed to provide for a defense against Indian attacks, and "all persons" clearly referred to adult white males. The law did not prohibit blacks from carrying guns, but it did not require them to do so. This law may reflect a fear of Africans because they were unwilling immigrants to the New World, or simply because they were black. It may also reflect a belief that providing guns to Africans should not be mandatory because as non-Europeans they would not know how to use them. The fact that the law did not prohibit blacks from owning weapons suggests that there was a complex view of blacks at the time. Two years later the Virginia legislature provided for a tax on all male workers and all black female workers. This again may reflect racism, or it may merely point to the reality that black women were performing the same agricultural labor as white and black men. Whether or not it was intended to discriminate, this law had the effect of insuring that most black female workers would be sent into the fields, since their masters would be taxed as if all black female workers were field laborers. Some years later, Virginia applied the same tax rule to white female servants who actually did work in the fields. However, this law meant that the masters of white female servants could avoid the tax by keeping them out of the fields.

These early laws illustrate how race affected how people were treated, even before there was a system of slavery in the colonies. The net result of these early laws was to slowly stigmatize blacks to the point where all whites would begin to view them as different and inferior. Slavery did not begin to emerge in Virginia as a coherent system of labor and race control until the 1660s. Over the next three decades the legislature passed laws regulating slavery and race on a piecemeal basis. In 1662 the legislature decreed that the children of black women would

inherit the status of their mothers, even if their fathers were free blacks or free white men. In 1667 the legislature declared that baptism would not lead to the emancipation of blacks already being treated as slaves. Three years later the legislature declared that free blacks (who at that point outnumbered slaves) could never have or control white indentured servants. In 1680 the legislature prohibited blacks from owning guns or swords, while also authorizing the killing of slaves who ran away and refused to return.

#### CONSOLIDATION OF SLAVE CODES IN VIRGINIA

These laws set a pattern that other colonies would follow up until the American Revolution and that the slave states would continue to follow afterwards. By 1705, Virginia had enough laws regulating slaves and free blacks to constitute a slave code. That year the legislature attempted to adopt a consolidated slave code with the passage of "An Act concerning Slaves and Servants." Running more than fifteen pages with forty-one sections, the law reenacted almost all of the colony's existing legislation regarding blacks and slaves. The law also purported to repeal all previous regulations of slaves and blacks not incorporated into the new act. This was the first comprehensive slave code in the American colonies. It may also be one of the few instances where an American slave code attempted to consolidate all the legislation of a jurisdiction on the subject of slavery and blacks.

However, this important consolidation of the colony's laws on slavery and blacks was probably not intended to be completely comprehensive. For example, the very first law passed in this session was titled "An Act for Laying an Imposition on Liquors and Slaves." This law regulated the importation of slaves and set out the taxes to be levied on them for the years 1706 through 1708. It seems unlikely that the legislature passed this elaborate revenue-raising bill at the beginning of its session only to intentionally repeal it later in the session. This example illustrates the persistent confusion over laws involving slavery in the colonial period. This sort of confusion would continue in the antebellum period. Similarly, another act passed that year prohibited mulattoes, blacks, and Indians from holding public office in Virginia. Again, it does not seem likely that the legislature passed this ban at the beginning of the session only to repeal it as part of the slave code later in the session. The same is probably true for "An Act concerning Tithables" passed before the legislature adopted the slave code. This act made all "negro, mulatto, and Indian women" responsible for paying taxes to support the colonial government; otherwise their owners or masters were required to pay the tax on their behalf. Most important of all, in 1705 the

legislature passed “An act for the speedy and easy prosecution of Slaves, committing Capitall Crimes.” Surely the later act regulating slaves and servants was not intended to repeal this law.

These laws, and others passed in 1705 before the 1705 slave code, suggest the virtual impossibility of ever consolidating all the laws and regulations of slaves, slavery, and free blacks into any single law. Even if the legislature had somehow accomplished this, and if the 1705 slave code had consolidated all existing legislation on slavery, the effort would have been short-lived. The new slave code was listed as “Chapter 49” in the statutes of 1705. Chapter 50, the very next law passed that term, was “An act to prevent killing Deer at unseasonable times.” This law had two sections that dealt with slaves. The first imposed a fine for masters who ordered their slaves to kill deer out of season. The second provided for the whipping of slaves who killed deer out of season on their own accord. Thus, immediately after Virginia supposedly passed a comprehensive and complete slave code to regulate slavery, the colony began to enact new laws that went beyond the code to regulate slaves.

#### THE PURPOSE OF SLAVE CODES

The experience of Virginia in 1705 would be repeated by every American slave jurisdiction until slavery disappeared. Slave states passed laws regulating slavery at almost every session. These involved taxation, sale, punishment, and policing. The laws were all designed to accomplish three things.

First, the laws were aimed at preventing slave insurrections and rebellions. Because slavery relied ultimately on force, the law had to be forceful. Early slave laws, repeated until the end of slavery, made certain that masters, overseers, and other whites would not be prosecuted if they killed slaves through “moderate coercion,” or if they killed slaves who were resisting authority. The laws made it an offense, sometimes a capital offense, for a slave to strike a master or overseer. The laws also regulated the gathering of slaves and their access to weapons or poisons. Along these lines, the laws of the late antebellum period limited gatherings of slaves and free blacks, regulated the religious services of free blacks, prevented free blacks from entering slave states, and prohibited slaves, and sometimes free blacks, from learning to read.

Second, the laws sought to regulate race. This was in part a safety measure, but it was also necessary to justify slavery within a republican society that proclaimed all people to be “equal.” Thus, the codes insured that blacks, whether enslaved or free, would be subordinate to whites in all ways. Early laws banned interracial marriage but allowed white men to have unfettered access to black women by making it impossible for black woman, bound or free, from ever testifying against a white. Marriage of enslaved persons

was a legal impossibility, and enslaved families were thus entirely at the mercy of masters and the vagaries of the law. The division of property at the death of a master, a bankruptcy, the need to move, or simply a shortage of cash could destroy slave families. Some free blacks voted in the South in the Revolutionary period, and they continued to vote in North Carolina and Tennessee until the mid-1830s, but otherwise blacks had no political rights. They could not hold office, serve on juries or in the militia, testify against whites, or hold certain jobs that might endanger the white community. The slave codes, supported by the courts, made race a presumption of slave status.

Finally, the codes were designed to maximize the profits of masters. The object of the codes was to suppress slaves and blacks so that they could be exploited. The codes protected the property interests of the masters, allowing them to sell, barter, or even give away slaves. Because the laws did not generally recognize slave families, the sale of a slave was a simple matter. Some states prohibited selling infants away from mothers, but such laws could only be enforced in public markets. The codes allowed for private sale without a need to even register the sale.

By 1860 the fifteen slave states had elaborate laws, never easily consolidated, that regulated slavery and allowed masters almost total autonomy over their slaves. Short of murdering a slave or mutilating one, masters could punish slaves as they wished, use and abuse slaves with impunity, and sell slaves with more ease than they could sell real estate. Significantly, one of the major issues of the 1850s was the demand of the South that Congress pass a slave code for the federal territories. Without a law to enforce their property relationship and to suppress slaves to keep them in line, the master class knew slavery could not survive in the territories. Slavery required a legal system that could protect it and preserve it. The slave codes accomplished this.

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## SLAVE TRADE IDEOLOGY

The institution of slavery, which defined the lowest possible social status in colonial America, required the approval of the prevailing political elites. The transatlantic slave

trade therefore rested upon a composite ideological foundation that reflected the core values of the ruling classes of European maritime societies, the African coastal societies, and the colonial elites of the Americas.

The international slave trade of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was part of the explosive intellectual, political, and territorial expansion of western Europe, of which the Renaissance was the intellectual expression. The ensuing colonization of the Americas represented its political expression, while the resources of Africa and other colonized parts of the world, including their human capital, were plundered to maximize the economic potential of the so-called New World. Regardless of what is said about the multifarious gradations of black-on-black bondage and its alleged humane mildness, the fact remains that millions of black people were available for acquisition by other people in exchange for things deemed of value. This essay focuses on the potentials for and actual process of exchange far more than the morality of it. The process itself involved vast numbers of purchasers dealing with even greater numbers of sellers. According to the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, compiled by the W. E. B. Du Bois Institute for African and African American Research, between 25,000 and 35,000 European voyages took something of value to Africans between 1450 and 1867. These ships came away with enslaved human cargoes, containing among others Igbos and Yorubas from Nigeria, Ewes and Minas from Ghana, the Mbundu of Angola or Makua natives from Mozambique on the other side of the continent. In general, Europeans could make their purchases of captives at barracoons and forts only a short distance from their vessels anchored in sight of land.

The basic argument here is that certain preexisting traditional ideological foundations and economic practices in place in Africa coincided with the European demand for highly regimented and effective colonial labor force not to be found among white indentured workers or coerced Native Americans laborers. In particular, the types of bondage transactions developed in traditional African societies unwittingly suited the process by which European colonial labor demands were addressed. In addition, the accelerated intensity of European exploitation of African economic practices was a consequence of large-scale state-sponsored mercantilism and the unprecedented maritime capabilities of the Europeans. The striking differences in technology, in coloration, and cultures between Europeans and Africans were codified and stratified by Europeans in the social construction of the concept of “race” as a biological fact of nature. Europeans and Africans thus were seen as polar opposites with attributes of the European world being most positive and those of the African world the least

*“Image not available for copyright reasons”*

positive, perceptions resulting in the concomitant behaviors that maintained this construction. The elitist ideologies of all three continents—European, African, colonial New World—placed enslaved Africans on the very margins of their respective systems of rights. Enslaved Africans were treated as rightless when held in the forts or baracoons on the African coasts, treated as rightless when purchased by slave traders and sold as rightless in the New World. In the slave trade per se, all business parties were engaged in buying and selling rights over the enslaved, the latter being without legal voice or rights. In the case of enslavement by military conquest, the victors were under no obligation to honor the rights of the vanquished. Indeed, such rights became the property of the victorious, who could and did sell them to third parties.

Whereas transactions involving rights in people and rights to people were continent-wide in Africa, the moral sense of responsibility for others was local and limited to

individual identity, kinship or affinity groups. Many scholars forget that traditional Africa comprised many, many diverse political groups and locations, and they erroneously analyze it as a single entity. They frequently presume similarities of condition and status of blacks in the Diaspora to be merely continuities of African continental homogeneity. Common economic practices, however, do not mean uniformity of cultures or of cultural values, otherwise transactions beyond one's primary group would not be possible. The slave trade was based on common factors of acquisition and economic availability on all sides of the continent. That is, however, initially acquired by sellers, humans were available for commercial exchange. Likewise, Europeans acquired Africans for slave labor because they were available for a number of reasons: European religious ideology permitted the enslavement of God-cursed Hamitic "pagans"; and European beliefs that sub-Saharan Africans, bond or free, were an inherently different and inferior species of humankind whose coloration was an obvious indicator, blackness being associated with negativity of quality, value and condition.

The transatlantic slave trade of hundreds of thousands of enslaved was of an unprecedented scale and intensity that dwarfed the annual 5,000 to 10,000 captives headed for Arabia or India. The usual explanation of the availability issue is that Europeans stimulated intertribal warfare on a massive scale with the losers enslaved for European purchasers. Left unexplained is how ship captains, many of whom had never been to Africa, from the relative security of their ships, and later, ground settlements, were able to persuade free Africans to make slaves of other free Africans. Or how they *created* numerous situations where an Olaudah Equiano could be kidnapped and sold several times before final sale to a European buyer. Assuming the conventional instigation, divide and conquer theory of slave acquisition, how did the European sea captains, with often derelict crews, overcome the multiple barriers of communication, transportation and distance to in effect "control" the behaviors of their African slave procurers, especially from sources hundreds of miles inland? In short, how could so few command so many with such astonishing success among so many politically disparate groups?

If theories of unilateral European control of the slave trade as *process* are accepted, then one is looking at history's most persuasive human beings. If one accepts theories of cupidity and economic greed, then what accounts for their reduction of others to the level of chattel slaves, a reduction made permanent through sale? These questions will be examined in an effort to provide a perhaps more rationale explanation of the nature and volume of economic transactions that comprised the slave trade.

#### ACQUISITION: AN INTRODUCTION

The European labor demands were driven by the highest political authorities in Spain, Portugal, France, England and Holland, and the work of acquiring this labor was carried out by professional slavers. Correspondingly, enslaved Africans were made available by the highest authorities of various regions of Africa, including the kingdoms of Wolof, Igala, Oyo, Anziku, Ashanti, and Dahomey. The elites of settler communities in the New World were the ultimate customers of this inhuman trade. Often forgotten is that the European acquisition of economically available Africans was undertaken on a ship-by-ship basis. From this perspective of acquisition, a remarkably few Europeans on the beaches of Africa obtained astonishingly large numbers of Africans in relatively brief periods of time. The following excerpt from the 1675 report of Captain Peter Blake of the Royal African Company is not unusual in its description of the almost casual manner in which he worked to obtain a satisfactory number of enslaved Africans:

*Monday 30:* ... came in sight of the towne of Assence. ... Sent my pinase, with six of my passentg'rs to cape Corso with all the lett'rs and pap'rs belonging to the Agent. ... *Tuesday 31st:* ... several canoes came aboard from this towne to whom I sold severall goods for gold and slaves. ... *Sept'r 1675, Wednesday 1st:* severall canoes came ... to whom I sold severall goods for gold and slaves. (Donnan 1930)

Many accounts exist of negotiations between Europeans and African for slaves. In a journal entry made in 1746, a Captain Thomas Phillips complained about having to purchase the local king's slaves: "the worst in the trunk, ... ere they would shew us any other," Phillips wrote, adding:

we paid more for them than any others, which we could not remedy, it being one of his majesty's prerogatives. ... When we had selected from the rest such as we liked, we agreed in what goods to pay for them, the prices being already stated before the king, how much of each sort of merchandize we were to give for a man, woman, and child, which gave us much ease, and saved abundance of disputes and wranglings, and I gave the owner a note, signifying our agreement of the sorts of goods. (Dow 2002 [1927], p. 61).

Phillips then had to pay taxes to the king's representatives, a stipend to the "sand captain" (the local African security man who kept watch over the growing assemblage of slaves), and supply gold to the seven African canoemen who ferried manacled slaves to his ship, the *Hannibal*. This type of interaction occurred hundreds of

thousands of times over the 300-odd points of sale between Senegal and Madagascar.

Phillips's report does not state the number of European seamen on the *Hannibal*, although by the mid-1700s European governments and chartered trading companies had begun prescribing the ratio of sailors to the size of the ship, with a doubling of the number if the ship was engaged in the transatlantic slave trade. David Moore, in his account of the *Henrietta Marie* salvage project, notes the following: "In 1702, the frigate *Angola*, tonnage (capacity) of 125, carried a crew of 24; the 1706 galley *Grayhound*, tonnage 100, carried a crew of 20 seamen, in addition to the captain, quartermaster, doctor, book keeper and black 'linguister' or translator [sic]." (Moore 1989, p. 41). The 120-ton *Henrietta Marie* itself, which foundered in Key West in 1700, had a crew of eighteen to twenty basically poor whites and a cargo of 205 slaves. In writing of the battles for a share of the slave trade between the Portuguese and Spanish (and later the French), Basil Davidson noted that "out of these grim rivalries, in small ships and with small crews, . . . wrecked and ruined by one another in sudden battles from the coast of Senegal to the Bight of Benin, there nonetheless emerged a pattern of commercial exchange and, gradually, a recognized order of behavior" (Davidson 1961, p. 53). This "recognized behavior" was essentially persuasion rather than coercion. In actual practice, European slavers generally purchased slaves already in captivity, as Captain Phillips and many others reported.

Some African societies refused to be a part of the transatlantic slave business, most notably, at least for a time, Queen Nzinga Mbande of the Ndongo Kingdom, whose Imbangala mercenary warriors valiantly battled Portuguese slavers in the 1620s. Ironically, Nzinga later became "a Dutch ally, and undertook several small wars locally in order to provide the Dutch with more slaves than she could otherwise supply" (Thomas 1997, p. 184).

#### AVAILABILITY

In treating the issue of availability, it is necessary to note the various ways in which individuals were designated "unfree." Orlando Patterson, an international authority on global slavery, has identified at least eight different ways that individuals could become unfree: by military defeat, by community assault or kidnapping, as payment of tax, as payment of a debt, by judicial decree, by abandonment (of minors), by voluntary self-enslavement, and by being the offspring of a slave. If unfree Africans were not technically considered slaves by their overlords, after they were bought by European slavers and placed into the international streams of commerce, they clearly became chattel, regardless of the words or concepts used by their sellers.

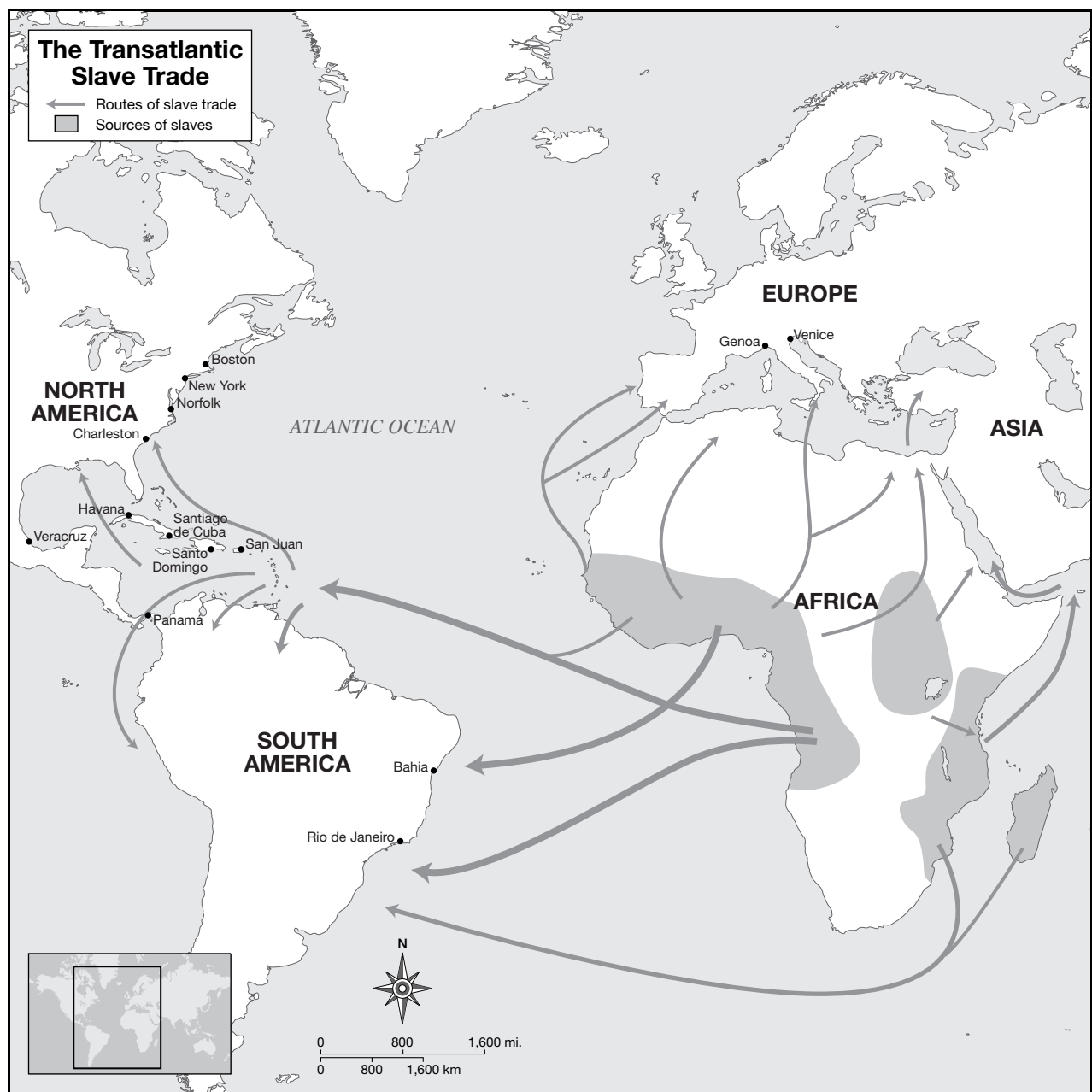
Stressing the "mildness" of the original African bondage system does not cancel the fact that these pawns, clients, vassals or fictive kinmen were sold to Europeans. Along with a host of other scholars, Patterson holds that the vast majority of Africans in the slave trade were captured in war or were kidnapped. These two sources provided more slaves than all the others combined, except perhaps birth.

The near universal prevalence of warfare as a means of creating unfree categories of individuals rests on a simple ideological foundation: In traditional warfare, the winner literally owns the loser, the victor having held off killing the vanquished. The loser owes the winner everything, including life itself. In traditional Africa, as elsewhere, the defeated males were often massacred, while the women and children became social outsiders whose "rights" were the prerogatives of the groups now controlling them. These prerogatives may include the ability to "own" others, to "own" material goods, or to marry and create families and to be considered adopted kinsmen. In many societies, a military victory was interpreted as a godly blessing for the winner and a reward for righteous conduct. This is the idea behind the concept of just and unjust wars. However, in wars of acquisition in traditional Africa, this European concept of a "just war" did not apply. In the Ganda kingdom in Uganda, for example, "it was in war . . . that lay the sources of their wealth such as livestock, slaves and ivory; in sum, the very things of which there is a shortage in Buganda" (Davidson 1969, p. 238).

#### RIGHTS AS COMMODITIES

It has been argued that traditional Africa was perhaps unique in its concept of the nature of rights. Here, "rights" had a dualistic aspect, in that they could: (1) be "owned" or recognized as belonging to the individual in accordance with his or her group membership status and under certain rules, or (2) be treated as commodities available for negotiated exchange. Suzanne Kopytoff and Igor Miers, who are close students of bondages in Africa, have this to say about rights: "When the question of rights-in-persons is considered in relation to African cultures, it becomes clear, first that such rights tend to be explicitly recognized and precisely defined in law; second, that they are the subject of complex transaction; and finally, that the position of the so-called 'slave' can only be understood in the general cultural context of these rights" (Miers and Kopytoff 1977, p. 7).

In examining the precision, explicitness, variability and transferability of rights in traditional African cultures, anthropologists have concluded that few if any societies surpassed these societies in marketing such rights, which were seen as transferable in whole or in part. This meant



*The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. During a period of nearly four hundred years about ten million Africans were forced to become slave laborers in the Americas. MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. GALE.*

that many different levels of status and service existed as a consequence of the sale of rights, the lowest possible level being that of chattel slavery, where individual rights were totally transferred from a seller to a purchaser.

In kin-based societies where persons were also assets, the details of group membership rights are matters of customary laws of exchange, the ultimate purpose being that of conserving original values while effecting change. This point is best illustrated in the case of traditional marriages throughout

continental Africa. Traditional Africans saw marriage as an occasion for the negotiated exchange of assets (both bride wealth and bride price), not only between the prospective bride and groom, but also between their corporate bodies or clans. "Bride price" refers to the value of the items involved in the bride wealth. Rights related to sexual expression and to individual and clan claims on children were altered under customary rules and modified by circumstance to determine the new conditions of kinship and "belonging." During the

slave trade era, “lobola,” or bride price, was measured in cattle—the number of cattle required depended on the bride’s particular assets, skill level, previous role in her family, and other factors. Details were determined by custom, and families planned years in advance to comply with them. Whereas in the early twenty-first century cash is as likely to be used as cattle, such practices are still followed in some societies. Jan Vansina, the author of *Kingdoms of the Savanna*, notes that in the traditional Kongo, “the Bolia and Kuba . . . have a type of marriage whereby in return for a great amount of bride wealth, the children or some of the children are detached from the descendents of the mother and become members of the father’s lineage.” Depending on the group custom, bride wealth rules may require, for example, that “men and their spouses and children . . . shift from the village of the husband’s father to that of his mother’s brother” (Vansina 1966, p. 25). If there are several daughters, each of whom is planning to marry, the transfer of clan membership presents bride wealth and bride price negotiators with a complicated scenario, the contents of which must meet the requirements of custom and satisfy the expectations of the groups involved.

Here, the concept of “belonging” is helpful in understanding traditional African practices of human exchange. If one were a full kinship member of a group, then one’s person and one’s rights were considered as “belonging in” the group, and as such they were basically not automatically subject to commodity exchange away from the group. Within the group was focused the intense religious devotion to the welfare and moral conduct of its members toward one another and toward peaceful outsiders. Full kinship, and hence full membership, rested on birth, marriage, and ritualistic total adoption or fictive inclusion. In between full inclusion and total exclusion of rights were many levels of subordination with customary “rights” attached to each level.

These rights could be modified, depending on given circumstances, by juridical decision, by in-group rules of “loaning” or pawning group members to other groups to satisfy an obligation, or by “self-sale” to a group for survival. “Belonging to” a group, on the other hand, stressed an external, outsider attachment to a given group. If one “belonged to” a kin group as a non-kin person, then in certain situations the rules of the commodity system could be applied. The remarkable thing about rights-in-persons transactions is that they appear to have been peaceful, with revolts of dependents being quite rare. The critical point is that once detached from a “belonging in” or a “belonging to” group, the affected person sold had no third party clan or community protection. Rights were detachable assets and could be treated as property in and of themselves. No continent-wide rule or agency existed to supervise human commodity rights transactions between European purchasers and African sellers.

## PEOPLE POSSESSION AS POWER

In precolonial African societies, the larger the group, the greater a person’s individual status was in the context of other groups. If kinship was the cement holding together African lineages, “in the struggle for prestige, what was critical in *all* African societies was the number of dependents an ambitious man could acquire” (Patterson 1982, p. 83 [emphasis in original]).

Increases in group size were a function of natural increase among members within the group and of the numbers of individuals who were acquired by the group. Group enlargement also occurred as a result of peace negotiations. Ironically, the greater the size of a given group, the greater the ease with which it could reduce smaller groups to feudalistic vassalage and certain individuals to chattel slavery. The larger the group, the greater its prestige. This kind of situation might be defined as “wealth-in-people.”

Not only did traditional African societies value wealth-in-people as defining the intrinsic status of the group, but such societies appreciated people-as-wealth from a commodity standpoint. Regardless of the size of the social groups involved, and virtually independent of their relations with one another, people as exchange commodities were a common part of precolonial social systems throughout most of the African continent. The practice was quite common, whether in Senegal on the west coast or Kenya on the east, and whether in small kin-based social formations of a thousand souls or within large states such as the fifteenth-century Songhai Empire, whose boundaries could contain modern France and part of Spain. In the fourteenth century, Mansa Musa, ruler of ancient Mali (the predecessor state to Songhai), went to Mecca with an entourage of a reported 500 slave porters carrying supplies and exchange goods, bankrupting himself in the process.

Dependent persons without rights in traditional Africa were not only a form of wealth in and of themselves, they were also a source of additional wealth through their labors. According to John Thornton, who has looked rather closely at traditional bondage practices in Africa, “If Africans did not have private ownership of one factor of production (land), they could still own another, labor” (Thornton 1992, p. 85). Thornton argues that the relative absence of individual private ownership of land as wealth facilitated the view that ownership of labor was wealth. Land itself was the joint property of the group and was vested in the king or official head of the group. Persons possessing control or ownership of dependents, bond or otherwise, could profit by working communally held lands. The rulers, especially on the Gold Coast, used slaves as part of the apparatus of government. They were “used by state officials as a



*Branding Slaves on the Coast of Africa.* A slave is branded prior to embarkation. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

dependent and loyal group, both for the production of revenue and for performing military service in the struggles between kings or executives . . . and other elite parties who sought to control royal absolutism” (Thornton 1992, p. 89).

All of the practices involving the acquisition and use of detachable dependents with attenuated or nonexistent rights contributed to the formation of a commercial ideology and mindset that made enslaved Africans available for exchange to lands east, north, and west of the African landmass, so that dependent Africans were soon found in India, China, and even Russia. The great tragedy, then, of traditional African social history is that its varied societies universally recognized commercial property rights in dependent persons far more than universal human rights. For traditional African societies, freedom was limited to persons “belonging in” their corporate groups. In practice, this meant that the market for rights as commodities was the whole world, whereas the venue for freedom was only one’s own defining local unit of humanity. African bondsmen were available to those who had the means to acquire them. The African proprietors of rights in and over other Africans treated the latter as gold.

The Europeans, meanwhile, in their accumulation frenzy to supply colonial labor demands, treated African availability as a gold rush, literally cashing in on the African conception of people-as-wealth. Their acquisitive greed stimulated African acquisitiveness regarding certain European trade goods: cloth, iron bars, guns, alcohol, basins, beads, mirrors, and so on, for the African ruling elites, stimulating commercial transactions that set in motion millions of human souls on thousands of ships over hundreds of years. Neither European purchasers nor African sellers could have existed without the other, sharing the ideology that some people of Africa could be treated as commodities. In retrospect, greed may be seen as the only common link between Africans and Europeans in the watershed years of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This greed may have boomeranged on Africa, but it propelled Europe toward global power.

#### EUROPEAN ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY: MERCANTILISM

The international transatlantic slave trade lasted nearly 500 years, and the principal ideology that governed the European aspect of it was mercantilism or state coordination of private economic transactions, which was as important to the ideology of the slave trade as the ideology of transferable rights was to African participation in it. Both were ideologies of acquisition and wealth production. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, mercantilism was the belief that the state should coordinate all aspects of its economy in order to maximize its political power in an international environment of multistate competition among sovereigns claiming a divine right to rule.

The term *mercantilism* is a product eighteenth-century thought, when it was retroactively applied to historical analyses of the preceding two centuries by Adam Smith, Edward Ricardo, and Jeremy Bentham in their economic *laissez faire* arguments. The ruling elites of Spain, Portugal, England, France, and Holland, all maritime nations, were convinced that only by controlling the productive energies of their respective social systems could they achieve the power to prevail in economic and military contests among themselves. Gold and silver were required for funding large mercenary military forces on land and building a navel presence at sea. This meant that buying and selling commodities of any sort had to be done for the purpose of increasing rather than decreasing the gold supply within the nation. Of course gold was the original European interest in Africa. For the mercantilists, a healthy economy called for a balance of trade, or a situation in which the net result of the economic transactions of a nation was that it gained more gold and silver than it lost. To achieve this balance, a given nation was expected to export more goods than it



imported. Tariffs or taxes on imported goods were also used to achieve this balance. Under mercantilism, a great value was placed on the control of import-export items, as well as on the sources of gold and silver.

#### NAVAL CAPABILITIES

The movement of gold and silver, and of slaves and the by-products of slave labor, called for a strong naval presence. If mercantilism dictated economic collaboration within a society, then naval capabilities were necessary to move items of wealth, whether it was gold or human capital in the form of enslaved Africans. Mercantilism was the master ideology of the age of European expansion, and it directed and concentrated social energy with unprecedented precision. Whatever the form of these commodities, the wealth of nations depended on the conscious supervision of economic activities, including productive European domestic and African foreign labor. Enslaved colonial Africans worked out of sight of the peoples of the mainland of participating nation-states, a fact that may have contributed to spread of the concept of freedom for the average European and bondage for the average African in the Americas. Thus, the color line was drawn several centuries before W. E. B. DuBois, the eminent African American polymath, declared it to be “the problem of the twentieth century.” In the context of mercantilism, the institution of slavery was a secondary institution, a means to an end much larger than itself. It was an extremely controlled support of mercantilism.

#### EUROPEAN ABSOLUTISM AND ELITISM

The sixteenth-century European seafaring societies bordering the Atlantic Ocean had several things in common, including several natural advantages. England, Holland, France, Spain, and, above all, Portugal, possessed extremely long and easily accessible waterfronts, a situation that helped to sharpen their maritime skills. These societies also had geographic size sufficient to support investments in the transatlantic slave trade, and all but one was headed by an absolute monarch (Elizabeth I in England, Louis XIV in France, Dom João III in Portugal and Charles V and different Phillips in Spain). The West India Company, established in 1621, was a principal transatlantic conveyer of slaves, governed by a Council of Nineteen, whose members were usually of one mind in matters of trade.

The trading company was the instrument of commerce and settlement, operating with delegated authority and partial funding from the state. Portugal, Spain, France, England, Holland, and even Sweden set up trading companies with varying levels of authority and autonomy to link colonies to the home country. To cite their names is to conjure up the age of exploration and settlement: the Casa de Contraciao (Portugal, 1510), the

Caracas Company (1628), the Dutch West India Company (1621), Compagnie des Cent-Associés (Company of a Hundred Associates, 1628), the Massachusetts Bay Company (1629), the Brazil Company (Portugal, 1649), the English Company of Royal Adventurers (1660), the Hudson Bay Company (1670), and the Royal African Company (1672), among others. In one way or another, the political and mercantile elites dominated these companies, whose existence represented sums of money and other resources far beyond the reach of a single merchant. The companies were de facto representatives of their governments as well as agents of private investors. In international trade, they were cargo carriers; the Royal African Company, for example, transported several hundred enslaved Africans across the Atlantic Ocean. Like the triangle of trade itself, these companies had three places of business: the home office, the African station or garrison, and the office of agents on the various islands, on the American mainland, or in the Brazilian coastal cities.

Companies established to underwrite the international business operations, including the use of slaves, initially were headed by the political and financial elites of their sponsoring countries. When the Royal African Company was organized, among its twenty-plus investors were the Duke of York (for whom New York is named); Sir George Carteret, the commissioner for Trade and Plantations; and the philosopher John Locke. The chief personnel of England’s Company of Royal Adventurers in 1660 included four members of the royal family itself, four barons, five earls, and two dukes. Queen Elizabeth I initially opposed slavery, but in 1564 she became an investor in slaving expeditions. When the French West India Company was organized in 1664, King Louis XIV himself set aside 3,000,000 livres to cover its expenses, including the purchase of African slaves for its Caribbean operations. His finance minister, Jean Baptiste Colbert, was its principal director. In Spain the “House of Contracts” was a subdivision of the Treasury Department, which reported directly to the king. The rulers of Spain and Portugal were direct participants in the operations of the colonial slave holdings, each receiving tax revenue from the slave acquisition agreements, or *asientas*. The Dutch Council of Nineteen hired the upper-status managers of the West India Company.

In short, colonial territories were held to be the possessions of kings and queens and by extension of the societies that established them. Mercantilism brought together rulers and their agents, agricultural and manufacturing sectors, and entrepreneurs and shippers on both sides of the Atlantic. Iberian, French, English, or Dutch companies were the micromanagers and movers of settlers and slaves, of gold and silver, of tobacco and other agricultural products such as sugar, coffee, rice, and

cotton, and of forestry products such as timber. They transported the first generations of European settlers, including indentured servants and enslaved Africans to do the work of producing the goods and services for the trade side of the triangular system. In the context of mercantilism, the historian Niels Steensgaard wrote: "The specific north-west European contribution to the organization of European expansion became the companies, a unique form of co-operation between merchant entrepreneurs and government interests" (1981, p. 263). The entire trade system, however, depended on tightly controlled labor.

Such was the powerful combinations behind their seagoing agents dealing with African fragmented authorities representing social formations ranging from several hundreds to hundreds of thousands of persons "belonging in" them, the Ashanti and Dahomey kingdoms being examples of the larger size groups.

Some fifty years before Christopher Columbus dropped anchor in San Salvador in 1492, precolonial sugar cultivation shifted from a multicultural, multicolored workforce of Greek, Jewish, Islamic, and Cypriot slaves in the Middle East and the Mediterranean regions to an all-black enslaved labor force producing sugar on the West African Islands of Fernando Po and São Tomé and Príncipe, as well as the Cape Verde Islands and the Madeira and Canary Islands in the Atlantic Ocean. By the middle of the fifteenth century, Islamic and Christian slaveholders had adopted the ideology of the Hamitic curse, which lent a biblical imprimatur to consigning blacks to bondage, even as their own faiths began prohibiting, in theory, their enslavement of their fellow Christians, even as they continued to engage in internecine wars that usually ended in some sort of peace without enslavement of losers.

Before sugar cane cultivation became the key commodity of the slave trade, the people of the Iberian Peninsula were already accustomed to seeing blacks as a servile race of laborers. As early as 1450, the city of Lisbon, Portugal, contained an estimated 10,000 enslaved African domestics and porters. The Spanish cities of Seville and Cadiz contained large numbers of both Moslem and pagan blacks, some enslaved and some free. Religious creed, non-Iberian cultural backgrounds, and a lack of wealth appear to have been more influential than color per se in determining status. But with the advent of an all-black, all-slave workforce on the sugar plantations, a conflation of creed, culture, condition, and color took place. Henceforth, any African outside of Africa itself was presumed to be a slave.

Enslaved black laborers thus represented the personification of a host of negatives long associated with ideologies and traditions that represented blackness as evil, God's curse, the devil, beauty's opposite, and nighttime fears. The

separation of blacks from other categories of humankind was seen as absolute. The black ideological color line existed in the European popular mind long before it appeared in European overseas commodity production. In large measure this pre-existing concept accounts for the speed with which colonial powers acquired and sprinkled the New World with enslaved Africans. This color line, in turn, rested on an ideological predisposition toward black servitude that was jolted into prominence by the almost convulsive energy of colonization. This color line has lingered ever since, embedded in the cultural memory of Western civilization. This rigorously enforced line, once literally a matter of life or death, has given the social construct of "race" a power that confounds reason.

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Russell L. Adams

## SLAVERY, RACIAL

In specific historical contexts, when some human societies began to accumulate surplus wealth and disperse it unequally among various class strata, slavery became possible. For hunting and gathering bands and most horticultural societies, the human needs for balanced reciprocity and generalized cooperation militated against the formation of slave relations. Nor did all state societies have slavery, but a socially stratified state society is a historical requirement for institutionalized slavery. Moreover, in early instances of localized slavery, it was not especially “racial,” because long-distance transport, globalization, alienation, and racial diversity were generally not present.

### DEFINITIONS AND HISTORICAL FOUNDATIONS

Usually, slavery appears in class societies that create individuals and populations that are being punished, captured, transformed into an economic resource, or a combination of all three. Slavery always involves coercion because it is an involuntary relationship between human groups. One may gloss this relationship by defining slaves as “prisoners of war” insofar as “war” can be defined ecologically, economically, socially, politically, militarily, or on the basis of racial or ethnic categories and gender. Slavery has existed for roughly 4,000 or 5,000 years under specific circumstances in which it grows, thrives, or declines.

Even when ancient slavery was institutionalized, it was usually on a small scale and practiced by high-status minority groups. Often, early slavery was closer to indenture and provisional servitude, as certain rights and responsibilities existed for slaves and slavery was not necessarily a lifetime status. As human groups moved into imperial and conquest modes, slavery increased. Indeed the Western term *slave* is derived from “Slavic,” the source of captives in the expanding Roman Empire. Nascent Rome first captured local rivals such as the Latins, Etruscans, and Sabines and coerced them to pay “tribute” and become subordinate “tribes” of Rome. When Rome expanded across the Adriatic Sea to the Slavic people, the subordinated status of “othered” groups became permanent. Captives from these Slavic lands entered the Roman political economy in perpetual servitude for cash exchange to work on large-scale agricultural estates and mines, in domestic service, as con-

tribes, to provide labor on galleys or plantations, and in gladiatorial combat.

The process of “othering” slaves on the basis of their lands, language, gender, property, sexuality, or ethnicity, and later on the basis of socially constructed “race” occurs only when greater distances for slave origins become substantial factors. Slave systems that are based on “race” require not only state formation but also large-scale “globalized” states in which racio-ethnic “othering” takes place and the slave’s hope of returning to his or her place of origin is minimal at best.

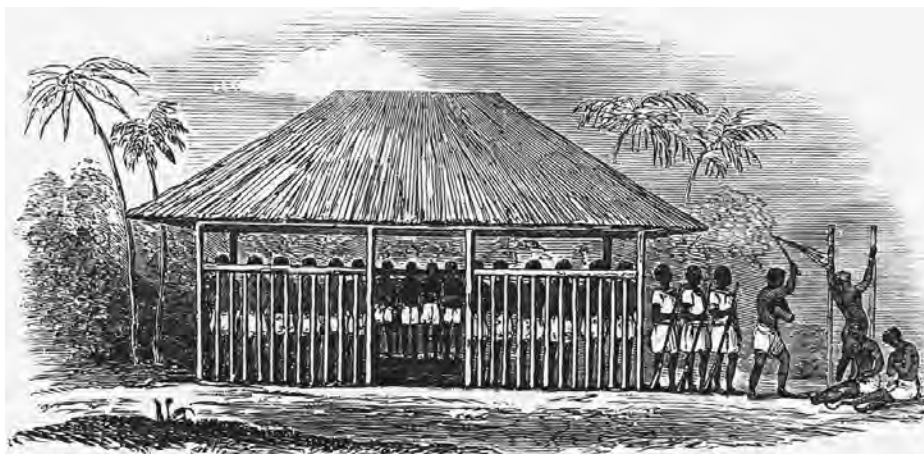
In ancient Egypt, certainly by the imperial New Kingdom (1500–1000 BCE), if not much earlier, slaves were clearly “othered” in the graphic images that depicted ethno-racial plurality and in lexical references to “vile” and otherwise “despicable” Nubians and Africans who were under their colonial occupation. This important issue has been carefully explored by Fluehr-Lobban and Rhodes in *Race and Identity in the Nile Valley* (2004). In Mesopotamia the cuneiform glyph for a female slave was composed of the symbol for “woman” from a “foreign land,” and the famed Code of Hammurabi indicated very specific legal rights, duties, and punishments for slaves versus free versus nobility.

An interesting instance of slavery in the Greek “Golden Age” occurs with the famed slave storyteller known as Aesop. He was expressly known as a slave of foreign rather than domestic origins who was “ugly.” His name reflects the general reference to his “Ethiopian” or Nubian origins. His death was essentially an informal lynching. In this example, one may condense the defining features of an imperial state society, including “othering” and denigrating on the basis of race.

Incidentally, the Nubian (Sudanic) word for slave was *nogor*, possibly the source of the Latin word “Negro.” There were other words for the color black, but this word was used just for “black people.” Even in the early twenty-first century, for example, French has the terms *noir* and *negre*, both meaning “black” but one used for the color and one for people. In American English “black” is neutral or positive but *nigger* is highly negative or problematic.

Certainly the Greeks were not the first in the Old World to reach this point in slave relationships, nor were the subsequent Romans. At the start of their empires, slavery was “racial” in a limited sense because the slave populations were largely of European origin, though they were distinguishable by language. When these empires reached their fullest geographical extents and conquered “racially” diverse peoples, then the coercive power of slavery could be “racial.”

Earlier areas that passed through this process included the Nile Valley, Mesopotamia, ancient China,



**Slave Barracoon in Africa.** African tribes used huts called barracoons to hold captured slaves before they were sold to Europeans. Slaves were typically chained together at the neck or ankles. This illustration also shows a slave being whipped, probably as punishment for trying to escape. TIME LIFE PICTURES/MANSELL/TIME LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES.

the Indus Valley, Europe, and the Middle East, especially the Phoenician, Greek, and Roman empires at the high points of their commercial power and military greatness. Later examples can be found in New World societies such as the Incans, Mayans, and Aztec.

Taking note of the Egyptian example, despite some protestations that it was not a slave society, there is abundant linguistic, textual, and archaeological evidence that slaves did certainly exist, especially by foreign capture when military tribute was commonly enumerated in slaves, livestock, and natural resources seized from the peripheries of their expansive empire. The same holds true for ancient Mesopotamia, whether in Assyria, Babylon, or other state formations of that region. For the relatively small-scale city-states of medieval Europe, imperial conquest could not be so easily sustained, so the status of slaves often devolved to serf and feudal servitude. During medieval “religious” and imperial crusades, slavery was restored on a grander scale both by Christian Europeans and the Muslim of the Middle East.

Among the savanna kingdoms in Africa, such as Ghana, Mali, Songhai, and the East African states of Kilwa, Zanzibar, and Mogadishu, slave raiding and trading was an essential part of the domestic and export economies. While these trades started earlier than the European slave trading of the fifteenth through the eighteenth centuries and lasted longer (and even still exist), in general they were not usually linked to large-scale plantation production of cotton, sugar, and tobacco. Instead, the African and Arab experiences with slavery were more associated with domestic service, concubines, and military service. Moreover, de facto slave status gradually diminished for

individuals within the incorporative nature of Islamic societies, while de jure slavery in the New World was often castelike and permanent over generations.

In the context of late medieval imperial expansion, New World exploration, Arab world circumnavigation, and religious justification, large-scale, racially based slave systems took root. The watershed year of 1492 was a tipping point in Euro-African relations with the voyages of Columbus, West African exploration, and the termination of centuries of Moorish occupation with the expulsion of Arabs and Jews from Iberia. The experimental foundation of the political economy of racially constructed slavery was put into place in the Canary Islands as early as 1441 with genocide against the native Guanche population and the installation of a sugar plantation economy run with slave labor. In the case of medieval Ghana, Europeans glossed this savanna kingdom as the “Land of Gold” or the “Land of the Blacks,” echoed in the Arabic term *Bilad as-Sudan* (the land of the blacks). To the extent that the crusading Christian worlds were warring against the “infidel” Muslim worlds, taking slave captives and other items of wealth was justified as military booty that could be used to economic advantage.

As Europeans sailed down the West African coastline, their commodity-based nomenclature gives some mute testimony to their interests with references to the “Pepper Coast” (Sierra Leone), the “Grain Coast” (Liberia), the “Ivory Coast” (still the same name), the “Gold Coast” (Ghana), the “Slave Coast” (today’s Benin and Nigeria), and the “Shrimp Coast” (Cameroon). From these places some of the human and natural resources for European

and New World development could be found, along with markets for European manufactured goods such as cloth, firearms, metal ware, and alcoholic spirits.

#### EURO-AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE: RISE AND EVOLUTION

The one-way Atlantic crossing from Africa to the New World known generally as the Middle Passage took untold millions from African homelands to shortened lives in American mines, plantations, docks, and estates. Sometimes it was termed “the world’s longest graveyard,” because the mortality rate in the Middle Passage varied by the length of the voyage, the degree of “tight-packing” or “loose-packing,” health conditions, mutinies, and so forth. Some ships were lost altogether; others came through with cargoes largely intact. On average, scholars calculate that about one in five slaves boarded in West Africa did not reach the New World alive. Other calculations note that for every slave boarded, at least another one died in resistance to the slave raiding of Africans or Europeans. For those reaching New World markets, life was often very harsh and brutally shortened.

A great and long debate has been under way about the total number of Africans involved the Middle Passage diaspora. Probably the strongest, most defensible and conservative numbers are those offered by Phillip Curtin (1969): from 10 million to 15 million. However, for parts of this history, the Atlantic slave trade was openly illegal; hence, official records were not kept. Other records were simply lost. Given the many centuries, nationalities, and contexts involved, it is clear that the numbers were much higher, especially if the factors of mortality before boarding and the Middle Passage were included more effectively or accurately. This statistic will never be known precisely.

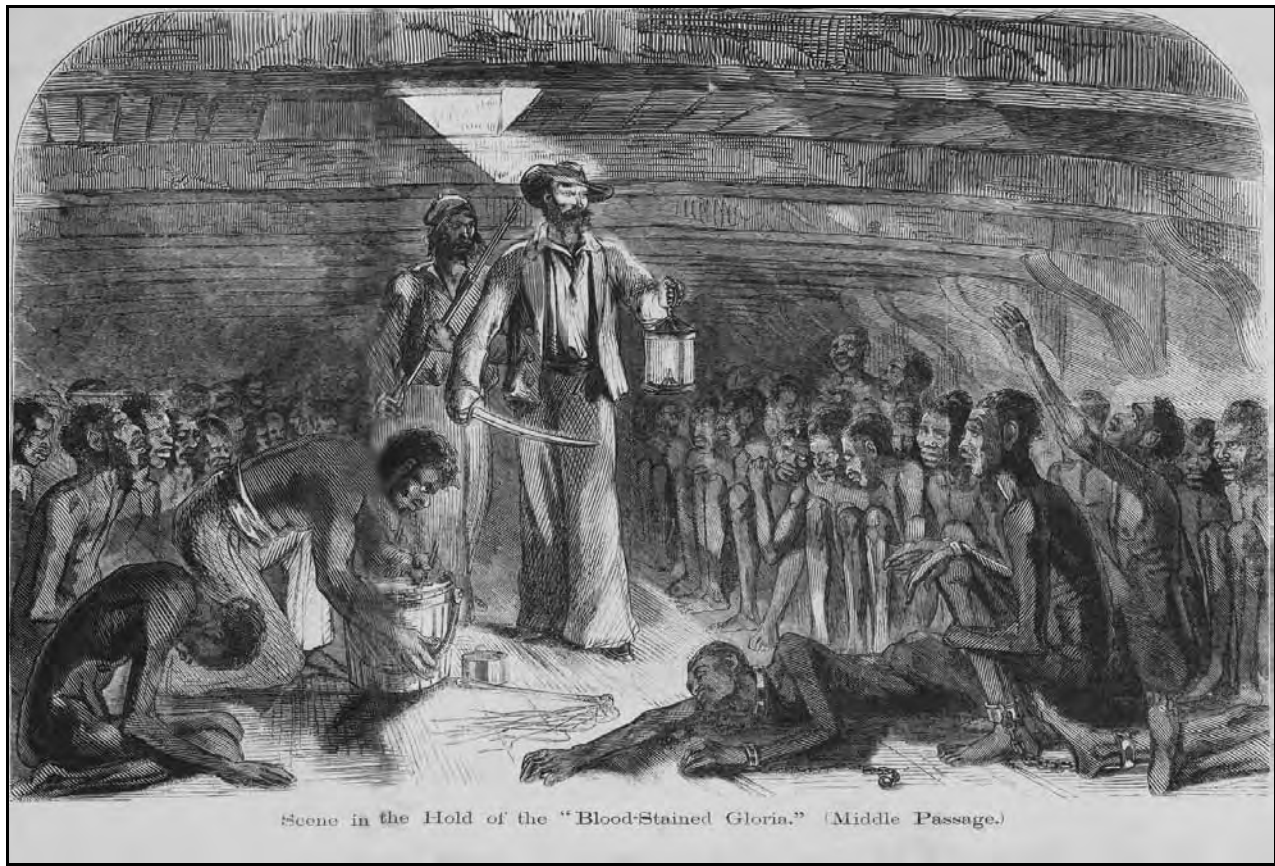
If the Atlantic slave trade began in 1441 when African slaves were first taken by Europeans from the area of modern Mauritania to Portugal or the Canary Islands, it was another fifty years before they crossed the Atlantic Ocean. Although the early sailors for the Spanish and English Crowns sometimes locally enslaved Native Americans, it was in 1502 that the first African slaves were brought to the New World by Spanish slavers.

More prominent in American history were the events in August 1619, when twenty “Negroes” were brought to Jamestown, Virginia, as enslaved Africans (indentured servants) on a Dutch man-of-war. White indentured servitude was also legal in Virginia. English indenture obligations initially lasted four to seven years for whites or “Negroes” but was later extended to life for Africans. By 1629 Governor John Winthrop of Massachusetts owned slaves, and in the chartering of the Massachusetts Bay Company, only propertied free white men were allowed to participate. From the 1630s to the 1660s there was steady privatization of Indian land in New England, where

the population of Indians was steadily reduced by warfare, execution, displacement, slavery, and disease as some 20,000 English settlers arrived between 1630 and 1642. Also in this period, Scottish slaves were exiled from Scotland to the New World as the English extended their empire upon the backs of the Celtic and Pictish peoples.

In June 1636, Roger Williams founded a settlement in Providence, Rhode Island, for political opponents of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Initially, he recognized the property rights of Native Americans, who were “paid” for the privatization of their land. It appears that the Indians had a different understanding of this “transfer,” because the concepts of “private” and “perpetuity” could not easily be translated. In neighboring Connecticut in 1636 the Pequot war/massacre/ethnic cleansing took place when settlers attacked a Pequot fort; while seven Pequot were captured, seven escaped, and more than 700 were killed. The scene of carnage was upsetting to the young English soldiers, who reported that “great and doleful was the bloody sight.” Williams wrote to Winthrop asking about what to do with captured Pequots; subsequently, some 1,400 Pequot men, women, and children were sold and exported from New England as slaves to Bermuda and the Bahamas. Williams provided key intelligence about the attack, because he was then allied with the Pequot rivals, the Narragansetts. Thus, some of the earliest racial slavery in the American colonies was based on the military subjugation, genocide, ethnic cleansing, and commercial exportation of native peoples as slaves. Some costs of financing the militias were through the sale of captives. Addressing this practice in 1641, Massachusetts legalized slavery for “lawful captives taken in just wars and such strangers as willingly sell themselves, or are sold to us.” In 1642 “man-stealing” was made a capital offense in Connecticut.

The legal and moral contestation of racial slavery existed from the start. Needless to say the slaves as well as some moral leaders were opposed to this practice, but because they were excluded from legislative bodies, their voices were muted. In 1644 eleven slaves petitioned against slavery in Dutch New York. Each was given a tract of land. In 1645 there were antislavery protests in Massachusetts. These events indicate there was a struggle against slavery the moment it was started. Despite the legal status of the institution, these were laws for a group of wealthy white men. It is factually incorrect to dismiss slavery as broadly acceptable because it was legal while various groups actively opposed it. These contradictions can be seen in the first slave ship departing directly for Africa from Boston, *Rainbow*, under Captain Smith, which was forced to forfeit the slaves and return them to Africa. The questionable status of slaves is also apparent when slavery was made legal in Connecticut in 1650 and in Rhode Island in 1652, but only for a ten-year period or until the slave was twenty years



**Cargo Hold of a Slave Ship.** *The conditions aboard a slaving vessel were generally poor and it is estimated that one-fifth of all slaves died in the passage to the Americas.* MANUSCRIPTS, ARCHIVES, AND RARE BOOKS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

old. In principle, this made slavery a temporary status, but the act was not enforced.

In 1655 the first known Dutch slave ship, the *Wittepaert*, imported slaves from Africa to New York. When the first Quakers arrived in Rhode Island in 1657, they were morally uneasy about slavery, yet some Friends had slaves. The legal threshold from term indenture to racially based slave systems was crossed in 1661 when the Virginia Slave Statutes made slave status hereditary. In 1663 slavery was made legal in Maryland, but resistance is also clear when a Virginia slave conspiracy was broken up. Further clarification of Maryland law in 1664 said that baptism did not affect slave status, and it became illegal for white women to marry blacks. In 1665 slavery was made legal in New York.

#### THE ECONOMICS OF NEW WORLD SLAVERY

The heyday of American slavery was the eighteenth century with sustained imports of slaves directly from Africa or from the Caribbean for use in domestic service or

plantations for the production of rum and molasses from sugar cane, for raising tobacco and cotton, and harvesting lumber, pines stores, and turpentine. This was the birth of economic globalization and the use of slaves for agricultural production was only one part of the entire Triangle Trade. In turn, this spawned maritime insurance businesses and ship handling; iron mining, forging, and iron mongering industries that produced ship hardware; cleats brackets, bands, barrel bands, anchors, chains and shackles; farming and maritime tools; and firearms and cannons.

Closely related and integrated were the diverse ship building industries of logging and milling, carpentry, planking, fittings, mast hauling, furniture, barrel-making, rope and cordage industries, canvas and sail-making. For the crews, slaves and for trade items there were victuals and supplies, such as salt fish (tons of salt cod were used a slave food), salt beef and pork, vegetables, such as potatoes, water and rum, bread and hard biscuits. Another interconnected spin-off was in various farming and agriculture activities that exported horses for plantation overseers and trade, and cheeses for trade and consumption.

One of the most deeply damaging elements of the Triangle Trade was rum. It required slave labor to grow and harvest the sugar cane and even more slave labor to crush the cane and turn it into molasses treacle. At this stage it could be barreled and shipped to Rhode Island for distillation into rum. Dozens of rum distilleries existed in this colony where about half of all production was for local consumption in homes and saloons. The other half was sent back for the export trade to exchange for more slaves according to established bartering rates. African traders also consumed part of the shipment sent from Rhode Island.

A similar tale can be told for the textile industry in New England in which local wool or slave-produced cotton was brought into the nascent mills to make cloth for Americans but also to make "Guinea Cloth" and some woolen cloth for re-export back to Africa as trade items to acquire more slaves, thus completing the circuit once again. Equally, the case of cheap metal ware such as pots, pans, tins, knives, beads and glassware stimulated local manufacture while producing surplus items for global exchange and especially brought into play for the trans-Atlantic slave trade.

#### RACISM AND SLAVERY

Throughout the colonies, interesting aspects of racism and slavery can be seen. In 1698 it was feared that "too many Negroes" had been imported to South Carolina but the importation of white servants was encouraged. Little effect was observed. In Greenwich, Rhode Island, the will of Giles Peace recorded that a slave, his "Negro girl," be left to his wife. William Randall of Providence freed his slave Peter Palmer in 1702, and in 1705 sexual relations between "the races" was made illegal in Massachusetts. In short, the human relations between races under slavery ranged from compassionate, to confused, to practical, but the foundational features of slavery were still based on violent coercion or occasionally on resistance. On April 7, 1712, there was a major slave revolt in New York in which nine whites were killed; soon after, on May 3, twenty-one slaves were executed.

By 1708 the Negro population in Rhode Island was 426, of which 220 lived in Newport, where a duty tax of three pounds was placed on every Negro imported to Rhode Island. This was to raise local revenue and discourage the further growth of the Negro population. There was a refund if the Negroes were reexported. In 1714 slavery was made legal in New Hampshire, and at the same time Judge Samuel Sewall of Boston published "The Selling of Joseph," an early antislavery tract.

By the early eighteenth century the slave population in the United States was substantial. Although it had declined in the North, it had increased tremendously in

the South as "King Cotton" and interior expansion of slave plantations were actively underway. In some southern colonies the slave population greatly exceeded that of whites.

In 1715 slavery was made legal in North Carolina as cotton and tobacco production expanded and labor demands increased, but in 1716 Quakers in New Jersey condemned the slave trade. Many, but not all, Rhode Island Quakers agreed. The first abolitionist action of these Quakers was to ban members who did not free their slaves. Clearly, making slavery legal did not make it morally correct. But the wealth that could be gained from making use of slave labor made moral vision cloudy. In 1718 the first slaves arrived in Bristol, Rhode Island, directly from the West Indies. In fact, Bristol ships carried about a fifth of the slave cargoes into Charleston, South Carolina, which was closely connected to Rhode Island socially and commercially. Aside from the direct wealth in buying and selling slaves and the wealth that slave labor produced, substantial amounts of tax revenue were generated from commercial and commodity sales. In short, it was not only individuals and companies that invested but colonies and states as well.

A few headlines from the eighteenth century illustrate the contested terrain of slavery and racism: On June 13, 1727, an Indian slave named Peter, in Portsmouth, Rhode Island, was branded and whipped in Newport for firing a bullet through his master's hat. In 1733, Elihu Coleman, a Newport Quaker, expressed his opposition to slavery. In 1735 a Negro couple in Boston saved money to sail from Newport back to Africa. In 1736 the sloop *Mary* owned by James Brown sailed from Providence for slaves in Africa. In 1739 the African Freedmen Society was formed in Providence. In 1741 amid fears of another slave revolt in New York, thirty-one slaves and five whites were executed. In 1748 the first cotton was exported from Charleston to England, seven bails valued at \$875. In 1749 slavery was made legal in Georgia. In 1750 the Rhode Island General Assembly passed a law prohibiting slaveholders from allowing their slaves to dance or to have gaming and other diversions. The fine was fifty pounds or one month in jail. Meanwhile, Governor Robinson of Rhode Island owned twenty slaves, half of the population of Virginia consisted of slaves, and two-thirds of the population of South Carolina consisted of slaves.

#### THE REVOLUTIONARY ERA

Not surprisingly, a black Boston seaman and whaler, Crispus Attucks, forty-seven years of age, was the first to die in the growing protest against the British. Attucks was a runaway slave in Massachusetts and may have been part

Native American. All of the first citizens killed were workers. The seeds of the future revolution were planted, and issues of class, race, and slavery came to the fore during these revolutionary times.

Another explosive moment occurred on June 10, 1772, with the burning of the British customs ship *Gaspee* in Narragansett Bay. The American attack was led by John Brown, a leading maritime merchant and slave shipper. His slave, Aaron Briggs, helped row out to the grounded ship to sink it and wound the British captain. The Brown rebel group was annoyed with British taxes and interference with their commerce in slaves and rum. Also of note, on August 23, 1772, a legal marriage took place between a slave called "Mingo" belonging to Colonel Silas Niles and "Dinah" belonging to Jeremiah Niles in South Kingston.

Against this turbulent backdrop, on April 20, 1773, Peter Bestes, Sambo Freeman, Chester Joie, and Felix Holbrook circulated a petition against slavery in Boston. At last, on June 28 no Rhode Island Quakers held slaves, and on November 10, 1774, Moses Brown freed his remaining slaves to join the Quakers. Brown and Samuel Slater turned to the textile business, but even so they processed slave-grown cotton from the South, and "Guinea cloth" was used for clothing and trading for slaves. Samuel Hopkins launched plans to missionize and colonize Africa; he was joined by Dr. Ezra Stiles, a Congregationalist of Newport. Following intense lobbying by the Quakers, slave imports were officially restricted in Rhode Island. Jacob Shoemaker willed his six Negroes to the town of Providence. The census in 1774 indicated 16,034 blacks were living in New England, both slave and free.

The revolutionary storm gathered strength and on April 14, 1775, another abolitionist group formed in Philadelphia. On April 19, 1775, white and black Minutemen fought the British at Lexington and Concord, and again on June 17, 1775, at the Battle of Bunker Hill. The black population (slave and free) of the colonies was at least 20 percent, but by this time 90 percent of the black population was living in the South. Black enlistment in the Revolutionary army was opposed, but the need for soldiers prevailed. On November 7, 1775, the British Lord Dunmore offered freedom to slaves if they would fight for the British. Pressure mounted on reluctant George Washington to muster black troops, both slave and free, to fight on the American side. Approximately 5,000 blacks fought on the American side, with many recognized for bravery.

When the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed on July 4, 1776, the armed struggle against British colonialism was irreversible. The fifty-six signers of the Declaration were all white men, including twenty-five lawyers, eight merchants, six physicians, and five wealthy

farmers. In the first draft of the Constitution, slave plantation owner Thomas Jefferson abolished the slave trade, but the final draft omitted this reference. The struggle for freedom and democracy was for a wealthy, male, white minority group; the majority voices of women, free and enslaved blacks, Native Americans, and indentured whites had little expression. In various respects, some of these contradictions are still with America in the early years of the new millennium.

While the war unfolded, in 1777 Vermont became the first colony to abolish slavery, while some slaves in New Hampshire and Connecticut petitioned for their freedom to their legislatures. Rhode Island officially banned the exportation of slaves from the colony. The human and legal struggles were clearly intensifying. A case in point is the Black Battalion in Rhode Island.

#### THE RHODE ISLAND BLACK BATTALION

Out of military necessity, on January 19, 1778, General Varnun asked permission of General George Washington to use slaves in the army. By February 2, legislation was passed to raise the Rhode Island Black Battalion. On July 6 the first call-up took place for the Black Battalion, and on July 28 the Black Battalion was sent to Providence to serve under General Sullivan. By August 24, 1778, 755 blacks were under the direct command of George Washington. Some of these slaves were actually purchased by the colony treasury from their owners with the possibility that they would be returned to slave status when the conflict was resolved. However, in a remarkable case of combat courage and holding the line, on August 29 the Black Battalion defeated Hessian mercenary troops at Bloody Run Brook in Portsmouth, or the Battle of Rhode Island. Inevitably, the struggle of wealthy white men led to the sacrifices of enslaved blacks.

Paul Cuffe, son of a slave father and a Native American mother from Cuttyhunk, Massachusetts, rose to major commercial success as an owner of a fleet of five coastal cargo ships. He was a supporter of the back-to-Africa movement. Inspired by the revolutionary principles of "no taxation without representation," on February 10, 1780, Cuffe, with his brother John Cuffe, and five others petitioned the General Court in Dartmouth, Massachusetts, with this complaint: If they could not vote as black people, then they would not pay taxes. These glaring contradictions were addressed when slavery was abolished in Massachusetts and New Hampshire.

On February 13, 1784, the Rhode Island Assembly passed a law, the Gradual Abolition Act, that all children of slaves born after March 1784 were considered free. It was followed on February 23 by the Negro Emancipation Act. The law was further clarified on March 1, when the



General Assembly passed a law that all slaves were free at age twenty-one for males and eighteen for females.

In 1789 the Providence Abolitionist Society was formed and Benjamin Franklin helped to create the Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery. *The Life of Olaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa*, a former slave, was published to support the abolitionist cause.

In 1790 an Anti-Slavery Society was founded in Connecticut. Antislavery societies were founded in New Jersey and Pennsylvania the following year. In 1793 the Fugitive Slave Law was passed. The invention of Eli Whitney's cotton gin increased cotton production and the demand for slaves.

By 1800 the U.S. slave population reached one million, and there was a slave revolt in Virginia that year. In 1831 Nat Turner of Virginia led the most violent of Northern American slave revolts, which took the lives of some fifty-five whites. Ex-slave Denmark Vesey of South Carolina made plans for a massive uprising in 1833 but the plot was discovered and he was hanged in 1832. It is estimated that more than 250 insurrectionary efforts by slaves were made between 1700 and 1860. From 1830 forward an abolition movement involving whites and northern free blacks attempted to use nonviolent means to end slavery. Outstanding among the many antislavery workers were William Lloyd Garrison, the editor of the *Liberator*, and Frederick A. Douglass, ex-slave, master orator, brilliant polemicist, and founding editor of *The North Star*. Primary subscribers and supporters of these two newspapers were members of the black communities.

In 1857 the U.S. Supreme Court in the case of *Dred Scott v. Sanford* attempted to settle the question of the legitimacy of slavery and the status of free blacks. In this case, Dred Scott and his family were taken from the slave section of southern Missouri to the free state of Illinois as a possession of a U.S. military officer. When Scott was returned to Missouri, his abolitionist lawyers sued for his freedom, on the ground that Scott's residence in a free state had nullified his slave status. The Court attempted to address major constitutional issues regarding slavery in the United States. It held that the management of slaves was a state matter, that the Founding Fathers never intended the Constitution to be extended to persons of African descent, and thus, that Scott had neither legal standing nor any other rights American citizens were bound to respect.

Within three years, however, the issue of slavery overran the judicial system and split the nation with the Civil War. After four years of bitter fighting and 600,000 casualties, the war ended on the side of black freedom. On December 18, 1865, the Thirteenth Amendment was adopted, legally ending the enslavement of some 4 million

blacks, including the 140,000 ex-slave soldiers who took part in America's war of emancipation.

Slavery ended in Haiti in 1803 for 500,000 blacks after two large contingents of Napoleon's finest troops were defeated. Slavery ended peacefully in Brazil in 1888, with the emancipation of 730,000 enslaved Africans, the remnant of a much larger number. Between 1542 and 1888, nearly 8 million slaves had been imported to Brazil, which to this day contains the largest African-descended population in the Western hemisphere. With Ethiopia being the last African country officially ending slavery in 1936 and Saudi Arabia in 1962, nowhere on the globe is there now legal support for the institution of chattel slavery.

## CONCLUSION

It is undeniable that slavery played a deep role in with the creation of the United States. The complex efforts to negotiate, legitimate, adjudicate, mediate, moralize, and justify it were doomed to fail as long as a political metaphor of freedom and equality was discernable in religious and political thought. To the extent that racism lubricated the repressive ideology, political economy, and practices of slavery in the Americas, one can conclude that slavery and racism in America were entwined. The residual features of this deeply rooted interplay are being processed as travels on this troubled and twisted road continue.

**SEE ALSO** *Abolition Movement; American Anti-Slavery Society; Dred Scott v. Sanford; Emancipation Proclamation; Language; Plantations; Slave Trade Ideology.*

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## SLAVERY AND RACE

Slavery has been an important phenomenon throughout history. Different societies made use of slave labor, from ancient civilizations to Islamic societies, as well as in India, Asia, Africa, and the Americas. Only during the modern era, however, did slavery become associated with Africans. After the establishment of European colonies in the New World, slavery was the mainstay of their economies, including that of Brazil, the Caribbean islands, and North America. Africa became intimately connected with the history of slavery, as the source of slaves and also as an important stage for the establishment of slave societies.

### DEFINITIONS OF SLAVERY

Slavery is a form of extreme exploitation. Slaves are defined as economic property. They are social outsiders who are alien by origin or who had been denied their heritage through judicial or other sanctions. With slaves, coercion could be used at will, and their labor power was at the complete disposal of the master. They did not have the right to their own sexuality and, by extension, to their own reproductive capacities. Slave status was inherited unless provision was made to ameliorate that status.

Slavery was fundamentally a means of denying individuals the rights and privileges of a particular society so that they could be exploited for economic, political, and/or social purposes. Usually these people were “outsiders” who were perceived as ethnically different. A person who spoke the same language as his master, without an accent, who shared the same culture, believed in the same religion, and understood the political relationships that determined how power was exercised was far more difficult to control than an outsider, although in some cases people who belonged to the same society could be reduced to the status of slave. When differences in culture or dialect were relatively unimportant, the level of exploi-

tation and the social isolation of slaves were usually limited; such situations suggest that slave holdings were small and that political and economic stratification was minimal. Certainly, the most developed forms of slavery were those in which slaves were removed a considerable distance their birthplace, thereby emphasizing their alien origin. This uprooting was as dramatic as the transport of Africans across the Atlantic Ocean or the Sahara Desert or as dramatic as the seizure of people who lived only a hundred kilometers or less from the home of the enslavers. Both situations helped to define the slave as an outsider, at least in the first instance. Over time, cultural distinctions tended to blur, so that the extent to which alien origin was a factor varied.

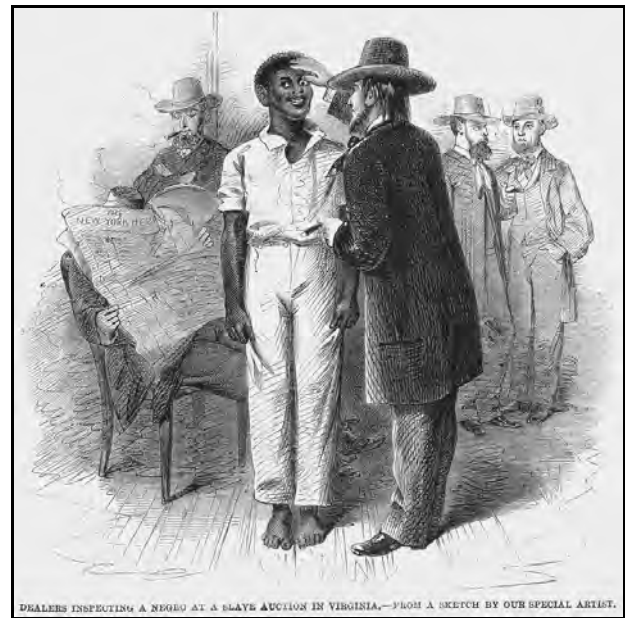
When social structures and economics were more complex, then the identification of slaves as outsiders also became more pronounced, so that the acculturation that invariably occurred did not affect the ability of masters to exploit the labor and services of their slaves. For Muslims, religion was a means of categorizing slaves. Those recently acquired were usually not Muslims, or were nominally so. For Europeans in the era of overseas expansion, slaves were perceived as racially distinct and even more clearly defined as outsiders. This meant that European societies could severely limit their acquisition of rights. Other more subtle distinctions were made, including differences in dialect, the accent of people who had just learned a new language, facial and body markings, perceived physical characteristics, and, most common of all, collective memory.

Slavery was fundamentally tied to labor and not infrequently to social prestige. It was not the only form of dependent labor, but slaves could be made to perform any task in the economy. They often performed the most dangerous, menial, and laborious tasks of a given society. In the case of slaves, the concept of labor was not perceived as separate from the slave as a person. The slave was a speaking instrument of work, and coercion could be used to force compliance with particular orders. Slavery could and did exist alongside other types of labor, including serfdom, in which people were tied to the land rather than to the person of the landlord, and their obligations to the landlord were fixed by custom. Other forms of dependent labor arrangements included clientage (voluntary subordination without fixed remuneration for services), wage labor (in which compensation for work was paid), pawnship (in which labor was perceived as interest on a debt, with the pawn as collateral for the debt), and communal work (often based on kinship or age grades, in which work was perceived as reciprocal activity based on past and future exchanges). These forms of labor could involve coercion, too, but usually not to the point that they were indistinguishable from slavery.

A primary feature of slavery was the absolute lack of choice on the part of slaves. Their masters controlled their productive capacities, as well as their sexual and reproductive capacities. When slaves constituted a significant proportion of any population, then sexual access and reproduction involving free persons were strongly controlled. Women (and men too) could be treated as sexual objects; the ability to marry could be closely administered; and males could be castrated. The significance of sex is most strikingly revealed in the market price of slaves. In Muslim, Hindu, and ancient Chinese societies, eunuchs were often the most costly. Pretty women and girls cost more, their price depending upon their sexual attractiveness. These two opposites—castrated males and attractive females—demonstrate most clearly the master's power over slaves' sexual and reproductive functions. Slaves lacked the right to engage in sexual relationships without the consent of their masters. Their children, when slaves were given the opportunity to have children, were not legally their offspring but the property of the master of the mother. Biologically, they were the offspring of the slaves, but the right to raise the children could be denied. Instead, slave children could be taken away, and even when they were not sold, they could be redistributed as part of marriage arrangements, trained for the army or administration, or adopted by the master's family. Slaves thus had no legal relatives—neither parents nor siblings nor children.

Those born into slavery clearly had a different experience from those who had been enslaved later in life. For example, in the case of enslaved Africans in the Western Hemisphere, Africa-born slaves were termed *bozales* and those born in the New World were called *creoles*. Parents might tell their children of their enslavement, but this was not the children's experience. Children could also learn about enslavement from new captives, and they were educated into a society in which such acts were well known. Legally, they could be separated from their parents and sold, although some slave laws such as the Spanish *Siete partidas* encouraged the preservation of intact slave families. The violence behind the original act of enslavement remained, although for the descendents of slaves it was transformed from a real act to a threat. As such, violence was still a crucial dimension of social control.

Slaves tended not to maintain their numbers naturally, and slave populations usually had to be replenished. One reason for this situation was the relatively short life span for many slaves. Death could result from particularly harsh work, and funeral sacrifices and unsuccessful castration operations also took their toll. Travel conditions for slaves destined for distant markets were also a factor; individuals were moved from one disease environment to another and rations were often inadequate.



**Inspecting a Slave at Auction.** Slavery is based on the idea that people can be owned as property. PICTURE COLLECTION, THE BRANCH LIBRARIES, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

Another reason for decline was the demographic imbalance between the sexes in slave populations, namely, fewer slave women than slave men. Moreover, when slave women were concentrated in the hands of powerful men who recognized their children as free, such as with concubines in Muslim societies, the proportion of slaves in society may well have had a tendency to decline without affecting the number of people. In some situations, when the status of concubines and slave wives changed to freed, often leading to assimilation or full emancipation, the size of the slave population decreased accordingly. In patrilineal societies the children of slave wives and concubines by free fathers were often granted a status that was completely or almost free. Under Islamic law, for example, this was most pronounced. Concubines could not be sold once they gave birth, and they became free on the death of their master. The children of such unions were free on birth. These features of gradual assimilation or complete emancipation contrasted with slavery as an inherited status, but still illustrate the master's power to manipulate sexual and reproductive functions for his own purposes.

#### SLAVERY AS A GLOBAL PHENOMENON

The best way to approach the overlapping topics of slavery and race is to disaggregate the two ideas. Slavery is best treated historically, that is, what happened over

the long sweep of history in terms of the prevalence and location of major slavery concentrations. This approach illustrates the ubiquity of slavery. Race, as it connects to slavery, is peculiar to time and place, particularly to Europe and its colonies since the age of Enlightenment in the eighteenth century.

In ancient times, slavery had little to do with physical appearance. In ancient Greece, slavery was associated with foreigners, or those considered “barbarians.” Anyone from outside the Greek world was subjected to enslavement, including Africans, central Europeans, and Asians. The regions that regularly supplied the Greek market with slaves were Scythia and Illyria in Europe and Syria and Persia to the east. Slaves were brought from northeastern Africa as well. Slavery was also a product of warfare: Prisoners of war were enslaved by their captors and employed as manual laborers. In most cases slavery was also associated with ethnicity, religion, and cultural differences. The expansion of Islam in the seventh century extended and further codified existing forms of slavery that had dominated the Mediterranean region. Under Islam, religion was a key factor in defining slave status—Muslims being theoretically protected from enslavement—and populations who were not Muslim were subjected to assault, enslavement, the payment of special taxes, and other religiously sanctioned discrimination. In this case, slavery was not correlated to skin color. For Muslims, slavery was restricted to non-Muslims. Christians, Jews, and pagan populations could be enslaved.

Slavery was not a racial institution but rather an institution of conquest. Slaves were brought from subjugated territories. Muslim scholars developed theories about the good and bad qualities of different groups of people, including a taxonomy of slaves that categorized them according to both their origins and their educational backgrounds. Ibn Butlan (d. 1066 AD) argued that the determining factor in the differences in human character was geographical location. He accordingly viewed as opposites the characteristics of Easterners and Westerners, as well as Northerners and Southerners. He considered the Armenians the worst of the whites, while he considered the Zanj the worst of the blacks. “They are similar in the strength of their stature, their propensity to destruction, and their toughness” (Ibn Butlan 1393/h-1973, p. 378). There was, however, space to discredit some of the stereotypes associated with blacks. The Muslim theologian al-Jahiz (c. 776–868 or 869 AD), for instance, challenged these views in his epistle on the relative qualities of blacks and whites.

The Christian justification of slavery hinged on racial categories, in which the Biblical reference to the curse of Noah was invoked to explain why Africans were slaves. According to legend, the curse on the

“sons of Ham” explained the color of the skin of Africans, and the curse meant that black people were degraded and their punishment a “natural” slavery. Slavery, however, was not associated specifically with Africans or blacks.

During the Middle Ages most slaves serving in western Europe were of “Slavic” origins from central and eastern Europe. The term *slav* gave way to *sclavus*, the root of *schiaivo*, *esclavo*, *esclave*, *sclau*, *sklave*, and *slave* in various European languages. In Germany during the tenth century, *sclavus* had become synonymous with *slave*. In Europe Italian merchants continued to buy large numbers of Slavic prisoners along the Dalmatian coast. During the thirteenth century, western Europeans began to intercept people from Caucasia to the eastern Balkans, under foreign rule, to force them into slavery. These captives were Armenians, Circassians, Georgians, Abkhazians, Mingrelians, Russians, Tartars, Albanians, and Bulgarians—a very multicultural group. These “slavs” were exported to Mediterranean markets, mainly Egypt, Syria, Cyprus, and Sicily, where local traders were willing to pay a good price for their services. Targeting “slavs” led to the transformation of the term into a synonym for chattel slavery. The term began to be applied to others as well, including Muslim captives seized in the Iberian Peninsula. The term, then, lost its original meaning, which was associated exclusively with people of Slavic descent and came to signify any captive. Nevertheless, slavery continued to be conceived as appropriate only for outsiders, pagans, and infidels, who shared the supposed characteristics of “slavs.” In Portugal, on the periphery of the Slavic slave trade but increasingly involved in religious warfare with Muslim North Africa, the word *escravo* was used alongside such terms as *mouro*, *guineu*, and *negro*. Later on, the French *nègre* and the English *black* became virtually synonymous with *slave*.

Europeans were aware of African slavery long before they settled their colonies in the Americas. The trans-Saharan routes unifying North and sub-Saharan Africa had brought African slaves to the Mediterranean world. Slaves were traded through North Africa to supply markets in southern Europe and in the Arabian Peninsula. African slaves also became an important source of labor in both Spain and Portugal, working side by side captured Muslims. Slavery was still not seen in racial terms and was not limited to Africans and their descendents. Europeans, in this case, mainly Portuguese, bought and traded non-Christians, moving them from Europe and Africa to the Atlantic islands. Domestic slavery was also employed along the Iberian Peninsula, but again, bondage had nothing to do with physical attributes. For Iberians, slavery was associated

with non-Christians, either pagans or Muslims. Slavery, however, was utterly transformed by the European expansion to the Americas.

Initially, European commercial expansion was motivated by the quest for gold and spices—the profits of trade. The Portuguese were more interested in reaching the sources of gold in sub-Saharan Africa than in buying slaves. The initial European maritime contacts with West Africa were forged to acquire gold and other commercial commodities that were already being traded across the Sahara to North Africa by Muslim traders. Portuguese intentions were to bypass these merchants. During their maritime explorations, however, the Portuguese settled a series of islands in the Atlantic from the Azores to São Tomé. Plantations were established on the islands to supply the nascent European demand for sugar. The Azores, Canary Islands, Cape Verde, and São Tomé were ideal locations for trading ventures along the African coast. Portugal's small population limited these ventures. The Portuguese Crown was able to relocate only a few artisans and other workers, who aspired to escape manual labor and achieve access to land. Captives from the Canary Islands supplied the needed labor. They were employed in the construction of public works, including irrigation canals. From very early on, African slaves were brought to the various islands. The Atlantic islands were the prototype for the sugar plantation economies established in the Americas. From the beginning, sugar production was dependent on African slave labor.

#### THE TRANSATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE AND THE RACIALIZATION OF SLAVERY

In 1498, just a few years after the arrival of Christopher Columbus in the Americas, the Spanish Crown began importing African slaves to work on sugar plantations in its American colonies. The first recorded use of African slaves in Spanish America was in 1502. A series of laws were established in order to control the slave trade between Africa and the Spanish colonies in the Americas. These laws not only established a House of Commerce, which controlled the trade, they also favored the importation of Africans instead of the use of Amerindians as slaves. Between 1502 and 1650, most of the slaves imported into the Americas went to Spanish colonies. Differing from the Portuguese, British, and French, who increased their importation in the eighteenth century, the core of the African slaves imported into mainland Spanish America arrived in the early period of colonization. Africans were used on agricultural plantations, particularly sugar, but also in mining operations. By 1650, after the Spanish had discovered silver mines in the viceroyalties of New Spain and La Plata, it is estimated that

there were 35,000 African slaves in modern Mexico and 100,000 in Peru.

In the sixteenth century, stimulated by the profits of sugar exports to Europe, the Portuguese Crown imported sugarcane from the islands of Madeira and São Tomé in order to establish sugar plantations along the Brazilian coast. Amerindian and African labor were used side by side in Brazil. However, the constant conflict between the Portuguese authorities and the indigenous population, and the condemnation of enslavement of Native Americans, stimulated the importation of African slaves. The Portuguese Crown, in an effort to drain Portuguese prisons, started to deport prisoners and outlaws to Brazil. Nevertheless, the belief that Europeans should not be enslaved was already strong by the mid-sixteenth century. By 1600, half of the slave population in Brazil was African born, and this number increased in the following decades. The slave trade was so profitable for the Portuguese Crown that by 1650 Portuguese America had superseded the Spanish territories as the major importer of African slaves.

The increasing wealth of the Portuguese monarchy, through the profits of the slave trade between Africa and the Americas, as well as sugar production, drew the attention of the British, Dutch, and French elites to the opportunities that the Americas offered. Still, slavery and servitude were not exclusive to Africans. Between 1654 and 1685, 10,000 indentured servants sailed from Bristol alone, chiefly for the West Indies and Virginia. Two-thirds of the immigrants to Pennsylvania during the eighteenth century were white servants; in four years, 25,000 came to Philadelphia alone. It has been estimated that more than 250,000 persons were of this class during the colonial period and that they probably constituted one-half of the all-English immigrants, the majority going to the middle colonies. Some of these white immigrants were indentured servants, so-called because before departure from their homeland, they had signed a contract, indented by law, binding them to service for a stipulated time in return for their passage. Still others, known as “redemptioners,” arranged with the captain of the ship to pay for their passage on arrival or within a specified time thereafter; if they did not, they were sold by the captain to the highest bidder. Others were convicts, sent out by the deliberate policy of the home government to serve for a specified period.

This white servitude is of cardinal importance for an understanding of the development of slavery in the New World and the idea of races. That whites were employed as indentured laborers contradicts the idea that whites could not stand the strain of manual labor in the climate of the New World and that, for this reason, the European powers had to turn to Africans. African slavery had nothing to do with climate; it was only a solution to the labor problem. Sugar meant labor—at times that

labor has been slave, at other times nominally free; at times black, at other times white, brown, or yellow. Despite the early experiments with local Amerindian labor, by the end of the sixteenth century the link had been forged between African slave labor and sugar cultivation on plantations. Thereafter, Europeans and local-born planters consistently preferred Africans as laborers on sugar plantation. Later planters came to think that African slaves and their descendents were the only appropriate form of labor for work on plantations, whatever the crop.

In the seventeenth century more European states joined the slave trade. Despite Spanish and Portuguese control over the trade between Africa and the Americas, private and state representative merchants of other European monarchies enrolled in the lucrative trade. The Dutch were present in different regions of the Americas, from New Amsterdam to Guyana, passing through the island of Curaçao in the Caribbean. After the Dutch took control of Olinda and Recife, in northeastern Brazil, in 1630, they obtained control over sugar production in the Americas. However, they did not control the supply of slaves. The solution was to conquer, in 1637, the Portuguese-controlled Elmina fort along the Gold Coast—one of the most important slaving ports in West Africa. A few years later, in 1641, the Dutch also seized other Portuguese holdings in Africa such as the ports of Luanda and Benguela and the island of São Tomé. Dutch imperial pretensions were complete with the conquest of São Luis do Maranhão, in northeastern Brazil. For twenty years, the Dutch controlled the slave trade between Africa and the Americas. They occupied the space left by the Portuguese Crown, which was divided by internal political problems. Since its unification with the Spanish Crown, in 1580, the Portuguese monarchy had been in decline. It recovered only after the two crowns were once again divided in 1640. Soon after that, in 1648, Portuguese and Luso-Brazilian troops conquered Luanda, and by 1654 the Portuguese again controlled northeastern Brazil. In the last years of the seventeenth century gold was found in Minas Gerais, in Brazil. This led to an increase in the volume of African slaves imported in order to work in mines. After a few decades away from the slave trade business, Portuguese and Brazilian brokers were back on the African coast. The importation of slaves increased in order to supply the nascent mining industry in the interior and the expanding sugar cane production along the coast.

The English and the French were not far behind. The English were drawn to West Africa by the Portuguese and Spanish successes. Their initial efforts were mainly privateering raids, but by the early seventeenth century the English began to trade seriously in the region, thanks in part to the acquisition of colonies in the Americas. In the 1630s sugar production was introduced

into the British colony of Barbados, as an adventure of private merchants looking for quick profits. Even without state support, a group of settlers found economic support among British merchants interested in the importation of agricultural goods, especially tobacco from Virginia and sugar from Barbados. The main problem was the labor supply in the colonies. At first, free labor, especially of immigrants escaping religious persecution, was used in North American territories. Soon, however, the profits of the slave trade were found to be very attractive, and the British plantation owners proceeded to organize and finance expeditions to the African coast. The English slave trade was organized initially through state-backed monopoly companies. From the beginning, however, interlopers sought to penetrate these trading restrictions. Like others before, the English found that the key to the expansion of their slave trading was to be found in the Americas. The settlement of West Indies islands, notably Barbados and Jamaica, and the development of the Chesapeake colonies, laid the foundations for British colonial demand for imported labor. After experiments with different kinds of labor, local settlers in all these places turned to African slaves. In the Caribbean the importation of African slaves started in the 1640s, but in Virginia and Maryland African slave labor became predominant only by the end of the seventeenth century. Noticing the potential profits in the slave trade business, the British Crown in 1672 created the Royal African Company, which held a monopoly over the slave trade. By 1689, however, independent traders were able to break the monopoly and bring more slaves to the British colonies than the Royal African Company could supply. In the last two decades of the seventeenth century the trade in African slaves increased sharply. It is estimated that 20,000 slaves disembarked in the North American colonies in this period. As in the other American colonies, male slaves were preferred over females and children. From the slave owners' perspective, females and children were not as profitable as male slaves.

#### SLAVERY AND RACIAL CATEGORIES

In most societies, slaves did not differ radically in physical shape and color from the freeborn population, and yet over time slavery and race became closely linked, especially in reference to Africans. Rome enslaved people from elsewhere in the Mediterranean and then later from north of the Alps. In the Arab world, slaves could be blonde-haired people from the Slavic world or black people from south of the Sahara. And there were many slaves in the medieval period who came from eastern Europe. Both Christianity and Islam banned the sale of coreligionists, although this rule was not always enforced. They enslaved each other

and felt free to enslave peoples seen as pagans or barbaric, that is, people who were different from themselves. By the fifteenth century, Portuguese and other southern Europeans began receiving increasing number of slaves from West Africa, and from that time on, slavery began to be associated with Africans.

In the sixteenth century, European conquest and exploitation of the resources of the Americas had a devastating impact on the indigenous population, with the result that there was a severe decline in population as a consequence of new diseases and harsh policies. Hispanic America Catholic missionaries, such as Bartolomé de Las Casas (1474–1566), were horrified by the treatment of native peoples and persuaded the Spanish Crown to ban their enslavement, although Amerindians continued to be enslaved well into the eighteenth century. Slaves were still thought to be necessary. Because Europeans were not willing to enslave each other and lacked the military capacity to enslave Muslims in large numbers, the Portuguese and then other Europeans turned to Africa for the labor they needed to open up commercial agriculture on the islands off the African coast, in Brazil, and in the Caribbean and to conduct mining operations in Hispanic America and Brazil.

The association between Africans and slavery resulted in a high level of prejudice against blacks during and after slavery. It became a common misconception that the enslavement of Africans must have arisen as the result of racial differences. In his 1944 book *Capitalism and Slavery*, the historian Eric Williams forcefully argued that this was not the case. Slavery caused racism, but economic motives, not racial impulses, caused slavery. The rise of plantation slavery was tied to the development of capitalism; the decision to import large numbers of Africans and to hold them in hereditary bondage was based on the fact that enslaved Africans were cheaper than any other form of labor then available.

Many scholars maintain that the concept of “race” is a modern invention, the result of European imperial expansion from the sixteenth century onward, and especially gaining currency in the eighteenth century. Hence, the practice of racial classification began only a few hundred years ago, and the concept became fully developed only during the Enlightenment, when European intellectuals and political leaders became increasingly confident that experience and reason enabled them to explain all natural phenomena. Europeans were struck by physical differences between themselves and Africans and believed that these differences demanded explanation. This focus on somatic differences was in sharp contrast with the casualness of ancient Greeks about their physical differences from Nubians. In ancient times, it seems, people apparently were less concerned about such differences.

According to modern science, physical differences among people are superficial, especially skin color. Not only

is it impossible to classify people in neatly divided groups, but the mixing of peoples that has taken place in all parts of the world means that all people are more closely related to each other than they are different. There is also no evidence to link visible physical characteristics with moral, temperamental, or intellectual differences. Nevertheless, once developed, racist ideologies have provided justifications for discrimination, segregation, and colonial rule.

#### “SCIENTIFIC” RACISM AND SLAVERY

Most nineteenth-century Westerners came to believe, based on the widespread concept of scientific races, that there were three basic racial groups—Caucasoids, Negroids, and Mongoloids. Western scientists, however, did not agree on the total number of races that could exist on Earth, although they all shared the assumption that distinct racial groups existed. The most notable and eminent scientists of the nineteenth century supported the idea of human beings divided by races, including the French diplomat and writer Arthur Gobineau, the Americans Josiah Clark Nott and George Robins Gliddon, and the German philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer. Their work is usually called “scientific racism.”

Differences among people, including differences among communities within a single society, are fundamental to the way people are classified. Since the end of the eighteenth century, race and nationalism became important factors in such classifications. Instead of situational features, slavery became associated with race, which had acquired a biological meaning. Slavery preceded racism against blacks, but during the nineteenth century racist ideas were generated to justify the enslavement of Africans. The European expansion and occupation of new lands produced a new world divided along color lines. A new worldview was in place, corroborated by Western scientists. According to this new worldview, whites were superior to any other group of people. Subjugated people were portrayed as inferior. Africans became associated with slavery, savagery, paganism, immorality, primitiveness, and wretchedness.

In the context of African history, the interrelationship of internal forms of slavery and servility with the export trade in slaves is an important consideration and topic of debate among scholars. The transatlantic and trans-Saharan slave trades removed millions of enslaved Africans from their homelands. The relative impact of the external trade in slaves to internal developments within Africa is also a subject of debate. Most estimates of the number of enslaved Africans who were shipped to the Americas center on twelve million; the number of people sent as slaves across the Sahara Desert, the Red Sea, and the Indian Ocean have

been more difficult to establish, but the scale of this trade was historically very large.

The political developments of the several centuries before the institution of formal European rule resulted in the massive enslavement of people in Africa. The emergence of new states along the Atlantic coast of Africa and in its immediate hinterland was closely associated with the development of the transatlantic slave trade. Dahomey (later Benin), for example, emerged as a state whose structure required the enslavement of people. Slaves were killed in public ceremonies associated with the political power of the Dahomean monarchy; were sold to Europeans to raise essential revenue for the state; or, after the ending of the transatlantic trade in slaves, were settled on plantations in Dahomey to produce palm oil and harvest palm kernels. A series of Muslim holy wars, which began in the Senegambia region in the late seventeenth century and spread across the savanna as far as the Red Sea by the end of the nineteenth century, also accounted for great numbers of slaves.

Even though forms of slavery existed in Africa before the maritime arrival of Europeans and long before the emergence of the American slave systems, the European demand for African slaves had a transforming impact on African societies. The imposition of a racially defined slavery system changed the understanding of slavery. In the Americas, for the first time, slavery targeted a single group, and it was based on physical attributes, rather than being situational and tied to capture in war.

SEE ALSO *African Enslavement, Pre-Colonial; Language; Nott, Josiah; Plantations; Skin Color.*

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## SMITH, JAMES McCUNE 1813–1865

James McCune Smith was born in New York City on April 18, 1813, to an enslaved mother. Both his father, who worked as a merchant, and his mother were former slaves. He went on to become one of the most important, yet historically neglected, figures in antebellum African-American history. As a physician, scientist, essayist, and spokesman on behalf of free blacks, he widely influenced the African-American movement to abolish slavery and create equality for free people of African descent.

Smith was educated at the African Free School in New York City, an institution founded by white abolitionists in the post-Revolutionary period that schooled a host of young African-American men who later became important public figures, including Henry Highland Garnet, Samuel Ringgold Ward, Alexander Crummell, and Ira Aldridge. The Free School offered a liberal arts education designed to demonstrate African Americans' intellectual equality with whites. In 1832, after being denied admission into several American colleges, Smith enrolled at the University of Glasgow in Scotland, where he eventually earned a bachelor of arts, a master's, and a medical degree. The Glasgow Emancipation Society—one of many institutions in Great Britain that reflected popular antislavery sentiment—helped sponsor his education and served as a forum for his abolitionist activities while in college.

In 1837, after completing his studies in Paris, Smith returned to the United States. By virtue of his education and literary abilities, he quickly became an exceptional figure in New York's African-American community. He opened a pharmacy on West Broadway and ran a racially integrated medical practice, the first in the United States run by a university-trained black physician. The Colored Orphans Asylum, which after the Free School was the



most important benevolent institution for African Americans in New York, benefited from his work there as a physician starting in the 1840s. In addition, he participated in many efforts to build institutions among African Americans, and he played a leading role in the establishment of literary and educational societies, mutual relief organizations, and antislavery agencies. In the early 1850s he helped found the National Council of Colored People, one of the pioneer national efforts to organize African Americans, and in the mid-1850s he helped found the Party of Radical Political Abolitionists.

Smith's intellectual legacy stems from his work as an essayist, thinker, and activist. His notable publications included *A Lecture on the Haytian Revolution* (1841), *The Destiny of the People of Color* (1843), and introductions to Frederick Douglass's second autobiography (*My Bondage and My Freedom* [1855]) and Henry Highland Garnet's *Memorial Discourse* (1865). He also published several essays reflective of his scientific training, writing on topics such as phrenology, longevity, climate, and race. He enjoyed editorial stints at three black newspapers—*The Colored American*, *The Northern Star and Freeman's Advocate*, and *Douglass' Monthly*—and contributed regularly to the black press, penning several important essays for *The Anglo-African Magazine* and a column for *Frederick Douglass' Paper*.

Smith's thinking reflected the diversity of his interests and the breadth of his training. He took strong stands against black migration to another country, for black education of all sorts, and against racial theories that declared all people of African descent a separate and inferior part of creation. Twin themes, often held in delicate tension, dominated his approach to racial activism. On the one hand, he strongly advocated a program of self-help and racial uplift that promised to "elevate" African Americans in the eyes of whites and roll back the tide of prejudice. On the other hand, he argued that only an independent black independent movement could vindicate the "manhood" of the race and achieve meaningful equality.

Smith's self-help doctrine called for industrial and classical education for black youth to assist in inculcating positive habits and behaviors for racial uplift. He feared that the conduct of uneducated African Americans strengthened discrimination, believing that only their "moral excellence" could refute the pervasive prejudice besetting them. At times, Smith expressed frustration with the pace of the black non-elite's self-elevation, calling those like himself "leaders of an invisible people." Smith sought to shake off the patronage of white abolitionists and place African Americans at the center of their own freedom struggle. "The battle against caste and Slavery," he wrote to his fellow African Americans, "is

emphatically our battle; no one else can fight it for us, and with God's help we must fight it ourselves."

The tensions in Smith's thinking—between the need to demonstrate blacks' equality by accepted measures of civility versus the need for blacks to act independently on their own behalf—inhered in much antebellum black protest thought. Ultimately, though, the two impulses complemented each other rather than conflicted with each other. While black activists such as Smith did rely on standards of "respectability" and "civilization" derived from a world dominated by prejudiced whites, they did not see these virtues as exclusively "white," but as universal, and they claimed them as their own. The path to equality lay not in subservience or the uncritical adoption of "white" standards, but in embracing and embodying those elements of the American creed that stressed manly independence and the capacity for self-governance. Only this route would change public perceptions of blacks, refute prejudice, and secure for African Americans a meaningful equality.

When the Civil War broke out, Smith saw, as did his colleagues, unparalleled opportunities for African Americans to enact this philosophy. Along with notables such as Frederick Douglass and Martin Delany, he lobbied relentlessly for the chance for African Americans to demonstrate their loyalty to liberty and their capacity for civic participation through military service. He believed that slavery would truly die not merely through the war alone, but through a thorough and equitable redistribution of Southern wealth into the hands of the four million freedpeople whose labor had been so long expropriated. Smith's desire for a "quite Professorship" was granted in 1863 when Daniel Alexander Payne, a longtime colleague and a bishop in the African Methodist Episcopal Church, offered him a position at the abolitionist-sponsored Wilberforce College in Ohio. Unfortunately, he never lived to occupy the post. On November 17, 1865, he died of heart disease at the age of fifty-two.

SEE ALSO *Antebellum Black Ethnology*.

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Patrick Rael

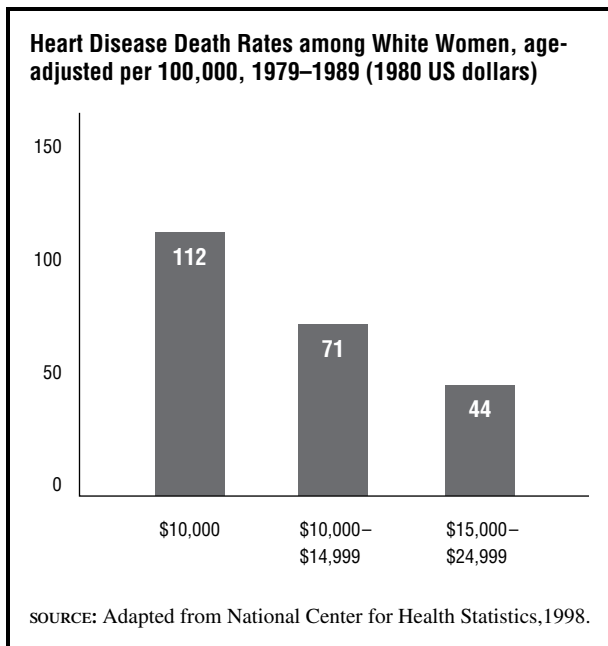
## SOCIAL CLASS AND MORTALITY

Racial, ethnic, and class disparities in health outcomes are wide and persistent, and they cut across the full range of indicators of disease prevalence and mortality rates in all nations of the world. Populations understood by social and political convention to constitute distinct “racial” or “ethnic” minorities are, in general, sicker and die sooner than their majority counterparts. These patterns have been evident for as long as researchers have investigated the issue, and even a cursory examination of, say, the health of blacks in the United States and South Africa, or of indigenous people in New Zealand, Canada, or the Commonwealth of Dominica, bears this out. Despite a considerable amount of research in the United States in the early twenty-first century that seeks to understand how “racial” differences—whether in a genetic or, categorical sense—might explain health inequalities, it is clear that these health inequalities reflect the relatively unequal social position that racial and ethnic minorities almost invariably inhabit.

### GENETIC FACTORS

There are a number of reasons why health disparities between and within countries cannot be genetic in nature. “Racial” categories are social and political constructions: They do not reveal much about underlying human variation at the level of the gene. As Richard Lewontin and others have pointed out, there is more genetic variation within the so-called races than between them (see Lewontin 1972). From the standpoint of genetic variation, for example, two “blacks” of sub-Saharan Africa could be further apart from each other genetically than they are from two Swedes selected at random. A second and related point is that, from the standpoint of genetic variability, Africans are more genetically diverse than non-Africans, and thus subsume the genetic diversity found among people in the rest of the world (Marks 2002). Third, the leading causes of death in most countries are not the outcome of single-gene mutations, such as those that produce sickle-cell disease, cystic fibrosis, or Tay-Sachs disease; rather, the leading causes of death reflect a complex interaction between (multiple) genes and the social and physical environment (Cooper et al. 2003).

The “social gradient” pattern of morbidity and mortality also argues against a genetic explanation. For more than 150 years, researchers have known that when mortality rates associated with various causes are plotted against measures of class or socioeconomic status—typically income, education, or occupation—a graded pattern emerges, with mortality increasing as socioeconomic status decreases. Figure 1



*Figure 1.*

shows heart disease-related mortality rates among white American women plotted against income.

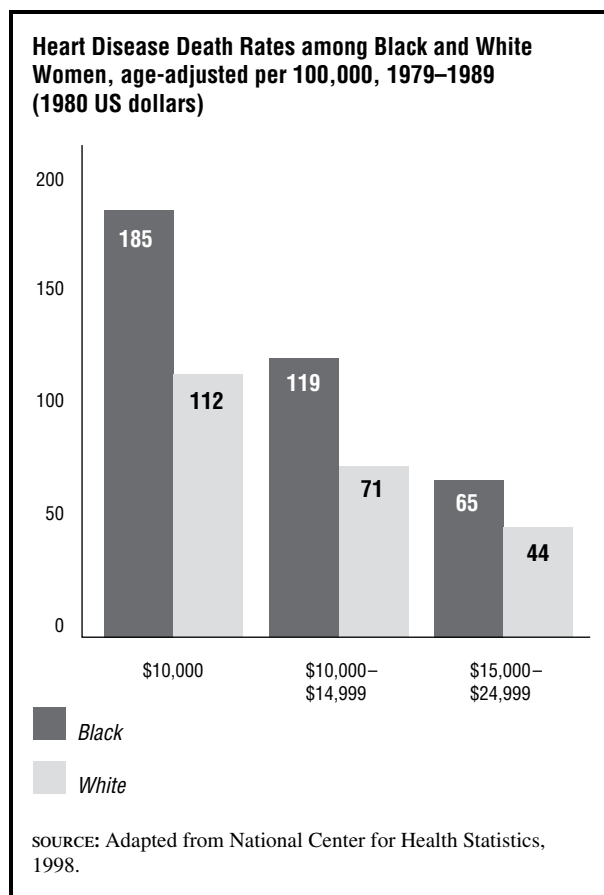
This graph shows what has been known for some time: that worse health outcomes are not a simple matter of rich and poor, but rather that risk for death (or disease) is continuous along a socioeconomic continuum. Each step up the social ladder corresponds to better health outcomes.

### BEHAVIORAL FACTORS

Health related behavior—e.g., smoking, diet, and physical activity—is certainly one fact that explains disparities in health outcomes between populations that differ in terms of socioeconomic status, but two points are worth emphasizing: First, class, or socioeconomic status, predicts health-related behavior; and second, in empirical studies that weigh health behaviors against measures of social status, the results suggest that no more than 30 percent of the variation can be explained by behaviors such as smoking and physical activity (see Marmot 2004). When statistical analyses weigh the contribution of various factors, socioeconomic status explains more of the disparity than all health-related behaviors combined.

### SOCIAL STATUS

Researchers in public health and other disciplines suggest that social status is fundamental to health disparities, but it is also clear that measures of socioeconomic status



*Figure 2.*

might not fully capture these differences. Figure 2 shows heart disease death rates among black American women compared to white American women at the same income points. These bar graphs show a clear gradient in heart disease death rates among white and black women at various points along the income ladder. For both groups, more money means better health. This figure also shows that at comparable points of income, black women have higher mortality rates.

Researchers have found similar patterns in countries around the world. In New Zealand, for example, it is well established that the indigenous people of that country, the Maori, have worse health than non-Maori people. However, in studies that have examined health outcomes in terms of smoking and socioeconomic deprivation, researchers have seen an “independent effect” of ethnicity. Adjusting for smoking and for measures that gauge deprivation (housing, access to a car, and so forth) explains some of the ethnicity health gap, but does not account for all of it (see Blakely et al. 2006).

A study of infant health in Brazil provides additional evidence that health status is a function of racial and class identity. In 2001 Fernando Barros and colleagues conducted a cohort study in Pelotas, southern Brazil, and found that children with one or two black parents had a higher prevalence of poor health indicators—such as low birth weight and infant mortality—than children who had two white parents. Socioeconomic measures and other variables explained a good portion of the inequalities in health indicators, but not all (Barros et al. 2001). This study, and others, lend support to the view that health is a function of social status, but they also point out the need for understanding social status both in terms of race (or ethnicity) and social class.

#### DETERMINANTS OF SOCIAL STATUS

What are the determinants of these social gradients? Access to and quality of health care is certainly part of the story. In the United States, blacks are much more likely than whites to lack health insurance. Studies further suggest that racial and ethnic minorities cannot expect equal treatment in the clinical setting, even when patients are similar in all the important ways, such as age, insurance status, and comorbidity. Around the world, aboriginal health is affected, to varying degrees, by the insufficient/inadequate availability of health services, especially in rural areas. Still, whereas disparities in health care access and treatment are vital with respect to diagnosing and treating chronic conditions, access to health services does not prevent the onset of many conditions that lead to premature death. In other words, health care matters when an individual gets sick, but it does not determine whether he or she is afflicted in the first place.

#### PSYCHOSOCIAL FACTORS

A significant body of research suggests that relative inequality “gets under the skin” through a variety of pathways, some material—e.g., exposures that make people sick regardless of perception—and others psychosocial, such as illness induced by subjective evaluation of one’s social position. In many places worldwide, poor health outcomes reflect deprivation in the form of poor sanitation, more polluted environments, inferior housing, and various features of the social and physical environment. In countries that have passed a certain threshold of development, relative deprivation might impact health through psychosocial processes: The physiological effects of feeling poor can affect health. Research by Nancy Adler and colleagues in 2000 found, for instance, that subjective evaluations of socioeconomic status predicts levels of stress hormones, patterns of cardiovascular function, incidences of obesity, and other physiological outcomes.



***Hungry Angolan Children, June 2002.*** A mother and her two children wait to receive food in Nabuangongo, Angola. Famine has been a fact of life in parts of Africa for decades, making many people dependent on international food shipments. AP IMAGES.

In studies of poor black communities in the American South, the medical anthropologist William Dressler found that, among poor black Americans in a southern community, falling short of the lifestyle that a particular community emphasized (e.g., having certain material items) affected levels of blood pressure. In a 1998 study of subjects from a Brazilian city, Dressler and colleagues (1998) similarly found an inverse relationship between distance from a culturally defined sense of lifestyle and arterial blood pressure, depressive symptoms, and perceived stress.

These and other studies that examine how chronic stress affects health suggest how the material and psychosocial factors might be linked. Humans may be well equipped to deal with acute stress, but chronic stress clearly increases the risk or severity of a number of diseases, such as Type 2 (adult-onset) diabetes, for example. A broad scientific literature has shown that individuals are at greater risk for stress-sensitive diseases when they (1) feel that they have little control over the source of stress; (2) have no way to predict the duration and intensity of the stress; (3) have few outlets that help deal with the frustration caused by the stress; (4) see the source of stress as

evidence that circumstances are getting worse; and (5) lack social support. Moreover, exposure to stress, and the resources that mitigate stress, are not distributed evenly. Moving from high socioeconomic status to low socioeconomic status generally means greater exposure to a variety of stressors—neighborhoods marked by high violence, job and housing insecurity, and so forth—and fewer of the resources that help mitigate them (see Sapolsky 2005).

Many researchers theorize that chronic exposure to racial and ethnic discrimination might affect health in stress-related ways (e.g., Mays et al. 2007). Whereas the overall results have been mixed, a number of studies have found that individual perception of race-based discrimination is associated with higher blood pressure and poorer self-rated health (Kreiger and Sidney 1996). Perceptions of racial discrimination have also been shown to affect birth outcomes (see Kreiger and Sidney 1996, Collins et al. 2000).

These studies suggest, again, that the fundamental sources of health disparities are neither rooted in the genes nor explained by health-related behavior. Morbidity and mortality patterns reflect social status. Inferior

status for racial and ethnic minority populations started with slavery and/or colonialism, and in the early twenty-first century it reflects continuing discriminatory practices and unequal access to vital resources that are relevant to health. Health inequalities in terms of race, ethnicity, and class are, therefore, fundamentally rooted in current and past political and economic practices that generate social stratification.

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Dean E. Robinson

## SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Race, racism, and social problems intersect in many ways. First, social problems are not randomly or evenly distributed; some groups of people are affected by social problems more often and more severely than others. Second, race and racism are important factors in how problematic situations are defined and dealt with. Third, racism itself is an issue that is defined and debated as people interpret the potential causes, effects, and solutions to social problems.

### WHAT ARE SOCIAL PROBLEMS?

The concept of *social problems* refers to major societal issues or conditions that have harmful effects on large numbers of

people. Strictly speaking, though, there is no consensus on a definition of social problems, for it is difficult to specify precisely what constitutes “major issues,” “large numbers of people,” or even “harmful effects.” Moreover, the word *social* implies a human component, a focus on situations that are created and potentially solved by people, though it is difficult to distinguish socially created conditions from those that are exclusively “medical problems” or “natural disasters,” because much of what human beings do influences their health and their experiences with the natural world (e.g., hurricanes, earthquakes, and floods).

Another complexity is that social problems can be approached in at least two ways: as objective situations or as interpretations. Some scholars study problems by attempting to find facts. What is the nature and extent of the problem? What causes the problem? What are the effects of the problem? What are the solutions to the problem? Other scholars study problems by focusing on interpretation. They study how different people make claims (interpretations) about the nature, extent, causes, effects, and solutions of putative problems. In practice, many scholars combine the objectivist and subjectivist approaches by alternating between treating problems as discernibly real or factual and treating them as ambiguous situations that are “defined into being” via interpretative views.

### SOCIAL PROBLEMS ARE NOT EVENLY DISTRIBUTED

Objectively speaking, social problems can have wide-reaching implications and effects. Issues such as poverty, crime, and environmental decline either directly or indirectly touch the lives of nearly everyone. However, it is usually an oversimplification to assert that a social problem “crosses all lines” or “knows no boundaries.” Social problems are not randomly or equally distributed. The location and impact of social problems are somewhat patterned and predictable, and they affect some groups more than others.

The majority of poor people in the United States are white. However, in terms of percentages rather than absolute numbers, whites as a group tend to be afflicted with poverty at a much lower rate than other groups. In the 1990s, for example, poverty rates for African Americans and Hispanics (approximately 20–30%) were generally two or three times higher than what they were for whites (around 10%). Due in no small part to poverty, crime victimization is also differentially distributed by race and neighborhood. African Americans are more likely than whites to be robbed, burglarized, assaulted, and murdered. Health problems, too, are not random. White Americans, on average, live several years longer than African Americans, and they tend to receive superior

medical treatment. Lastly, whereas it would seem that an issue such as environmental decline would have no racial component, many believe this is not the case. In major cities such as Los Angeles, for example, people of color tend to live in areas with the greatest air pollution. Some argue that environmental hazards (such as toxic-waste disposal sites) are disproportionately located near the communities of minorities rather than whites.

Similar examples can easily be found with respect to education, housing, employment, and other aspects of social life. Major social problems tend to be distributed unevenly along racial lines, rather than emerging randomly or equally across all groups.

Occasionally, the argument “this is a problem that affects everyone” can be a useful strategy for eliciting support, motivating volunteers, and prompting new policies. In many instances, though, this “universalization” of social problems can remove attention and resources from those who suffer the most from a problem, which often means the poor and people of color. For that reason and others it is important to keep in mind exactly who is affected by a social problem, and to what degree.

### RACE, RACISM, AND THE DEFINITION OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS

The study of social problems is challenging because there is often little consensus on how to define any given societal situation. Does a problem exist? What kind of a problem is it? What are its causes, effects, and solutions? Different individuals, working from different perspectives, can answer all of these questions differently. For interpretive scholars, problems are “defined into being” as people think and talk about them. Problems arise and are given meaning when activists, politicians, reporters, and others interpret ambiguous situations as troubling in one way or another.

A clear example of the interpretation of problems that involves race and racism is the case of “drapetomania,” which was conceived as a widespread problem involving many African Americans. In 1851, Samuel Cartwright (a doctor at the University of Louisiana) published an article in a medical journal describing drapetomania as a “disease of the mind” that compelled slaves to flee their masters. For Cartwright, the problem at hand was not slavery itself, which he described as a proper, natural, God-given role for “Negroes”; instead, the problem as he interpreted it was the fleeing of slaves from their service. The treatment and prevention of this ailment, according to Cartwright, was to continuously remind slaves of their (submissive) place, while still treating them in a kindly manner. This could be done by providing adequate food and shelter but restricting the use of alcohol and limiting social activities at night. By doing so,



*Hurricane Katrina Victims at the New Orleans Convention Center, 2005. Some commentators have speculated that race and racism played a role in the government's sluggish response to Hurricane Katrina. AP IMAGES.*

Cartwright argued that southern slave owners could help reduce the social problem of runaway slaves.

It seems painfully obvious that drapetomania is a highly questionable and racist interpretation, rather than a factual diagnosis, of a social issue. The “problem” at hand could very easily be defined as slavery itself, not people fleeing from slavery; and the cause of fleeing could be seen not as a “disease of the mind” but as a “normal” or “natural” desire to be free.

The identification of more modern problems also seems influenced by racism. Beliefs that certain groups are lazy, intellectually inferior, or immoral often seem to influence whether problems are noticed and how they are interpreted. For example, the reduction of poverty does not seem to be a high priority in American politics, and even when it is, the victims are often blamed for their own plight. The image of the African-American “welfare queen”—whose culture and behavioral choices purportedly lead to her own poverty and her continuing reliance on government aid—has often pervaded discussions of welfare reform, despite the inaccuracies of the stereotype. Drawing attention to the supposed problem of welfare abuse shifts the debate from the historical and structural causes of poverty to the issue of “how to get people off government aid.” Similarly, illegal immigration has been portrayed as a serious (if not apocalyptic) problem

through the presentation of images of immigrants as criminal, pathological, potentially terrorist, freeloading individuals who are eager to use publicly funded social services. Obviously, not all analysts agree with this interpretation of immigrants, their reasons for migrating, and their status as a society-threatening problem. Rather, many see immigrants as hard-working individuals who are trying to support themselves and their families in the face of interregional inequality, and who are making positive contributions to American society in the process.

#### RACISM AS A CONTESTED INTERPRETATION

It would be intellectually dishonest not to acknowledge that racism is itself an interpretation. Like race, racism is a concept that can be defined and used in different ways. It is something that often must be inferred from statements and actions, and these are usually open to multiple interpretations. When Hurricane Katrina struck New Orleans in 2005, most agreed that the devastation was exacerbated by the slow reaction of the federal government. Some commentators speculated, however, that race and racism played a role in the government's sluggish response, given the racial (and economic) makeup of the city of New Orleans. Others vehemently disagreed with this

viewpoint, citing inexperience, poor communication, difficult on-scene conditions, and other causal explanations.

Thus, while race and racism play large roles in the occurrence and interpretation of many social problems, the exact nature and extent of their impact is often an emotionally charged subject that is open to debate.

**SEE ALSO** *Children, Racial Disparities and Status of Education, Racial Disparities; Ethnic Cleansing; HIV and AIDS; Poverty; Violence against Women and Girls.*

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## **SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF RACISM**

The concept of race has historically derived from beliefs about the biology of group differences. However, contemporary views of race reject the validity of any biological basis of race, and in the early twenty-first century it is most common to view race as constructed from the social fabric of societal beliefs and actions. The social construction of race contributes to the cultural meanings that are widely shared as stereotypes. The meanings of race, therefore, vary over time as a result of newly constructed beliefs, ideologies and stereotypes.

Racism has been defined in many different ways, but four features of these definitions are most significant. First, racism is a form of dominance in which one racial group enjoys control over the outcomes of another racial

group. The dominant racial group exercises its power to the persistent disadvantage of the subordinate group. Second, the beliefs that sustain and rationalize group dominance presume the superiority of the in-group and the inferiority of the out-group. Third, racism is a multi-level phenomenon that is expressed by individuals (micro level), is critically influenced by institutions (meso level), and deeply embedded in the entire culture (macro level). Influences among the levels are bidirectional and evolve and change over time. Fourth, racism contributes directly and indirectly to persistent racial inequality.

*Individual-level racism* is most similar to racial prejudice and is based on persistent in-group preference. It differs from prejudice in that dislike or discomfort with out-group members is further complicated by feelings of in-group superiority. At the individual level, negative attitudes, feelings, or behaviors are directed at the targets of racism. These negative expressions of racism may be intentional, as in *dominative* racism, or unintentional (or without awareness) as in *aversive* racism. Discrimination is an aspect of individual-level racial dynamics in that it captures the disparity in behaviors directed at members of one's own and another racial group. The most common forms of discrimination involve more negative or less positive behaviors directed at out-group members relative to in-group members. Prejudice is usually linked to negative stereotypes held about an out-group and applied to behavior directed at members of that group, regardless of whether or not they fit the group stereotype.

*Institutional-level racism* perpetuates and exacerbates racial inequality. Institutional racism occurs when standard practices create or sustain racial inequality. Slavery and the evolution of Jim Crow discrimination, (as well as the beliefs that sustained them), have played a critical and cumulative role in creating and maintaining racial inequality. Prior to passage of the Civil Rights Act (1964) and the Voting Rights Act (1965), widespread systematic racial discrimination in housing, banking, and education conspired to disadvantage black people in America. Real estate and banking practices and policies played a major role in creating and maintaining racial segregation. These practices and policies insured that blacks had a harder time buying homes and that the homes they did buy were in neighborhoods where property values were lower and driven downward. Further, blacks were disadvantaged by mortgage interest rates that were appreciably higher, imposing an additional financial burden due to race. Home ownership is the single most effective source of wealth accumulation in the United States. Thus, systematic racial discrimination in real estate and banking has accounted for billions of dollars of lost wealth for blacks. Added to the loss of real estate assets is the loss of tax breaks afforded homeowners. In





**March from Selma, 1965.** *The Voting Rights Act was passed by Congress shortly after State troopers violently broke up the civil rights voting march in Selma, Alabama on March 7, 1965. AP IMAGES.*

this way, cumulative racism plays a major role in socio-economic racial inequality in America.

*Cultural racism* offers a worldview in which attributes such as character, behavior, social organization, and cultural expression of out-groups are denigrated and in-groups are exalted. The presumptive inferiority of blacks from slavery times on was woven into the fabric of American mythology. For example, Abraham Lincoln opined that “there is a physical difference between the white and black races which . . . will ever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality . . . [but] while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior and I . . . am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race.” (Nicolay and Hay 1890, pp. 457–458). The mythology of racial superiority and inferiority is passed down from generation to generation, and it is reflected in the language, speech, symbols, and practices of American society. It is suffused throughout the culture and informs institutional practices and individual beliefs and behaviors, thus maintaining an infrastructure that perpetuates racial inequality, whether it is intentional or not.

Racism has significant effects on its targets. In the 1950s the social indicators of racial segregation were

judged to produce an inherently unequal psychological world for black children. Research and theory suggested that damaged self-esteem was an inexorably psychological consequence of culturally sanctioned racism (Kardiner and Ovesy 1951). Subsequent research, however, challenged this deterministic conclusion by showing a wide range of factors that help targets of racism cope with disadvantage and develop self-protective racial identities (Sellers et al. 1997). Individual and collective mechanisms that confer psychological resilience have also been identified.

#### PREJUDICE AND STEREOTYPES

Racism, as it is found in individuals, has three components: stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination. Stereotypes are beliefs about the characteristics possessed by members of a group. They embody the cognitive component of racism and exist at both the cultural and individual levels. At the cultural level, stereotypes are beliefs that members of one culture or group hold about the characteristics of another culture or group. At the individual level, stereotypes reflect an individual’s beliefs about the characteristics found in a group. Individuals engage in stereotyping when they

designate certain characteristics as especially prevalent in certain groups, or when they base their impression of a person on the characteristics believed to be associated with that person's group identity. Stereotypes can be positive or negative. For example the cultural stereotype of blacks in America includes positive (e.g., athletic) and negative (e.g., hostile) characteristics. The accuracy of stereotypes can also vary, but they are most often viewed as overgeneralizations. For example, even though whites may correctly believe that more blacks than whites play professional basketball, they may over generalize this belief by overestimating the number of blacks who play basketball.

Prejudice is the emotional component of racism. It is a negative attitude that is directed at a group and its members. There is no simple correspondence between prejudice and stereotypes. Unsurprisingly, as an individual's endorsement of negative stereotypes increases, so does his or her prejudice, though the overall strength of this relationship is only moderate. Also, when prejudice and stereotypes change, they do not necessarily change together. Favorable intergroup contact reduces prejudice more than it changes stereotyping. Conversely, stereotyping can be reduced by informing people that their peers do not endorse stereotypes, but this does not always simultaneously reduce prejudice.

Discrimination is the behavioral manifestation of racism. When whites act more favorably towards whites than towards blacks, discrimination is occurring. Comparing the prejudice-discrimination relationship with the stereotyping-discrimination relationship reveals a further discrepancy between stereotypes and prejudice. The prejudice-discrimination relationship is stronger than the stereotyping-discrimination relationship. Yet there may be important exceptions to this. Studies using video-game simulations have investigated the influence of race on the kind of rapid decisions that police must make when confronting suspects. These studies reveal that whites accidentally shoot unarmed blacks more often than they accidentally shoot unarmed whites. This effect is not associated with prejudice, however, and even blacks shoot armed blacks quicker than they shoot armed whites (Correll et al. 2002). Rather, this effect appears to result from activation of the stereotype that blacks are violent and criminal. In sum, prejudice and stereotyping are related, but they can be influenced independently and can display different relationships with discrimination.

Although stereotyping and prejudice are related, researchers are still learning about the nature of this relationship. Many recent cognitive theories of intergroup relations have viewed stereotypic beliefs as a cause of prejudice. However, other accounts of intergroup relations have viewed stereotypic beliefs as a result of prejudice. There is probably some truth to both propositions.

At the societal level, racial inequalities (e.g., on average, blacks earn less than whites) are justified by culturally shared stereotypes (e.g., blacks earn less because they are lazy), which perpetuate racial inequality (e.g., blacks are overlooked for high-paying jobs because they are assumed to be lazy). Similarly, once stereotypes and prejudices are formed in an individual's mind, they can reinforce one another. For example, the prejudiced person may stereotypically interpret a black's difficulty in finding work as resulting from laziness, which then serves to reinforce his prejudice. Indeed, highly prejudiced individuals more strongly endorse the cultural stereotype of blacks than do low-prejudiced individuals (Devine 1989). They also tend to ignore information that disconfirms stereotypes, while low-prejudiced individuals pay attention to information that disconfirms stereotypes (von Hippel et al. 1995).

Although stereotypes and prejudice often have mutual influences on each other, they may also arise independently of one another. It may, therefore, be more informative to examine the sources of both stereotypes and prejudice than to try to answer the question of which comes first. The fundamental source of intergroup problems lies in social categorization. People have a natural tendency to think in social categories. For example, dark-skinned people with African features are thought of as black, while light-skinned people with European features are thought of as white. However, even this basic schema of racial categorization can be altered. Under certain circumstances, both whites and blacks will categorize light-skinned blacks and dark-skinned blacks into separate groups, underscoring the point that race is a social construction.

Social categorization occurs because it has practical value. Social categories simplify the social world and make it predictable. Placing individuals into social categories is simplifying because it obviates the need to form complex individuated impressions of others. Categories make the social world predictable because once a category is formed it becomes associated with certain characteristics. These characteristics form a stereotype that allows one to predict another's behavior simply by observing their membership in a particular category. Research consistently shows that stereotyping follows from categorization. For example, accentuating ethnicity by depicting a Chinese woman eating Chinese food increases activation of the Chinese stereotype, while accentuating gender by depicting a Chinese woman putting on makeup increases activation of the female stereotype (Macrae et al. 1995).

Social categorization does not only give rise to stereotyping, it also forms a foundation for prejudice. Categorization creates in-group-out-group (we-they) distinctions, and because of a motive to evaluate one's own group more

positively than other groups, these distinctions generally lead the in-group to be liked more than the out-group. This motive is so ubiquitous that even when groups are created arbitrarily, such that there is no prior history of conflict and no pre-existing negative stereotypes of the out-group, bias in favor of the in-group still develops (Tajfel and Turner 1986). When an in-group–out-group distinction occurs in combination with conflict, bias favoring the in-group can be replaced by hatred of the out-group, and even this more vicious form of prejudice can develop in the absence of pre-existing negative stereotypes. Yet stereotypes may quickly develop as a way to make the in-group appear more positive than the out-group and sustain feelings of hostility.

Psychologically, conflict leads to prejudice by first creating a sense of threat. Threat can result from conflicts over tangible resources (e.g., jobs) or from perceived differences in values, such as a perception among some whites that blacks violate the American value of having a strong work ethic. Threat can also stem from anxiety and negative stereotypes. The prospect of interacting with members of an out-group can create anxiety, which acts as another type of threat that leads to prejudice. Similarly, negative stereotypes may exert a causal influence on prejudice when they create a sense of threat. For instance, the belief that blacks are unfair beneficiaries of affirmative action can be threatening to whites, thus creating negative emotions that give rise to prejudice.

#### REDUCING PREJUDICE AND COMBATING RACISM

At the individual level, attempts to reduce racial prejudice typically involve educational strategies to extend knowledge and appreciation of other groups, or to emphasize the message that prejudice is wrong (e.g., in mass media campaigns). Alternatively, for more contemporary, subtle forms of prejudice (e.g., aversive racism) some strategies attempt to make people aware of inconsistencies in their nonprejudiced self-images and values and their discriminatory behaviors, hoping to motivate more favorable attitudes and behaviors. Other techniques are aimed at changing or diluting stereotypes by presenting stereotype-disconfirming information. Research has shown that this technique is primarily effective at changing the stereotype of the group when the information concerns a broad range of group members that are perceived to be typical of their group (Rothbart and John 1985).

Mere contact between groups can also reduce intergroup conflict and bias, but it is even more effective when it occurs under specified conditions (including equal status between the groups, cooperative intergroup interactions, opportunities for personal acquaintance, and supportive egalitarian norms). Research has attempted to explain the



**Four Roses Advertisement.** A lawn jockey is used in a vintage advertisement for Four Roses Whiskey. Many Americans find the lawn jockey to be racially offensive. AP IMAGES.

psychological processes by which these conditions of contact reduce bias, thereby allowing interventions to focus on specific psychological processes. One framework proposes that the features specified by the “contact hypothesis” (e.g., equal status, cooperative interaction, self-revealing interaction, and supportive norms) share the capacity to decategorize group boundaries and promote more differentiated and personalized conceptions, particularly of out-group members (Brewer and Miller 1984). With a more differentiated representation of out-group members comes recognition that there are different types of out-group members (e.g., professional hockey players that are both sensitive and tough), thereby weakening the effects of categorization and the tendency to perceptually minimize and ignore differences between category members. Group members start to “attend to information that replaces category identity as the most useful basis for classifying each other” (Brewer and Miller 1984, p. 288).

In contrast to the decategorization approach, the “common in-group identity model” (Gaertner and Dovidio, 2002) proposes that the conditions of contact reduce

intergroup bias and conflict because they lead members to recategorize perceptions of both groups, from “us” and “them” to a more inclusive “we.” This induces more positive attitudes toward out-group members through processes involving bias favoring the in-group.

Specifically, it is hypothesized that intergroup interdependence and cognitive, perceptual, linguistic, affective, and environmental factors can either independently or in concert alter an individual’s cognitive representations of the aggregate. These resulting cognitive representations (i.e., one group, two subgroups within one group, two groups, or separate individuals) then result in the specific cognitive, affective, and overt behavioral consequence. In addition, it is proposed that common in-group identity may be achieved by increasing the salience of existing common superordinate memberships (e.g., a school, a company, a nation) or by introducing factors (e.g., common goals or fate) that are perceived to be shared by members. The development of a superordinate identity does not necessarily require people to abandon their previous group identities. Instead, they may possess dual identities, conceiving themselves as belonging to both the superordinate group and to one of the original groups included within the new larger group. Thus, even when racial or ethnic identity is strong, perceptions of a superordinate connection can enhance interracial trust and acceptance. Support for the effectiveness of this model is derived from laboratory and field experiments as well as surveys in natural settings (e.g., a multiethnic high school) and an intervention in an elementary school (Houlette et al. 2004).

Decategorization and recategorization both emphasize altering how group boundaries are represented. Yet some approaches posit that intergroup relations will be harmonious when group identities remain strong as long as the groups interact within a cooperative context (Brown and Hewstone 2005). People like to belong to groups that are both unique and positively evaluated. When groups lose their distinctiveness, intergroup bias often increases as group members strive to reassert their uniqueness by enhancing evaluations of the in-group over those of the out-group. Thus, maintaining group distinctiveness within a cooperative intergroup relationship can reduce intergroup bias. In addition, the salience of intergroup boundaries provides an associative mechanism through which changes in out-group attitudes that occur during intergroup contact can generalize to the out-group as a whole.

Two striking features of racism are its tenacity and omnipresence. Group-based inequality is a persistent feature of civilization. Even in the United States, a nation founded on principals of equality, racism continues to exist both at the societal and individual level. As the

public has come to renounce racism, its manifestations have become less obvious—housing discrimination has supplanted slavery, and subtle preferences for the racial in-group have remained even as overt expressions of hatred have diminished—but not less real. The problem arises from a combination of a basic human tendency to categorize people into groups and a history of the dominant group passing on disadvantage to subordinate groups, which has created a self-sustaining hierarchy. In individuals, categorization leads to in-group favoring bias and stereotyping, which can be exacerbated by societal conditions (e.g., employment discrimination) that make subordinate groups appear less valuable than the dominant group. Social hierarchy further serves to encourage stereotypes that justify inequality. Moreover, as progress toward equality occurs, dominant group members may experience threat as subordinate group members increasingly “take” good jobs and influence cultural values, thereby leading to open expressions of prejudice.

It is against this backdrop that attempts to reduce racism must operate. Different approaches are suited to attacking different aspects of the problem. Contact structured to encourage either decategorization or recategorization attempts to undermine social categorization, which provides the psychological foundation of racism. Other approaches seek to leave categorization intact while altering beliefs and attitudes about racial out-groups or by helping well-intentioned individuals recognize and change their own subtle racial biases. Finally, education and persuasive messages about the unacceptability of racism can create a change in individual levels of prejudice while simultaneously facilitating change at the societal level by creating racially tolerant norms. Racism is a complicated problem, and a complete solution requires careful consideration of all its complexities.

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## SOCIAL WELFARE STATES

Social welfare states implement governmental policies and practices developed to address or insure the protection and basic needs of vulnerable populations, such as people with mental or physical disabilities, the chronically ill, children, the elderly, and the poor (including low-income workers, or the working poor). According to James Leiby, the author of *A History of Social Welfare and Social Work in the United States* (1978), the term *welfare state* developed in the 1940s in England as a euphemism for what was then known as "charity and correction," a form of public assistance provided to the very poor (paupers) or those with serious disabilities (the defective). From its inception, the general structure of the welfare state has typically reflected policymakers' definition of need, rather than the reality of need as a lived experience. Thus, despite its humanitarian implications, the welfare state is a highly contested and stigmatized concept because of its relationship to poverty.

### WELFARE, POVERTY, AND RACISM

In industrialized societies, poverty is more often viewed as a consequence of defective character, behavior, and morality than a result of the unequal distribution of wealth. Since the early 1800s, beliefs about the nature of poverty have influenced the categorization of the poor as either "deserving" or "undeserving." Michael Katz argues that in both America and England, distinctions were made between poverty as an unavoidable evil and pauperism as a consequence of immorality. Even in the early twenty-first century, the notion of the "unworthy poor" is accompanied by numerous morality-based stereotypes. African Americans and other people of color who live in low-income communities are blamed for poverty, crime, and other social ills. These stereotypes justify the ill treatment of the poor and shape the policies that govern their lives. Yet social marginalization and restrictive, punitive policies actually contribute to the perpetuation of poverty. These powerful forces actually ensure that poor people will accept low-wage employment. Thus, the welfare state is intricately connected to the maintenance of a low-wage work force.

The welfare state is also a highly racialized and gendered concept. Numerous stereotypes about poor people and welfare reflect the belief that people of color (particularly women of color) saturate and abuse the welfare system. In the United States, for example, the welfare state is strongly associated with inner-city African-American and Latino families headed by women. Kenneth Neubeck and Noel Cazenave call this "welfare racism," citing American public opinion polls indicating the general belief that most welfare recipients are African-American teenage mothers who continue to have children just to avoid gainful employment. These scholars

argue that the percentage of African American families receiving welfare in the late 1990s was nearly identical to the percentage of white families receiving welfare. Yet many white Americans viewed public assistance—particularly the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program—as a “black program.” Neubeck and Cazenave contend that, over the decades, powerful politicians “forged and exploited the link between ‘race’ and ‘welfare’ to such a degree that the two terms are now politically and culturally inextricable” (Neubeck and Cazenave 2001, p. 3).

#### WELFARE IN PRACTICE

Social welfare states reflect the historical, complex, and ever-changing interplay between social practices, politics, economics, and family life. Although models of social welfare vary widely from one country to another, in most industrialized nations the welfare state provides minimum forms of relief or assistance for people living in poverty. Moreover, in every welfare system there is a vast difference between the stated goals and intentions of the system and the actual social support provided.

In Britain, for example, the social welfare state is theoretically characterized as a system providing services and protection as a right of citizenship. In practice, however, social services in Britain are neither comprehensive nor generous. Throughout Europe, welfare systems are similarly troubled and complex. Social policies are influenced by finite resources as well as politics and racial ideologies, and people who must remain connected to these systems also generally remain in perpetual poverty.

#### SOCIAL SECURITY AND THE WELFARE STATE

Social welfare in the United States refers to a complex system of both entitlement programs and relief programs, most of which emerged in the 1930s. In this two-tiered system, the only stigmatized programs are those that assist poor citizens. Most direct government aid goes to people who are not poor, and these aid programs are considered “entitlements.” This was the original intent of the Social Security Act of 1935, which was created during the New Deal era. Preceded by the stock market crash of 1929 and the decade-long Great Depression, this legislation was the first permanent social assistance program in the United States and the foundation of America’s current welfare state.

The main purpose of Social Security was to provide assistance for men who were unemployed due to the Depression. The legislation included work relief provisions and social insurance to avert future economic hardships for these men and their families. However, several scholars have shown that the proposed programs in the

Social Security Act excluded most Americans, particularly blacks and women. Social Security legislation provided federal subsidies to the states to enhance state and local employment programs, but there were no directives preventing states from discriminatory practices in the provision of assistance.

Moreover, Social Security was never meant to be a comprehensive assistance program. It was designed to promote employment and ensure a low-wage workforce.

A relatively small segment of the Social Security Act was the Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) program that assisted single-mother families not covered by Social Security. (ADC became AFDC in 1960, and in 1996 it underwent a number of changes and became the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families [TANF] program.) Conceptualized as a temporary program, ADC was funded by states through property taxes, and it is still considered to be public charity. It was also discriminatory because of the belief that only widowed white mothers were deserving of assistance. African-American women were not deemed virtuous enough to qualify for assistance.

The ADC program of 1935 was not the first means-tested assistance program for American women, and it was not the first program to be influenced by a Victorian sense of morality. In the early twentieth century, white women’s groups organized a mothers’ pension movement, advocating that impoverished women be allowed to remain at home to raise their children, just as married, middle-class mothers were expected to do. Promoting children as an important national asset, the movement framed mothers’ work as a critical component in nation-building.

Although legislation was passed approving mothers’ pensions in most states, there were no legislative requirements attached, and relatively few poor women were helped by this program. Those who did receive mothers’ pensions were widowed white women, and few activists or governmental officials ever considered the plight of impoverished African-American mothers and their children. These women remained in the low-wage workforce, cleaning the homes of white families and leaving their children behind to grow up on their own. Consequently, the first significant attempt to provide public assistance to the truly needy was tainted by both sexism and racism, reflecting the nation’s hostile attitude toward African-American women in particular. The same gendered racism would influence the administration of ADC and the public assistance programs that would follow it.

#### WELFARE AND CIVIL RIGHTS

The 1950s and 1960s brought about unprecedented and dramatic transformations in American race relations. As

they fought to dismantle racial discrimination, most civil rights activists understood that economic marginalization was an effective and destructive social weapon, and that it had crippled most black American families for centuries. The 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom underscored the devastation wrought by the intersection of racial and economic oppression. By the 1960s poverty was an uncontrolled epidemic, affecting more than 17 percent of Americans. Many of the impoverished were African Americans who, in the 1940s and 1950s, had migrated from the rural South to urban communities in the North seeking economic opportunities that had never materialized.

At the core of the 1960s urban unrest was the rage, disappointment, and misery experienced by African Americans who left blighted slums day after day to work in abysmal jobs for low wages that barely paid the rent on their decrepit dwellings. This unrest, coupled with a civil rights movement that had turned its focus toward the urban North, gave rise to a relief movement similar to the Depression era relief movements. In both eras, the masses challenged the government to consider its responsibilities to the economic well-being of its people. Other factors influencing and supporting the growing demands for social support included President Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty and the development of the National Welfare Rights Organization. Declaring a War on Poverty in his 1964 State of the Union address, Johnson influenced the development of legislation that prohibited racial and gender discrimination in employment and programs that addressed hunger, housing, job training, and community development. The National Welfare Rights Organization, which remained active until the mid-1970s, sought to educate the urban poor on their rights to freedom from systemic tyranny in the forms of oppressive welfare policies and practices. One of the results of these combined efforts was a significant rise in the relief rolls. In their book *Poor People's Movements* (1977), Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward contend that "in 1960, 745,000 families received assistance; in 1968, the number reached 1.5 million. Then, between 1968 and 1972, the rolls surged to 3 million families. . . . Money payments, less than \$1 billion in 1960, reached \$6 billion in 1972" (1977, p. 275).

Although most civil rights leaders were reluctant to fully support black participation in AFDC and other social welfare programs, quality of life did improve for the chronically poor, who now had access to a range of programs that could guide them out of poverty. The welfare state continued to be a source of much debate

and controversy, however, and legislation directing policies and practices fluctuated with each new administration.

#### WELFARE REFORM

In the last years of the twentieth century, the American welfare state remained generally ineffective, uneven, and racialized. In 1996 President Bill Clinton, who had run for office on a platform promising to "end welfare as we know it," signed the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA). Clinton's focus on welfare reform mostly pertained to the AFDC program (which became TANF). The legislation included work requirements and time limits on assistance. Well into the twenty-first century, entitlements assisting those who are not the poorest of the poor remained intact, and the American social welfare state remained a two-tiered system that continued to define citizenship in the context of race and class.

**SEE ALSO** *Civil Rights Movement; Demographics and Race; Multiculturalism; Poverty; Racial Formations; Sexism; South African Racial Formations; United Kingdom Racial Formations.*

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*Cheryl R. Rodriguez*

## SOLDIERS OF COLOR

African-American and Mexican-American soldiers have consistently experienced unequal treatment in the U.S. military. However, the types of experiences that African Americans and Mexican Americans have had differed. A major difference is that, up until the Korean War, African Americans were either excluded from the U.S. armed forces or segregated within them. Mexican Americans, however, have been integrated into all branches of the military since the 1860s. Individual Mexican Americans, however, have experienced racism, based either on dark skin color or poor English-speaking abilities, while in the military. For both African-American and Mexican-American soldiers, group

segregation and racism have occurred once they left the military and reentered American society.

#### AFRICAN AMERICANS IN COLONIAL AND REVOLUTIONARY FORCES

African Americans have participated in all U.S. wars since colonial times. In the early American colonies, both able-bodied white and black men (free or slave) were supposed to participate in militia units when warfare broke out with Native Americans. In peacetime, however, African Americans were excluded from service due to fears of armed slave insurrections and doubts about the ability of African Americans to learn military skills. Thus, African Americans served only in times of crisis and emergencies. Their training was in the use of hatchets and pikes but not firearms. On some occasions, however, African Americans were fully armed and fighting side by side with European Americans against Native Americans. African Americans joined militias even if it was temporary, because it could mean an improvement in civil status, often receiving the same pay as European Americans, and sometimes offers of freedom by some local governments in exchange for killing or capturing an enemy. In April 1775, General George Washington issued orders not to enlist African Americans, but when the British recruited African Americans in December, Washington amended his orders and allowed African Americans to serve. Thus, the Continental Army was integrated, and, on average, forty-two African-American soldiers served in every brigade. The Continental Navy was also integrated, due to manpower shortages and the considerable experience of African-American seamen. About 5,000 African Americans served in the Continental forces, and about 1,000 served with the British. Some African Americans gained their freedom as a result of their service. Many who enlisted with the British were re-enslaved. As an ally of the American revolutionaries, Spain ordered General Bernardo de Galvez, then the governor of Louisiana, to take troops to participate in the Gulf campaigns of the American Revolution from 1779 to 1781. Two thousand of these soldiers were Mexican Indians.

#### POSTREVOLUTIONARY FORCES

After the American Revolution, the Mexican Indian soldiers returned to their bases in New Spain (Mexico), while the African Americans were excluded by law from militias (except in Louisiana). At the beginning of the War of 1812, African Americans were told they could not serve in the U.S. Army and Navy. By 1814, however, they were allowed to enlist. Andrew Jackson had about 600 African-American troops fighting with him at the Battle of New Orleans, and it is estimated that 10 percent of the naval crews serving in the war were African Amer-

icans. The navy imposed a 5 percent quota on free African-American enlistment after the war during peacetime. Slaves could not serve in the navy. By 1820–1821, orders were added to General Regulations that once again excluded all African Americans. State militias also limited their services. Only “free white male citizens” could be in the artillery, infantry, cavalry, dragoons, riflemen, and grenadiers. Hundreds of African Americans, primarily slaves, did in fact serve in the army and navy, but only as laborers, dock hands, cooks, coopers, carpenters, personal servants of officers, and other similar jobs.

During the Mexican War (1846–1848), African Americans were still excluded from the ranks. But African Americans who could pass the “color line” did serve in the army until their ancestry was questioned, whereupon they were typically cashiered from the army. Slaves took part as servants to officers. Mexican guides were hired by the American army during its campaigns in Mexico, and there were a few native Californios and New Mexicans that served in the U.S. Army, but for the most part Mexicans fought against the Americans.

#### AFRICAN-AMERICANS IN THE CIVIL WAR

The Civil War (1861–1865) was the first war in which both African Americans and Mexican Americans served as soldiers. But their service continued to be more dissimilar than similar. About 186,000 African Americans served in the Union Army as part of the U.S. Colored Troops. They did not serve as Regulars but in volunteer cavalry, artillery, and infantry units. They served in segregated units, usually under the command of white officers. At the start of the Civil War, African Americans were not allowed to enlist, but manpower shortages and the Confederate use of slaves as laborers, cooks, teamsters, and farmworkers led to a change in policy about enlisting African Americans. At first, slaves who entered the lines of the Union Army (called the “contrabands of war”) were used as workers. In 1863 the Emancipation Proclamation called for the enlistment of African-American troops, and the 54th Massachusetts Infantry Regiment was formed. However, the African-American soldiers who enlisted protested the dual-wage system, by which European-American soldiers were paid \$13 plus \$3.50 for clothing, while African Americans were paid \$7 plus a \$3.00 allotment for clothing. Their efforts were successful, and in 1864 all soldiers got the same pay and allotment monies.

Even though African-American soldiers were not trained sufficiently, they saw action in every theater of war. About 38,000 of them lost their lives. A major concern was where commanding officers would place the African-American troops in battle. William Carney,



an African American soldier of the 54th Massachusetts, won a Medal of Honor for not letting the American flag drop to the ground, though he did not receive his medal until the 1890s. This would not be the first time that African-American soldiers would be denied medals during a war, only to have some soldiers acknowledged for bravery under fire by a later generation of American politicians. About 10,000 Mexican Americans served in the Civil War, on both the Union and Confederate sides. They were placed in integrated units serving in Alabama, Louisiana, Texas, California, and the New Mexico and Arizona territories. Some Mexican Americans made the officer corps, and the highest-ranking Mexican American was a colonel in the Confederate Army.

After the Civil War, African-American soldiers were not allowed to march in victory parades. Under the reorganization of the Army that took place between 1866 and 1869, the U.S. Colored Troops became army Regulars, but they were committed only to the remote parts of the U.S. West. They were formed into the 9th and 10th Cavalry and the 24th and 25th Infantry. It was during this period that African-American soldiers became known as "Buffalo Soldiers." Although they had very low rates of desertion, they received inferior equipment and horses, and poor barracks housing in forts. Mexican-American soldiers were part of the frontier army as well, primarily serving in the New Mexico and Arizona territories and Texas.

African-American troops again saw service in the Spanish American War and the Philippine War. Colonel Theodore Roosevelt congratulated them in helping to save his troops, but later, while campaigning for office, he said that African-American troops were cowardly. During the Philippine War, some African-American soldiers, after constantly being humiliated by the racist behavior of European-American soldiers and officers, deserted the U.S. Army and found common cause with the Filipino insurgents. Only a handful of Mexican Americans served in integrated units during the Spanish American War, and only one Mexican American was an officer during the conflict.

After 1900, the U.S. military was completely segregated. With the approach of World War I, the United States needed to prepare for wartime manpower needs, which included using African Americans during times of crisis and during emergencies. In 1917, the 24th Infantry was stationed in Houston, Texas, but many residents did not like having armed African-American soldiers in their midst, and a riot ensued. Southerners thought that African-American soldiers would be a deterrent to racial harmony in the military, and southern politicians protested their inclusion in the Selective Service Act of 1917.

Nonetheless, African Americans were soon to be drafted. To appease the southern politicians, draft applicants had to indicate their race on the form. That way, African-American draftees could be segregated when and if they were called up.

The most experienced black units, the 9th and 10th cavalry and the 24th and 25th infantry, were not allowed to fight in World War I. Instead, draftees were formed into the 92nd and 93rd Divisions. By 1918, about 367,000 African Americans had been drafted, and about 200,000 served in Europe. The 93rd Division was sent to France, and under French command they received training and engaged in combat. The 92nd Division also performed well in combat, but its soldiers were chastised as being inferior for not taking an enemy position. The U.S. military did not see a need for African-American soldiers in combat units, mostly based on European-American officers' negative views about their fighting abilities. Things only got worse for African Americans when they returned to the states after World War I. Some African Americans were lynched for wearing service uniforms in Mississippi and Georgia, even though they had served in the military.

Mexican Americans also fought in World War I. Exact numbers are not known, however, because the U.S. military did not segregate Mexican Americans in separate units. One Mexican American, David Barkeley, was made a first lieutenant and received a Medal of Honor. He had enlisted in Laredo, Texas, using only his Anglo first and last names, because he knew that if he used his mother's last name, Cantu, he would neither get to be an officer nor be eligible for high military honors.

By the time of World War II, African Americans were no longer considered desirable as fighting troops, primarily because of biased views about their combat performance in World War I. African-American combat units were limited principally to the 92nd and 93rd Infantry Divisions. Two African-American fighter squadrons, known as the "Tuskegee Airmen," were created, however, and both achieved outstanding combat records. About one million African Americans served during World War II, and about 300,000 to 500,000 Mexican Americans served during this war. Mexican Americans served in all theaters of war, primarily in the lower ranks, and thirteen of them received the Medal of Honor. The 141st Infantry had a high concentration of Mexican Americans, saw 361 days of combat, and sustained more than 6,000 casualties. Upon returning home, some Mexican-American soldiers (including the Medal of Honor winners) and African Americans were not allowed to eat in restaurants that catered to white customers, and they had to return to living in segregated areas. In 1948,



***African American Soldiers Leave for WWI.*** After 1900, the United States military was completely segregated. It would remain this way until the Korean War. NATIONAL ARCHIVES, U.S. WAR DEPARTMENT GENERAL STAFF.

the body of Felix Longoria, an army private, was returned to Three Rivers Texas from the Philippines. However, his family was not allowed to use a chapel in the segregated “white” cemetery. This degrading incident spurred the formation of the G.I. Forum, a prominent Latino advocacy organization.

#### FROM SEGREGATION TO DESEGREGATION

In 1948, President Harry S. Truman issued Executive Order 9981, which desegregated the military. There was resistance from the armed forces, however, and it would take until the mid-1960s to address lingering restrictions on assignments and deployments. The Vietnam War was the first U.S. war in which African Americans were integrated at all levels of the military. Yet while they

made up more than 10 percent of the army, their casualty rate was 13 percent. African Americans made up 60 percent of the complement of some infantry platoons and airborne units. Conflicts flared in all the services between African Americans and European Americans, especially in the rear areas. Twenty percent of Hispanics that fought in the Vietnam War were killed, while 33 percent were wounded. Mexican Americans, meanwhile, were disproportionately drafted in relation to their population in the U.S.

After the Vietnam War, African Americans were over-represented in the all-volunteer armed forces. Yet for African-American officers, and even more so for Mexican Americans, promotion rates lagged behind the military’s overall officer promotion rates. A 1997 Defense Manpower Data Center survey, to which more than 40,000 service

members responded, found wide gaps between how European Americans and minorities perceived treatment of racial incidents. Seventeen percent of European-American soldiers, 38 percent of Hispanic soldiers and 62 percent of African-American soldiers thought that the military did not pay enough attention to the problem of race discrimination. In the first Gulf War (1990–1991), out of 30,000 women in the U.S. military about 44 to 48 percent were African American. At the beginning of the second Gulf War, in 2003, African Americans made up 12 percent of the U.S. population but 20 percent of the U.S. military. At that time, African Americans were underrepresented as combat soldiers, as pilots for the U.S. Air Force and Navy, and in the Green Berets. Mexican Americans and Latinos constituted 13 percent of the U.S. population and about 10 percent of total U.S. troops. They were underrepresented in all branches of the military and in the officer corps. More than 36,000 of these soldiers were noncitizens, and about 32 percent from Mexico and South America. Noncitizens cannot become officers or obtain security clearances. Data from 2006 indicated that Mexican Americans made up more than 37 percent of all active duty Marines and experienced high casualty rates as combat soldiers in Iraq. High numbers of Latinos were in the forces deployed in Iraq and reflect higher numbers of Latinos in the Marines, with lower numbers in the other branches.

A lingering tradition of racism in some quarters of the military is given as one reason for the racial divide. The history of African Americans and Mexican Americans have some dissimilarities, but by the time of the Vietnam War both groups were incorporated into all branches of the U.S. military, though often at lower ranks, with few making it into the officer corps. Until the Vietnam War, both African-American and Mexican-American soldiers believed that suspending civil rights struggle in civilian society and fighting as Americans would help them gain more rights. However, during the Vietnam War and thereafter, both groups refused to delay or postpone civil rights activism during wartime. Increasingly, leaders from these communities emerged who did not serve in the U.S. military, and they often protested the services of African Americans and Mexican Americans as needless “cannon fodder.”

SEE ALSO *Buffalo Soldiers*; *Occupational Segregation*.

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Elizabeth Salas

## SOUTH AFRICAN RACIAL FORMATIONS

South Africa's racial policies during and prior to the apartheid era (1948–1994) have left a lasting legacy that still bedevils post-apartheid society and politics. These policies became notorious for the level of disparity between racial groups, the extent to which assumed racial distinctions were legally enacted, and for the pervasiveness of the social control that governed relations between the groups. As a result, South Africa offers one of the classic examples of the social construction of racial boundaries, and of the use of assumed biological differences to structure every aspect of society. Racial ideology was used as part of a social and political agenda to limit access of native Africans to scarce resources in order to privilege a small group of whites. This approach was so successful for such a long time, and to such a degree, that South Africa's racial policies before the collapse of apartheid came to epitomize racism as an ideology and racialism as a set of practices. However, the introduction of apartheid in 1948, following the electoral victory of the Afrikaners National Party, was not the beginning of South Africa's racial formations.

#### THE COLONIAL ROOTS OF SOUTH AFRICA'S RACIAL FORMATIONS

Colonization took a different form in South Africa than it did in other societies, but it was the single overriding factor that helped to create the kind of society in which there was rigid racial division. This division was culturally reproduced over the centuries, and wealth, resources,

and political power were structured around it, leading to intense social conflict.

Africa was a trading post for the spice sea routes to the East, first permanently colonized by whites for such purposes in 1652, and it provided an opportunity for settlers to escape war, persecution, or poverty in Europe. Along with colonization came Christian intolerance, with Africans seen as the personification of evil, and European notions of civilization, with Africans being supposedly primitive and culturally inferior. The southern tip of Africa was most suited to European settlement, with the Dutch being the first settlers in the area. They were led by Dutch surgeon and pioneer Jan van Riebeeck (1619–1677), an iconic figure for white settlers in South Africa, who were known as Trekboers, from the Dutch *boer*, meaning “farmer,” and *trek*, meaning “to pull” (in this case farm wagons). They were also known simply as Boers or Afrikaners.

The settlement needed both land and labor. The first need, for land, led to wars of conquest and dispossession of the indigenous population; the second need, for labor, led to the importation of slaves from the Dutch East Indies. Slave ownership and a frontier mentality were central experiences of the lifestyle of the early settlers. The Trekboers were organized as military commando communities as much as farm settlements, and they justified slave ownership on moral grounds. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, one Afrikaner author wrote that black people carried the mark of Cain: It was God that had made them, as scripture says of Cain’s descendants, “drawers of water and hewers of wood.” In effect, they were seen as divinely suited as servants of the white “race.” The writer doubted whether Kaffers (the derogatory term for African peoples) had souls (Reader 1998, p. 481). This did not, however, stop the Boers from engaging in furtive miscegenation, from which came the “colored” community.

The British took the Cape Colony from the Dutch in the early 1800s, first by force and then by treaty. Britain first wanted the Cape merely as a stepping off point for its growing trade routes. Thus, they wanted to minimize further development, and they instructed settlers to keep themselves absolutely separate from Africans, who were, meanwhile, subject to military campaigns by British forces to solidify earlier land dispossession. However, by 1820, Britain started to plant settlers in the Cape, and they quickly established themselves as merchants rather than farmers. British traders ventured from the Cape into Natal, with more military campaigns ensuing to effect British control. But the impact of British policy on the Trekboers was as influential as it was on Africans—putting an end, for example, to Afrikaner slave ownership. Given that slavery was supposedly divinely ordained, Afrikaners perceived the British government’s abolition of slavery as contrary to

God’s law and against the natural distinctions of “race” and religion, and it led directly to the Great Trek by Afrikaners into what came to be called the Orange Free State and Transvaal. Their trek into Natal in the hope of an alliance with the Zulu nation against the British resulted in the massacre of many innocent trekkers (including the murder of Piet Retief [1780–1838], the leader of the Great Trek) and the infamous Battle of Blood River. When they reached their new territories, the Trekboers met their need for labor in the same way they had in the Cape, by the seizure of Africans.

However, the discovery of gold and diamonds transformed Afrikaners society out of all recognition. As far as Britain was concerned, the discovery of gold and diamonds in Afrikaner-held territory could not have been more unfortunate, but they soon took it over, annexing first what became known as Griqualand West (for diamonds) and then eventually moving on the Transvaal (for gold). The discovery of gold and diamonds inflamed British colonial administrator Cecil Rhodes’s (1853–1902) imperial designs for British interests in southern Africa, but it is more important for the profound social changes that followed the development of mining. The mines intensified the shortage of labor, leading to the use of convict labor and the development of the migrant labor system. With migrant labor came the mine compounds, the development of African townships (called, at the time, “locations”) without a sustainable infrastructure as dormitories for workers, and the infamous Pass Laws, which restricted African people’s residence rights and gave the police significant powers to exclude them from white areas. And as the regulation of labor increased, so did the number of offenses committed by workers, leading to the development of crude forms of policing (see Brewer 1994), while simultaneously increasing the supply of convict labor. The polarization of racial attitudes went hand in hand with the implementation of this official racial segregation, which gave twentieth-century apartheid solid roots in British policy in the nineteenth century.

The development of the South African state in 1910, through the union of the provinces of Transvaal, Orange Free State, the Cape, and Natal, was a way of managing cooperatively both Boer and British interests, but for Africans it meant the consolidation of colonial dispossession and inequality. The reconciliation of Boer and Briton under Generals Louis Botha (1862–1919) and Jan Smuts (1870–1950) resulted in a common “native policy,” but the narrower Afrikaner nationalism of people such as General James B. Hertzog (1866–1942), which eventually culminated in an election victory for the National Party in 1948, pushed the country’s racial policies in an even tougher direction. The Natives’ Land Act of 1913 contained the essentials of South Africa’s later apartheid policy,

guaranteeing in law the dominance of whites. This system of laws was underpinned by the militarization of policing and other forms of social control, and by a cultural and religious critique that justified inequality and injustice on racial and scriptural grounds biology and the Bible were thus in collusion to support apartheid.

#### APARTHEID'S RACIAL FORMATIONS

When Afrikaner nationalists came to power in 1948, they built on the former "race" policies of the British. Apartheid (literally meaning "apartness") evolved over the years as racial distinctions became more finely defined in law to accommodate more and more groupings, and as the degree of social control intensified as the white population came to feel increasingly threatened. It is common to distinguish between early and late periods in the development of apartheid (Posel 1991), with the juncture occurring around 1960 with the development of what the National Party government called "Separate Development."

The Population Registration Act of 1950 racially classified all South Africans into four categories: White, Asian, Colored, and Native (later called Bantu), with "Natives" eventually subdivided ethnically into various cultural groups, thus merging "race" with ethnicity to compensate for the inadequacies of biology to sufficiently support political distinctions among the African population. Africans were split into Zulu, Xhosa, Tswana, Sepedi (or North Sotho), Sesheoehoe, Swazi, and Venda. Various proclamations to the act over the years led to further subdivisions of Coloreds. The system was very rigid, for although it was possible for people to move from one group to another if their physical features made it feasible, this was very rare (and often done only after humiliating scrutiny). Various nationalities were made "honorary Whites" (such as Japanese and Koreans) as the government sought political allies and trading partners throughout the world. Population ratios have varied little over the years, however, with Africans comprising around seven out of every ten people, Whites around one and a half, Coloreds one, and Asians about a half.

The whole purpose of this racial classification was to use "race" as the mechanism to allocate resources and land unequally to the privilege of whites. Territorial segregation was enforced by the 1950 Group Areas Act, with black groups confined to designated areas and permitted into so-called White areas only for employment. Forced removals uprooted people from areas where their families had lived for generations if they happened to be in an area that had been designated for another racial group. This segregation was supported by the infamous Pass Laws, which required people to carry documentation proving their right to be in an area otherwise designated for a different racial group.

The 1953 Bantu Education Act segregated the "races" in schooling. Miscegenation was strictly controlled by the 1949 Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and various Immorality Acts that made sexual relations between the "races" illegal. The provisions of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953 created "common areas" for each group, which controlled all sorts of possible social interactions. The act led to separate buses (or demarcated spaces on shared buses), toilets, bathing beaches, post offices, shops, health facilities and the like, and even to separate waiting lines for shared services. This social apartness epitomized apartheid.

Cultural apartness however, was the least of the purposes of apartheid. Material deprivation coincided with race, space, and territory, as black areas were under-resourced; education, housing, welfare, health, and employment opportunities were unequally distributed; and political power was in white hands. By 1959 various homelands (called Bantustans) were created for the separate development of Africans, who were given parliamentary representation and voting rights, as well as employment, housing, and other social rights, in their "own" areas. This was an even more ruthless attempt at social engineering, as an ambitious policy was introduced to strip Africans of their South African citizenship and force them to become citizens of contrived states. While some "citizens" of these states could legally work in so-called White areas, they often lived in African townships that bordered the white areas or were allowed to live as temporary residents subject to significant restrictions and monitoring. These putative ethnic homelands were controlled, financed, and buttressed by the National Party government and became second-class states with little employment opportunities, inferior schools, and powerless political assemblies. They did not achieve their purpose to stop the tide of people moving to the white areas illegally in search of work.

Illegal encroachment only intensified the policing of racial boundaries in white areas, as repressive measures were reinforced in order to try to maintain the exclusivity of white districts. The 1950 Suppression of Communism Act had such a broad definition that it included many routine forms of opposition. The 1950 Internal Security Act provided for detention without trial of someone not even suspected of a criminal offense, so long as the minister of justice was satisfied that the person threatened public order. Most forms of political organization among blacks were banned under the 1960 Unlawful Organizations Act or amendments to the Riotous Assemblies Act (first introduced in 1914 to control Afrikaner support for Germany in the First World War). The many internal security laws gave almost unfettered power to the police and military. Violent repression, deaths in detention and prison, and indiscriminate harassment and victimization against blacks



**Nelson Mandela, early 1960s.** African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela was imprisoned for 27 years. WALTER DHLADHLA/AFP/GETTY IMAGES.

became the marks of policing (Brewer 1994). The tragic death of Steve Biko (1946–1977), the Black Consciousness leader, in police custody in 1977 was only one of very many deaths (Brewer 1986, pp. 111–115).

#### REPRESSION AND RESISTANCE

Apartheid's racial formations brought conflict and violence into the heart of society. Black political opposition has a proud history of nonviolent protest, but such tactics manifestly failed to prevent the gradual exclusion from all representative politics, first for Africans and eventually for all nonwhite groups. Incidents of collective protest occurred, such as those at Sharpeville in 1960, but the banning of the African National Congress shortly afterwards, and the imprisonment or exile of its leaders, including Nelson Mandela, effectively ended political protest in the 1960s, leading to a long quiescent period. Violence remained, however, in specific forms. There was structural violence against black South Africans in the form of extreme social exclusion, poverty, and unemployment; there was state violence reflected in the severe repression of black people; and there was criminal violence in black areas, with high rates of murder, rape and violent assault. The strains and tensions within apartheid and the migrant labor system manifested themselves in high levels of drunkenness, family breakdown, domestic abuse, and violent crime (on the negative effects of migrant labor, see Dunbar, Moodie, and Ndatshe 1994).

The political conflict that ignited in South Africa after the 1976 Soweto uprising, which spread rapidly

through the urban townships, produced a different kind of violence. Political violence after 1976 took five forms: (1) an intermittent and low-intensity campaign of insurgency by *Umkhonto We Sizwe*, the armed wing of the ANC; (2) collective unrest in the townships to make them ungovernable; (3) violence from the security forces and their surrogates, at first to confront black protest and subsequently to disrupt transitional negotiations; (4) politically motivated black-on-black violence between the ANC and Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha movement, later called the Inkatha Freedom Party (Mare and Hamilton 1984); (5) and random black-on-black violence between warlords, criminal gangs, migrants, and hostel dwellers, which was linked to the pathological conditions of apartheid but also often exploited both by political groups and the security forces and their surrogates. This social dislocation easily transformed into ordinary criminal violence, which rose dramatically as political violence intensified. For example, it is estimated that between 1983 and 1992 there were 15,843 deaths attributable to political violence in South Africa, with two-thirds happening after 1990, but in the same nine-year period there were seven times more nonpolitical murders (Kane-Berman 1993). By 1995, "ordinary" murders had nearly doubled compared to 1991, representing more than the total number of deaths caused by political violence in the decade between 1983 and 1994. Fifty-two people were murdered every day in South Africa in 1995. Indeed, South Africa's murder rate in 1995 was six times higher than in the United States (du Toit 2001). Thus, apartheid made South Africa an extremely violent society.

#### THE RAINBOW NATION AND APARTHEID'S LEGACIES

In 1990, South Africa's president, F. W. de Klerk, began a process of reform that culminated in the release of Nelson Mandela, the removal of the ban of the ANC, and the development of a new constitution ending white-minority rule. The first nonracial elections were held in 1994, and the ANC was voted into power, with Mandela, the Robben Island prisoner of twenty-eight years, becoming the first nonracial president. The reform process up until the de Klerk government had permitted economic liberalization, but only in the context of the maintenance of white political control. De Klerk's vision was to cede political control of the state in the hope of maintaining white command of the economy; Mandela's was to avoid complete disintegration so as not to inherit a failed state and economy (Brewer 2003). The ANC jettisoned its socialist rhetoric, pursued pro-Western capitalist economic and fiscal policies, and diligently implemented its tradition of nonracialism, thus relieving white fears of majority rule, while the National Party



**Protesting Proposed Name Change of Pretoria.** In 2005 South Africa proposed to change the name of its capital city, Pretoria, to the African Tshwane. Opponents feared that renaming the city would cause a racial divide among citizens. AFP/GETTY IMAGES.

gave up the state to become a small minority party without prospect of ever forming the government again.

That the National Party should do this willingly may seem puzzling. However, it did so under extreme external pressure from economic sanctions and diplomatic interventions, although these had always been resisted in the past. The internal pressures were mounting by the end of the 1980s, as the townships were proving ungovernable as a result of violent political protests against apartheid. However, the Sharpeville (1960) and Soweto (1976) protests show that the state had withstood black protest before. For the most part, apartheid collapsed under the contradictions of its own racial policies. There were too few whites to run the economy and state without the need for massive black labor, personnel, and human skills, so apartheid's strict regulation of the races became counterproductive to the needs of a modern polity and economy. The various liberalizations since 1976 that opened up access to certain resources in certain spaces for certain racial minorities only set up expectations of greater change as a black middle class developed, making white political control itself the main problem.

However, while it was easy for the new ANC government to quickly dismantle the pillars of apartheid, the extent of discrimination in the past was so immense that economic redistribution has only very

slowly addressed the central inequalities. The African population, in particular, is so large and poor that apartheid's effects will endure long after its abolition. There is also a residue of racism after centuries of racial classification, which has been imprinted on people's ways of thinking and on their cultural values. The violence that characterized apartheid also still bedevils the "Rainbow Nation," giving it very high levels of violent crime. That most people nonetheless remain committed to reconciliation and to establishing a new identity as South Africans is testimony to the relatively peaceful way in which apartheid crumbled, to the enduring legacy of the ANC government's historical commitment to the principles of nonracialism, and to the fact that the African community values political control of the state and majority rule above economic redistribution. This suggests that for all its social segregation and economic privations, apartheid was experienced primarily as a form of political exclusion, and that poverty levels have not diminished the sense of freedom and dignity that followed its destruction.

**SEE ALSO** *African Economic Development; Anti-Apartheid Movement; Apartheid; Black Consciousness; Children, Racial Disparities and Status of; HIV and AIDS; Mandela, Nelson; Racial Formations; Social Welfare States; White Settler Society.*

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*John D. Brewer*

## SOUTHERN POLITICS, 1883–1915

This essay explores the social and political struggles and experiences that characterized the southern United States with regard to politics from 1883 to 1915. Sometimes called the “nadir,” or the worst period of race relations in America, this period begins with the U.S. Supreme Court decision in the *Civil Rights Cases* of 1883, which canceled previous civil right legislation and permitted racist vigilante groups such as the Ku Klux Klan with impunity despite the equal rights protections of the Fourteenth Amendment. The case that most stands out in this period is the landmark Supreme Court case *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896). At issue in this case was a Louisiana law of 1890 that required passenger trains operating within the state to provide “separate but equal” accommodation for “whites and colored persons.” The Court held that segregation of the races did not violate the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment because people of each race received equal treatment. Booker T. Washington condoned the principle of “separate but equal” and became an international celebrity.

### JIM CROW LAWS

Between the 1871 amnesty of ex-rebels against the federal government and 1876, the southern Democratic Party regained control of Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Disputes over presidential electoral vote totals in Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina led to the Compromise of 1876, which was settled by the South ceasing to challenge the election of referees. This electoral victory gave the twenty-year-old Republican Party its third president. It also freed the party from dependence on a southern base of new black voters whose numbers were being reduced through violence from white supremacist vigilante groups, through the maneuvers of white election officials,

and finally, through the adoption of “grandfather clauses,” or rules exempting would-be voters from literacy tests if they could prove that their grandfathers had voted prior to January 1, 1867, a year before blacks became citizens. The grandfather-clause voting requirement was widely employed until the U.S. Supreme Court declared this practice unconstitutional in the case of *Guinn v. United States* in 1915.

The *Civil Rights Cases* of 1883 represented a conservative U.S. Supreme Court’s stand at the beginning of a new era in the South, and its agenda was set by states enacting Jim Crow laws calling for segregation of the races. A few examples illustrate this point. In 1872, West Virginia legislators passed a law restricting jury duty to “all white male persons who are twenty-one years of age.” In 1875, the Tennessee legislature gave to owners of public accommodations of any sort the right to choose their customers, a right that “shall be as perfect and complete as that of any private person over his private house, carriage or private theatre, or places of amusement for his family.” In 1877 Georgia lawmakers enacted a law stipulating that “separate schools shall be provided for white and colored races.” Mississippi enacted a similar law in 1878. In the early 1880s, similar state and local segregation laws were adopted across the South, allowing southern whites to deny blacks social, educational, economic, and political equality. The majority of southern states enacted Jim Crow laws that forbade interracial marriage and cohabitation and allowed the segregation of the races in nursing homes, buses, railroads, restaurants, pool houses, toilet facilities, prisons, hospitals, burial grounds, restaurants, parks, sports arena, beer parlors, housing, transportation, educational institutions, libraries, telephone booths, lunch counters, libraries, movie theaters, and other public accommodations.

### THE CIVIL RIGHTS CASES OF 1883

Between 1875 and 1883 seven incidents summarized as the *Civil Rights Cases* were fundamental to the politics of the South. According to Rayford W. Logan (1965), these cases “included the denial of hotel accommodations to Negroes in Kansas and Missouri; the denial of a seat to a Negro in the dress circle of a theatre in San Francisco; the denial to a person (presumably a Negro) of the full enjoyment of the accommodations of the Grand Opera in New York; the refusal of a conductor on a passenger train to allow a colored woman to travel in the ladies’ car of the Memphis and Charleston Railroad Company” (p. 116). The Court ruled that such actions were constitutional under the Fourteenth Amendment’s equal protection clause because the amendment specified private individual actions and because Congress was not authorized to make general rules, but only corrective regulations.



The dying breed of Southern Unionists in the Republican Party began switching to the Democrats in this period, concluding as did one Mississippian that “no white man can live in the South in the future and act with any other than the Democratic party unless he is willing and prepared to live a life of social isolation and remain in political oblivion” (Davidson et al. 1990, p. 637). In the party platforms of the elections of 1884, 1888, 1892, 1896, and onward, both parties verbally celebrated the sanctity of the ballot and the value of freedom regardless of race or previous condition, but in reality did little to protect blacks politically or personally.

The rise of white agrarian unrest was abetted by the depressions of the 1880s and early 1890s and by the rise of small-scale farms personally worked by their white owners or more commonly with black sharecroppers. The period also saw more and more small-town merchant suppliers placing liens on crops for goods sold, higher prices for supplies the farmers bought, and a decline in prices for the crops they sold, and similar developments. This small farmer constituency called for government regulation of banks and railroads, the extension of credit and a more flexible fiscal policy, the establishment of subtreasuries, and the establishment of produce warehouses or grain elevators to hold crops until prices rose to yield a fair profit.

Because at least 85 percent of the African American population worked in agriculture, their presence could hardly be ignored in any effort to deal with the economic hardships now common to all. Thus, a class aspect of agrarian unrest was added to the conundrum of race, proportionately most of the rural workers being black.

### THE RISE OF POPULISM

Black workers, especially farmers, had good success in joining the Southern Farmers' Alliance (SFA), founded in Texas in 1877 by R. M. Humphrey. Although like all workingmen's organizations of the era, the SFA kept the locals of the alliance racially separate, blacks flocked to the movement via the Colored Farmers' National Alliance and Cooperative Union. In its statement of purpose, the alliance said that “the object of this corporation shall be to elevate the colored people of the United States . . . to labor more earnestly for the education of themselves and their children, especially in agricultural pursuits . . . to be more obedient to the civil law, and withdraw their attention from political partisanship.” By the 1890s, every southern state had local Colored Farmers' Alliance units. According to Humphrey, the numbers included Alabama, 100,000; Georgia, 84,000; South Carolina, 90,000; Mississippi, 90,000; Texas, 90,000; Arkansas, 20,000; Louisiana, 50,000; Virginia, 50,000; Kentucky, 25,000; Tennessee, 60,000; and North Carolina, 55,000.

The sum of these numbers in the states listed nearly equals that of the 600,000 blacks who voted as citizens in the first presidential election after slavery.

Although their state and local units were color coded, the Farmers' Alliance national conventions were remarkably open on the issues of race and gender; an observer of a score of black male delegates felt compelled to also note “wimmin is everywhere” (Davidson et al. 1990, p. 785). Humphrey himself claimed that 300,000 females were among the 1,200,000 members of the national Colored Farmers' Alliance. One hundred black delegates were present at the St. Louis alliance convention in 1892, when the movement decided to go explicitly political with a new entity called the People's Party (Populist Party). Many of the delegates had political histories in the Republican and Democratic Parties. By the election of 1896, many activists resolved the contradictions by voting as Populist Party members in the election of 1896. Here and there blacks again won local election as fusion candidates, either Republican/Populists or Democrat/People's Party candidates. The wall between economics and politics, always porous, collapsed. Black political activism was met with cynical manipulation and strong resistance from southern whites within the movement. Class could not surpass race.

In some places, the Populist Party's strength was great enough to garner the support of established Democratic politicians such as Benjamin “Pitchfork” Tillman of South Carolina and Thomas Watson of Georgia, each of whom advanced himself as a champion of the working poor regardless of race. Tillman posed as a friend of white farmers to enable him take over the South Carolina Farmers' Alliance by adopting its platform, thus leaving it nothing to say. In 1890, he was elected governor of South Carolina. Once in power he repudiated black participation in electoral politics. Tillman organized the state constitutional convention in 1895, which relied strongly on Jim Crow laws to disenfranchise most of South Carolina's black men. In 1900, Tillman was quoted as boasting: “We have done our level best to prevent blacks from voting. We have scratched our heads to find how we could eliminate the last one of them. We stuffed ballot boxes. We shot them. We are not ashamed of it” (Logan 1997, p. 91). He was philosophically opposed to the emergence of a mass or people's party, as he feared that its national program for agricultural renewal would eventually bring about the empowerment of southern blacks.

Thomas E. Watson, elected to the Georgia legislature in 1882, also found ideological cover under the social and political climate in the South. His use of the Farmers' Alliance/Populist platform helped to catapult him into the U.S. Congress in 1890. While in Congress,

he abandoned the Democratic caucus and attended the first Populist Party congressional caucus as the only and first Southern Alliance democrat to do so. As a populist, Watson helped unite agrarian (rural) farmers in the South across racial and class lines. He also supported the right of African American men to vote. As his attempts to use biracial politics to build a progressive majority coalition failed, he blamed black political activism for that failure. Indeed, with Populist James Baird Weaver as its presidential nominee, the party won a million votes but in the process built the Democratic Party in the South.

Determined to regain the support of the largely antiblack majority, Watson transformed himself into an ardent racist. He saw that the Democratic Party conservatives were determined to end black political participation, which they termed “Negro domination.” In local elections, the Populists elected three governors, five senators, ten congressmen, and nearly 1,500 members of state legislatures. In the elections of 1896, the Populist Party lost overall, even though blacks won control of several local governments, most notably that of Wilmington, North Carolina, only to literally be driven out of office in the riots of 1898. White populists became Democrats, and the Democrats became advocates of a solid South, all white. Black disfranchisement became an openly promoted objective. Of the black male, Watson wrote, “In the South, we have to lynch him occasionally, and flog him, now and then, to keep him from blaspheming the Almighty, for his conduct, on account of his smell, and his color.” He also declared that “lynch law is a good sign; it shows that a sense of justice yet lives among the people” (Crowe 1970). Editors such as Hoke Smith of the *Atlanta Journal* published racially inflammatory writings that helped to create a climate for the infamous Atlanta Riot of 1906. When blacks were finally eliminated from political influence, Watson again supported the Populist Party’s economic program, becoming its presidential candidate in 1904 and 1908 when blacks were no longer visible in party circles.

#### INTO THE NEW CENTURY

At the height of racist politics in the South, politicians such as Mississippi governor James K. Vardaman (1904–1908) rode to power in a landslide victory, propelled by white racial fears in 1903. The time was ripe for advocates of black oppression. Vardaman denounced the education of blacks. He called it nothing but a form of “kindness that would make blacks unfit to serve whites.” He generally characterized blacks as “lazy, lying and lustful animals for which no amount of training can transform into tolerable citizens,” a sentiment that was both popular and well received among southern whites.

Vardaman even went as far as stating that whenever convenient and “necessary it would be a good idea to lynch blacks in the state of Mississippi in order to maintain white supremacy” (Lopez 1965).

Against a background of triumphant white supremacy, on September 18, 1895, Booker T. Washington made his famous racial compromise speech in Atlanta, Georgia, at the Cotton States and International Exposition held to celebrate the South’s recovery from the Civil War. In this address, Washington urged blacks to eschew political activity, saying that “in all things that are purely social, we (blacks and whites) can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress.” This address made him a national figure and the most powerful African American of his time. Although many southern whites embraced his speech, most prominent blacks, such as writer and sociologist W. E. B. Du Bois, did not. Du Bois not only disagreed with Washington’s ideas and public utterances but condemned outright his philosophy and strategy with respect to fighting black exploitation and oppression. Du Bois further challenged Washington’s leadership through the platform of the Niagara Movement, which demanded economic and educational equality for blacks, and an end to discrimination in public facilities.

Although the Niagara Movement was not directly responsible for the formation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), it was hailed as a catalyst, at least for establishing a precedent that brought together black and white intellectuals opposed to the coexistence strategies of Booker T. Washington. The Niagara Movement met in New York in 1909 to discuss the formation of a new organization whose goal would be to improve the social, economic, and political condition of blacks. These efforts culminated in the establishment of the NAACP in 1910. Although the founding members were overwhelmingly white, they elected Du Bois as one of their members.

A series of other events gave impetus to the racial relations status quo in the South. In the landmark Supreme Court case *Guinn v. United States* (1915), the Court ruled unconstitutional an Oklahoma law that provided an exemption that served no discernable purpose other than to favor white voters at the expense of black citizens’ right to vote. This verdict severely curtailed the challenges of Jim Crow laws. It also helped to enforce sweeping segregation laws in the southern states in particular and the United States in general, supposedly in perpetuity.

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## SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER

Founded by two white Alabama lawyers in 1971, the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) is in the early 2000s one of the best-known civil rights organizations in America. The SPLC, based in Montgomery, Alabama, initially focused strictly on legal matters related to the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which mandates equal protection under the law to all American citizens.

In the 1980s the center pioneered new legal avenues of attack against the Ku Klux Klan and other hate groups, and it also created a new department to monitor the activities of these organizations and publish information about them. In the early 1990s it launched Teaching Tolerance, a major initiative to provide teachers with free high-quality classroom materials aimed at undermining prejudice and supporting racial tolerance and diversity. Late in the decade, the SPLC created a Web site that was more broadly aimed at Americans of all ages. In 2005 it opened the Civil Rights Memorial Center, including a monument dedicated to the martyrs of the civil rights movement. The memorial, which was dedicated on November 5, 1989, was created by famed designer Maya Lin.

The origins of the SPLC stretch back to 1969, when the YMCA in Montgomery was in its one-hundredth year as a segregated institution. After the YMCA refused to admit two black youngsters to its summer camp, the attorney Morris Dees, who would co-found the SPLC with Joseph J. Levin Jr., filed a class action lawsuit against the organization. A federal judge, noting a secret agreement between the YMCA and city for the organization to run recreational facilities, ruled that the YMCA had been invested with a "municipal character" and was therefore subject to laws affecting public bodies. In the end, U.S. district judge Frank Johnson ordered the organization to halt its discriminatory practices.

In January 1971, Dees and Levin opened the SPLC; they had some old furniture, one typewriter, a line of credit, and no other financial support. The first fundraising letter they sent out was on behalf of a black man charged with the murder of a white schoolteacher. The trial judge had pronounced the man "probably guilty," a characterization repeated in headlines in the *Montgomery Advertiser*.

In the years that followed, the SPLC's lawyers took *pro bono* cases that few others had the resources or energy to pursue. Refusing lawyers' fees or any part of the monetary awards it won for its plaintiffs, the SPLC helped to implement the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Early lawsuits resulted in the reapportionment of the Alabama legislature, the integration of the formerly all-white Alabama Department of Public Safety, and the reform of barbaric state prison conditions. Cases in the 1970s and 1980s won equal rights for women in the armed forces, ended involuntary sterilization of women on welfare, gained monetary awards for textile workers with brown lung disease, and developed comprehensive strategies for lawyers defending capital cases. A number of SPLC cases resulted in landmark decisions in the U.S. Supreme Court that had far-reaching effects.

A resurgence of the Klan in the late 1970s sparked a whole new series of cases. After Klansmen violently attacked peaceful civil rights marchers in Decatur, Alabama, in 1979, SPLC's lawyers brought the center's first civil lawsuit against a major Klan organization. The case also led to the creation, in 1981, of a new SPLC department called Klanwatch (later renamed Intelligence Project) to investigate and monitor organized white-supremacist activity throughout the country. Similar cases followed. Using a legal theory sometimes referred to as "vicarious liability," SPLC lawyers have since won civil judgments against forty-six individuals and nine major white supremacist organizations. The results were often dramatic. Beulah Mae Donald, whose son was lynched by Klansmen, was deeded a Klan headquarters building and purchased her first home with proceeds from its sale. The college education of an Ethiopian youth, Henok Seraw, was paid for with a judgment against White Aryan Resistance and its principals, who were held liable for the murder of Seraw's father. A black South Carolina church burned to the ground by a Klan group was awarded the largest-ever judgment against a hate group, \$37.8 million (a judge later reduced that amount to \$21.5 million). Two individuals who were terrorized by gun-wielding thugs from the Aryan Nations won a judgment that resulted in the neo-Nazi group's leader being forced to auction off its Idaho headquarters compound. Other lawsuits halted the harassment of Vietnamese shrimp fishermen by the Klan in Texas and paramilitary training that was being offered by the Klan-related White Patriot Party in North Carolina. Though each case differed in its particulars, all of them were based on the notion of holding white supremacist leaders responsible for the criminal actions of their followers.

Since the mid-1990s, the SPLC's legal department has concentrated on high-impact cases on behalf of those who typically have few defenders. These have included a number of cases related to prison conditions, such as the reintroduction of chain gangs in Alabama, the use of the barbaric "hitching post" as punishment for prisoners refusing to work, and abominable medical services in penitentiaries (a federal judge found, in a 1976 case brought by the SPLC, that Alabama's prisons were "wholly unfit for human habitation"). Several cases have focused on the brutal treatment of children in juvenile-offender facilities, notably in Louisiana. In 2004 the SPLC created a new legal program, the Immigrant Justice Project, meant to protect the rights of legal and undocumented immigrants. Some of the project's first cases were brought against exploitative forestry companies.

Klanwatch, which essentially started as the investigative arm of the SPLC's legal department, began publishing a small newsletter when it launched operations in 1981. This publication was meant to inform law enforcement officials about developments on the radical right,

particularly with regard to the Klan. Over the years, the newsletter grew into a major investigative magazine, going from a short black-and-white format to a full-color glossy periodical in 1999. The magazine also expanded its bailiwick greatly, taking in whole new sections of the radical right, including the militia movement, tax protesters, black separatists, neo-Nazis, the anti-immigration movement, the neo-Confederate movement, and much more. By 2005, the magazine, *Intelligence Report*, had won numerous journalistic and design awards and was read by more than 300,000 people around America.

Between its legal cases against hate groups and the work of its Intelligence Project (the renamed Klanwatch), the SPLC was so effective that it enraged literally hundreds of white supremacist criminals. In 1983 the SPLC's first office was destroyed by Klan arsonists who broke in at night, then sprayed the area with gasoline and ignited it. Dees and others at the SPLC were targeted for death on several occasions. By 2005, more than twenty individuals had been sent to federal prison for their role in a series of plots aimed at destroying the center or assassinating Dees.

The third major program area of SPLC, after the legal department and the Intelligence Project, was created in 1991. Teaching Tolerance was meant to foster multiculturalism and tolerance among future generations, specifically by targeting educational material to teachers of kindergarten and the twelfth grade. It produced the first issue of *Teaching Tolerance* magazine, which would go on to win numerous educational and other awards, in 1992. By 2005, the magazine was being distributed free of charge to more than 600,000 educators nationwide. Teaching Tolerance also has produced a series of curriculum kits, including a film and teacher's guide, that are in use in more than 80,000 schools. Two of these films, *A Time for Justice: America's Civil Rights Movement* and *Mighty Times: The Children's March*, won Oscars for best short documentaries. Another educational film in the same series, *Mighty Times: Legacy of Rosa Parks*, won an Emmy Award. A spin-off project, the Tolerance.org Web site, was created as a separate department in the late 1990s, but it was eventually subsumed under Teaching Tolerance. On the site, one can find articles from SPLC and other publishers about tolerance, racism, and related themes.

The SPLC has also worked to ensure that the martyrs of the civil rights movement, and all that they accomplished, will never be forgotten. In the late 1980s it asked Maya Lin, the designer of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, D.C., to design the Civil Rights Memorial. The monument, made of black granite and dedicated to some forty people who died between 1954 and 1968, has become a major



**Civil Rights Memorial.** The Civil Rights Memorial Center outside the Southern Poverty Law Center incorporated a major memorial monument to the martyrs of the civil rights movement created by famed designer Maya Lin in 1989. AP IMAGES.

tourist attraction in Alabama, drawing visitors from around the country and the world, along with daily busloads of schoolchildren. In 2005 the SPLC opened the adjoining Civil Rights Memorial Center, the organization's first public facility. The new center features an SPLC-made film; exhibits on civil rights, hate groups, and the international struggle for human rights; and a classroom for instruction.

**SEE ALSO** *Chain Gangs; Civil Rights Acts; Hate Crimes; Intelligence Project; Ku Klux Klan; Neo-Nazis; Voting Rights Act of 1965.*

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## STANDARDIZED TESTS

Standardized tests have a long history in American education. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, these tests were largely used to make decisions about college admission and high school graduation. Following World War II, standardized tests were administered more broadly. Many educators welcomed the tests as tools that would create empirical data about student performance,

## Standardized Tests

thus making educational decision-making processes more objective and scientific. After the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision in 1954, however, tests began to serve a different function. As increasing numbers of African-American and Latino students were integrated into white schools, standardized tests began to serve gatekeeper functions against minority students. In the early 1970s, the College Board, the governing body for the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT), began to keep statistics on race. What was largely suspected was then made evident: There was a significant gap between the test scores of blacks and whites. In addition, this gap was not confined to the SAT but manifested across the standardized test world, and while shrinking at times, it has failed to narrow significantly. Furthermore, due to political and social changes in the 1980s and 1990s, standardized tests are having a greater impact on the lives of American students than ever before. The negative impact on African American and Latino students has been significant.

### NO CHILD LEFT BEHIND

No Child Left Behind (NCLB) became national law on January 8, 2002. The purpose of the legislation was to increase American academic standards and performance and to shrink the performance gap between minority and white students. The law has been met with sharp criticism from parents, students, administrators, politicians, teachers, and concerned communities. A key point of contention is the sole use of standardized tests to make critical decisions about students' education. The law requires that, as of the 2005–2006 school year, students be tested in reading and mathematics in the third and eighth grades, with science tests added in the 2007–2008 term. Before implementation of NCLB, only six states tested students at this rate. NCLB mandates these tests despite caveats from the preeminent guide for determining test validity, the *Standards for Education and Psychological Tests*, which states no long-term decisions for a student's education should be made as a result of one score.

The pressure to increase scores on high-stakes tests has affected all of American education, but it has had a particularly significant effect on the overall education experience of African Americans and Latinos. Teachers are more likely to “teach to the test,” spending valuable classroom time on test preparation in an effort to meet testing goals. Research has demonstrated, however, that this preparation actually has negative effects. Some schools suspend the established curriculum for a month or more to prepare for these tests. Moreover, teachers who have a large percentage of students of color report that standardized tests affect their teaching styles more than those who teach predominantly whites.

Those students who fail the third- or eighth-grade tests are forced to repeat the grade. Theoretically, this would offer another opportunity to learn the skills and subject matter necessary for academic success at the next level. Retention, however, is highly correlated with dropout rates. Since instituting high-stakes tests, the state of Texas has forced African-American and Latino students to repeat grades at a rate almost twice that of whites. Moreover, the dropout rates for those students held back are more than twice those of students who have never been kept back.

Student success on high-stakes tests is highly correlated with teacher experience. Students of color, however, are more likely to be taught by teachers who have less education than teachers of white students. A Stanford University study found that, nationwide, in schools with the highest concentrations of students of color, students have less than a 50 percent chance of being taught math or science by a teacher who has credentials in those fields. A study in California found that schools with the lowest passing rates on California's high school exit exam have high minority enrollment and double the amount of uncertified teachers. Those students who need strong, capable teachers the most, and who are most prone to the negative effects of high-stakes testing, are thus less likely to get the help they need.

Moreover, for students who are not motivated by tests, the inclusion of more test-specific materials and curricular changes has a negative ripple effect. Increased test pressure for a student who is not motivated by test outcome can serve to cast the tests, and subsequently the entire educational enterprise, in a negative light, thus making academic achievement a low priority and ultimately leading to what Jason Osborne calls academic disidentification. This means that students, to preserve their self-esteem, stop identifying with academic success and disengage from the academic process altogether.

There are also funding implications tied to testing. California and Texas award schools incentive funding for performance on standardized tests. But schools with high concentrations of students of color tend to receive half of the performance awards as school with high concentrations of whites. At first, this may appear to be the just result of a meritorious policy. But there is a correlation between academic performance and school funding. So the performance awards then serve to exacerbate the problem of performance at the schools by not distributing critical funds to those schools that need it most.

Perhaps most discouraging is that the law's efficacy and the mandated tests' effectiveness are highly questionable. According to National Assessment for Educational Progress, the pressure of NCLB and mandated tests produced no significant gains in reading scores at any grade level in 2003.

## TRACKING

Most American public schools have some method of differentiating instruction according to perceptions of ability. The common method is a three-tiered tracking system, with gifted, general, and special education tracks. Grades and teacher input highly affect placement, but only within the general track. For the special education and gifted tracks, however, tests are relied upon most heavily. Therefore, lower performance on IQ tests directly contributes to the disproportional representation of African Americans and Latinos on these tracks. Students of color are overrepresented in special education classes in forty-five out of fifty states. African Americans are four times as likely to be designated mentally retarded or "special needs" than whites in five states.

A chief indicator of college success is the rigor of one's secondary curriculum. When students are deprived of this level of education, their chances of success in college are sharply diminished. African-American and Latino students are less likely to attend schools where advanced or honors/accelerated curricula are taught. Even in schools with such curricula, students of color are less likely to be enrolled in these classes. An over-reliance on test scores to make the determination is a likely culprit. Studies have demonstrated that racial bias on the part of teachers and administrators also plays a significant role in the selection process. In a study of a San Jose school, Latino students were half as likely to take accelerated courses as whites with similar scores.

More subtle forms of tracking still persist in schools that have abolished traditional test-based tracking systems. Parents of middle-class students often successfully make demands of administrators to have their students placed with highly qualified teachers with fewer students of color. As a result, schools that are racially diverse often harbor hidden in-school stratification systems.

## THE SAT

Since the College Board began to keep data on race, the gap that exists between African American and Latinos and whites has been a lightning rod, drawing attention from parents, politicians, and educators alike. The problem is persistent and remains salient due to a myriad of reasons. African Americans tend to score, on average, 100 points less on the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) than whites.

One of the chief predictors for success on the SAT, as is the case with postsecondary success, is the rigor of the secondary curriculum. But given the presence of test-based tracking systems, many African Americans are situated on tracks that do not offer instruction in higher-order skills, making success on the SAT problematic in the extreme.

The SAT, despite subtle class-related challenges, is considered by most researchers to be a valid test. The problem occurs with its use. Many colleges and universities rely too heavily on the SAT in making determinations about admissions. This over-reliance has put diversity efforts in jeopardy. Opponents to affirmative action and other programs designed to make adjustments for a history of American racist policies and institutions have used this over-reliance to challenge the constitutionality of affirmative action.

On the opposite end of the spectrum, African Americans who attend elite postsecondary institutions tend to have lower freshman grade point averages than whites with comparable SAT scores. The reasons for this phenomenon are unclear. However, the fact remains that the SAT alone, in those situations, does not conclusively predict success at those schools. Other factors must be examined to explain this difference in performance.

The Stanford University psychologist Claude Steele has researched African-American test performance and discovered a condition he terms "stereotype threat." Steele found that among the most capable African-American students, test performance is negatively impacted by a desire to avoid being characterized by prevailing perceptions and stereotypes of intellectual inferiority. For those students who are most invested in academics, the possibility of failure creates inordinate psychological and even physiological stresses, which impair performance. Steele also found that even asking students to state their race on a standardized test is enough to reduce notions of efficacy and cause a decline in performance.

High-stakes standardized tests are becoming hardened fixtures in American education, and they are used to make long-term determinations about the educational futures of students. While there are inherent problems in test design, more problems occur in the systems in which these tests exist. Students of color will continue to languish in this system as long as tests play a considerable role in decisions concerning their futures.

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*Bruce Webb*

## STEREOTYPE THREAT AND RACIAL STIGMA

*Stereotype threat* is a term given to the psychological experience of being confronted with a negative stereotype associated with a particular social identity. The term was coined in 1995 by Claude Steele and Joshua Aronson, who defined it as an uncomfortable apprehension arising from awareness of a negative stereotype in a situation in which the stereotype is relevant and therefore confirmable through the target’s behavior. Stereotype threat is a predicament that can beset anyone. Thus, a white male in the presence of blacks may worry that he will inadvertently say something perceived as racist; an elderly man who has misplaced his keys may worry that others think he is senile; a southerner may worry that her drawl makes her sound unsophisticated, and so on.

Steele and Aronson (1995) argue that African Americans, who historically have been stereotyped as intellectually inferior to other groups, are likely to experience stereotype threat whenever they find themselves in situations where intellectual abilities are relevant, such as during standardized tests or in other academic situations. Their initial experiments confirmed that when African-American college students were given a standardized test, they experienced greater anxiety, increased cognitive activation of stereotypes, and lower test performance when the test was presented as a way to evaluate their intelligence. The same test presented in a non-evaluative manner, however, produced little anxiety or cognitive activation of stereotypes and resulted in significantly better test performance among African-Americans. The manipulation of stereotype threat had no significant effect on white students, however.

By contrast, *racial stigma* is an attribute that marks or discredits an individual, one that reduces him or her “from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one” (Goffman 1963, p. 3). Racial stigma is not completely trans-situational. Rather, a stigma is defined by the particulars of the situation, in the sense that an attribute such as black skin may be viewed negatively in some contexts (e.g., the academic arena) but positively in others (e.g., the basketball arena), because of the specific attributes a culture attaches to specific social identities. Although perceptions of African Americans have steadily improved since the 1960s, they continue to perform worse, on average, in school and on standardized tests

than other groups. Thus, blackness continues to be a stigma in educational contexts. The same can be said for females in the domain of mathematics and science, despite the fact that women have made significant strides in these domains, and that the roles and opportunities available to women have expanded considerably since the mid-1900s.

Stereotype threat begins with a person’s knowledge that certain social identities are stereotypically associated with a stigmatized status in a given situation. Because the stereotype alleging African-American intellectual inferiority has been promulgated in America at least since the introduction of slavery, it is widely known throughout American society. Blackness can thus be stigmatizing in any context where intellectual ability is relevant or thought to be relevant. In many studies on stereotype threat, it is the relevance of intelligence to some activity that is manipulated. Thus, just as Steele and Aronson found that labeling an academic task as a measure of intelligence undermined performance, so too did labeling a sports activity as a measure of intelligence interfere with athletic performance (Stone et al. 1999).

Stereotype threat is an experience that is not limited to racial groups. For example, significant underperformance in response to stereotype threat has been demonstrated in a wide variety of groups. It is thus a general process, one not tied to any particular social identity; any group for whom a negative stereotype exists, or for whom some allegedly superior comparison group exists, can be vulnerable. So while white males are not stereotyped as being bad at math, they have been shown to perform less well on math tests when explicitly reminded of the stereotype of Asian mathematical superiority (Aronson et al. 1999). Significant stereotype threat effects (underperformance on some kind of ability test) have been documented among a wide variety of social groups (Aronson and Steele 2005), including African Americans on verbal and IQ tests; Latinos on verbal tests; women in the domain of math and science; elderly individuals in the domain of short-term memory; low-income individuals in the domain of verbal abilities, and white males in the domains of athletics (when compared to African Americans), mathematics (when compared to Asians), and social perceptiveness (when compared to women).

The effects of stereotype threat on intellectual performance appear to be mediated by a number of psychological processes. For example, experiments that vary the amount of stereotype threat find that a high level of stereotype threat results in higher blood pressure, faster heartbeat, higher cognitive load, higher self-reported anxiety, and a greater number of negative thoughts—all of which are capable of interfering with intellectual performance.



In the academic arena, various individual differences exist that appear to be risk factors for underperformance. Individuals who do not care much about academics or athletics are less likely than those who do to be bothered by the allegation that they lack ability in these areas. Experiments show that the greatest test-performance pressure occurs among those students who care a good deal about doing well (Aronson et al. 1999); if a given individual does not care about the evaluative domain in question—if they are not especially invested in academic achievement, for example—they will be less likely to find the relevance of a stereotype bothersome or disruptive to performance. Likewise, if a person does not feel any particular connection to the social group they belong to, they probably will not feel much pressure to disprove the negative stereotype about that group. In a 2005 study, Kay Deaux and her associates found that black Americans who are fairly recent immigrants from other countries do not identify with African-American culture as much as American-born blacks or those whose parents immigrated less recently. The degree to which such individuals identified with African-American culture significantly predicted their underperformance on an evaluative test, strongly suggesting that it is African-American culture, rather than genetic predisposition, that makes blacks vulnerable to underperformance.

Other risk factors include individual differences in areas related to mistrust. That is, some individuals tend to be more aware of prejudice and more bothered by its presence in their lives than do others. Such individuals enter situations anxiously, expecting people to perceive them and treat them differently based on their race, ethnicity or gender. All things being equal, individuals who have a high measure of this kind of cultural mistrust tend to perform worse on standardized tests, have a harder time adjusting to integrated academic colleges, and receive lower grades than their more trustful counterparts.

Stereotype threat has been viewed as a very positive development in the social-science literature because it convincingly attributes racial differences in test performance and school achievement to tractable, situational factors. It thus stands as one of the most compelling counterarguments to the point of view put forward in the controversial book *The Bell Curve* (1994), in which Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray attribute African Americans' lower average IQ test scores and school achievement to genetically based differences in intelligence between racial groups. The stereotype-threat research casts doubt on this interpretation by demonstrating how testing and schooling situations are experienced differently for individuals of color, and how these differences can powerfully undermine performance. A number of research studies based on Steele and Aronson's research have shown that test performance and school achievement can be significantly improved with simple

interventions. For example, Aronson and his colleagues found that teaching minority students that their intelligence is not fixed—that it is malleable and can be expanded with hard work—significantly reduced the achievement gap on both standardized tests and grade point averages (Aronson and Steele 2005). Similarly, Cohen, et al. (2006) found that stereotype threat could be reduced by affirming the self-concepts of minority students, a simple intervention that resulted in a substantial reduction of the black-white achievement gap among low-income adolescents. These interventions, derived from the stereotype threat formulation, provide a hopeful antidote to the pessimistic theories that attribute racial gaps primarily to intractable social forces and fixed, biological group differences in intellectual endowment.

**SEE ALSO** *Education, Racial Disparities; Social Psychology of Racism.*

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## STEREOTYPING

SEE *Social Psychology of Racism*.

## STERILIZATION

SEE *Forced Sterilization; Forced Sterilization of Native Americans*.

## STODDARD, T. LOTHROP

1883–1950

In the opening pages of *The Great Gatsby*, F. Scott Fitzgerald's classic Jazz Age novel about wealthy "careless people," the character Tom Buchanan is depicted as an arrogant, immoral bully and a white supremacist. "Have you read 'The Rise of the Colored Empires' by this man Goddard?" he asks the novel's narrator, noting that "it's a fine book and everybody ought to read it. The idea is if we don't look out the white race will be—will be utterly submerged. It's all scientific stuff; it's been proved." While Buchanan might have been a product of Fitzgerald's imagination, every well-informed reader at the time recognized his comment as a reference to *The Rising Tide of Color against White World-Supremacy* by T. Lothrop Stoddard.

Born in Brookline, Massachusetts, Stoddard was descended from a prominent New England family that traced its roots back to colonial America. His father, John Lawson Stoddard, had traveled throughout the world and become a household name in the United States due to his popularity as a speaker on the exotic sights of far-off lands (his lectures are still available).

A lawyer and historian with a doctorate from Harvard, Lothrop Stoddard earned his own reputation as one of the racist intelligentsia in the first half of the twentieth century, second in importance only to the eugenicist Madison Grant. These nativists, who tended to be from Brahmin backgrounds that emphasized the importance of "good breeding," were concerned about the flood of new immigrants from southern and eastern Europe. A number of them, including Stoddard, testified before the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization in the hearings leading to passage of the Immigration Act of 1924. Some of these activists were naturally drawn to the eugenics movement, which concluded that the peoples of northern Europe who had settled the United States were genetically superior to the more recent arrivals, and they became well known as authorities in the field, despite having no formal scientific training. Stoddard himself was a member of the Galton Society, an

organization of racial determinists formed as an alternative to the American Anthropological Association, which was perceived as increasingly dominated by Jews and Bolsheviks.

While Stoddard was one of the most prominent racial propagandists, the belief in the fundamental importance of race in human affairs and national well-being was commonplace at the time. Popular magazines as well as a number of academics and intellectuals expressed concern over the presence of so many hyphenated Americans and encouraged a view of racial competition in which whites in general and Nordics in particular had to act out of racial solidarity.

Among the many books Stoddard wrote, *The Rising Tide of Color* was by far the most influential. Published in 1920, it offered a view of World War I as "a headlong plunge into race suicide" that pitted whites against each other and fractured their racial solidarity, much to the advantage of the colored world, which watched from the sidelines with "the light of undreamed-of hopes" in their eyes. Although Stoddard regarded the Nordics as far superior to the other European subraces (the Alpines and Mediterraneans) he nevertheless found it imperative for these three groups to unite in the face of the threat posed by other races, and from the "yellow race" in particular. Stoddard dismissed blacks as inferior savages, and it was "Asiatics" whom he perceived as whites' most serious competitors in the struggle to control Africa and "mongrel-ruled" Latin America. Among the Asiatics, Stoddard believed that the Japanese were the greatest danger, having already defeated "one of the great white Powers" in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904. However, he saw an additional threat to whites emerging from the Great War: The leaders of Bolshevism, "the traitor within the gates," were attempting to foment a race war as a tactic in its assault on civilization by urging "discontented colored men" throughout the world to seek revenge. In *The Revolt against Civilization*, published in 1922, Stoddard elaborated on Bolsheviks as comprising hereditary defectives led by alienated Jews.

As the passage from *Gatsby* suggests, *The Rising Tide of Color* was well known and widely cited at the time. An editorial in the *Saturday Evening Post* recommended that "every American should read" the book, and in a speech in Birmingham, Alabama, President Warren Harding cited Stoddard's book as evidence that the race issue in the United States was only a "phase" of a problem that the whole world had to confront.

Stoddard also viewed the "Jewish Question" as a matter of race, which led him to propose the Khazar theory of Jewish racial background, which posits that modern Jews are not descended from the ancient Hebrews. Instead this pseudo-anthropological approach (which is still promoted by neo-Nazi groups) maintains that the Jews were originally

a tribe of nomadic Semites, and that they intermingled genetically with many other peoples during their sojourns. Eventually, two subgroups emerged: the Sephardim around the Mediterranean, and the Ashkenazim in eastern Europe. The Sephardim, the “aristocracy of Jewry,” were characterized by a slender build, finely-cut features, and a generally “harmonic” (i.e., racially unmixed) make-up. The first Jews to come to America were nearly all Sephardim, according to Stoddard. In contrast, he claimed, the Ashkenazim—who had immigrated only recently but in very large numbers, so that they now constituted some 90 percent of the American Jewish population—were short, thick-set, and coarse-featured, reflecting their greater “mixture of diverse bloods,” especially with the Khazars of southern Russia, whose fusion with the Jews was responsible for the profound differences, not only in physical appearance but also in temperament and mentality, between Ashkenazim and Sephardim. Thus, the traits of the Ashkenazim were incompatible with traditional American ideals and values.

In 1940—before implementation of the Final Solution but well after the Jews had been herded into ghettos and their property confiscated by the Third Reich—Stoddard traveled through Germany, observing daily life and meeting with the Nazi regime’s leading scientists and top officials, including Heinrich Himmler, Joseph Goebbels, and Hitler himself. In the published account of his experiences, *Into the Darkness*, Stoddard concluded that both *Mein Kampf* and the Nazi state were based on sound eugenic principles. Inside Germany, he reported, the Jewish problem was regarded as a passing phenomenon, and more attention was being paid, properly, to regeneration of the Germanic stock, which had lost some of its finest racial elements because of the Great War and the reduced birth rate during the postwar depression.

During the interwar period, Stoddard’s books were standard reading at military institutions such as the Army War College, the Navy War College, and the Army Industrial College, and Stoddard himself was often asked to lecture to their students on topics such as race and world affairs. Ironically, just before the entry of the United States into World War II, Stoddard’s name was placed on a list of persons to be investigated by army intelligence in case of war.

In the early twenty-first century, Stoddard’s ideas are still praised, and his books promoted, by numerous contemporary organizations with racist or neo-Nazi sympathies, such as National Alliance, Stormfront, and American Renaissance.

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## STOWE, HARRIET BEECHER 1811–1896

Harriet Beecher Stowe was born in Litchfield, Connecticut, on June 14, 1811. She authored several books, two of which were abolitionist novels: *Uncle Tom’s Cabin: Or Life of the Lowly* (1852) and *Dred: A Tale of the Great Dismal Swamp* (1856). Stowe’s other works relevant to the study of race include *A Key to Uncle Tom’s Cabin* (1853) and *Sojourner Truth or the Lybian Sybil* (1863). While *Dred* is Stowe’s more radical novel, *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* has made the largest impact on the construction and study of race and racism because of its popularity and its consequent role as a site of controversy in the field.

Stowe was one of twelve children in a family of several noted abolitionists, including her father, the Calvinist minister Lyman Wheeler Beecher, and her brother, Henry Ward Beecher, a minister renowned for his militant abolitionism. Stowe grew up in Hartford, Connecticut, and Boston, but the family’s move to Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1832 was most important to her antislavery novels. A major haven for runaway slaves from Kentucky and other slave states, Cincinnati was also where a white mob destroyed the presses of an abolitionist newspaper in 1836. In Cincinnati, Harriet Beecher married the minister Calvin Stowe and became the mother of seven children, one of whom died in infancy. Stowe returned to live in New England in 1850.

Stowe’s literary style has been called romantic racialism, and it drew on eighteenth-century categories of race that treated peoples from different geographical areas as differing in character. Stowe is contradictory on whether she saw racial categories as unchanging or as comprising a general spirit that could be shaped by environment. *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* presents its hero, whom she treats as humble, loyal, and spiritual, as a representative of African character. Yet *Dred* imagines African spirituality as subject to change and allied with prophecy and a just vengeance. As with many white abolitionists, Stowe’s antislavery stance did not presuppose a belief in equality.

*Uncle Tom’s Cabin* has been controversial because it entwines complex power relations of race, gender, and

## Subspecies

class and includes contradictions. Equally important, the novel achieved unprecedented popularity. Within a year of its publication, it sold 300,000 copies in the United States and more in Great Britain. It was also translated into many languages. *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, a sentimental and melodramatic novel, traces the path of Uncle Tom, who, refusing to flee slavery, is sold away from his family until he is bought by the evil Simon Legree. Legree finally murders Tom when Tom heroically refuses to reveal the whereabouts of escaping slaves but, like a Christian martyr, submits to Legree's blows without defending himself. The novel also traces the path of intelligent, strong-willed slaves who escape, notably George and Eliza Harris and Cassy. Yet these are characters of mixed ancestry, seen by Stowe and many of her contemporaries as inheriting intelligence and will from their white lineage. The novel also includes Topsy, a comic and mischievous slave child drawn from minstrel shows as a foil to the serious and spiritual white heroine, Little Eva.

Initially, the most pointed challenge to *Uncle Tom's Cabin* came from slavery's advocates, who charged that Stowe knew about neither African-descended people nor the purportedly benevolent, paternal institution of slavery. The most vicious responses attacked Stowe as unwomanly for writing on political issues and in tones suitable for the pulpit. At the other end of the political spectrum, Martin R. Delaney, the noted African-American writer and activist, objected to the novel's ending, which, tapping the American Colonization Society's agenda, sent its fugitive slaves away to Liberia. Frederick Douglass praised *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as valuable to abolitionism but countered Tom's passivity in the hero of his own 1852 novella, *The Heroic Slave*. At the same time, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was widely praised by many readers black and white.

Stowe also wrote *A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which attempted to establish a factual basis for her characters and events by citing newspaper articles, advertisements for slave auctions and fugitive slaves, and witnesses to slavery. Stowe's second novel, *Dred*, responds to criticisms of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* from slavery's advocates, and as Robert S. Levine argues in "The African-American Presence in Stowe's *Dred*" (1996), she also responds to her African American critics. *Dred* incorporates discussion of sources within it and features a rebel slave loosely based on Nat Turner, whose vengeance she treats as justifiable.

American culture has given the characters and plot of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* a long symbolic life beyond Stowe's novel. As Eric Lott observes in *Love and Theft* (1993), competing pro- and antislavery plays took up Stowe's characters during the 1850s to enact the developing sectionalism that would produce the Civil War. In the late nineteenth-century backlash to reconstruction, traveling "Tom Shows" toured the nation with exaggerated versions of Topsy and entertaining versions of Uncle Tom.

Between World War II and the twenty-first century, as writers and scholars grappled with issues of race and gender under new historical circumstances, Stowe's novel came to serve as a source of controversy over racism and of inquiries into race and gender. Key historical contexts were the civil rights movement and the Black Power movement, second-wave feminism, and the presence in academia of African-American men and women and feminist scholars in debate and conversation with one another. Amid its radicalism, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* made otherwise indifferent people feel the horror and sense the injustice of slavery. Stowe wrote a dozen other books, but this one book was so powerful that it has survived in the nation's memory.

SEE ALSO *Abolition Movement*.

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## SUBSPECIES

A subspecies is a taxonomic category applied to geographically, genetically, or physically distinct interfertile populations (those capable of interbreeding). Evolutionary theory dictates that species formation is a process, and it therefore may be analyzed or interrupted at various stages of completion. Charles Darwin summarized his argument in *The Origin of Species* with the conclusion that "species are not immutable; but that those belonging to what are called the same genera are lineal descendants

of some other and generally extinct species, in the same manner as the acknowledged varieties of any one species are the descendants of that species.”

A population is considered a full taxonomic species if it has evolved a tendency to see its own members as a pool of potential mates (or competitors for mates), in contrast to members of other animal groups. Local distinct populations, as partially formed taxonomic entities, have been variously called breeds, varieties, or races. Defining *subspecies* in terms of lacking the attributes of a species creates a flexible scale without any clear criteria, and consequently makes the concept difficult to apply rigorously.

Nevertheless, there are some primate species that live in complex structured populations that are amenable to the designation of “taxonomic subspecies.” The best known is the savanna baboon (*Papio hamadryas* *ssp.*), whose formal varieties are the yellow baboon (*P. h. cynocephalus*), chacma baboon (*P. h. ursinus*), olive baboon (*P. h. anubis*), guinea baboon (*P. h. papio*) and hamadryas baboon (*P. h. hamadryas*). Each is distinctive in appearance, and hybridizes with other subspecies along a border wherever they come in contact. Some primate species have subspecies with distinctions of the chromosomes, or karyotypes, including *Eulemur fulvus* (brown lemur), *Hylobates lar* (gibbon), and *Aotus trivirgatus* (night monkey).

Biological variation within the human species is patterned differently and is much smaller in its extent than can be identified in the generally acknowledged subspecies of great apes. Nevertheless, the common cultural process of naturalizing difference (i.e., rationalizing differences in social status and power by recourse to differences in biology) has often led physical anthropologists to attempt to identify subspecies among living humans.

One argument for the existence of human subspecies might be if interracial offspring were rare, distinctive, less viable, or less fertile than intraracial offspring. Indeed, the viability of interracial unions was considered to be an open question in human biology in the early decades of the twentieth century. Two infamous works of this period that suggested that race-crossing was biologically harmful were Eugen Fischer’s study on a South African “coloured” community (1912), and “Race Crossing in Jamaica” by Charles Davenport and Morris Steggerda (1929). The latter work, in particular, was widely regarded as ineptly executed and argued, even by other like-minded eugenicists.

Of somewhat longer-lasting value was Harry Shapiro’s careful study of the descendants of the English crew of the H.M.S. *Bounty* and their Tahitian wives on Pitcairn Island. Shapiro studied the biological and cultural syncretism and concluded that there were no harmful effects of race-crossing. After World War II, this came

to be taken as axiomatic in physical anthropology, and it has since become recognized that there is a single extant subspecies of *Homo sapiens*. The modern disagreement is over whether Neandertals should be considered a different (though extinct) subspecies or a different species.

SEE ALSO *Human Biological Variation*.

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Jonathan Marks

## SUBSTANCE ABUSE

In the 2000 U.S. census, approximately 4.1 million people reported their race as “American Indian or Alaska Native.” While that constitutes only 1.5 percent of the United States population, the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services reports that American Indians and Alaska Natives account for 2.1 percent of all admissions to publicly funded substance-abuse treatment facilities, with 40 percent of these individuals being referred to such programs by the criminal justice system. This clearly demonstrates that substance abuse continues to be a persistent and growing issue among the Native American population.

#### NATIVE AMERICANS AND ALCOHOL

Historically, the introduction of intoxicating substances, especially alcohol, among indigenous populations often served the colonial designs of European nations. Alcohol became an important vehicle with which to appropriate resources, weaken the structure of indigenous societies, and destroy indigenous resistance to European colonialism. The overconsumption of alcohol also served to reinforce European beliefs about the inferiority of indigenous peoples, thereby bolstering the belief in “white” racial superiority. As Robert Berkhofer points out in *The White Man’s Indian* (1979), alcohol abuse provided concrete evidence of Indian degeneracy and criminality, leading to the public stereotype of the “drunken Indian.”

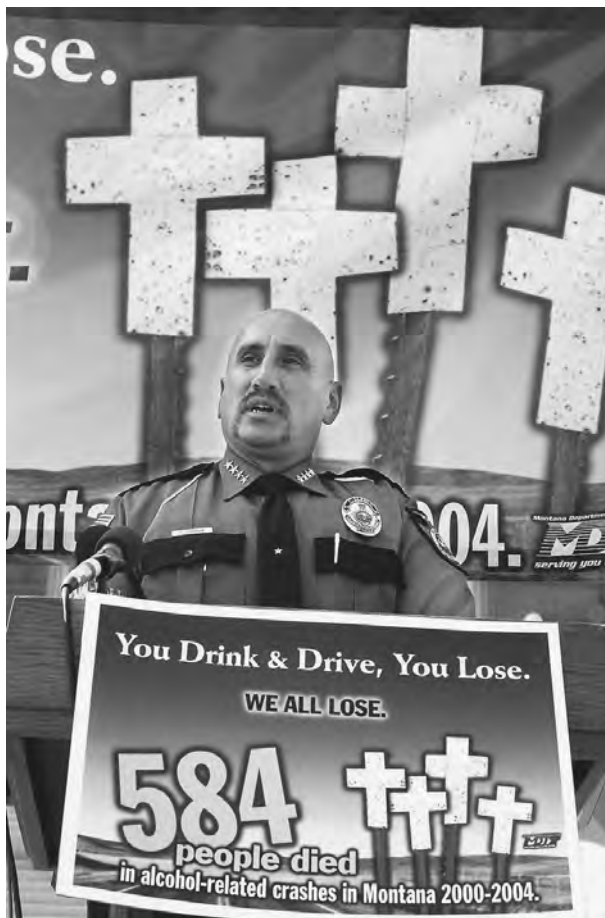
According to Gilbert Quintero, associate professor of anthropology, University of Montana, nonnative beliefs about Indian drunkenness constitute:

A form of colonial knowledge . . . that creates standardized categories and oppositional differences that distinguish the colonizers from the colonized. In addition, colonial knowledge functions to keep the colonized in a subjugated position relative to the colonizer. It does so primarily by attributing devalued characteristics and features to a specific group of people that is usually recognized as somehow distinct, usually in racial, cultural, or historical terms. (Quintero 2001, p. 57)

Despite the proliferation of scientific research about American Indian drinking, the myth persists that indigenous peoples are predisposed to addiction and that there are biophysical reasons for their inability to control their addictive behaviors. In some respects, the argument that there is a genetic basis to explain excessive alcohol consumption among Native Americans continues to serve the stereotypes of racial inferiority and degeneracy, especially when held up against reported data and beliefs about white alcohol consumption and behaviors. In addition, for some this argument can ostensibly be extended to other forms of substance abuse. There is, in fact, data to establish genetic contributions to alcoholism and other substance abuse addictions. This biogenetic predisposition is not exclusive to Native populations, however, but also exists among all ethnic populations. Evidence specific to American Indian addictions, especially alcohol, reveals that there is more in-group variation than between-group variation, indicating that environmental variables play a significant role in the manifestation of Native substance abuse (May 1994; Mancall 1995). Despite any biogenetic predispositions, however, the amount of substance abuse within a given population, much like the rate of Type II diabetes mellitus, is a reflection of social and economic conditions, not a sign of inferior racial biology. The health status of Native Americans and Alaska Natives, including substance abuse, is directly related to the socioeconomic conditions that exist in indigenous communities. Health levels, therefore, are directly linked to extant social, political, and economic forces.

#### THE SOCIOECONOMIC CAUSES OF SUBSTANCE ABUSE

Substance abuse and other afflictions are directly related to an array of socioeconomic conditions affecting indigenous communities. According to U.S. 2000 census data, 25.7 percent of American Indians and Alaska Natives live in poverty—twice the national average. Among selected tribes, poverty rates range from 18 percent to 38.9 percent. Paralleling poverty rates, the labor-force participation rate for American Indians and Alaska Natives is lower than among the general U.S. population. In addition, earnings



*Sheriff Discusses Efforts to Reduce DUI Arrests on the Flathead Indian Reservation, Montana, 2005. Substance abuse among Native Americans continues to be a persistent issue.*  
AP IMAGES.

among full-time, year-round Native workers are substantially lower than the earnings of all U.S. workers. This is particularly true for indigenous men, who also experience higher unemployment and underemployment rates.

Level of education is clearly associated with labor-force participation and earnings. According to the Census Bureau, “the educational levels of American Indians and Alaska Natives were below those of the total population in 2000.” In particular, 71 percent “had at least a high school education, compared with 80 percent of the total population” (U.S. Census Bureau 2006). As a result of this educational disparity the distribution of employment for Native peoples is heavily concentrated in the non-managerial positions and professions, clustering them in a particular class and economic sector.

American Indians and Alaska Natives have a higher percentage of single-parent homes than the total population. According to Census 2000, slightly more than 28

percent of Native households are single-parent homes, compared to 15.5 percent of total U.S. households. The vast majority of these households are headed by a woman with no husband present (20.7% of Native households). This percentage increases by 4.1 percent if the household is located on reservation lands, trust lands, or other tribally designated lands. Moreover, the average household size is 22.6 percent larger on tribally designated lands than among the total U.S. population.

It is estimated that Native Americans have six times the number of substandard homes as the rest of the United States. Many homes do not have water or adequate sewage systems. More than 30 percent of low-income American Indians live in overcrowded homes, as there is at least a 200,000 unit housing shortage across Indian country. Moreover, the construction of cluster housing on many reservations has created a particular type of residential segregation that contributes to elevated risks of violence, substance abuse, and other community health problems.

Finally, no other U.S. ethnic group has the lives of its people, including their health care, so heavily dictated by federal laws, policies, and treaties. As early as 1820, Western medical services became an integral component of U.S. Indian policy. As of 2007, the Indian Health Service (IHS), located within the Department of Health and Human Services, administers primary and preventive care to eligible Native peoples within their established service areas. The IHS largely operates on annual congressional appropriations, but the per capita expenditure for indigenous patients is only 61.3 percent of the per capita personal healthcare expenditures for the total U.S. population. This results in a rationing of health care, an inequitable distribution of healthcare resources, and limited primary treatment and prevention services. The U.S. Congress Office of Technology Assessment reports that these disparities pose significant risks for the development of health problems, particularly behavioral health issues such as substance abuse.

#### THE IMPACT OF SUBSTANCE ABUSE

Substance abuse mortality rates continue to exceed the rates for the general U.S. population. In 1995, the age-adjusted drug-related death rate for American Indians and Alaskan Natives was 65 percent higher than for the total population. In addition, the National Institute of Drug Abuse (NIDA) reported in 2003 that American Indians and Alaska Natives exhibit the highest estimated prevalence of past-month tobacco smoking and heavy alcohol consumption of any recognized racial/ethnic minority population. Age-adjusted lung cancer rates among this population increased 184 percent between 1973 and 2006.

Between 1985 and 2000, age-adjusted alcohol death rates among the Native population increased 28 percent,

seven times the rate for the total population. The IHS reported in 1998–1999 that first diagnosis of alcoholic psychosis, alcoholism, alcohol-related chronic liver disease, and cirrhosis was 1.6 times higher in IHS and tribal hospitals than in U.S. general short-stay hospitals.

In addition to alcohol and cigarette abuse, illicit drug use and nonmedical prescription drug abuse is also becoming a plague among American Indian and Alaskan Native communities. A 2003 NIDA survey measuring prevalence of past-month drug use revealed that indigenous peoples consume illicit drugs, marijuana, and cocaine at significantly higher rates than any other racial/ethnic population. This data is corroborated by the 2003 National Household Survey on Drug Abuse Report, which recorded that American Indians or Alaska Natives aged twelve or older had a higher rate of past-year substance dependence or abuse than any other racial/ethnic population.

Mortality attributed to drug use is also increasing at a steady pace among Native peoples. Drug-related death rates for this population increased 164 percent between 1979 and 1998, when it was 1.8 times higher the U.S. all-races rate. Within the Native population, there is a large disparity in drug-related deaths between males and females. For the 1996–1998 period, the peak male age-specific drug-related death rate was 111 percent higher than the peak female rate, according to the IHS's report *Trends in Indian Health, 2000–2001*.

Methamphetamine (meth) abuse is causing havoc among Native Americans and Alaska Native communities. According to IHS data, the number of recorded patient services related to meth use rose 2.5 times from 2000 until 2005. Robert McSwain, the deputy director of the IHS reported to Congress in 2006 that the age cohort most affected by the use of this drug is age 15 to age 44. The social effects of methamphetamine addiction reach beyond the individual user. Addicted parents neglect their children, leading to child abuse, a rise in child placements, and more broken homes. The use and selling of this drug also fuels increases in homicides, aggravated assaults, rape, domestic violence, and possibly suicides. Statistics from a southwestern reservation indicate the extent of the crisis. In 2004 there were 101 suicide attempts on the reservation, with eight out of ten involving methamphetamine. That same year, 64 out of 256 babies born on the reservation were born to addicted mothers. Kathleen Kitcheyan, the chairwoman of the San Carlos Apache Tribe, has testified that of the child neglect and abuse cases reported in 2005 to Tribal Child Protective Services, 80 percent involved illicit drug use, alcohol use, or both.

Methamphetamine also is straining tribal law enforcement, health-care resources, and funding for tribal housing. For example, it is estimated that the elimination of hazardous material from a home used as a meth laboratory can

cost \$10,000. With IHS and tribal health programs funded at less than 60 percent of the level necessary to meet adequate levels of care, methamphetamine abuse is crippling an already overtaxed healthcare system.

#### SUBSTANCE ABUSE AND CRIME

There is an intimate and growing relationship between violent crimes and substance abuse. In 2004, the U.S. Department of Justice reported that American Indians experience a per capita rate of violence twice that of the U.S. resident population, with an average of one violent crime per ten residents aged twelve or older. Seventy-five percent of all investigations in Indian country by the Federal Justice system involve violent crimes. Significantly, indigenous victims of violence report that 62 percent of offenders were under the influence of alcohol at the time of the attack, with drugs being involved about 9 percent of the time. Fourteen percent of victims report that the offender was using both alcohol and drugs.

Similar to the introduction of alcohol centuries ago, methamphetamine is being injected into native communities by non-native drug cartels. On a Great Plains reservation, for example, a Mexican meth cartel attempted to introduce the drug to the reservation. In an Oklahoma Native community, the Satan's Disciples, a violent Chicago street gang, organized a methamphetamine trafficking operation targeting indigenous peoples.

Paralleling the rise in drug use and drug trafficking is a rise in youth gang activities. The onset of gang activity is associated with a variety of factors, including the frequency with which families move off and onto the reservation; poverty, substance abuse, and family dysfunction; the development of reservation cluster housing; and a waning connection to tribal cultural traditions. According to a 2004 report titled "Youth Gangs in Indian Country," drug sales account for 22 percent of criminal offenses by gang members, with aggravated assault accounting for 15 percent of offenses. Communities surveyed cited substance abuse, particularly alcohol (96%) and drugs (88%), as a significant problem contributing to antisocial behavior among youth and adults.

As a result of high levels of substance abuse, many racial minorities, including Native Americans, are disproportionately imprisoned for numerous offenses. According to data for 1999–2000, American Indians and Alaska Natives are incarcerated at a higher rate than any other racial/ethnic minority, except African Americans. Despite being the smallest racial/ethnic population, more than 4 percent of Native peoples are under correctional supervision, and this percentage is rising, due in large part to an increase in different forms of illicit substance abuse. The 2001 alcohol-related arrest rate for the American Indian and Alaska Native population was higher than the rate for all races.

Indigenous peoples experience significantly higher rates of violent crime. Between 1992 and 2002, "among American Indians age 25 to 34, the rate of violent crime victimizations was more than 2½ times the rate for all persons the same age" (U.S. Department of Justice 2004). In 2001, 54.9 percent of American Indians entering the federal prison system had been convicted of violent crimes, while only 4.1 percent of whites and 13.3 percent of African Americans in prison had committed violent crimes. The Justice Department notes, however, that "approximately 60% of American Indian victims of violence, about the same percentage as of all victims of violence, described the offender as white" (U.S. Department of Justice 2004). Arrests for drug offenses accounted for 12.1 percent of American Indians entering the prison system.

Substance abuse, like other health challenges faced by American Indian and Native Alaska communities, is rooted in political economic conditions. Social and economic conditions that are prevalent in many indigenous communities provide fertile ground not only for the initiation of substance abuse, but also for its perpetuation. Substance abuse is only one component of the larger spectrum of health disparities that reflect race and class. Native peoples share the same racial and class landscape as other racial minorities and poor people.

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Gregory R. Campbell

## SWEATSHOPS

Among the definitions the *Oxford English Dictionary* gives for *sweating* are: "the practice of doing piecework overtime," and "the practice of exacting hard work from employees for low wages, especially under a middleman by sub-contract." These features—piecework and work-

ing for a contractor—continue to define contemporary usage of the term and betray its origins in the garment and shoemaking industries of the mid-nineteenth century. Then, as in the early twenty-first century, it was the most vulnerable workers who were "sweated." That is, it is ethnic, "racial," or minority immigrants, and mostly women and children, who have worked under these conditions.

### THE SWEATSHOP'S BEGINNINGS

The garment industry of the nineteenth century was ideally suited to this organization of production, because the labor-intensive and unskilled sewing work could be subcontracted by manufacturers to an "outside shop." This might entail scattering the work to several domestic outworkers, or else to small workshops that could be attached to the subcontractor's tenement housing. The skilled work of cutting and designing continued to be done in the "inside shop" of the manufacturer. In this type of system, the contractor competes for the work by providing the lowest, most competitive bid. Hence, the sole source of profit for contractors stems from the margin between the contracted price and the cost of hiring labor. In other words, the product is "sweated" out of the workers.

The new technologies of production that enabled the mechanization of clothing production in the 1860s also accelerated the process of sweated work. These technologies, including the band-saw cutting machine that cut multiple layers of cloth simultaneously and the sewing machine that replaced hand sewing, led to the creation of ready-to-wear garments and the replacement of skilled male tailors and seamstresses by semiskilled sewing-machine operators working as outworkers. Increasing urbanization expanded the market for ready-made goods and clothing at the same time that the pool of available labor for the industry was growing. Immigrant Jews fleeing eastern Europe, for example, made up large segments of the workforce in both Britain and America. Mechanization also led to the creation of large inside shops with centralized factory production. The historians Ava Baron and Susan Klepp have shown how centralized production in inside shops and decentralized production in outside shops coexisted in various segments of the American garment industry during the nineteenth century. They argue that the terms *inside* and *outside* describe processes rather than shops, because even large firms centralized only certain work processes, such as sewing, while others were conducted outside the shops. Thus, both the contracting system and manufacturing flourished under sweating conditions at the end of the century.

## EARLY OPPOSITION AND REGULATION

This period also saw the rise of workers' organizing. In 1900, garment workers in New York City formed the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) to protest poor working conditions in the industry. The union's first strike was staged in 1909 by 20,000 shirtwaist makers, who were mostly women and children. Another strike, by 50,000 male cloak-makers, took place the following year. Along with a public outcry against sweatshops, these strikes ushered in a new era of industrial democracy. State regulations protecting workers were progressively strengthened, culminating in guarantees of workers' right to organize in 1935 and the passage of the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA), guaranteeing a minimum hourly wage, in 1938.

In the decades that followed, strong union membership and government enforcement of garment industry regulations seemed to have led to the abatement of sweatshops. But in reality garment manufacturers had begun relocating from New York to the nonunionized South as early as the 1920s and 1930s. In the 1970s the job loss was precipitous, as runaway shops continued to move south and southwest, to California, and finally offshore. At the same time, low-cost imports from newly industrializing East Asian countries hurt domestic producers, and in the 1980s the trend by manufacturers and retailers to source production globally continued, with apparel imports surpassing domestic production by the mid-1990s. Special trade regulations have enabled U.S. manufacturers to utilize offshore plants as assembly subcontractors ("outside shops") in Mexico. Under these regulations, manufacturers are allowed to reimport the goods assembled in Mexico, with a tariff charged only on the cost of labor inputs. These offshore assembly plants, or *maquiladoras*, sew the cut cloth that is provided by U.S. manufacturers and retailers. Cheap labor by young women is abundant in Mexico, and this model of *maquila* production has spread from apparel to the assembly of shoes, electronics, auto parts, white goods (major household appliances), data processing, and many other products and services.

The globalization of production has led to what sweatshop critics call a "race to the bottom," as big retailers such as Wal-Mart, and brand labels such as Nike and Old Navy, source manufacturing from cheaper and cheaper locations, pressuring others to follow suit. It also exerts downward pressure on wages in the United States, where the sweatshop has reemerged with a vengeance since the early 1980s. One solution is to raise wage levels to a living wage, which would result in only a minimal additional cost to consumers because apparel workers in developing countries earn only 1 to 2 percent of the retail cost of what they produce. Sweatshop advocates, on the other hand, argue that these

jobs offer an improvement over alternative work opportunities for Third World workers.

## RACE AND ETHNICITY

As in the past, immigrants and women are regarded as the cheapest and most exploitable workers, and they continue to make up the bulk of the garment workforce in the United States. The ethnic composition of the workforce in sweatshops varies by location: in Los Angeles, Latino immigrants outnumber Asian immigrants, such as the Koreans, Vietnamese and Chinese; whereas in San Francisco it is the Chinese who predominate, and in New York Mexican and Equadorian immigrants have now joined Chinese to form the vast majority of garment sweatshop workers. These patterns have shifted over time to reflect the changing profile of immigrants in the country. In the early twentieth century, it was Jewish and Italian immigrants who worked in the sweatshops of New York and Los Angeles, and in the 1990s, Mexicans and Chinese replaced the Puerto Ricans and Dominicans who worked in New York's sweatshops in the 1980s. In the face of increased global competitiveness, runaway shops from the unionized Northeast sought new sources of cheap non-union labor in the South. As a result, black garment workers, who had been incorporated into the southern apparel industry in the 1970s, have seen their work opportunities diminish. According to scholars Evelyn Blumenberg and Paul Ong, although blacks made up about 28 percent of the garment labor force in 1990 in North Carolina, then the epicenter of the industry in the South, and were an important source of employment for black workers, the large-scale garment production that was typical in the area has rapidly been diminished by capital flight to offshore production sites. Because of import competition, even brand-name manufacturers who had previously sourced to inside shops with union labor began outsourcing to small shops within the United States. This has led to a dramatic rise of employment in small shops in urban cities, where labor violations are more common and regulations are harder for the government to monitor. Workers dispersed into small workplaces are also harder to organize, and hence less likely to unionize.

For recent immigrants, language barriers, varying educational backgrounds, and a lack of knowledge regarding employment opportunities and job application procedures make working within what sociologists term "ethnic enclaves" (sections of the job market that are dominated by ethnic entrepreneurs and workers) more attractive. Scholars have pointed to the contradictory outcomes of being employed in such enclaves for workers' perceptions of class. When contractors are immigrants who employ workers from their own ethnic groups, this can lead to super-exploitative conditions of employment, in which



*Women Work at Sewing Machines, El Salvador. The globalization of production has led to what sweatshop critics call a “race to the bottom” as big retailers source from cheaper and cheaper locations. AP IMAGES.*

potential class conflicts are displaced by a shared ethnic identity or ethnic solidarity. For example, providing employment in ethnic and linguistic enclaves to recent migrants with little prior work experience, allowing workers’ children into the workplace, advancing workers personal loans, and invoking personal ties with workers through shared ties to their place of origin enables employers to get such workers to work longer hours for less than minimum wages but still be viewed as benevolent benefactors by these workers. In other instances, when hierarchies between ethnic groups exist, such as those between Korean sweatshop owners and Latino garment workers in Los Angeles, class conflicts are permeated by, and expressed through, racial stereotypes. Notwithstanding the importance of race and ethnicity to the sweatshop economy, the problem with viewing sweatshops as ethnic enclaves is that the class relations between contractors and their workers are erroneously analyzed in isolation from

the brand-name manufacturers and retailers that drive this mode of employment.

#### WOMEN OF COLOR

Historically, because it occurred in largely unregulated settings, sweated work was more accessible than factory labor to married women. Factory work demanded a full workday and a long-term commitment to work free of absenteeism or temporary withdrawals from the workforce, especially in the era before legislative provisions for maternity leave were put in place. Sweated outwork, on the other hand, required little training, could be taken up periodically, and did not have to be full-time work because it was paid by piece wages. Moreover, domestic outwork enabled poor and working-class wives and mothers to weave industrial work into their domestic reproductive routines.

The gendered division of domestic labor helps explain why industrial homework has been predominantly undertaken by women, but it does not explain why sweatshop workers, most of whom work overtime instead of part-time, are principally women, and especially women of color. For an explanation of this phenomenon, one must look instead to the ideological constructions of race and gender. The view of women’s work as exceptional and temporary—and hence as supplemental to a male breadwinner’s “family wage”—is a pervasive ideology that validates it as cheaper than male labor. Sweatshop jobs are feminized because they pay less than a living wage, and this sex-typing works alongside the naturalization of the actual skills required for work—such as the notion that women have naturally nimble fingers suited to sewing. Racial stereotypes of Latinos and Asians as hard and docile workers, and of immigrants (many of whom come from ex-colonial countries) as economically desperate with a history of manual and or agricultural labor, also justify their suitability for low-paid and low-skilled work. The precarious social location of immigrants, especially of undocumented workers, combined with their relative lack of knowledge regarding alternative work opportunities, translates into their weaker bargaining power in the labor market.

#### BACK TO THE FUTURE?

On May 10, 1993, a fire at the Kader toy factory on the outskirts of Bangkok, Thailand, killed 188 workers (174 of whom were women) and seriously injured 494 others. It has been described as the worst industrial fire in the history of capitalism, and certainly in the history of the textile, clothing, and footwear industries. The workers—some as young as thirteen—were assembling toys for familiar American brands such as Fisher-Price and Tyco, and for retailers such as Wal-Mart and Toys ‘R’ Us. Observers have been naturally drawn

to comparisons with the previous fire that held this distinction for over eighty years: the 1911 Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire in New York City that killed 146 garment workers, most of whom were immigrant women. Despite the eighty-two years separating these disasters, there are eerie similarities between them. In both cases, workers were unable to exit through doors that were either blocked by flammable work materials or locked by management to deter theft. In Thailand, as in New York, women workers were trapped by the fire and jumped out of windows several stories high to escape the flames. The 1911 disaster impelled consumers to unite with the cause of immigrant women workers, resulting in new workplace health and safety legislation. In 1998, however, the death and maiming of Third World women workers toiling in outsourced sweatshops overseas barely captured the attention of the U.S. media or consumers. The fate of the global sweatshop may rest on conscientious consumption by citizens who want to be more than just price-conscious consumers and who choose instead to pay for workers' dignity and respect.

SEE ALSO *Puerto Ricans*.

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Jayati Lal

## SWIFT, WESLEY 1913–1970

Wesley Swift was born in New Jersey in 1913, the son of a Methodist minister. He himself became a Methodist clergyman by the age of eighteen, but he abandoned his faith and adopted Christian Identity theology after moving to California to attend the Kingdom Bible College in Los Angeles in the early 1930s. Smith traveled and preached throughout Southern California before eventually settling in the Antelope Valley outside Los Angeles. By 1944, Smith had left his job as an auto-supply salesman to become politically active, and he began organizing for the Ku Klux Klan the following year.

Between 1946 and 1948 Swift established two organizations, the Great Pyramid Club and the Anglo-Saxon Christian Congregation. The name of the former group was derived from his belief that mathematical calculations could be used to correlate measurements of the Egyptian pyramids with biblical texts. According to Swift, the pyramids had been constructed by "Aryan" descendants of Adam. Swift used the Pyramid Club to identify individuals with strong anti-Semitic beliefs who could then be recruited into the Klan, while the chief goal of his Anglo-Saxon Christian Congregation was to build support for the Christian Identity movement. Although Swift's congregation first began meeting in 1945, it was not formerly incorporated until August 1948, and eight years later he changed the name to the Church of Jesus Christ, Christian.

Consistent with his Christian Identity beliefs, Swift denounced Jews, railed against "racial mongrelization," and alleged that "motion-picture heroes and heroines are not only dope fiends and sex perverts, but are conscious agents of the Soviet Union." While his sermons and speeches were vigorously criticized by Jewish groups, Swift benefited from high levels of anti-Jewish attitudes among the general public. By 1944, for example, 24 percent of Americans saw Jews as a "menace" to the country—up from 15 percent only two years earlier. By 1945, 58 percent of all Americans said Jews "had too much power," compared to 36 percent in 1938 (Dinnerstein 1994, Ch. 7).

Swift capitalized on these sentiments by preaching regularly to Identity groups and other gatherings of self-described "Christian Nationalists" throughout California, including approximately 200 of his own followers

who were meeting weekly in Los Angeles by 1948. In an effort to further broaden his audience, Swift also launched a regular ten-minute morning radio broadcast called "America's Destiny." Swift's message was extended even further through numerous recordings of hundreds of his sermons and speeches, which were printed and distributed in tabloid newsletters and pamphlets across the United States.

Swift's prominence in right-wing political and religious circles was enhanced by his close personal and professional relationship with Gerald L. K. Smith, the leader of the Detroit-based Christian Nationalist Crusade. The two first met in 1945, when Smith visited California to preach and recruit supporters. For the next twenty years, Swift helped to raise money and organize meetings for the Crusade, and he even acted as Smith's personal bodyguard when Smith visited California. Along with other major Christian Nationalists of the World War II period, including Father Charles Coughlin, the Rev. Gerald Winrod, and William Dudley Pelley, Swift was instrumental in spreading anti-Semitism through the ranks of ultraconservative and anticommunist organizations. Swift's leadership of the California Anti-Communist League in the early 1950s provided him with yet another vehicle through which to gain political legitimacy as an anticommunist, while disseminating anti-Semitic beliefs and conspiracy theories.

Swift's influence also was heightened by those he converted to Identity theology, especially Richard Girnt Butler, a World War II veteran and the future founder of the neo-Nazi group Aryan Nations. Butler was personally introduced to Swift by William Potter Gale around 1962, when Butler was working as an aeronautical engineer and living in Whittier, California. Although Gale's father was Jewish, he had embraced Identity and was ordained by Swift in 1956. He parted ways with his theological mentor on bitter terms, however, some ten years later. A retired U.S. Army lieutenant colonel, Gale went on to found the right-wing paramilitary group, the Posse Comitatus in 1971.

Other notable followers and associates who helped connect and promote Swift to an array of right-wing groups include San Jacinto Capt, James K. Warner, and Bertrand L. Comparet, an Identity preacher and Stanford-educated lawyer with an undistinguished former career as a San Diego assistant city attorney. Comparet also helped manage Swift's legal affairs. Capt, former Klansman and devoted pyramidologist, converted William Potter Gale to Christian Identity. Warner later assumed control of the Christian Defense League (CDL), an Identity group, and founded the New Christian Crusade Church of Metairie, Louisiana. He considered himself to be Swift's spiritual heir and was responsible for reprinting many of Swift's sermons and speeches.

Swift died on October 8, 1970, at the age of fifty-seven, after collapsing in the waiting room of a Mexican clinic while awaiting treatment for kidney disease and diabetes. Four years after Swift's death, Butler relocated what remained of Swift's congregation to Idaho, where he constructed a chapel large enough to seat 100 people and began holding regular church services. The group later evolved into The Church of Jesus Christ Christian, Aryan Nations.

SEE ALSO *Christian Identity; Ku Klux Klan; Neo-Nazis.*

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Daniel Levitas

## SYMBOLIC AND MODERN RACISM

Symbolic racism, also known as modern racism, is as of the early 2000s a new expression of prejudice that has developed in the United States. It is based on the belief that blacks violate key American values, particularly the idea of individualism, the belief in working hard to get ahead in life. Perceptions that blacks violate other values (including, for example, morality, self-restraint, and family traditionalism) have been less studied, but they may be important for understanding the range of values invoked in symbolic racism beliefs. The term *racism* is applicable because the belief that blacks violate cherished values is often strongly associated with negative feelings or antipathy toward blacks, while *symbolic* highlights the fact that the roots of the symbolic racism belief system are in these abstract, moral values, rather than in concrete self-interest or personal experiences, and because blacks are targeted as an abstract collectivity rather than as specific individuals.

Figure 1 represents the symbolic racism model and demonstrates what are considered the basic antecedents to and consequences of endorsing symbolic racism beliefs. The way symbolic racism is openly expressed is characterized by four specific themes or beliefs: (1) that blacks no longer face much prejudice or discrimination, (2) that the failure of blacks to progress results from their unwillingness

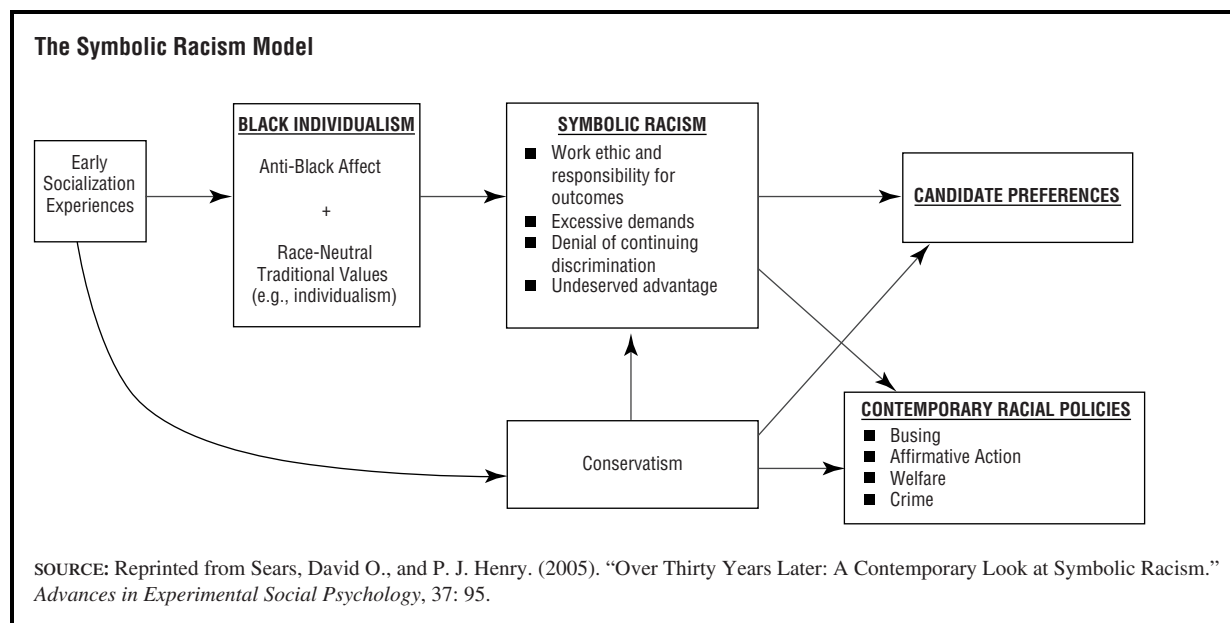


Figure 1.

to work hard enough, (3) that blacks are demanding too much too fast, and (4) that blacks have gotten more than they deserve. Endorsement of these beliefs is taken to reflect an endorsement of symbolic racism.

Symbolic racism became a widespread expression of discontent toward blacks by many white Americans after the civil rights era of the 1950s and 1960s. It is thought to have largely replaced previous forms of prejudice, commonly known as "old fashioned," "redneck," or "Jim Crow" racism, which are characterized by beliefs in the biological inferiority of blacks, support for segregation of the races, and formal racial discrimination. Symbolic racism replaced these old-fashioned racist beliefs in the sense that old-fashioned racism is no longer very popular and has very little influence in ordinary politics. Although examples of old-fashioned prejudice continue to arise in twenty-first century society (e.g., hate crimes committed against blacks, companies using blatant discriminatory practices), this kind of prejudice is rare compared to the more widespread beliefs found in symbolic racism.

#### SYMBOLIC RACISM INFLUENCES POLITICAL ATTITUDES

Symbolic racism has a powerful influence on American attitudes toward race-based politics. In particular, research has shown it to be a stronger predictor of racial policy preferences than other constructs. An impressive range of political attitudes are thought to be influenced by symbolic racism, including opposi-

tion to liberal racial policies such as affirmative action (programs designed to favor blacks in hiring, promotion, college admission, etc.), busing (the transportation of blacks to wealthier, white communities for racial integration in education), and attitudes toward less explicitly race-based policies that have a disproportionate effect on blacks such as stricter welfare regulations and punitive crime policies.

Symbolic racism also has an important influence on political campaigns, including opposition to black candidates such as Jesse Jackson; support for white candidates perceived as being unsympathetic to blacks, such as George H. W. Bush; or even support for more explicitly racist candidates such as the ethnocentrically oriented Pat Buchanan or the former Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke. When subtle racial appeals are used in campaigns, such as the infamous invocation of the black murderer and rapist Willie Horton during the 1988 presidential campaign, the political force of symbolic racism becomes even stronger.

Symbolic racism may also have played a strong influence on the general political shift from a nation governed by liberal Democrats at the end of World War II to one in which conservative Republicans seemed to have a consistent edge. A central factor in this shift is the conversion of the once Democratic "solid South" of white voters to a predominantly Republican white South. Symbolic racism remains stronger in the white South than elsewhere in the nation, and it has played a stronger role in white Southerners' voting than elsewhere. It is thus a major factor in causing the South's political realignment.



**Willie Horton Jr.** In the 1988 presidential campaign, Vice President George Bush used the example of Willie Horton, a convicted rapist and murderer who raped a woman while on furlough from prison, to depict his opponent as soft on crime. When subtle racial appeals are used in campaigns, the political force of symbolic racism becomes even stronger. AP IMAGES.

#### SEPARATING SYMBOLIC RACISM FROM OTHER INTERESTS

It is clear that symbolic racism has a major influence in politics, and its influences are thought to be independent of other political constructs, such as personal interests, group interests, and nonracial ideological conservatism. A great deal of research has been devoted to separating symbolic racism from these other constructs.

One key feature of the symbolic racism belief system that distinguishes it from personal interests is that it is rooted in abstract beliefs about groups violating important values that are socialized through one's parents, peers, and the media. For example, news media depictions of blacks cheating the welfare system are thought to reinforce sym-

bolic racism beliefs that blacks violate the value of individualism or that they do not put forth the necessary efforts to get ahead in life. Emerging research demonstrates that the socialization of symbolic racism beliefs begins as early as adolescence, which is earlier than other political beliefs, and that it continues through the lifespan.

This idea that early-socialized, abstract beliefs influence attitudes toward racial policies is contrary to other theories that suggest attitudes toward race-based policies are driven by personal interests. For example, personal interests would theoretically influence a white individual's opposition to affirmative action if that person believed that affirmative action interferes with his or her ability to get a job or promotion, or it might influence a white citizen living near a black ghetto to vote for a white political candidate rather than a black one. Symbolic racism is thought to influence attitudes toward race-based political attitudes regardless of a person's personal interests.

In fact, the consensus of most research is that personal interests or self-interest plays little role in influencing people's attitudes toward race-based policies (Sears and Funk 1991). But group-based interests are another matter. It could be that American whites may oppose race-based policies such as affirmative action in an effort to protect the interest of whites as a group, even if they do not try to protect personal interests threatened by such programs. Indeed, it has been argued that even symbolic racism derives from these group-interested motivations. However, research has shown that symbolic racism still strongly predicts whites' racial policy preferences beyond indicators of any attachment to whites as a group. Strong white group identity, perceived common fate with other whites about valued resources, a perceived threat or competition for scarce resources between blacks and whites, and a perceived collective threat to whites' well-being from black people all tend to have weak effects. Symbolic racism beliefs seem to be quite separate from desires to protect the group-based interests of whites.

Symbolic racism can also be distinguished from conservative ideology. Although symbolic racism is related to conservatism, and both conservative beliefs and symbolic racism contribute to opposition to race-based policies like affirmative action, the two constructs also operate independently. Symbolic racism strongly predicts racial policy preferences among both ideological liberals and conservatives. Also, symbolic racism theory suggests that symbolic racism determines racial policy attitudes, rather than that opposition to race-based programs determines symbolic racism. Of course some conservatives oppose race-based policies without being racist, but racism is thought to be the more important determinant of such opposition. This remains an important controversy, however.

### The Symbolic Racism 2000 Scale

1. It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites.
  - 1 Strongly agree
  - 2 Somewhat agree
  - 3 Somewhat disagree
  - 4 Strongly disagree
2. Irish, Italian, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same.
  - 1 Strongly agree
  - 2 Somewhat agree
  - 3 Somewhat disagree
  - 4 Strongly disagree
3. Some say that black leaders have been trying to push too fast. Others feel that they haven't pushed fast enough. What do you think?
  - 1 Trying to push very much too fast
  - 2 Going too slowly
  - 3 Moving at about the right speed
4. How much of the racial tension that exists in the United States today do you think blacks are responsible for creating?
  - 1 All of it
  - 2 Most
  - 3 Some
  - 4 Not much at all
5. How much discrimination against blacks do you feel there is in the United States today, limiting their chances to get ahead?
  - 1 A lot
  - 2 Some
  - 3 Just a little
  - 4 None at all
6. Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class.
  - 1 Strongly agree
  - 2 Somewhat agree
  - 3 Somewhat disagree
  - 4 Strongly disagree
7. Over the past few years, blacks have gotten less than they deserve.
  - 1 Strongly agree
  - 2 Somewhat agree
  - 3 Somewhat disagree
  - 4 Strongly disagree
8. Over the past few years, blacks have gotten more economically than they deserve.
  - 1 Strongly agree
  - 2 Somewhat agree
  - 3 Somewhat disagree
  - 4 Strongly disagree

Note: The following is the standard procedure for combining the items into a scale: After collecting the data, items 1, 2, 4, and 8 need to be recoded so that a 1 = 4, 2 = 3, 3 = 2, and 4 = 1. Item 3 needs to be recoded so that 1 = 3, 2 = 1, and 3 = 2. For combining the items into a scale, there are several options, ranging from the simplest to the most precise: (1) One could simply add the raw scores together for each item, so that each individual has a score that could range from 8 to 31. (2) To compensate for any missing data, one could average the raw scores. (3) To compensate for the differences in the number of response alternatives, one could recode each of the items on a 0 to 1 scale, so for item #3, a 1 = 1, 2 = 0, and 3 = .50, and for the other items the high response is a 1, the next a .66, the next a .33, and the low response is a 0. (This third technique is the one used in Henry & Sears, 2002.) (4) To equate the variability across items, one could create standardized (z) scores for each of the items in the scale, then average the responses.

SOURCE: Reprinted from Henry, P. J., and David O. Sears. (2002). "The Symbolic Racism 2000 Scale." *Political Psychology*, 23: 3.

### *Symbolic Racism Scale.*

#### MEASURING SYMBOLIC RACISM

Symbolic racism is typically measured with sample surveys of the general public. Typically, respondents complete a computer-based or paper-and-pencil questionnaire, or they are interviewed over the telephone or in person. Good measures of symbolic racism include items representing the four themes discussed earlier. These different themes

all have the same effects on determining policy attitudes, and they can be seen as variants of the underlying perception that blacks violate cherished American values.

Items in any such scale of prejudice morph over time, just as language in a society morphs. For example, one item from the commonly used Modern Racism Scale (McConahay 1986), which asks whether the respondent



believes that “blacks have more influence on school desegregation plans than they ought to have,” is not as relevant in the early twenty-first century as it was in the 1970s, when court-ordered school desegregation plans were the focal points of much political controversy. Consequently, this type of item is not typically used any more in capturing symbolic racism attitudes.

#### SYMBOLIC RACISM AND SIMILAR CONSTRUCTS

Symbolic racism is similar to some other constructs that also reflect the nature of modern prejudice. It is essentially the same as “modern racism” or “racial resentment,” both in concept and in the items used. Its underlying psychology is similar to other theories that also assume that a “new racism” became politically potent after the civil rights movement of the 1960s, embodying both negative feelings toward blacks and conservative non-racial values, including *subtle prejudice*, which reflects a defense of traditional values, an exaggeration of cultural differences, and a denial of positive emotions toward blacks; *racial ambivalence*, which describes many whites as vacillating between “problack” attitudes rooted in humanitarianism and egalitarianism and “antiblack” attitudes based in such traditional values as the Protestant ethic; or *laissez-faire racism*, which combines perceptions of little continuing racial discrimination with blacks’ own lack of sufficient effort in a market-driven society.

Symbolic racism is also related to *aversive racism*, which is characterized by the paradox that many white Americans feel favorable attitudes toward blacks but engage in subtle behaviors that discriminate against blacks, such as negative or avoidant nonverbal behavior or failing to help blacks in distress. Aversive racism is particularly likely when alternative explanations for behaviors do not imply negative racial attitudes. For example, even a white person who expresses favorable attitudes toward blacks may be less likely to help a black person than a white person when there is the easy, non-racial excuse to avoid help (for example, the presence of others available who could help). Aversive racism focuses on the paradoxical behaviors of those who hold positive attitudes toward blacks, while symbolic racism focuses on the range of racial attitudes from positive to negative.

#### SEPARATING SYMBOLIC RACISM FROM AUTOMATIC PREJUDICES

Symbolic racism is often distinguished from implicit prejudice, which is thought to be rooted in unconscious, automatic, or uncontrollable mental processes. It was first identified with reaction-time measures, which are difficult to control. For example, one might measure how quickly a participant associates negative words with photos of blacks, and the strength of

this association has been considered by some to be a kind of negative racial attitude. Evidence on the relationship of implicit measures of prejudice to measures of symbolic racism is mixed; sometimes there is little evidence of a relationship between the two, other times the relationship is meaningful (for example, when the attitudes involved are particularly important to an individual). Some evidence suggests that symbolic racism predicts deliberate responses such as policy and voting preferences, whereas implicit prejudice predicts more automatic responses, such as nonverbal interactions and subtle behaviors toward blacks. There is much debate about whether survey measures of prejudice such as symbolic racism and implicit measures of prejudice found in reaction-time studies capture different dimensions of racism, or whether one is a more “real” measure of racism than the other.

#### CRITICISMS OF SYMBOLIC RACISM

A number of criticisms have arisen concerning symbolic racism. Conservatives have suggested that symbolic racism is not racism, just a proxy for nonracial conservative beliefs, and that prejudice is really only a minor political force. On the other end of the political spectrum, social structuralists, who see society as strongly stratified along a racial hierarchy, with competition among racial groups to move up and avoid moving down, have suggested that symbolic racism is just a proxy for group-based interests. Their perspective posits that symbolic racism is merely a tool used by the dominant whites in society as a means of maintaining their privileged position.

These controversies are particularly important in light of race relations in the early 2000s. If the symbolic racism claim about early-socialized prejudice against blacks is correct, much remedial work needs to be done on the education of whites concerning racial inequities in society. If it is wrong, and conservative views that politics have been freed from racial prejudice is correct, then pressure would be placed upon blacks to adapt to a society in which they are no longer being treated unfairly by other Americans. Alternatively, if social structuralists are correct in stating that whites are primarily motivated by a defense of their privileged position, then a different strategy is called for, perhaps one that calls for more direct exercise of whatever powers minorities may have.

Another set of criticisms concerns the conceptualization and measurement of symbolic racism. The symbolic racism construct began as a largely intuitive account of the most politically potent form of racism outside the South in the post-civil rights era. It is not surprising that the construct was not initially sharply and consistently conceptualized. Symbolic racism was also originally described as a single construct, but it was later described

as having a variety of subdimensions. In the early twenty-first century it is consistently described as having four themes. Perceived value violations are thought to be the underlying thread that all four expressions of symbolic racism have in common. They represent simply different ways one can express negative attitudes toward blacks in terms of this perception of value violations.

A second question arises about the contention that symbolic racism is a “blend” of early-acquired antiblack feelings and conservative traditional values that have no intrinsic link to race, such as individualism. Defining that blend as a fusion of the two elements in a single attitude is more in harmony both with the original theorizing and with current empirical evidence about the origins of symbolic racism. Research shows that symbolic racism is first acquired in late adolescence and becomes stronger as individuals progress through their lives.

A third critique arises from the fact that some early measures of symbolic racism included direct measures of opposition to race-based policies. Consequently, the criticism arose that the relationship between symbolic racism and racial policy preferences was circular, that symbolic racism was being captured by the measures it was intended to predict, even though those studies focused on candidate choice rather than policy preferences. For clarity, current measures of symbolic racism no longer refer to government action or involvement.

A fourth concern has been that people may hide their true prejudices when responding to symbolic racism items. Ironically, symbolic racism was initially thought to be an indirect measure of racism that avoided these kinds of response biases, in contrast to measures of old-fashioned racism that were too readily interpreted by respondents as measuring racism, and so underestimated prejudice. Symbolic racism, too, may be susceptible to respondent dissembling; some research shows lower levels of symbolic racism reported by whites when the scale is administered by a black interviewer. However, symbolic racism has stronger predictive power over voting preferences than other racial constructs such as old-fashioned racism, stereotypes, and antiblack feelings, which also are thought to suffer from similar social-desirability response biases. This finding suggests that social-desirability biases cannot adequately explain symbolic racism effects. Other evidence shows that implicit measures of prejudice may not be free from social and contextual influences either.

#### THE FUTURE OF SYMBOLIC RACISM

The theory of symbolic racism has been largely confined to the study of negative attitudes toward blacks in the contemporary United States. Scientific advancements have extended this research to identify other types of symbolic prejudices, or they have otherwise identified

the importance of recognizing the power of perceiving other groups as violating cherished values. This research has been extended to include the study of symbolic racism toward Latino and Asian immigrants in the United States, modern sexism attitudes, modern anti-fat attitudes, modern heterosexism, and other forms of prejudice. The study of the perception of value violations as an important factor in determining general group-based attitudes is a growing line of research.

Americans continue to live in a society that seems unable to put race aside or deal with racism openly. Racial inequality continues to pervade most areas of social and economic life in the United States, and it does not seem to be diminishing rapidly. Nor is it clear how this situation can be rectified. The perspective from symbolic racism is that the future may be optimistic, but that a great deal of work is necessary to rectify negative attitudes toward blacks in the United States. White America seems to have developed a case of collective amnesia that allows it to treat racism as an ugly chapter in American history, a chapter that was closed for good with the passage of civil rights legislation in the 1960s. But neither people nor societies change that quickly. There is much data that testify to the continuing political power of racism. It may be that antiblack racism in the United States, like German anti-Semitism, cannot be put aside without a strong majority demonstrating and acknowledging the continuing role of racial prejudice and discrimination in society.

**SEE ALSO** *Affirmative Action; Aversive Racism; Mental Health and Racism.*

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David O. Sears

## SYMBOLIC ETHNICITY

The concept of symbolic ethnicity is most closely associated with the pioneering work of the sociologist Herbert Gans, who attempted to account for the simultaneous decline and resurgence of ethnic identification in the United States after World War II. Gans defined symbolic ethnicity as "a nostalgic allegiance to the culture of the immigrant generation, or that of the old country; a love for and a pride in a tradition that can be felt without having to be incorporated in everyday behavior" (1979, p. 9).

### THE GROWTH OF SYMBOLIC ETHNICITY

In the postwar decades, researchers documented ethnic assimilation among whites, measured by increases in rates of intermarriage and decreases in non-English language usage and religious observance. Jews and Christians were marrying one another, and second-generation immigrants were speaking only English and not going to church or temple.

Despite these trends toward what was presumed to be an "American" identity—at the expense of a Jewish or Catholic or Irish or Hungarian or other national origin identity—there also appeared to be a rise in ethnic identification during the 1970s. White Americans were reclaiming ethnic affiliations, joining ethnic clubs and

organizations, celebrating ethnic holidays, and researching their ethnic ancestries. For instance, many Americans whose parents had been, for instance, Jews or Poles, but who previously had thought of themselves simply as Americans were becoming "Jewish-Americans" and "Polish-Americans." There was a resurgence, and sometimes an emergence, of ethnic-American identity claims for the first time in many individuals' biographies.

### BUILDING AN ETHNIC IDENTITY

How could people behave in ways that disregarded traditional ethnic boundaries while at the same time asserting an ethnic affiliation? Many scholars attempted to solve this puzzle of waning and waxing ethnicity by examining the symbolic aspects of ethnicity and the extent to which ethnic identification is volitional. It appeared that individuals were choosing to emphasize some aspects of their ethnic ancestry and ignoring others. This suggested that an individual's ethnicity is at least partly the result of individual choice and that ethnicity is not primordial or fixed. Rather, ethnic identification can be thought of as an ingoing process that uses material from the past and the present to build new or revitalized ethnic identities and groups. In some cases, history seems to be a relatively weak ingredient in the ethnic reconstruction project. For instance, in her discussion of Armenian-American ethnicity, Anny Bakalian shows how the symbolic aspects of ethnicity become disconnected from many traditional markers of ethnic group boundaries, such as language, religion, culture, community:

For American-born generations, Armenian identity is a preference and Armenianness is a *state of mind* . . . One can say he or she is an Armenian without speaking Armenian, marrying an Armenian, doing business with Armenians, belonging to an Armenian church, joining Armenian voluntary associations, or participating in the events and activities sponsored by such organizations (Bakalian 1993, p. 13).

The renowned sociologist Joshua Fishman documented a similar symbolic "revival of ethnicity," and Richard Alba, a distinguished professor of Race and Ethnicity at the State University of New York at Albany, has emphasized the transformation of ethnic identity among white ethnics from a set of cohesive nationality-based ethnic groups to a more general racial category marked by few, if any, constraints on behavior. For late twentieth-century white Americans, ethnicity had increasingly become what the Harvard professor Mary Waters terms an "ethnic option"—a choice to be or not to be ethnic. According to this view, once the decision is made in favor of an ethnic identity, whites have a wide variety of ancestral strains to select from, and few limitations in determining the content of their chosen ethnicities.

The notion that ethnicity can be chosen or not, changed or maintained, and excavated or invented, was first systematically articulated by the Norwegian anthropologist Fredrik Barth, who argued that ethnicity is less about a fixed historical culture and more the result of human action:

Ethnic categories provide an organizational vessel that may be given varying amounts and forms of content in different socio-cultural systems. . . . The critical focus of investigation from this point of view becomes the ethnic boundary that defines the group, not the cultural stuff that it encloses (Barth 1969, p. 14–15).

Barth's notion of ethnicity is that it resembles a vessel that gets filled with meaning. A more contemporary device for imagining the construction of ethnic culture is the shopping cart. An ethnic group boundary may be thought of as the *shape* of the shopping cart (size, number of wheels, composition, etc.). Ethnic culture, then, is the *contents* of the cart, or all of the things an individual puts into ethnicity to give it meaning, such as art, music, dress, religion, norms, food, beliefs, symbols, myths, and customs (Nagel 1994). Ethnicity is not simply a historical legacy, just as culture is not a "shopping cart" that comes already loaded with a set of historical cultural goods. Rather, people construct both culture and ethnicity by picking and choosing items from the shelves of the past and the present. In other words, cultures change; they are borrowed, blended, rediscovered, and reinterpreted. In this way, ethnicity is symbolically modified and deployed in one's ethnic construction projects.

#### VOLUNTARY VERSUS INVOLUNTARY ETHNICITY

The idea of symbolic ethnicity has provided valuable insights into white Americans' relationship to ethnicity. It has also led to some distortions. The emphasis on the voluntary dimensions of ethnic identification, the choices involved in deciding which features of ethnicity individuals will embrace and which they will discard, and the enriching aspects of ethnic "feeling" and "playing" overstates the extent to which ethnicity is under one's control (Deloria 1999). For many individuals, ethnicity is not an option, and it is not free. Symbolic ethnicity stresses the internal dimensions of ethnic identity and emphasizes the agency of ethnic actors: Individuals have the power to define ethnicity or to deny ethnicity in favor of a national or "American" identity. What is obscured in the symbolic ethnicity model is the powerful external machinery of ethnic ascription and the capacity of observers to determine one's ethnicity. We are not always who or what we think we are. We are, ethnically, what others, especially others with power, define us to be—no matter what ethnicity we try to assert.

In order to understand the limits of symbolic ethnicity as a model for understanding ethnic identification, persistence, and violence in the contemporary world, it is useful to think of ethnicity as the result of a dialectical process that emerges from the interaction between individuals and those whom they meet as they pass through daily life. An individual's ethnicity is a negotiated social fact—what individuals think is their ethnicity versus what others think is their ethnicity. Individuals carry a portfolio of ethnic identities, some of which are more or less salient in various situations and among various audiences. As settings and spectators change, the socially defined array of ethnic options open changes: white, Irish, Catholic, black, Jamaican, Navajo, Muslim, American Indian.

A person's ethnicity is, then, a matter of structure and power: Which ethnic categories are available in a society for one to be sorted into, and who gets to do the sorting. The symbolic ethnicity model emphasizes the emotional and volitional dimensions of ethnic identification, but it does not address the political and dialectical aspects of ethnic categorization.

There is another important consequence of embracing fully the notion that symbolic ethnicity: It is primarily a matter of individual choice. Ethnic options are much more available to white Americans than to individuals of color, and they can thus be understood as a manifestation of white privilege. Whether or not to have an ethnicity is something over which nonwhites have much less control. As Waters notes, the result is that having ethnic options tends to reinforce whites' view of nonwhites as resisting assimilation, rejecting a color-blind society, and clinging to racial difference: If whites can choose not to have an ethnicity, can blacks choose not to have a race?

Despite the limitations and critiques of the symbolic ethnicity model of contemporary ethnic identification in the West, researchers continue to note the power and allure of the symbolic aspects of ethnicity. In *Ethnicity and Race* (1998), Steven Cornell and Douglas Hartmann discuss "thick" and "thin" ethnicity to distinguish between aspects of ethnicity that have a significant impact on individuals' lives and behaviors ("thick") and the more symbolic, optional ("thin") form of ethnicity. Christopher Fries, a professor of sociology at the University of Calgary, argues that ethnicity can be seen as a repository of symbolic capital, or personal social worth, where cultural meanings are symbolically negotiated and where individuals can emphasize ethnicity to obtain a sense of belonging while downplaying inconvenient ethnic traditions. Research shows that ethnic symbols can be imbued with great meaning and link individuals to their ethnic community and that social ties with families or other ethnic networks reinforce the importance of ethnicity in adding meaning and solidarity to social

relationships. The Indian journalist Syed Ali notes that while symbolic ethnicity is elective, it often occurs in a collective framework, and that it sometimes has the capacity to subvert or challenge stereotypical views of outsiders.

Symbolic ethnicity is both ubiquitous and dynamic. Ethnic identities can change over time, depending on geographical considerations, residential patterns, political opportunities, and economic resources. As Mary Kelly points out in her 2000 article "Ethnic Pilgrimages," patterns of ethnic identification can also be affected by events in ancestral homelands and can take the form of ethnic pilgrimages. Instead of being passively influenced by events that they read about in newspapers, ethnic pilgrims decide to experience the "authentic" life of their ancestors by visiting their ancestral homelands, and sometimes by participating in redevelopment projects. Ethnic pilgrims often develop ties with relatives who never immigrated, start businesses in their homeland, or simply take a vacation in a country that has symbolic meaning for them. Although such pilgrimages can reinforce or strengthen ethnic identity, they also can weaken ethnic identity if previously held ideal expectations about the ancestral homeland are violated. In fact, a common complaint of ethnic pilgrims is that the food they eat in their homeland is not "authentic" because it does not taste like the Americanized version of the food. Sometimes the reality confronted in ethnic homelands can overwhelm symbolic ethnic identities. But it can also strengthen them or make them more "authentic." In fact, upon their return, ethnic pilgrims are often regarded as "experts" by their co-ethnics.

Symbolic ethnicity emphasizes the immigrant experience in the United States, and for that reason, the model has been taken to task by scholars who insist that researchers need to take into account the importance of ethnicity to people in postcolonial settings as well as those facing the fragmentation and refragmentation of industrial societies. Ethnic resurgences, symbolic or otherwise, can lead to increased conflict over ethnicity, particularly in postcolonial societies such as India, the

Philippines, or Nigeria. Because of the role of migration in the production of new ethnic groups and identities, transnationalism and globalization promise a continuing place for symbolic ethnicity in contemporary states.

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Joane Nagel

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## TAY-SACHS AND “JEWISH” DISEASES

Tay-Sachs disease (TSD) is a rare metabolic disorder prevalent in, but not exclusive to, Jews of Eastern European, or *Ashkenazi*, descent. Though most commonly associated with Ashkenazi Jews, TSD has also been found in some French-Canadian communities in eastern Quebec, among the French-Americans of southwestern Louisiana, and, to a lesser extent, in the general population. TSD has several forms, including the juvenile and late-onset adult variations, but the most frequently occurring (though still rare) form is the classic and fatal infantile Tay-Sachs. (Other so-called Jewish diseases include Niemann-Pick, Canavan’s, and Gaucher’s disease.)

TSD is caused by a genetic mutation that affects the body’s manufacturing of the Hex A enzyme, which functions to regulate the level of lipids (fat) in the brain and nervous system. When this enzyme is deficient, an excess of fat accumulates, leading to profound neurological deterioration. In Infantile TSD, early signs include red spots on the retinas, enlargement of the head due to the increase of water around the brain, an alteration in muscle tone, hyperacusis (extreme sensitivity to sound), mental retardation, and social withdrawal. In time the vision becomes completely impaired and the child becomes paralyzed, with death usually occurring by the age of four or five. Infantile Tay-Sachs is considered the most severe of childhood lipid-storage disorders.

As one of the first of a series of genetic diseases identified at the molecular level using recombinant DNA technology, TSD has become widely understood in Mendelian terms to be an autosomal recessive disorder. The child of

two genetic carriers or *heterozygotes* has a one-in-four chance of inheriting the allele for TSD from both parents and subsequently developing the disease. The chromosomal connection was determined in 1969 by the American neuroscientist John O’Brien, and screening technology for the disease was subsequently developed in the early 1970s. Since that time, Jewish individuals have participated in Tay-Sachs blood screening programs throughout the world, and along with the use of pedigrees and genetically strategic mate selection, such widespread genetic screening has led to the virtual eradication of this disease, at least among the world’s Jewish communities.

TSD is one of many diseases that are more common in an ethno-racial group and have been labeled as ethno-racial diseases. In reality, however, it is not possible to identify pure races based on gene frequencies, so there is really no such thing as a “Jewish disease” per se (nor a black, Italian, Aboriginal, or other racial or ethnic disease.) As Robert Pollack argues, “Jews are not in fact a single biological family; there are no DNA sequences common to all Jews and present only in Jews.” Thus, so-called Jewish diseases, such as TSD, are evidence rather of a shared ancestry, including “periodic massacres of such ferocity that only a small number of families were able to survive.” That a proportion of Jews possesses similar genetic mutations “suggests that the Jews whose ancestors came from the Pale—about nine of every ten Jews alive today—are the descendants of a small remnant of a few thousand families who survived a particularly devastating pogrom in the Pale of the mid-1600s” (Pollack 1999, p. 194). In other words, there are a number of single-gene traits (Tay-Sachs being one of them) that, if used as loci to regroup populations,

would not yield the racial groups assigned by classical physical anthropologists.

Nevertheless, the construction of racial disease categories has long been a means of demarcating human groups. Sickle-cell anemia, for example, has been classified as a “black disease,” or a disease of “negro blood,” since it was first diagnosed in 1910 (Tapper 1999). Though it begins several decades earlier, the history of Tay-Sachs disease takes a similarly racist trajectory, insofar as it has, since the outset of its history in the late nineteenth century, always been seen as a “Jewish disease,” despite evidence that it occurs in other populations.

The remainder of this entry will consider this perception in its historical and sociological context. In particular, it will describe the early discovery and medical racialization of TSD (its construction as a racial disease) in terms of anti-immigrationism directed at Jews, especially in the United States in the 1910s and 1920s, when both Jewish immigration and the discourse of eugenics were on the rise.

#### EARLY DISCOVERY AND RACIALIZATION

The symptoms of TSD were first described in 1881 by the British ophthalmologist and surgeon Warren Tay (1843–1927). At a meeting of the Ophthalmological Society of the United Kingdom (recorded in the first volume of its *Transactions*), he reported that, upon examination of his patient’s eyes with an ophthalmoscope, he had observed an inexplicable “brownish-red, fairly circular spot” at the center of the optic discs. In the society’s *Transactions* of 1884, Tay published a similar description—the third instance of the disorder in the same family.

A few years later, in 1887, the American neurologist Bernard Sachs (1858–1944) made a similar report, though he had not yet heard of Tay’s discoveries. Sachs began his medical career in New York, where he had a private practice for the treatment of mental and nervous diseases. By 1887 Sachs was widely regarded as one of America’s leading clinical neurologists and had been appointed as an instructor at the New York Polyclinic Hospital. It was there that he reported on his first case of “arrested cerebral development” (as he described it), which he presented before the American Neurological Association and then reported in *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*. Sachs also described a red spot in the eyes of his two-year-old patient, a little girl he referred to as “S.”

In 1896, in a report in the same journal, Sachs named the condition “Amaurotic Family Idiocy” (though it would not be long before doctors began to refer to the disease as Tay-Sachs). Still unaware of Tay’s earlier reports, the fact that Sachs chose to include “familial” in the disease name is significant, because it reflected the growing practice of

tracing patients’ lineage as part of the diagnosis of TSD. In other words, it was already becoming apparent to doctors that the disease was hereditary. What was less clear to them, however, was how inheritance worked exactly. (Although Mendel had already published his work on pea plants, it would be decades before his findings were formally taken up.)

The emergent nature of the understanding of heredity led physicians to entertain various causation theories, including the possibility that TSD was transmitted through breast milk. This theory was rejected because, as Dr. Sachs observed (in *Osler’s Modern Medicine*, 1910), several of his young patients had not been “nursed by their own mothers, but by wet-nurses of a different race and different nationality.”

With this observation, Sachs introduced a key element of TSD, namely the perception that it was exclusive to the apparently overly inbred “Hebrews,” especially those from Russia. In fact, it was not long after Sachs’s first case report in 1887 that TSD was declared a Jewish disease. Indeed, by 1895, Dr. Sachs had reported in *A Treatise on the Nervous Diseases of Children for Physicians and Students* that of the cases known so far, the condition had been observed almost entirely among Jews.

Many doctors agreed that “genuine TSD” was exclusive to the Jews. In 1910 the physicians Hildred B. Carlyll and F. Mott recorded in the *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* that the Jews possessed an “inborn lack of specific vital energy of the nerve-cells, due to a racial inherited failure of the germinal determinants of the nervous system.” In contrast, the cases with special features of interest were those in children who, according to the physician R. Sattler, “can not like all others reported be said to have a Jewish parentage” (Sattler 1914). These remarks suggest that the Jewish heritage of patients with Tay-Sachs was the defining feature of the disease. Thus, evidence of TSD in Gentile patients was met with skepticism, especially if the doctor believed that there was Jewish blood in the patient’s history.

However, not all doctors were prepared to accept the classification of TSD as exclusively Jewish, nor the notion that Jews were biologically inferior, and to this end they adapted the discourse of race science in ways that served their own interests (Rafael Falk, 1998; Eric L. Goldstein, 1997; and Mitchell Hart, 2001). For some, such as the British Jewish biologist and physician Redcliffe N. Salaman (1874–1955), the goal was to counter anti-Semitism by advocating Zionism. Salaman used the tools and language of genetics and inheritance to show that the Jews were distinct and in need of their own Jewish state. Amaurotic Family Idiocy was, for him, a key indicator of Jewish raciality: As he wrote in a 1911 article titled “Heredity and the Jew,” published in the *Journal of*

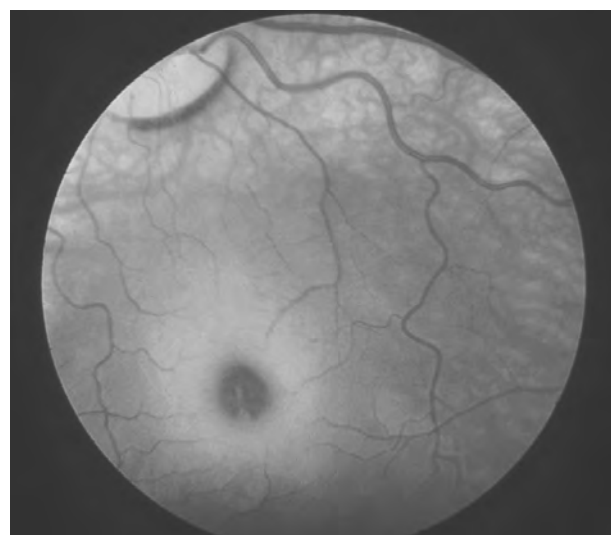
*Genetics*, according to “all the authorities” TSD was “probably unknown outside the Jewish people.” Salaman later argued before the 1921 Second International Congress of Eugenics (published as *Eugenics in Race and State: Second International Congress of Eugenics, 1921*, Vol. 2, edited by Charles B. Davenport) that Jewish Tay-Sachs was evidence in favor of the Jews’ “ethnic differentiation.”

For others, such as Dr. Maurice Fishberg, race science provided a means of advocating for Jewish assimilation into U.S. society. As an anthropologist, the medical examiner for the United Hebrew Charities, and himself a Russian Jewish immigrant to New York, Fishberg was a strong opponent of Zionism and in his 1911 treatise *The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment* he used race science to show that Jews were no more diseased than or inferior to other inhabitants of New York.

#### TAY-SACHS DISEASE AND ANTI-IMMIGRATIONISM

For those who saw the Jews as a problematic racial group—biological arguments served a different set of interests; specifically, they were used to argue against Jewish immigration to the United States from eastern Europe. Second only to Italians, eastern European Jews (of varying degrees of religiosity) were increasingly constructed as troublesome and problematic as their numbers grew (between 1881 and 1914, more than two million Jews entered the United States). Various articles on eugenics and public health that appeared in periodicals such as *Popular Science Monthly* (e.g., Alfred C. Reed’s “Immigration and the Public Health” and J. G. Wilson’s “The Crossing of the Races”) typified the view that Jewish immigrants had undesirable habits—such as inbreeding or “racial incest” (Friedman, quoted in Reed 1913, p. 325)—and were inherently “clannish” (Wilson 1911, p. 494–495) because they continued to practice their distinct religion, speak their own language (Yiddish), and had a system of organization based on their communities of origin, newspapers, theater, and more (Waxman 1999). These perceived faults amplified the Jews’ tendency to isolate themselves rather than assimilate American standards, as well as exacerbate their marginal status as “the Other.” Central to their marginalization was their construction as a “community of the ill” and a “collective at risk”—a stereotype that reinforced a widely held perception that race and disease were linked (Gilman 2003) and reason enough to implement restrictive immigration policies. Reports of Tay-Sachs from this period suggested that the alleged link between race and disease was not limited to infectious conditions such as tuberculosis, typhus, and cholera, but came to include genetic disorders such as TSD as well (Kraut 1994; Markel 1997).

In fact, the organized eugenics movement that had emerged in the United States by 1910, with its belief that social ills were the result of defects in heredity, along with



*Effects of Tay-Sachs’s Disease on the Eye.* Tay-Sachs disease (TSD) is a rare metabolic disorder prevalent in, but not exclusive to, Jews of eastern European, or Ashkenazi, descent.

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the anti-immigrationist opinion that “the gates [had been] left open too long” (as the well-known nativist Edward Alsworth Ross put it in his *Roads to Social Peace, The Weil Lectures on American Citizenship* [1924]), led to the growing view that America’s immigration problem was “at heart a biological one” (Higham 1992, p. 151). Kenneth M. Ludmerer (1972) similarly describes the emergence of genetic theories that marked southern and eastern European immigrants as biologically inferior and warned that race-mixing would lead to the nation’s overall decline. These sorts of arguments directly informed American policy to restrict immigration. With a growing resentment directed at Jews (and other immigrants) who were seen to be taking what few jobs were still available, initial temporary legislation to restrict immigration to certain quotas passed through Congress in 1921. By 1924 a more permanent piece of legislation, the Johnson-Reed Act, further restricted immigration.

It is not coincidental that the TSD cases reported in the years leading up to and following this legislation contained some of the most explicit racist and nativist rhetoric, portraying “the Jew” as profoundly susceptible to nervous diseases (including Tay-Sachs) due to an inferior racial constitution. Consistent with this was the tendency for doctors to include in their reports of TSD specifics about their patients’ foreign origins, often noting how long it had been since the patient’s family had immigrated to the United States, or simply describing the patients, as Drs. Carlyll and Mott did in 1910, as being from “alien families.” Some doctors emphasized that although there had been reports of



the disease from eastern Europe, it was really a problem for immigrant families in America. What they were implying by this was that the foreign-born population was bringing their health problems with them to American soil. There is certainly no mistaking this sentiment in Dr. Earl Tarr's observation in a 1916 report in the *Louisville Monthly Journal of Medicine and Surgery* that his colleagues "frequently stated that the condition is rare in Russia and that it occurs in children [only] after they have emigrated to the United States." Not surprisingly, this was seen as burdensome to American society. In contrast, Gentile patients demonstrating symptoms of TSD were usually described simply as being of American extraction, and often as showing no evidence of consanguinity (i.e., of inbreeding).

Reading the early reports of TSD against the backdrop of racial and anti-immigration ideology makes it possible to see how this disease category was deployed and how medical discourses both shape and are shaped by cultural concerns. Tay-Sachs represented a threat that was not confined to the children in whose bodies it manifested in the immediate present; rather, it was seen as having the potential to be a permanent and damaging feature of American society as long as Jewish immigrants continued to have unfettered access to the nation. Thus, the early history of TSD was as much about foreignness and immigration as it was about health and disease.

SEE ALSO *Diseases, Racial; Sickle Cell Anemia.*

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Shelley Z. Reuter

## TELEVISION

In his book *Watching Race*, Herman Gray describes television as a medium used to "engage, understand, negotiate, and make sense of the material circumstances of [everyday life]" (Gray 1995, p. 43). A person's entire worldview is obviously influenced by many factors, but it remains evident that, in many parts of the world, television plays a significant role in shaping public perceptions of race and racial differences.

Racialized groups are relegated to the role of the "invisible other" in television programming in the United States. Viewers of most commercial programming are led to believe racial/ethnic groups are virtually nonexistent, and that those that do exist reside in racial worlds or on television channels of their own. Cultural programming is needed that expresses the range of experiences of African Americans, Native Americans, Asian Americans, and Latino Americans. In the early twenty-first century, however, the major television networks (CBS, NBC, ABC, and FOX) continue to marginalize and stigmatize racial minorities in their programming.

## AFRICAN AMERICANS

In early television programming, African-American performers occupied stereotypical, unflattering roles. These actors gradually became a part of mainstream society at the expense of self-degradation, and the visual images of

blacks on network television created a false portrayal of African-American identity. Such controlling images as the Jezebel, mammy, servant, matriarch, buffoon, minstrel, and slave presented a distorted reality of racial identity for African Americans. Shows such as *Amos and Andy* (1951–1953), *Beulah* (1950–1953), and *Jack Benny* (1950–1965) portrayed African Americans as lacking intellect and seemingly enjoying their subservient and less powerful positions in the world. As an example, the show *Beulah* typified the “good old-fashioned minstrel show” (Haggins 2001, p. 250). The lead character, Beulah, was the stereotypical domestic servant who was “happy” with her lot in life serving her boss. Similarly, her friend Oriole was her queen-sized “childlike idiot friend,” perpetuating the “pickaninny” stereotype of the bulging-eyed child with thick lips, unkempt hair, and eating a slice of watermelon. The third character typified the “Uncle Tom” and “Coon” character. Beulah’s boyfriend Bill embodied what it allegedly meant to be a black man. While in the presence of whites, Bill was hardworking, dependable, and content. In his “real” state, however, he was lazy and avoided the work and responsibilities he should have held as a man. Although more recent televisual depictions have not been as blatantly racist as this, shows such as *Beulah* paved the way for controlling images to be constructed, transformed, and perpetuated in all forms of media. Unfortunately, these images continue to create an illusion of African Americans as subservient and of less value, in addition to being criminal, predatory, and a threat to European Americans. These negative portrayals are a result of slavery and the objectification of African slaves as sexual creatures and servants to the whites who colonized North America, a stigma that remains in place in the twenty-first century.

Television portrayals have, to some degree, begun to challenge many of the long-standing controlling images associated with African Americans. Although they may not be as blatantly racist as they were in the past, networks, reporters, and television writers still perpetuate a subtle form of media racism that R. R. Means Coleman has dubbed “neominstrelsy.” According to Coleman, neominstrelsy refers to contemporary versions of the minstrel images of African Americans that were pervasive in early television programming. The early images set the stage for current media images, which often still function to sustain the myth that African Americans are unscrupulous, lack morals, and are only capable of entertaining others through comedy. According to the media researcher Robert Entman, “images of Blacks are produced by network news [that] reinforce whites’ antagonism toward Blacks,” and these images perpetuate stereotypic depictions and contribute to this cycle of television racism (Entman 1994, p. 516). Because television is one of the most heavily used media for information and entertainment purposes, it is imperative that media outlets and creators begin to rethink how these

distorted images create an unrealistic picture of African-American life.

Unlike other racial groups, African Americans have been depicted in many television shows in which they have made up the vast majority of the cast. These shows include, but are not limited to, *Good Times* (1974–1979), *The Cosby Show* (1984–1992), *A Different World* (1987–1993), *Moesha* (1996–2001), *Sister, Sister* (1994–1999), *Girlfriends* (2000–), *Half & Half* (2002–), and *Everybody Hates Chris* (2005–). These shows have portrayed the diversity that exists within the African-American community. Yet while different kinds of relationships and life experiences have been portrayed in these shows, the constant is that African Americans are generally confined to shows that have a neominstrelsy theme. The characters are comedic and, to varying degrees, embody the Jezebel, mammy, matriarch, buffoon, minstrel, and “Stepin Fetchit” stereotypes. These images sustain the myth that African Americans are unscrupulous, lack morals, and are only capable of entertaining others through comedy. *The Cosby Show* was an exception, however, for it attempted to debunk these stereotypes. Yet while the show was praised for communicating a positive image of African-American identity, it was also criticized for not being “black” enough.

In the 2006–2007 television season, there were fewer than seven programs with a predominately African-American cast. While this may be better than blacks



**Bill Cosby in *The Cosby Show*.** *The Cosby Show* was both praised for communicating a positive image African Americans and criticized for not being “black” enough.

AP IMAGES.

having no visibility at all, little is being done to deconstruct societal beliefs about African Americans. Sadly, the shows are rarely fully developed and confine blacks to the genre of comedy, making it difficult to counter long-standing controlling images that impact real world perceptions of the African-American community.

#### NATIVE AMERICANS

Native Americans are rarely portrayed in movies or on television, and when they are shown they are often wearing stereotypical attire (i.e., headdress) or armed with antiquated artillery (i.e., bow and arrow), ready to fulfill the all too familiar image of the “noble” savage. These images perpetuate a negative image of racial/ethnic identity for First Nations people and instill the belief that being Native American is a “thing of the past.” Audiences are led to believe that Native Americans either do not exist or are too small in number to be fairly represented. No matter what period of time in which a story is being told, “contemporary portrayals [of First Nations persons] are typically presented in an historic context” (Merskin 1998, p. 335).

This depiction is a visual representation of a linguistic image accepted as an accurate symbol of First Nations people. They are restricted to an image of being a homogenous group of people lacking any distinctive qualities (e.g., tribes) or heterogeneity. The most pervasive and troubling image is the “conventionalized imagery [that] depicts Indians as wild, savage, heathen, silent, noble, child-like, uncivilized, premodern, immature, ignorant, bloodthirsty, and historical or timeless, all in juxtaposition to the white civilized, mature, modern (usually) Christian American man” (Meek 2006, p. 119). Other stereotypes include the portrayal of Native Americans as drunkards, gamblers, and wards of the government, and these images are too often perceived as accurate representations of the original inhabitants of North America. Television programs with a periodic or a recurring Native American character include, but are not limited to, *The Lone Ranger* (1949–1957), *Dr. Quinn, Medicine Woman* (1993–1998), *Walker, Texas Ranger* (1993–2001), *Northern Exposure* (1990–1995), *McGyver* (1985–1992), and *Quantum Leap* (1989–1993).

These shows portray First Nations people as either occupying a space on the Western frontier or being virtually invisible on television’s racial landscape. This portrayal is attributed to movie and television “Westerns,” which created the stereotypical genre of media representations. According to the sociologist Steve Mizrach, “Indians are shown as bloodthirsty savages, obstacles to progress, predators on peaceful settlers, enemy ‘hostiles’ of the U.S. Cavalry, etc. . . . the political context of the Indian Wars completely disappears” (Mizrach 1998). To this day, notes Duane Champagne of the Native Nations Law and Policy

Center at the University of California, Los Angeles, “Hollywood prefers to isolate its Indians safely within the romantic past, rather than take a close look at Native American issues in the contemporary world” (Champagne 1994, p. 719). These archaic, inaccurate portrayals are further problematized by “images in which the linguistic behaviors of others are simplified and seen as deriving from those persons’ essences” (Meek 2006, p. 95) and “remind us of an oppressive past” (Merskin 2001, p. 160). Through these depictions, First Nations people are presented as “nonnative, incompetent speaker[s] of English” (Meek 2006, p. 96). This is a strategy used to emphasize “Indian civilized otherness by having the character speak English in monosyllables” (Taylor 2000, p. 375).

U.S. companies have long used images of American Indians for product promotion, mainly to “build an association with an idealized and romanticized notion of the past” (Merskin 2001, p. 160). Products such as Land O’ Lakes butter, Sue Bee honey, Big Chief sugar, and Crazy Horse malt liquor have stereotypic caricatures on their labels that are supposed to reflect Native American ethnicity, but which are actually “dehumanizing, one-dimensional images based on a tragic past” (Merskin 2000, p. 167).

#### ASIAN AMERICANS

Asian Americans are represented on television as a homogenous group of people whose ethnicity is Chinese, Korean, or Japanese. This worldview of a population that is in reality very ethnically diverse is both problematic and restricting. Stereotypes of Asian Americans emerged from efforts by whites to oppress racial groups deemed inferior, and from a nineteenth-century fear of an Asian expansion into white occupations and communities, often referred to as the “Yellow Peril.” These controlling images emerged in order to reduce Asian-American men and women to caricatures based on how the dominant society perceived their racial and gendered identities.

There are both general cultural stereotypes and gender-specific stereotypes of Asian Americans disseminated in the media. General cultural stereotypes include assumptions that Asian Americans are: (1) the model minority, (2) perpetual foreigners, (3) inherently and passively predatory immigrants who never give back, (4) restricted to clichéd occupations (e.g., restaurant workers, laundry workers, martial artists), and (5) inherently comical or sinister. Controlling, gender-specific images of Asian-American identity include Charlie Chan, Fu Manchu, Dragon Lady, and China Doll. Charlie Chan and Fu Manchu are emasculated stereotypes of Asian men as eunuchs or asexual. Charlie Chan, a detective character, was “effeminate, wimpy,” and “dainty,” (Sun 2003, p. 658), as well as “a mysterious man, possessing awesome powers of deduction” (Shah 2003). He

was also deferential to whites, “non-threatening, and revealed his ‘Asian wisdom’ in snippets of ‘fortune-cookie’ observations.” Conversely, there is the Fu Manchu character, who is “a cruel, cunning, diabolical representative of the ‘yellow peril’” (Sun 2003, p. 658).

Asian-American women are portrayed as being hypersexual—or as the opposite of “asexual” Asian men (Sun 2003). The Lotus Blossom (i.e., China Doll, Geisha Girl, shy Polynesian beauty) is “a sexual-romantic object,” utterly feminine, delicate, and welcome respites from their often loud, independent American counterparts” (Sun 2003, p. 659). Dragon Lady is the direct opposite of the Lotus Blossom. She is “cunning, manipulative, and evil,” “aggressive,” and “exudes exotic danger” (Sun 2003, p. 659). There are also the “added characteristics of being sexually alluring and sophisticated and determined to seduce and corrupt white men” (Shah 2003).

Shows with at least one recurring character of Asian descent include: *The Courtship of Eddie’s Father* (1969–1972), *Happy Days* (1974–1984), *Quincy, M.E.* (1976–1983), *All-American Girl* (1994–1995), *Ally McBeal* (1997–2002), *Mad TV* (1995–), *Half & Half* (2002–), *Lost* (2004–), and *Grey’s Anatomy* (2005–). Examples of how long-held stereotypes of Asian-American women are perpetuated include the character Ling Woo on *Ally McBeal* and Miss Swan on *Mad TV*. Ling Woo was an attorney (portrayed by the Chinese actress Lucy Liu) who was “tough, rude, candid, aggressive, sharp tongued, and manipulative” and hypersexualized (Sun 2003, p. 661). She was also a feminist, in stark contrast with past portrayals of Asian women. While some Asian Americans believed Ling was a stereotype breaker, she still perpetuated the Dragon Lady stereotype, especially when she “growl[ed] like an animal, breathing fire at Ally, walking into the office to the music of Wicked Witch of the West from *The Wizard of Oz*” (Sun 2003, p. 661).

Miss Swan is an Asian-American character on FOX’s sketch comedy show *Mad TV*. She is played by the Jewish comedian Alexandria Borstein and represents an example of “yellowface,” which is the Asian equivalent of blackface and refers to a non-Asian person “performing” an Asian identity. Miss Swan is “a babbling nail salon owner with a weak grasp of the English language” (Armstrong 2000), and she is always depicted as the perpetual foreigner, inherently predatory and restricted to the occupation of nail salon owner. She is also a comic character who speaks broken, unintelligible English. Ms. Borstein is not Asian, which has appeared to be okay with the show’s audience. This mixed casting of Asian characters was also a problem with the short-lived sitcom *All-American Girl*, which portrayed a Korean family but cast only one Korean actor (the comedian Margaret Cho). All the other

actors were either Japanese American or Chinese American, thus perpetuating the assumption that Asians are interchangeable and must assimilate to mainstream (white) culture in order to “fit in.”

The controlling images of Asian Americans distort what it means to belong to this very heterogeneous ethnic group. Attempts to diversify television programming were made with *All-American Girl*, but much more work is needed to accurately represent Asian Americans. Both *Lost* and *Grey’s Anatomy* have strong and visible Asian-American actors as part of the regular cast. As the journalist Donal Brown notes, UCLA researchers believe these shows and characters are complex and have great appeal across racial and ethnic groups, but they are “concerned that the Asian American characters on television [are] portrayed in high status occupations perpetuating the ‘model minority’ stereotype” (Brown 2006).

#### LATINO AMERICANS

“Latino representation in Hollywood is not keeping pace with the explosion of the U.S. Hispanic population, and depictions of Latinos in television and film too often reinforce stereotypes” (Stevens 2004). Television shows purport to reflect reality in their programs, but they rarely, if ever, do so when casting characters. According to advocacy group Children Now, Latinos make up over 12.5 percent of the U.S. population, yet only 2 percent of characters on television are Latino (Stevens 2004), not including those Latinos who are portraying white (non-ethnic) characters.

Latino Americans have been subjugated and oppressed as immigrants “invading” U.S. culture. Contemporary immigration issues notwithstanding, the most prevailing stereotypes associated with Latino-American males are the glorified drug dealer, the “Latin lover,” the “greaser,” and the “bandito” (Márquez 2004). Latina women are depicted as deviant, “frilly señoritas” or as “volcanic temptresses,” and Latino families, in general, are “unintelligent,” “passive,” “deviant,” and “dependent” (Márquez 2004). These depictions may be rare, but they can undoubtedly have a significant impact on perceptions and attitudes people develop about individuals of Latin descent. Images of Latino Americans do not reflect the “Latino explosion” in U.S. culture, and they ultimately reinforce the stereotypes that should be countered. These images may not be fully positive or fully negative, but their rarity makes it more problematic that these images are so restricting.

Notable television programs featuring or including a Latino-American character include: *Chico and the Man* (1974–1978), *Luis* (2003), *The Ortegas* (2003), *NYPD Blue* (1993–2005), *Will & Grace* (1998–2006), *Popstar* (2001), *George Lopez* (2002–), *The West Wing* (1999–2006), *The Brothers Garcia* (2000–2003), *Taina* (2001–2002), *Dora the*



**America Ferrera as Ugly Betty, 2006.** The popular series *Ugly Betty* features a Latino woman who aspires for success in the fashion industry, but is faced with opposition because she does not fit the industry standard of beauty. ABC-TV/THE KOBAL COLLECTION/FELD, DANNY.

*Explorer* (2000–), *Desperate Housewives* (2004–), *CSI: Miami* (2002–), and *Ugly Betty* (2006–). Latino-American culture has had tremendous appeal in popular culture, yet members of the different ethnic groups within the Latino community remain marginalized in primetime television programming. One promising program that can potentially debunk these controlling images is *Ugly Betty*, starring the actress America Ferrera. Betty is aspiring for success in the fashion industry and is faced with opposition because she does not fit the industry (read mainstream) cultural standard of beauty. Despite much opposition, she refuses to succumb to societal expectations and remains committed to not compromising her character and integrity.

*Ugly Betty* is based on an incredibly popular Columbian telenovela (soap opera), *Yo soy Betty, la fea*, that was very successful in Mexico, India, Russia, and Germany. Although the lead character defies conventional wisdom regarding televisual success, the show may presage an era in which issues concerning racial representation in television are dealt with onscreen as well as off.

Television demographics in the United States should mirror the racial demographics of both the country and the cities within which the television programs take place, but many analyses suggest they do not (see Márquez 2004). This becomes particularly salient for individuals who have had limited interpersonal contact with people from other racial groups. Diversifying television production teams and actors is an effective strategy for eradicating subtle and blatant racism, or “symbolic annihilation” (Meek 1998). Community activism is also a powerful tool in this regard. Through research and the creation of “diversity development” programs at networks like FOX, the national Children Now organization offers practical approaches to addressing racial representation in the media. Efforts by Children Now and other organizations committed to addressing issues of fair racial and ethnic representation in the media are critical in bringing about such change. It is only through education and formal efforts that programmers, scriptwriters, and other pivotal players can be made aware of the exclusionary nature of television. Awareness of such racism will ideally prompt the television community to become proactive in redefining their role in perpetuating controlling images that continue to plague twenty-first-century portrayals of racial groups.

SEE ALSO *Cultural Racism; Film and Asian Americans; Social Psychology of Racism; Stereotype Threat and Racial Stigma; Symbolic and Modern Racism.*

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Tina M. Harris

## TEXAS RANGERS

The Texas Rangers are a modern law enforcement agency that traces its origins to 1823, when Stephen F. Austin, the leader of the Anglo colonists in Texas, proposed the formation of a volunteer force to defend white settlements from Indian raids. Formally established twelve years later, the constabulary gradually evolved from a group of citizen soldiers into a professional, paramilitary

organization that served the needs of the state's political and business leaders. After 1870 the Rangers were invested with the responsibilities typical of peace officers. For much of the nineteenth century, however, Texas authorities used the constabulary to promote the state's territorial and economic development. This mission involved the expulsion of Native peoples, the defense of cattle syndicates from aggrieved homesteaders, and the policing of industrial disputes. The force achieved its greatest notoriety, however, by subjugating ethnic Mexicans in South Texas between 1850 and 1920.

Ranger anti-Mexican vigilance must be understood in the context of intense white prejudice against Tejanos (Mexican Texans), which in the nineteenth century flowed from a host of sources. For one thing, notwithstanding the fact that a number of Mexicans had fought alongside Sam Houston and other white leaders during the struggle for Texas independence, bitter memories of the slaughters perpetrated by the Mexican Army in 1836 at the Alamo and Goliad, coupled with doubts about Tejano political loyalty to the new Republic of Texas, fostered a climate of white distrust. Moreover, the southern origins of most Anglo-Texans imbued many of them with the racist tenets of *herrenvolk* democracy, characterized by a low opinion of those not belonging to the supposed master race. Ranger atrocities committed against Mexicans during the Mexican-American War—actions for which they became known as *los diablos Tejanos* (the Texan devils)—deepened the animosity between whites and Mexicans during the late 1840s.

Conditions for Texas Mexicans deteriorated rapidly after 1848. Although guaranteed equal citizenship by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Tejanos who elected to remain in the United States following the war became second-class citizens and suffered dispossession at the hands of a small but powerful Anglo elite that included Mifflin Kenedy, Richard King, Stephen Powers, and Charles Stillman. Throughout the 1850s, Texas Mexicans lost much of their land in the Nueces Strip (the area between the Nueces River and the Rio Grande), a process facilitated by tight white control of the legal establishment. Such injustices led some South Texas Mexicans to take up arms in the fall of 1859 under the leadership of Juan Cortina, a wealthy landowner. Although the rebellion was crushed the following spring, Ranger excesses during the fighting, which included the lynching of an elderly Cortina lieutenant, once again worsened relations between white Texans and Mexicans.

While the Civil War caused a lull in such hostilities, the period immediately after the conflict witnessed a surge in racial violence in South Texas, which was the result of widespread cattle rustling. Anglos blamed Mexicans (including Juan Cortina, who had taken refuge across the

Rio Grande in the Mexican state of Tamaulipas), but the question of theft was thorny, for Tejanos insisted that they were merely reclaiming livestock that had been stolen from them by whites since 1848. Responding to the unrest, in 1874 the Texas legislature institutionalized two divisions of the Rangers, with one of them, the Special Force, charged with ending alleged Mexican depredations in the Nueces Strip.

Under the command of Leander McNelly, a Confederate veteran of the Civil War, the Special Force initiated a brutal campaign against Mexican “bandits” (a ubiquitous pejorative intended to discredit Tejano grievances). In June 1875, for instance, McNelly’s squad encountered a party of Mexicans herding a large group of cattle allegedly stolen from white ranchers. Without warning, the Rangers attacked them, killing all twelve of the suspected raiders and stacking their bodies in the plaza at Brownsville as a warning to other prospective rustlers. Later that same year, McNelly and his men crossed the Rio Grande into Mexico, where they hoped to recover another herd of supposedly stolen livestock. Acting on a bad tip, they ambushed the wrong ranch, killing at least five (and perhaps as many as thirty) *vaqueros* (Mexican cowboys). Though the Rangers continued on to their intended destination, they were intercepted by several hundred Mexicans, who drove them back to the Rio Grande. Once at the river, the Rangers dug in to fight, but they eventually crossed back into Texas under cover provided by a U.S. Army detachment posted nearby. Incredibly, McNelly bluffed the Mexicans into returning sixty-five cattle.

The Rangers employed other strategies besides ambush and invasion to eradicate cattle theft by Mexicans in South Texas, including torture and extrajudicial killings. Some of the latter were performed under the auspices of *la ley fuga*, or the “fugitive law,” by which an unarmed suspect (allegedly in the act of escape) was shot and killed. (The “fugitive law” provided for the shooting of a criminal suspect who attempted escape; the Rangers exploited this provision, murdering Mexicans in cold blood and then claiming the prisoner had tried to flee.) The force also used intimidation and the threat of violence to hold Tejanos in thrall, as recalled by one member of McNelly’s squad, Ranger N.A. Jennings. In his memoir, *A Texas Ranger* (1899), Jennings wrote that members of the Special Force visited border towns in the 1870s in order “to carry out a set policy of terrorizing the residents at every opportunity.” Describing police tactics, he explained that, “If we could find a *fandango*, or Mexican dance, going on, we would enter the dancing-hall and break up the festivities by shooting out the lights” (pp. 151–152). Such actions made the Rangers hated among Tejanos, who used the derogatory term *rinche* to describe members of the constabulary.

As the nineteenth century waned, the Rangers broadened their efforts to subdue Mexican unrest in the Lone Star State. In 1877, near the West Texas town of El Paso, an ad hoc Ranger detachment attempted to quell a disturbance arising from the privatization by a white entrepreneur of salt lakes used communally by the area’s large Mexican population. When local residents killed the Anglo businessman, a local merchant, and one of the Rangers, the detachment (augmented by vigilantes from New Mexico) perpetrated a series of rapes and murders against Mexicans as retribution. Then, during the 1890s, the force helped the U.S. Army to defeat an insurrection led by the journalist Catarino Garza, and they also clashed with Mexican residents in the border town of Laredo when the police attempted to enforce an unpopular smallpox quarantine. Rangers also took part in the storied 1901 pursuit of Gregorio Cortez, a South Texas ranchero wanted by Anglo authorities for murder. Cortez was apprehended just as he was about to cross into Mexico.

The low point for Tejanos came in the summer of 1915. Earlier that year, a group of Mexicans from both sides of the border had fomented a rebellion aimed at creating an independent nation carved from lands seized by the United States after the Mexican-American War. Although the U.S. Army was on hand to protect Texas residents, the Rangers—whose ranks were swelled by “specials” sworn in to meet the perceived emergency—led a backlash directed against the rebels (and ethnic Mexicans more generally), killing at least 300 and perhaps as many as 5,000 people. Ranger atrocities committed during the so-called Plan de San Diego uprising led José Tomás Canales, the sole Tejano member of the state legislature, to launch a probe into the activities of the force in 1918. In the end, the constabulary was reduced in size for a variety of reasons, and in 1935 it was folded into the Texas Department of Public Safety, where it continues to serve as the primary investigative arm of the agency.

Although the Texas Rangers of the early twenty-first century have moved well beyond their reputation as oppressors of the state’s Tejano population and now count many ethnic Mexicans among their number, the force remains a divisive symbol. For instance, some of the old animosities surfaced in the late 1960s during a bitter strike by agricultural workers in the Rio Grande Valley. The laborers were Mexican, and the Rangers seemed to favor the Anglo farm owners, leading some observers to conclude that race relations in South Texas had changed little since the days of the Canales investigation. Others accused the Rangers of intimidating Mexican political activists, such as those who agitated in 1963 and 1969 against corrupt Anglo rule in the town of Crystal City. While the Rangers continue to exert a cultural influence within and beyond the Lone Star State, a surge in recent scholarship on the force has opened new lines of debate about their role in enforcing exclusion in the Southwest.

SEE ALSO *Alamo; La Raza; Mexicans; Social Psychology of Racism; Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo; Zoot Suit Riots.*

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Andrew R. Graybill

## TILLMAN, BENJAMIN "PITCHFORK" 1847–1918

Benjamin Ryan ("Pitchfork Ben") Tillman was born into a wealthy slaveholding family in the plantation district of Edgefield, South Carolina, on August 11, 1847. He served with a murderous paramilitary unit, agitated for agricultural reform, and was elected to two terms as South Carolina's governor and four terms as a U.S. senator. Throughout that career, Tillman sought to reshape the post-Civil War nation by limiting the political and social freedoms of African Americans and those of any whites who challenged those limits.

An illness during the Civil War kept Tillman out of the Confederate military and cost him his left eye. After the war, he supervised former slaves as agricultural laborers in Florida and South Carolina. During Reconstruction, he joined former slaveholders and ex-Confederate officers and soldiers in the rifle club movement, which threatened and assaulted South Carolina's Republican officials and their black and white supporters. He took part in the Hamburg Massacre (July 8, 1876), in which rifle club members (known thereafter as "Red Shirts") besieged a black militia unit, took many prisoners, and selected several militia men and local black officials from among them. They shot these men in the head before telling the rest to flee and firing upon them as they did. Contrary to frequent depictions of such violence as spontaneous eruptions of white Southern men's rage, this was a premeditated slaughter. Tillman later explained that "the leading white men of Edgefield" had determined "to

seize the first opportunity that the negroes might offer them to provoke a riot and teach the negroes a lesson . . . [by] having the whites demonstrate their superiority by killing as many of them as was justifiable" (Kantrowitz 2000, p. 67).

Maintaining the "superiority" of whites remained Tillman's primary objective, but black aspirations were not the only threat to that superiority. Throughout the 1880s and 1890s, he worried that the dire state of the agricultural economy would persuade hard-pressed white farmers to renew the Reconstruction-era coalition between black and white voters. Supporters of movements such as Populism sometimes seemed willing to sacrifice white supremacy if doing so would help advance their economic and political programs. Tillman argued that the Populists' insistence on federal intervention in the economy, coupled with their intermittent appeals to black voters, augured a return to the political, economic, and racial evils of Reconstruction.

Tillman responded with a vision of agricultural renewal that focused explicitly and exclusively on the grievances of white farmers. Because Tillman's rejection of federal intervention made it impossible for him to address the large structural issues confronting postbellum agriculture, he focused his ire on the lawyers, politicians, merchants, "aristocrats," and "Bourbons" whom he claimed ran the state. He pursued this course in national politics as well: It was his threat to stick a pitchfork in Grover Cleveland, whom he depicted as the enemy of white farmers, that gained Tillman his nickname. He accused individuals of corruption and called for a "farmers college" for young white men. In the late 1880s he was able to ride the broad regional wave of political discontent into power. He so outraged elements of the Democratic establishment that when he won the party's nomination for governor, some disgruntled white elites bolted the party and appealed to black voters for support. Nevertheless, Tillman was overwhelmingly elected governor in 1890.

As governor, Tillman's commitment to white uplift and white liberty was generally trumped by his fear of a black political and social resurgence. He oversaw the establishment of Clemson College for white men and Winthrop College for white women, but he remained less committed to the practice of higher education than to the principle of white supremacy. In 1891 he refused to accept federal aid for Clemson if doing so would require him to accept a proportionate amount of aid for black higher education. Tillman was the prime mover behind the South Carolina Constitutional Convention of 1895, which achieved his goal of disfranchising most black voters without running afoul of the Fifteenth Amendment. His promise that no white man would lose his vote under the new constitution was greeted with skepticism, and the 1894 referendum on calling a convention was fiercely contested. In the end, pro-convention



forces probably won their narrow victory through electoral fraud. Tillman then helped draft a constitution under which men had to own substantial taxable property, prove their literacy, or demonstrate an understanding of the Constitution in order to register to vote. As a result white eligibility and turnout fell dramatically, and black voting was virtually eliminated.

Tillman asserted that black men, freed from slavery's policing, presented a dire and constant sexual threat to white women. He condemned lynching as an assault on the authority of the state and sometimes called out militia units to protect prisoners, but he also publicly pledged that in cases where a black man was accused of raping a white woman, he would himself lead the lynch mob. Tillman never put his pledge into practice, but he did collude with lynch mobs. In one 1893 case, he sent a black rape suspect to face a crowd of many hundreds protected by only a single guard. The man was lynched. Tillman argued that white men's violence toward accused black rapists was a product of their instinct for "race preservation," a force so powerful that it could cause "the very highest and best men we have [to] lose all semblance of Christian beings" (Kantrowitz 2000, p. 260). As long as foolish or wicked men attempted to subvert "race preservation" by mandating racial equality, he asserted, white men would respond with violence.

Tillman voiced similar sentiments in the U.S. Senate and, as he became a popular speaker, on platforms throughout the nation. Most journalists and public officials depicted Tillman as a "wild man," an impression that drew credibility from many of his activities, including his frequent boasts about his own part in the Hamburg Massacre and his apparent embodiment of the "white savage" he described in his speeches. His nickname, "Pitchfork Ben," seemed to capture this image of violent (and agrarian) discontent. Tillman proved himself to be a skilled organizer and a competent legislator, but the nickname and reputation served him very well, for they supported his argument that white men opposed black freedom and equality instinctively and impulsively. The depiction of Tillman as the spokesman of the instinctively racist white southern man reinforced Tillman's argument that white supremacy was something bred in the bone, not a social and political program that required enforcement and reinforcement in order to succeed.

Tillman sought to prevent the federal government from making the "race problem" worse. He fervently opposed U.S. imperialism, fearing that the occupation of territories such as the Philippines would bring millions more nonwhite people into the American polity. From the Senate, especially during the administration of Democrat Woodrow Wilson, Tillman worked to segregate the federal bureaucracy, strip prominent black men of federal offices, and relegate black federal workers to the lowest

rungs of the civil service. Ben Tillman died on July 3, 1918, near the end of his fourth term in the U.S. Senate.

SEE ALSO *Southern Politics, 1883–1915*.

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Stephen Kantrowitz

## TOKENISM

In response to a television reporter who stated that "racial progress takes time," James Baldwin offered this telling response: "It has taken my mother's time, my father's time, my brothers and my sisters' time, my nieces and my nephews' time. How much time do you want for your progress?" (McBride 1999, p. 8).

Tokenism is a problem that continues to pervade American culture. It refers to the practice or policy of admitting an extremely small number of members of racial (e.g., African American), ethnic (e.g., Latino) or gender (i.e., women) groups to work, educational, or social activities to give the impression of being inclusive, when in actuality these groups are not welcomed. In the workplace the practice has been relied on to show compliance with laws, rules, and regulations requiring institutions to hire people of color or women. This article addresses tokenism as it applies to African Americans in the workplace.

#### THE RISE OF TOKENISM

Racism and its protracted history in American society gave rise to the concept of tokenism. To the extent that employers, both private and public, could keep African Americans out of the workforce, they did so, and with impunity. Prior to Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, no federal laws compelled employers to refrain from discriminating against people on the basis of such characteristics of race, color, religion, national origin, or gender. Thus, African Americans and other groups were explicitly and intentionally excluded from participation in private- and public-sector workforces. Parenthetically, the Civil Rights Acts of 1866 and 1871, intended to enforce the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution, were aimed at prohibiting discrimination in the workplace. However,

as with other initiatives of the Reconstruction era, these laws were never enforced.

With enactment of the Civil Rights Act in 1964, private employers were no longer able explicitly to refuse to hire or promote African Americans. Of course, passage of the law did not result in the immediate end of discriminatory practices. On the contrary, employers developed ways to continue their exclusionary practices. One notable example can be found in the U.S. Supreme Court case *Griggs v. Duke Power* (1971). The Duke Power Company operated a power-generating facility in Draper, North Carolina. It was organized into five departments. The lowest-paying jobs were in the labor department, where even the highest-paying job paid less than the lowest-paying jobs in the other four departments. In 1964, there were sixteen African Americans working at the power plant, and they were all segregated into the labor department. In short, Duke Power openly discriminated on the basis of race in hiring and in job placement. On July 2, 1965, the day the Civil Rights Act took effect, the company instituted new requirements for getting jobs in all departments other than labor. A high school diploma was now required, which effectively kept all the African Americans in the labor department. Later the company required employees to pass two aptitude tests to transfer to any department outside labor. Willie Griggs filed a class-action lawsuit challenging the practices. The case reached the U.S. Supreme Court, which rendered a decision in favor of Griggs, stating that Title VII prohibits not only overt discrimination but also practices that may seem neutral but are discriminatory in operation.

The *Griggs* decision was landmark in that it proscribed not just overt discrimination but also subtle or covert practices that seem innocuous but are discriminatory in their impact. The fear of potential lawsuits—which can be very costly to employers—forced companies to begin hiring African Americans, albeit in small numbers. In turn, tokenism was spawned. Organizations at least in the private sector now had a legal imperative that made it necessary to demonstrate that they did not engage in discriminatory practices. Hiring one or even two African Americans would give the appearance of inclusion and hence compliance with antidiscrimination laws such as Title VII and later affirmative action policies. Tokenism, in effect, was symbolic and perfunctory. Government employers would follow suit in 1972, when Title VII was extended to public-sector workforces with passage of the Equal Employment Opportunity Act. Such agencies as police and fire departments, which continue to be dominated by white males even in the early twenty-first century, were forced to show at least a semblance of compliance with the law, and would hire the token African-American police officer or firefighter.

## THE EFFECTS OF TOKENISM

Early on, some argued that tokenism was an important first step for African Americans to gain a foothold in the workplace. It would, it was maintained, open the doors for others, thus representing some progress. Many others, however, maintained that tokenism perpetuated the victim status of African Americans and represented an absolute failure of public policies and programs aimed at ending discriminatory practices.

Only a nominal few benefit from tokenism, and organizations hire the token not for what she or he can contribute to the institution but to give the outward appearance of inclusion. Malcolm X put it this way in a speech he delivered to the Afro-American Broadcasting Company in Detroit in 1965: “Tokenism benefits only a few. It never benefits the masses, and the masses are the ones who have the problem, not the few. That one who benefits from tokenism, he doesn’t want to be around us anyway—that’s why he picks up on the token” (Malcolm X 1965).

Tokenism has proven to be demeaning, demoralizing, and debilitating. Research has illustrated that it leads to a loss of black identity, multiple demands on being African American, a sense of isolation, and pressure to show greater competence (Jackson, Thoits, and Taylor 1995). Kanter (1977), who has written extensively about the effects of tokenism on women, points out that tokens are always under greater scrutiny than others and are forced constantly to prove themselves. They also internalize a sense of inferiority because they perceive their job evaluations as being based not on achievements but on their “blackness.” Jackson, Thoits, and Taylor (1995) also point out that tokens are always reminded of their “differences” through jokes, banter, and “loyalty tests.” While tokens feel pressure to blend in, they are invariably relegated to a degrading stereotyped, caricatured role.

In effect, tokens face increased vulnerability and stress, which ultimately diminish their work performance as well as their overall physical and psychological well-being (Morash, Haarr, and Kwak 2006). And, equally as devastating, is the myth that has arisen from tokenism: that standards are lowered when African Americans are hired. This perverse belief has no grounding in empirical reality. It is a falsehood that has been perpetuated by those who have opposed affirmative action and other efforts aimed at diversifying the workplace (Ricucci 2002). This duplicity, in turn, propagated the fallacious, incendiary concept of “reverse discrimination.”

Tokenism can never be a viable policy or practice. It only compounds the problems of exclusion, marginalization, inferiority, and low morale. Yet, in various forms, it persists.

### CONTEMPORARY TOKENISM

American society continues to be plagued by discriminatory practices. Although public and private institutions are more diverse in the twenty-first century than they were in the early 1960s, discrimination persists. It may be the case, however, that tokenism has become less of a problem at least in the lower echelons of private and government workforces, because to the extent progress has been made in diversifying the workplace, it has been at the lower levels. However, the upper levels of public- and private-sector workforces continue to be dominated by males who are white and of European ancestry. It is in these upper, higher-paying jobs that tokenism continues to exist. Organizations disingenuously dot the landscape of the highest rungs of hierarchical structures with African Americans to illustrate that they are making an effort to diversity the upper, more powerful levels of the organization.

Among the *Fortune* 500 companies—the top 500 public corporations in America as measured by gross revenue—African Americans continue to represent the token on corporate boards. A study by James and Wooten (2005) showed that only 8 percent of the total 5,572 board seats of *Fortune* 500 companies consist of African Americans. Moreover, as of 2007, there were only seven African-American chief executive officers among all the *Fortune* 500 companies.

Until every organization and corporate board structure is fully diversified at every level and layer, we can continue to ask, as James Baldwin did many years ago, “How much time do you want for your progress?”

**SEE ALSO** *Civil Rights Acts*.

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## TOURISM AND NATIONAL HERITAGE (U.S.)

Heritage tourism is a form of cultural tourism. According to Bob McKercher and Hilary du Cros (2002), cultural tourism builds on “a community or a nation’s cultural heritage assets” (p. 7). According to the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), heritage includes both tangible and intangible assets, culturally significant places both built and natural, collections of papers and artifacts, and “past and continuous cultural practices, knowledge, and living experiences” (ICOMOS, 1999, p. 7). African American heritage tourism is therefore part of the cultural discourse of both communities and nations. In addition to a resurgence of interest in and development of heritage tourist sites in the United States, African American heritage travel includes travel to African nations such as Senegal and Ghana, nations of the Caribbean, as well as Europe, Latin America, and Canada.

African American heritage tourism raises issues of how history and heritage are spoken of, the interests of potential audiences and funders, and conflicting perspectives on the meaning of historical events, artifacts, personages, and sites. The inclusion of African American heritage and its movement from margin to center in U.S. history is itself a radical revisioning of national heritage.

The first Africans were brought to the New World in 1619 to the settlement of Jamestown, Virginia, one year before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock. According to Henry Chase in *In Their Footsteps: The American Visions Guide to African-American Heritage Sites* (1994), Africans were originally brought in as indentured servants. However, within one generation slavery had become a lifelong condition in custom, if not in law, as tobacco farming increased the demand for labor. Hence, from its very beginnings slavery, race, and place are essential components of any depiction of national heritage in the United States, and, as such, become sites of contested meanings. African American heritage tourism forces a revisiting of conflicting discourses about the meaning of African American experience in U.S. history, as well as the meaning of U.S. history itself. While African American heritage tourism comprises multiple eras and facets of African American history, the focus here is on the legacy of slavery.

Perhaps the most important feature of this continuing cultural discourse is the fact that the stories of African Americans have been marginalized and erased from the national heritage of the United States. African American heritage tourism changes this and provides economic incentive for a variety of communities to recognize the role of

African Americans in their history. However, in significant ways this interest and development has had to be fought for, overcoming resistance to dominant discourses of the nation that have historically minimized and erased African American participation. At the same time, heritage tourism presents a commodified version of heritage framed to attract consumers. As McKercher and Du Cros (2002) point out, the interests of cultural heritage management are not identical to those involved in cultural tourism. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1995), however, sees commodification as essential to the heritage industry as part of heritage tourism: "Heritage is a value-added industry. . . . Heritage organizations ensure that places and practices in danger of disappearing because they are no longer occupied or functioning or valued will survive. It does this by adding the value of pastness, exhibition, difference, and where possible indigeneity" (p. 370). The heritage industry transports the tourist to the past, "from a now that signifies hereness to a then that signifies thereness" (p. 370). Tourism and heritage are complementary insofar as heritage marks a site as a potential destination and tourism makes the destination economically viable as a "representation" or "museum" of itself (p. 371).

#### INTERPRETATION

Interpretation is integral to the production of the sites of heritage tourism. It is provided by informative placards, by how things are named, by apparently neutral descriptions in guidebooks and guided tours, by the role-play of interpreters at recreations of life at historic sites, and by all sorts of systematic inclusions and exclusions. As Fath Davis Ruffins points out in "Mythos, Memory, and History" (1992), interpretation is an essential feature of any historical site, artifact, or story. Things do not speak for themselves. History is not equivalent to the unalienable facts, but is itself an interpretation of what should rightfully be termed "the past," the flow of "events and movements, debates and ideas, migrations and discoveries" that occur over time, not all of which become part of the historical record (p. 509).

Parker B. Potter Jr. and Mark Leone (1992) articulate this problematic. History museums and historical exhibitions reflect the interests and ideologies of their founders and clients, as well as curators' attempts to avoid controversy. As a result, although "it is impossible to judge the realism of a place such as Williamsburg," the depiction produces a kind of a sense of realism that matches visitors' preconceptions of eighteenth-century Virginia and produces a passivity in audiences toward historical questioning (p. 479). Potter and Leone advocate an interpretive practice that stimulates empowerment of the tourist by encouraging historical consciousness and questioning. The guides on their site tours in Annapolis are working archaeologists

who expose their methodology and share tentative conclusions with visitors who are encouraged to see themselves as "participants in the creation of historical knowledge" (pp. 490–491).

Interpretations are essentially ideological; they are structured by discourses. A discourse is a structure of vocabulary, concepts, and assumptions that frame issues according to a particular perspective or argument that reflects a communal way of thinking and the interests of that group. Discourses are socially available through language and are often unconsciously adopted as depictions of the real and of how the world is. For example, Ruffins (1992) notes that government museums such as the Smithsonian have historically offered a narrative of U.S. history that marginalized the contributions of African Americans, and therefore curators did not collect artifacts of slavery (p. 593). Potter and Leone point out that when sites such as Williamsburg, Virginia, are recreated to reflect an image of the eighteenth century according to the understanding of its founding family, the Rockefellers, they reflect a discourse that is dominant both because it espouses a version of reality that reflects the assumptions of an elite group but also because those assumptions about reality make up the dominant discourse of the United States and its understanding of its history. Interpretations of African American heritage sites offer conflicting versions of reality by introducing an alternative discourse within which to frame events of the past as well as social relations of the present.

#### MYTHOS, MEMORY, AND HISTORY

**Plantation Narratives and Dominant Discourses.** The interpretation on plantations at public historical sites illustrate how discourses structure meaning according to the dominant mythos of the southern region of the United States. According to Ruffins in "Revisiting the Old Plantation: Reparations, Reconciliation, and Museumizing American Slavery" (2006), silence about slavery was the norm. Slavery was not mentioned at American museums before 1980 (p. 394). The interpretive canon at historic Williamsburg—home and, more importantly, workplace, for slaves who maintained the lifestyle of the elite who occupied the historic dwellings—did not mention the slavery system as underlying colonial society and the economic system depicted (p. 394). While there has been significant change since the 1980s, the same silence was common and remains in place at many plantation sites. Where there is not silence, there are depictions of slavery that conform to a dominant discourse, allowing tourists to enter into a version of the past that dwells on the richness of a lost, but attractive, social world without dwelling on the sordid underpinnings. These discourses invite white tourists to reimagine a world of gracious living.

This understanding of the discourse around southern plantations structures the analysis by Jessica Adams in "Local Color: The Southern Plantation in Popular Culture" (1999). Adams situates plantation narratives within struggle over issues of "collective identity" as marginalized groups and notions of multiculturalism are being incorporated into U.S. national heritage and identity (p. 164). Plantations are transformed from sites of slave labor to a "vision of the plantation as an 'antebellum home,' and elegant reminder of 'the way things were'" (p. 163). Slavery is essentially erased in these depictions and the plantation becomes "imbued with nostalgic possibility" (p. 164). In the plantation as tourist destination, "historical fantasies in which race and class are never points of contention" seek to "construct and perpetuate a myth of a white American subject who can be defined without reference to blackness" (p. 164). Ironically, the southern white planter "inhabits the place forcibly vacated by the slave, as blacks get effaced from plantation life; the planter becomes the real laborer, and the real victim, of slavery... This reconceived white subject transcends Southernness to embody American identity" (p. 166). Adams sees this as a backlash or reaction to the burgeoning multiculturalism that is being incorporated into the U.S. mythos.

According to Adams, evidence of slavery is effaced from the material settings, as slave quarters are allowed to go to ruin or remain disguised as they are reconstructed as restrooms or tourist sleeping quarters. The plantation is "reinvented" as a place of leisure rather than work. White, female guides dressed in hoop skirts and resembling "house-proud mistresses, mothers, or daughters" show tourists around the plantation house presented as a "home" rather than a workplace. The erasure of slave labor achieves a "validation of a social order in which white privilege is both desirable and unquestioned" (pp. 170, 175). Similarly, gift shops become "feminized spaces," with female staff and stock based on decorative household items (p. 170). The rhetoric of brochures and guidebooks echo this discourse in which "slave masters are changed into passive recipients of the land's bounty" and slave work is "rhetorically disguised" by "describing the antebellum domestic staff as 'butlers,' 'skilled nannies,' and 'servant boys'" (pp. 171, 178). What is "mourned... is not the inhumanity of the slave system, but rather the loss of planters' quality of life that accompanied the end of the Civil War" (p. 172). In this discourse, the plantation has become an "important symbol in the nation's collective consciousness" where "African-Americans... exist simply as local color, while privileged whites assume the now reimagined position of 'other'" (p. 179).

According to Grant H. Cornwell and Eve W. Stoddard (2001), a similar erasure of slave labor occurs in the

restoration of eighteenth-century sugar estates in the Caribbean, where ruins of plantation houses, sugar factories, and windmills are "prominent markers in island landscapes... being read, appropriated, and restored through a variety of discourses and codes" (p. 134). Their focus is on two sites, the Annaberg sugar mill in Virgin Islands National Park and the Duloo plantation, which has become the site for Caneel Bay Resort. Both are on the island of St. John, part of the U.S. Virgin Islands. Both restorations emerged out of the "vision" of Laurance Rockefeller, who donated the Annaberg site for the national park and constructed the resort. According to Cornwell and Stoddard, the windmill ruins "exist within a creolized space and a creole history," by which they mean a layered interpenetration of the cultures of the colonizers and the colonized (p. 137). The windmills show this hybridization. They were owned by European planters, adapted European technology to the conditions of sugar production in the New World, and built and worked by African-descended slaves for the profit of colonizing European planters and to enable the consumption of sugar by Old World Europeans (p. 137).

Rockefeller's vision for the luxury resort and national park was to recreate the "pristine condition" of the land when it was first discovered by Europeans (Cornwell and Stoddard, 2001, p. 140). This vision essentially erased both the history and the presence of the local community, including a slave rebellion in 1733 in which the slaves took over the island for six months (p. 142). According to Cornwell and Stoddard, the plantation with its historic cannons used to repel the Africans was "the last bastion of the whites during the uprising" and "has continued to play that role in the modern Virgin Islands. Caneel Bay Resort has continued to harbor a wealthy, mostly white clientele on an island populated by people of African descent" (p. 144).

The walking tour and interpretive placards provided by the U.S. Park Service uses neutral terms to describe the sugar-making process with "no explicit critique of the plantation system" (p. 147). Slave labor is "kept on the margins of the viewer's consciousness" and the word *slave* is barely used (p. 147). In a placard interpreting the ruins of some slave quarters, tourists are instructed that "workers," not slaves, and their "families lived mostly outdoors" (pp. 147-148) According to Cornwell and Stoddard, the fact that tourists are not moved to question the need for the plantation mansion or "great house" reflects the "continuing hegemony of the plantation system, now transmuted into the politics and economics of Caribbean tourism" (p. 148). The dominant discourse makes the social inequality between the "poverty of black and brown 'natives' in contrast to the wealth of white visitors" to appear natural and not in need of questioning. The resort, with its service workers of African descent

“evokes for white tourists a nostalgia for the imagined luxury . . . of tropical plantation ownership, while simultaneously eliding the realities of slavery and . . . hinting at the way of life in which masters were dominant over a subordinate workforce of people at their beck and call” (p. 151).

Cornwell and Stoddard contrast the depiction of Caribbean slavery in Cuba, where the site of a major slave revolt on a sugar estate is commemorated with a museum devoted to the history of plantation slavery and where slaves are “honored as Cuba’s first revolutionaries, bringing the historical narrative into the service of Cuba’s national identity” (pp. 146–147).

Ruffins (2006) documents changes in attitudes about remembering slavery. National, state, and local museums (and of course, the more than 100 African American museums) had had exhibitions on African American achievements in art and science in the post-slavery period, as well as covering the history of the civil rights movement. Before 1980 there was “a virtual silence” about slavery on the national level (p. 394). Ruffins characterizes this change in openness to depictions and discussions of slavery as a “new moment in U.S. cultural history” (p. 395). What made this possible? The civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s paved the way by reopening questions of African Americans’ place in U.S. society, and television programs such as *Roots*, which traced author Alex Haley’s ancestors to Africa and the slave trade, brought African Americans to the center of national consciousness as the “first unified portrayal of the African and African American experience of slavery from the perspective of the enslaved” (p. 398). Films such as *Glory* (1989), *Amistad* (1997), and *Beloved* (1998) brought the “representation of slavery” to the general public (pp. 403–404). Major exhibitions at national museums such as the Smithsonian integrated materials on slavery for the first time. In 1991 the Museum of the Confederacy in Richmond, Virginia, mounted an exhibition on slavery that “challenged not only the nationwide silence about slavery but also the outright rejection of slavery as the crucial element of southern life for which the Confederates fought” (p. 405). In 1994 Colonial Williamsburg opened Carter’s Grove, a plantation, and rebuilt the slave quarters. In 1999 African American interpreters developed a presentation of a slave auction as part of the living history programming, and by 2000 they had developed an “escaped slave” program in which visitors are confronted by a “runaway slave” and “surrounded by slave catchers” (pp. 406–407).

The work by Antoinette Jackson (2001) exemplifies a revisioning through critical examination of discourse that allows for a different understanding of the role of

Africans in plantation life. According to Jackson, “to reduce the view of African association with plantations to ‘slave’ life portraits is to continue to perpetuate a narrow historical representation of Africans in American history” (p. 13) and to miss the fact that plantations were “essentially self-sustaining African communities and agricultural production centers” (pp. 21–22). Jackson’s inquiry focused on Snee Farm, the country home of Charles Pinckney, a pro-slavery drafter of the U.S. Constitution. She points out that Africans made up “not only the majority of the population in antebellum plantation communities but typically were the only permanent year round residents” (p. 22). While the original rationale for Snee Farm plantation as a National Historic Site was “for interpreting and representing the life of Charles Pinckney, this was eventually “expanded to include an interpretation of the life of ‘all’ the site’s inhabitants, free and ‘slave’ (Blythe 2000, p. 13).

Jackson advocates a critical reappraisal of the “continued use of the labels ‘slave’ and ‘sharecropper’ in public forum productions of American history (i.e., National Historic Site venues)” (2001, p. 20). The label tends to both “mask the diversity of African plantation experience and minimize the cultural contributions” (p. 21) as it squeezes a multifaceted community life and structure into “a single template—one defined by an imposed condition created by the institution of slavery” (p. 21). Jackson highlights the diversity of work on the plantation ranging from agricultural and domestic occupations to a variety of crafts such as basketmaking, brick masonry, gardening, and sewing. Her research methodology focused on interviewing residents of the contemporary African community who passed on narratives of their community history from their own and their ancestral perspective, including the post Emancipation community of families who “continued to live in slave cabin housing. . . and to follow their same occupations. . . [for] pay. . .” or who owned their own property and thus were misrepresented by the “sharecropper label [which] has been uniformly ascribed to descendants of enslaved Africans in. . . community history” (2003, p. 103). For Jackson, oral history data “underscore the need for utilizing more complex models of interaction—such as the heterarchical approach, which can elaborate, and not obscure, the variety and fluidity of roles that Africans and their descendants performed in plantation communities. . .” (p. 103). Jackson derived the concept of heterarchy from C. Crumley as a way of “avoiding either top-down or bottom-up approaches” to analyzing power relationships (p. 93). Instead, the inquirer analyzes “relationships between people when they are unranked, or when they possess the potential for being ranked in a number of different ways” (p. 93).

According to Jackson (2001), “the primary significance of the narratives collected is that they privilege

African agency. . . [where] the subject is brought into the picture as a participant, as a creative force. . . ” (p. 20). Jackson discovered an image of community that ran counter to her expectations of a narrative composed of “sad stories, stories of pain” (p. 24). Instead, she found that her respondents offered her “a chance to return home, to find home . . . in the spirit of this community, a community that has managed to survive so I could survive” (p. 24).

An important influence was the success of the Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C., which demonstrated that “negative history,” the telling of a “horrific story with dignity,” was a suitable charter for a museum (Ruffins 2006, p. 399). In addition, the Holocaust Museum had become a “symbolic archetype, architectural and exhibitionary, for expressing the sacrifices and tragedies of a people’s collective identity,” as well as for showing that such a specific story can have a “universal” meaning (p. 399). The challenges were greater, for whereas in the Holocaust narrative, the oppressors were Europeans, in the case of slavery, they were to be found on home soil.

**Discussing Slavery as National Heritage.** Ruffins (2006) concludes that there is “social and political space” now in the national consciousness to discuss slavery (p. 408). For African Americans two narrative interpretive possibilities have emerged for this incorporation of slavery into the dominant discourse. One emphasizes the “Black Holocaust” and African American suffering and calls for national apologies and reparations. This holocaust concept centers attention on a history of atrocities from the transatlantic passage through the period of enslavement, through lynchings and race riots from the 1880s, to the 1950s civil rights era (pp. 410–411). The second narrative possibility is to focus interpretive work in the direction of interracial reconciliation. In 1995, the National Park Service published a list of 400 stations of the Underground Railroad, which stimulated local development of interpretive tours and living history programs. This narrative, which allows for incorporating “white support for freedom from slavery,” incorporates what was a “truly secretive and dangerous effort” on the part of African Americans into the dominant discourse of the nation (pp. 420–421). The interest in the Underground Railroad “represent[s] an attempt to include oneself, one’s family, and one’s locale into a more liberating narrative of the American past” (p. 421). As slavery becomes part of the national narrative, its interpretation remains contested. In 2003 a presidential commission called for an African American museum to be built on the Mall in Washington, D.C. (pp. 424–425). Ruffins reports that surveys of African Americans “do not want to rush toward reconciliation, but rather wish to have institutions squarely place the blame where it is deserved” (p. 423). In Richmond, Virginia, the plans for the Tredegar National

Civil War Center propose to “present a unified history of the Civil War, incorporating the ‘three views’—northern, southern, and African American” in the “former capital of the Confederacy” (p. 423). Ruffins suggests that it is a difficult task to fund new institutions devoted to depicting slavery as the “cultural construction . . . inevitably shaped by diametrically opposed ideas about the meaning of slavery (and race) in the American past” (p. 423).

Another ideologically contested site at the intersection of African American and national heritage is the Independence Mall and Liberty Bell Pavilion in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Mark Hutter (2007) has depicted how excavations for the new exhibition center revealed that the entrance was the site of former slave quarters for house and stable slaves brought by George Washington from Mount Vernon, his Virginia plantation, to serve him during his first term as president in the 1790s (p. 144). Slavery was illegal in Pennsylvania. According to Hutter, the U.S. Park Service decided “not to promote or even recognize the existence of slave buildings in Revolution-era Philadelphia,” prompting criticism from the *Philadelphia Tribune*, an African American newspaper in Philadelphia, that the Park Service was effectively erasing American history (p. 144). A “public outcry at the blatant attempt to hide history led to an accommodation that will have slavery and the Liberty Bell in spatial juxtaposition” (p. 145). Hutter notes that despite its Revolution-era origins, the “Liberty Bell” was named by Civil War-era abolitionists, who used it as their symbol. Ironically, in the early twenty-first century the U.S. Park Service recognizes that maintaining the connection with slavery “may attract a much sought-after diverse tourist population” and is considering the development of a series of tours, educational programs, excavations of free African American housing sites from the eighteenth century, an Underground Railroad walking tour, a museum devoted to African American experience, and a Civil War museum (pp. 145–146). Hutter notes that “the economic benefits to the city are not being ignored. It is estimated that about a third of the visitors to Philadelphia are nonwhite. That translates into tourist dollars of about \$1 billion in annual revenue” (p. 146). Philadelphia is projected to become “a destination of choice for tourists of color” (p. 146). Hutter notes that local officials recognize an “emerging new collective memory of Philadelphia,” as further archaeological digs produce evidence of the existence of a vibrant eighteenth- and nineteenth-century free African American community in the city (p. 147).

This revaluation of “negative history” is occurring nationally, recapturing the history of slavery and commemorating it for historical and tourist purposes. As slavery enters the national conversation, it is perhaps most prominently seen in Colonial Williamsburg, on some plantations, particularly on those of presidents, Mount Vernon, home of George Washington, the Monticello home of



*National Underground Railroad Freedom Center, Cincinnati, Ohio. The reevaluation of “negative history” is occurring nationally, recapturing the history of slavery and commemorating it for historical and touristic purposes. MIKE SIMONS/GETTY IMAGES.*

Thomas Jefferson, the 400 official stops of the Underground Railroad certified by the U.S. Park Service, numerous sites of slave auctions, runaway slaves, and slave rebellions, as well as former slave quarters in cities and small towns across the country with any history of slave labor to reclaim as part of their history, in the South, Midwest, West, and Northeast. Potential tourists for African American heritage sites can get information from guidebooks specifically directed to African American heritage, such as *In Their Footsteps* (1994) by Henry Chase and *Black Heritage Sites: An African American Odyssey and Finder's Guide* (1996) by Nancy C. Curtis. Both include more than capsule summaries of available historical information on each site and point out the existence of slave quarters as the point of interest in a plantation visit. Chase attempts to enumerate the population of slaves at any plantation site, as well as describe what is known of the conditions of their work and lives.

The explosion of interest in African American heritage means that tourists also have access to pamphlets from the National Park Service and tourist brochures published by municipal and state governments devoted to their local African American heritage, as well as those published by tourist attractions themselves. Tour companies often include an “African American tour” and companies have emerged who specialize in African American travel. Of course, much of this content is available on the internet. The National Park Service has embraced African American heritage on an extensive Web site with listings of park sites related to African American history, short historical essays, resources for education, and site brochures and information. The tourist brochure for the Kingsley Plantation in Florida emphasizes the slave quarters and explicitly describes sites of slave labor at stops one through six of its walking tour, while the waterfront and master's home are mentioned at stop seven.



While the focus here has been on slavery, popular tour destinations include the sites of the great events of the Civil Rights struggle in the 1950s and 1960s, including homes, churches, and educational institutions associated with civil rights leaders such as the Reverend Martin Luther King Jr., or in neighborhoods deemed historically significant that have been historically connected with African American populations and great African American achievements in science, the arts, education, politics, and sports. *The African American Travel Guide* by Wayne C. Robinson directs tourists to historical landmarks, museums, and colleges, as well as to restaurants, travel agents and tours, entertainment, and lodging in seventeen United States cities and two Canadian provinces.

What had previously been left to African Americans to document as their own heritage has become part of a national conversation and a burgeoning tourist industry. This means that the narrative of African American heritage is subject to the pressures of being part of an industry devoted to both a market niche and a broader national market. The reclamation of this “negative history” depends on the availability of historical records and collections of artifacts to document any historical revisiting and revisioning of the past. And it depends on the perspective or motivation of the person interpreting the documents.

#### DOCUMENTING THE PAST TO CONSTRUCT HERITAGE

The dominant national or external mythos of the nineteenth century was not interested in African American materials because of its orientation, which came to be organized around the notion of a “theoretical racism” that defined African Americans as “outside...the national character,” as “primitive, childlike, violent, musical, sexually voracious, and superstitious...Cultural forms that differed from mainstream European American forms... [were seen]...as evidence that confirmed an inferior or primitive past” (Ruffins, 1992, p. 521). Social Darwinism proclaimed that “Africans...inhabited a lower rung on the ladder of evolution” (p. 522).

This dominant ideology pervaded the culture of the curators and scholars who headed the development of the major national museums, including the Smithsonian and major natural history museums. As a result, there are few pre-Civil War objects of African Americans in the major national museums (p. 523). Whereas Native American artifacts became a focus for collecting, “no object was collected specifically because it reflected African American culture” (p. 523). However, some artifacts and papers were “inadvertently collected” as parts of collections of abolitionist materials or connected to plantations

such as Mount Vernon and Monticello, homes of Presidents George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, with their legacy of slavery (p. 523). Collections of papers and artifacts have an important role in documenting and thereby substantiating the historical record as authoritative records become gatekeepers as well as inspiration for national memory.

Libraries of African American papers are better served because of the employment of an African American, Daniel Alexander Payne Murray, at the Library of Congress, who was allowed to embark on an ambitious campaign of collecting documents, manuscripts, books, and letters. The Smithsonian, however, missed a chance to create an important collection of materials. A long-time African American employee, Solomon Brown, was not empowered to collect on behalf of the museum. He did become a “leading preservationist” in the African American community of Washington, D.C., and was “renowned in the 1880s and 1890s for organizing annual trips to Harpers Ferry on the anniversary of John Brown’s 1859 raid” (p. 526). This might be the first recorded instance of African American heritage tourism.

Collecting of artifacts and literary materials primarily went on in African American institutions and organizations, primarily churches, colleges, literary and historical societies, and civic organizations. The internal mythos of African Americans in the nineteenth century was of their special destiny and role as truth tellers. African Americans connected their history of enslavement and deliverance with the ancient Hebrews and with the suffering of Christ (pp. 514–515). Narratives of former slaves’ memories of slavery “intersected with this larger mythos” and were published by abolitionist presses (p. 515). Frederick Douglass’s life and memoir were seen as “emblematic of this larger mythos” (p. 516). At his death in 1896, his home, Cedar Hill, in Washington, D.C., became the first African American historic house, maintained for seventy years by African American civic organizations such as the National Association of Colored Women’s Clubs and the National Council of Negro Women (pp. 516–517). In 1963 it became the first African American property acquired by the United States Park Service and thereafter maintained by the national government and entering into the dominant discourse as part of the commemoration of the Civil War (p. 517).

Ruffins (1992) documents the changing attitudes and mythos of African Americans toward Africa, as well as toward slavery. While in the eighteenth century organizations mentioned African heritage, the nineteenth century marked a shift away from identification with Africa (p. 518), perhaps affected by the dominant racist discourse about primitivity. William H. Sheppard, a missionary among the Kuba tribe in the Belgian Congo,

became a collector who argued for the sophistication of African society. His collection of artifacts were donated to Hampton Institute in Virginia and marked a change in attitude toward collecting African objects.

Twentieth-century African American movements were to be more embracing of African heritage. Black Victorians, as Ruffins calls the educated nineteenth-century African Americans, who founded the main cultural institutions, were also uninterested in collecting the material culture of enslaved or even rural African Americans and there are few extant examples of eighteenth-century artifacts: quilts, clothing, musical instruments, basketry, and other household items. They are mostly recovered from southern plantations that have become museums (pp. 519–520). The Black Victorian mythos embraced a notion of the “heroism of everyday life,” where those who “founded businesses, practiced professions. . . , taught school, or led congregations were seen not only as model citizens but as living proof that Black people could and did achieve middle-class respectability” (p. 517). Educated African Americans collected the artifacts of their own achievements, but distanced themselves from slavery and rural populations, reflecting the dominant discourse of the nineteenth century. These artifacts became the basis for collections, as well as documents of churches, businesses, and newspapers. The homes and businesses of these nineteenth-century professionals are themselves tourist destinations for heritage travel. According to Judith Wellman, their documents, as well as those of nineteenth-century white abolitionists, became the historical evidence that allowed sites to be certified by the U.S. Park Service as official sites of the Underground Railroad and thereby enter into the dominant discourse (pp. 11–29).

#### HERITAGE TRAVEL

Heritage travel for African Americans includes a variety of United States destinations. Every major city across the United States and every rural town in the south and other regions have rediscovered their African American roots and compete with each other for the tourist dollar. Whereas Europe, the Caribbean, Latin America, and Canada have also constructed African American tourist destinations, arguably the most moving destination is to journey back to the continent of origin—heritage travel to Africa. African nations such as Senegal and Ghana have responded to this interest of the African diaspora in returning to its roots.

According to Edward M. Bruner, the West African nation of Ghana is attempting to develop its tourist industry around the “star features” of the “historic castles of Elmira and Cape Coast, which were used as staging areas for the mid-Atlantic slave trade” (1996, p. 290). Elmira Castle, built in 1482, has received designation as a

World Heritage Monument from UNESCO. Of 17,091 visitors in 1992, 12.3 percent were from North America, including African Americans. According to Bruner, these represented a “class-privileged and more educated segment of the larger African American population” (p. 290). The interests of Ghanaians is economic development of their country and they see tourism as an important vehicle. The interest of African Americans is on the historic significance of the dungeons at Elmira Castle as an opportunity “to experience one of the very sites from which their ancestors may have begun the torturous journey to the New World” (p. 291). Elmira represents “sacred ground not to be desecrated” and a “return to the slave forts for diaspora blacks has been called a ‘necessary act of self-realization’” (p. 291).

The Ghanaians’ focus on Elmira is not primarily on slavery. Elmira’s 500-year history represents a series of foreign occupations, as well as their own independence in 1957 (Bruner 1996, p. 292). Restoring the castle has raised issues of interpretation: whose story should be told? One Africa Productions, an organization founded by the Robinsons, an African American couple living in Ghana, is “dedicated to the reuniting of Africans from the diaspora with Africans from the continent, and, for a fee, they also conduct performances in the dungeons, primarily for African American tourists” (p. 294). Because of the European history of Elmira and the presence of European tourists, tours of the castle shift emphasis depending on who is visiting. One concern of a meeting of the African Travel Association in 1994 was whether to focus marketing strategies of Elmira to African Americans or to a broader tourist market. The recommendation that emerged from the conference was that “the cultural heritage of all the different epochs and powers should be presented, but also that the area symbolizing the slave trade be given reverential treatment” (Bruner 1996, p. 294).

Controversies have emerged over whitewashing Elmira to maintain it and the closing of a restaurant-bar as inappropriate to its location over the men’s dungeons at Cape Coast Castle. Ghanaians saw the restaurant as a means to keep tourists in the area and stimulate the economy. Legitimate tourist attractions would include programs of music and religious services (Bruner 1996, p. 294). Bruner highlights a further disparity between the expectations of Ghanaians and African American tourists. The Ghanaians calls them “obruni” which means “whiteman,” but “the term is extended to Europeans, Americans, and Asians regardless of skin color, so it has a meaning of foreigner. This second meaning is also ironic, since the diaspora blacks see themselves as returning ‘home’” (p. 295).

The Robinsons’ performance for African American tourists at the Elmira dungeon site is a participatory

reenactment of the slaves' passing "Through the Door of No Return—The Return," where "the tourist group assembles in the dungeon, where they hold hands, light candles, pray together, usually weep together, pour libation as a homage to the ancestors, and then pass through the door that the slaves went through to the slave ships taking them to the Americas" (Bruner 1996, p. 296). In the tourist reenactment, the tour group sings "We Shall Overcome" and the Negro National Anthem, then return to the castle singing and dancing to African music to "celebrate their joyous return to mother Africa" (p. 296). Bruner describes another "Through the Door of No Return" tour that is geared to the native Ghanaian market, produced by a tour operator from Accra, where "the performance ends after going through the door, and there is no reentry to the castle, or symbolically no return to Africa" (p. 296). For Bruner these differences reflect "different versions of black history and dramatically reveal the disparate understandings of African Americans and Ghanaians" (p. 296).

Other areas of contradiction surround the role of African participation in the slave trade that is not addressed and some Ghanaian feelings about the obvious economic advantages of diaspora blacks and how that may represent a "fortunate" impact of slavery (Bruner 1996, p. 296). Bruner remarks that the castles have been segregated from native Ghanaians for the sake of preservation. They are more available to tourists than to the local population, and the elimination of local markets and the restaurant has meant less opportunity for locals to benefit from the tourist trade (pp. 298-299).

Paulla A. Ebron describes a similar tour when she accompanied a group under the sponsorship of the McDonald's Corporation. The tour guides reminded the tourists that they were on a "pilgrimage, not a safari" (1999, p. 916). She experienced the tour as a "deliberately designed" ritual that "resolved at the end of the trip to create a sense of transformation and reintegration" (p. 916). The phrase, "pilgrimage, not a safari" was offered "first [as] a subtle suggestion; as it was repeated throughout the course of the trip, it became like an advertising jingle, a collective prayer, as well as our hosts' desperate plea that we remember the distinction between this tour and an ordinary tourist jaunt. . . . Even in the moment of becoming tourists with our bodies and baggage, we were called upon to be more than tourists; we were to be pilgrims" (p. 918).

The trip to the slave fort on Goree Island in Senegal effected the change from tourist to pilgrim. Although it played only a "minor role in the slave trade," it has become "symbolically significant for African Americans as well as tour company ventures" (Ebron 1999, p. 920). For Ebron, the ferry ride and walk to the fort created the sense of "homecoming," as well as "apprehensive

moments and perhaps even a sense of awe brought about by the meeting of the myths of our African home with the material site, the slave fort, the place where it all began" (p. 921). Touring the narrow slave quarters a second time after the curator's dramatic narrative of the capture and deportation of the slaves, which "confirmed a sense of collective history," the group became sober and there was a "hush." A prayer and libations were offered and the group entered a room with walls of chain irons and log books of slaving records. Ebron notes that "certificates—written verification of our visit to Goree—were available for purchase" (p. 292).

The group stayed on the island for four hours, bonding with each other and producing a "potent . . . deeper connection" (Ebron 1999, p. 922). Ebron notes that this "pensive and reflective period was disrupted by the swarm of peddlers that surrounded the group once we were no longer protected by the walls of the fort. The historical return met present time, and we were urged back into our tourist status" (p. 292). Ebron highlights the counter-narratives of tourists and natives as they interact with different interests. These disjunctures—between identity as pilgrim or tourist, as coming home or foreign—occurred throughout the journey, which continued to Gambia, but the group had taken its "first step in the collective experience of regenerating an emotional connection to what had only previously been a more distant set of fragmentary semblances. Images of ship hulls packed with Africans are African American memories. . . ." (p. 922).

Christine Mullen Kreamer also describes the contradictory interests of Africans and African Americans as she describes the creation of the museum exhibition space at Cape Coast Castle in Ghana and the debates that ensued from the multiple perspectives of those who "to varying degrees, claimed ownership of the use and interpretation of Ghana's historic forts and castles" (2006, p. 437). She likens the process to Ebron's analysis of the globalized context of her 1994 tour experience, where "transnational trends and ideas about culture and identity converged with the strategies of multinational capitalists, the dreams of diasporic communities, and the income-generating plans of African national governments to produce Africa as a commodified cultural object of global significance" (p. 439). The conflict concerned how narratives would be prioritized in a limited exhibition space. The Ghanaian narrative topicalized Ghana's "five hundred year history" of "interactions with European economic and political interests," its "struggle for . . . independence from colonial domination," and a celebration of contemporary culture. The second narrative described the transatlantic slave trade and the "struggle for freedom and equality of peoples of African descent in the Americas" (p. 438). Kreamer points out that the controversy over the role of Ghanaian ancestors

in the slave trade provides a “subtext” to the conflicts over the museum space and the desire on the part of African Americans to “educate” Ghanaians about the slave trade, including African complicity (p. 456).

The disparity in incomes and the need for the tourist dollar adds fuel to the conflicts. Tours run by “outside tour groups” such as the Nation of Islam and the Robinsons’ One Africa Productions bypassed the official museum guides. These tourist ventures “generated considerable fees, only a fraction of which were shared with the museum to help it with its operating funds” (p. 456). An “atonement ceremony . . . performed for visiting African Americans . . . by some local Ghanaian chiefs . . . was received with mixed reviews by Ghanaians, some of whom felt offended and coerced to participate in the ceremony or to admit that their ancestors played a role in the trade” (Kreamer 2006, p. 457).

The controversy highlights “an increasing sense of ownership among people of African descent for sites in Africa associated with the transatlantic slave trade (Kreamer 2006, p. 460). As designated UNESCO World Heritage sites, the forts and castles of Senegal and Ghana take on the identity of world heritage sites and the claims of a global constituency to share in their meaning (pp. 438, 450). These sites are “akin to shrines where people of African descent come to mourn their enslaved ancestors, to question the culpability of Africans during nearly four centuries of the trade, and to create mechanisms that allow for reconciliation” (p. 460). At the same time, for the Africans who are custodians of these sites, other stories are equally important to tell. Kreamer concludes that “the voices of the African diaspora have diminished the voices of the Ghanaians in the representation” of these sites (p. 462).

#### DISCOURSE, POWER, AND COMMODIFICATION IN HERITAGE TOURISM

Stories that get told, retold, revised, and revised again reflect more than the collective memories of communities and nations or the outcome of objective historical research. They reflect the power of those who sponsor and fund museums, historical monuments, and the refurbishing of tourist destinations. As a potential market, African Americans are enjoying an upsurge in the development of tourist destinations focused on a part of history that has been underrepresented in the dominant discourse that the United States has historically erased: the history of slavery. The stories of African Americans, more specifically the discourses in which African Americans draw strategies of narration, develop different emphases from the dominant discourse; the trip to the plantation focuses on the slave quarters, rather than the big house. As African Americans claim a central place in

the national narrative, their power as tourists involves them in the transnational discourse of global tourism and the narration of the national heritage of African nations.

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*Allison Carter*

## TRACK AND FIELD

Track and field athletic events had their origins in the Olympic Games of ancient Greece about 2,500 years ago. Track and field consists of a variety of running, walking, jumping, hurdling, and throwing events that take place between competing individuals or teams. The running and hurdling events range in length from the 50-meter sprint to the marathon (26 miles, 385 yards long). These events require different combinations of strength, speed, stamina, and agility.

The idea that any particular group of people, a race or national group, should dominate track and field as a whole is absurd. However, at various times in the history of European society, this view has been propagated (e.g., the superiority of the Aryan athlete on the verge of the 1936 Olympic Games). Today's theories of racial supremacy in track and field revolve around the claim that various races differ in specific athletic abilities, predisposing them for dominance in a particular series of events. These include claims that North American blacks are superior sprinters and jumpers, hybrid "races" such as North Africans are superior middle-distance runners, and East African blacks are superior long-distance runners.

Northern Europeans are claimed to be superior in events related to upper-body strength.

Much of the modern racial theory of track and field has been summarized by popular journalist Jon Entine in *Taboo: Why Black Athletes Dominate Sports and Why We Are Afraid to Talk About It*, first published in 2000. Entine claims that human races can be defined, if loosely, and that genetically determined features of these races can be used to predict individual predispositions for success in world-class athletics. He points to the dominance of western African (black) sprinters and jumpers, eastern African (black) long-distance runners, and northern Europeans in strength events. East Asians reputedly excel in flexibility and thus dominate such sports as gymnastics and diving. These claims are made by using patterns in male athletics. Entine recognizes that profound social forces (in particular the denial of athletic opportunities for female athletes) often skew the results of women's track and field to favor European nations.

The core claims of racial superiority with regard to track and field performances are: (1) that biologically definable races differ in physiology relative to performance in various track and field events; (2) that these biological differences are causal factors producing the patterns of elite performance in track and field; and (3) that there is racial clustering in elite performance in track and field.

#### SPRINTING, JUMPING, AND RACIAL BIOLOGY

Proponents of the alleged West African black advantage in sprinting and jumping often point to muscle physiology, hormone levels, and skeletal advantages. The relationship between running and jumping ability and the genetic differences in muscle-fiber types between "blacks" and "whites" has been linked to supposed differences in sprinting and endurance. Proponents argue that fast-twitch (type IIa and IIx) fibers are good for power and speed, while slow-twitch (type I) fibers are best for endurance. Empirical studies suggest that the legs of a world-class sprinter would have about 80 percent fast-twitch fibers and 20 percent slow-twitch, while the average active person would be expected to have about 50 percent of each. As of 2007, there have been no systematic analyses of muscle-fiber-type distributions in untrained persons around the world.

However, much has been made of the few studies that have examined differences between "racial" groups. For example, a 1986 study examined fast- and slow-twitch muscle types between West African "blacks" and French Canadian "whites." The authors found that the blacks were 67.5 percent fast muscle, but whites were only 59 percent. Using these averages, and applying a normal curve based on

the variability in the data, the researchers concluded that the black curve would have a greater probability of producing fast-muscle percentages consistent with what would be expected in world-class sprinters (they estimated world-class sprinters should have more than 90 percent fast-twitch fibers). Because they believed that the differences in muscle-fiber proportion were genetically determined, and therefore immutable, they claimed blacks were naturally more likely to produce world-class sprinters rather than long-distance runners. However, without a worldwide large-scale sampling of untrained individuals, there is no real way to interpret any differences in muscle-fiber composition among athletes or to make any legitimate comparisons of genetic predispositions for long-distance running. The differences may be a matter of training rather than genetic inheritance.



*Wilson Kipketer of Denmark Competes in the 800 Meter Race, Athens Olympics, 2004. Racial typologists claim that Northern and Eastern Africans are genetically predisposed for middle- and long-distance running, a claim supported on the surface by the success of Wilson Kipketer, a runner of Kenyan descent. ANDY LYONS/GETTY IMAGES.*

Even factors as subtle as differences in diet or conditions faced during gestation could influence the expression of various genes, and hence produce a physical difference. Diet influences hormone levels, which can, in turn, influence the proportion of muscle-fiber types in animals. Testosterone level is responsible for the different muscle-fiber percentages between male and female mice (females have more type I fibers). Given that no large-scale studies of muscle-fiber percentage throughout the world have been conducted and that the few existing studies never controlled for dietary factors, claiming that the differences in muscle-fiber percentages result from differences in underlying genes is simply not credible (Graves 2005).

In addition, there are no systematic studies of candidate genes for any features associated with any sort of athletic performance. For example, two studies of American blacks and whites, which examined both inactive college-age men and college football players, show no significant differences in muscle-fiber proportions and muscle architecture (Abe, Brown, and Brechue 1999; Duey et al. 1997). These studies did show, however, that the black athletes had significantly greater quadriceps, hamstring, and bicep muscle thickness compared to the whites, though any number of social or environmental factors could explain these results (such as a longer history of strenuous exercise in the blacks examined).

Intrinsic racial difference in muscle-fiber percentages does not explain the differences currently observed between the number of world-class sprinters of African American and European American origins. The racial typologists claim that there is a greater percentage of blacks whose range of type II muscle fibers is suitable for producing world-class sprinters. Yet even if this greater percentage were ten times more likely to produce world-class sprinters, it would still not explain the observed differences in world-class sprinter distribution. The actual number of world-class sprinters originating from a racial group would depend on the size of the population in question. Using the total population size and the relative proportions of whites and blacks in the United States, one would expect to find 303,118 blacks and 206,672 whites with the genetic architecture required to be world-class sprinters. Proportionately, there should be only 1.46 times more blacks than whites with the proper genetics to be world-class sprinters (Graves 2005). Yet African Americans have dominated sprinting in America in the late-twentieth and early-twenty-first century in numbers greater than predicted by this theoretical distribution of genotypes. It must be remembered that this scenario assumes that blacks are ten times more likely than whites to have the proper muscle distributions, which data during this stretch of time show is highly unlikely. Therefore, other reasons must be found to explain why whites have not excelled in sprinting.

Genetic differences controlling muscle-fiber types between blacks and whites have been linked to supposed differences in endurance. Generally, long-distance runners are small, light-framed, and have high endurance, which may be linked to the percentage of endurance muscle-fiber types found in an individual. Empirical studies suggest that the legs of a world-class marathon runner have 80 percent slow-twitch and 20 percent fast-twitch muscles. It has been assumed that genetic factors fix the proportion of fiber types, so that training cannot drastically alter their ratio. However, research shows that endurance training can change type IIa fibers into type I fibers and that super-fast-twitch (type IIb) fibers can be changed into type IIa. Strength training, however, does not convert type I into type II fibers (Anderson, Scherling, and Saltin 2000).

Research on the heritability of muscle-fiber determination using monozygotic and dizygotic twins suggests that muscle-fiber distribution is about 45 percent genetic and 40 percent environmental, with about 15 percent of the variance in muscle type explained by sampling and technical error (Simoneau and Bouchard 1995). This means that if all technical error were removed, muscle-fiber distribution could be at most 60 percent genetic. This hardly provides strong support for the idea that running ability is genetically determined, which also means that a biologically racial theory of track and field performance cannot be tenable.

Furthermore, human groups that have been described as “races” are highly variable genetically. A study of Kenyan and Scandinavian long-distance runners showed no differences between their muscle-fiber proportions. In both groups studied, 60 to 70 percent of the muscle fibers were type I (Saltin 1995). A 2004 study that examined untrained individuals and national-class runners in Poland found 41.7 percent of the muscle fibers in the former were type I, while in the latter 64.3 percent were type I. However, without worldwide large-scale sampling of untrained individuals, it is difficult to interpret any differences in muscle-fiber composition among athletes or to make any legitimate comparisons of genetic predispositions for long-distance running.

#### HORMONES AND ATHLETICISM

Another consistent theme used to explain the superior performance of black male athletes is that of their supposedly greater hormone levels. Black males are said to have higher levels of circulating sex hormones called androgens than do whites and Asians. It is further argued that these differences make blacks more aggressive, violent, and lawless. In the early 1990s, a study of racial hormone levels examined males discharged from the U.S. Army between 1965 and 1971. The study examined

more than 4,000 non-Hispanic whites, blacks, Hispanics, Asian and Pacific Islanders, and Native Americans in their late thirties. It was found that the amount of testosterone in the blood was greatest in Asian and Pacific Islanders, followed by blacks, whites, Hispanics, and then Native Americans. After the samples were adjusted for both the age and the weight of the individuals in the groups, the order of the groups changed to blacks, Asian and Pacific Islanders, Native Americans, whites, and then Hispanics. There were a number of problems with how these data were obtained, but even if one accepts these results, they do not match the predictions of those who claim that socially defined race determines athletic performance. For example, the study predicts that Asian and American Indian men should be more aggressive than white or Hispanic men. Yet American society sees Asian Americans as the model minority group and not as likely to be superstars in aggressive and violent sports such as football or boxing.

Finally, while it is widely known that testosterone levels influence sex drive and aggression in male primates, it is also known that learning strongly modifies the influence of sex hormones. When additional testosterone is given to males, it does not increase their sex drive above normal levels, and testosterone levels are strongly influenced by daily and seasonal rhythms. There is also an extensive literature that shows strong environmental influences on hormone levels. In addition, transient aggression influences testosterone levels in human males. Such factors as tennis matches, stress, collegiate exams, or army basic training can decrease testosterone levels. Studies that have used psychological rating scales to quantify levels of aggression and hostility in human males have found no relationship between aggression and androgen levels (Graves 2005).

Even more revealing is that studies of hormone levels have not found any difference between the testosterone levels of African-American and European-American men. One study found that male testosterone level was correlated with age, body mass index (BMI), and waist circumference (Gapstur 2002). When black and white males were compared for testosterone level with only age and BMI being controlled for, black males had about a 3 percent higher testosterone level. However, once waist circumference was included in this analysis, there was no difference between the groups. (The 1992 study of men discharged from the army did not control for BMI or waist circumference.) Furthermore, research concerning the genetic controls of testosterone level show that it is a complex trait. A genome-wide linkage scan for genes controlling steroid hormones found that more than sixteen different genes were involved in the process. The loci were not the same in the black and white families exam-

ined in this study, providing strong evidence that many environmental influences alter sex hormone levels.

Once again, the same underlying problem exists in all the biological comparisons of socially constructed races: Unless all the subjects in these testosterone measurements experienced the same environments and the same social conditions, and displayed the same psychological responses to them, such studies are literally meaningless. American society certainly does not treat African American and European-American males equally, so measurements of hormone levels in these groups cannot be correlated to any supposed genetic differences between them, nor can it be posited that hormonal levels determine success in any specific sport.

#### RACE AND THE PHYSIOLOGY OF ATHLETIC PERFORMANCE

Environmental and genetic explanations for racial domination in sports ability are difficult, if not impossible, to disentangle. The first obstacle is that human genetic variation cannot be unambiguously partitioned into races (Graves 2005). The second problem is that environmental influences that might impact physiological performance are not consistently associated with any particular population (however defined). Finally, any investigation of athletic performance must take into account social, cultural, and economic factors that influence who is likely to have the opportunity to achieve in a given sport at the highest levels.

It is true that general physiological rules control the evolution of human body types—for example, Bergman's rule, which relates body size to average environmental temperature. This principle states that within the same species, body sizes that evolve in cooler climates will be larger than those in warmer climates. This results because large bodies retain heat better in cooler climates because of smaller surface area to volume ratio. An extension of Bergman's rule is Allen's rule, which states that protruding body parts, such as arms and legs, are generally shorter in cooler climates. These rules could be used to explain the differences in body features between Eskimos and northeastern Africans. The former tend to be shorter, have thicker chests, and are short limbed, while the latter are taller, leaner, and long limbed.

Between these extremes, however, many body types exist in human populations. This is particularly true on continents that span great extremes of geography and of climate. China, for example, is nearly 2,200 miles long from north to south. It contains altitudes that include the Tibetan plateau (Mt. Everest, at 29,035 feet) all the way down to sea level. The body proportions exhibited by northern Chinese tend to be different from those found among southern Chinese. Just as well, one would expect



different body traits in Tibetans as compared to Chinese from the region around Guangzhou. Yet anthropologists and geneticists almost never think of classifying these groups as different races. In theory, indigenous Tibetans should have some of the best high-altitude physiological adaptations in the world, but these cultures do not produce many world-class distance runners.

While the biomechanical features of individual athletes influence their potential for success in a specific sport, in most portions of the world there is great variation in body types. Africa, for example, exhibits populations as diverse as the Mbuti Pygmies of Central Africa and the Watusi of Kenya. As a group, the Pygmies are very short, while the Watusi are very tall. These groups differ in the frequency of genes that affect height, and most likely have lost sufficient amounts of genetic variation at these loci. However, in large populations, there is more genetic variation within groups than there is between them. This means that in populations of sufficient size, one should observe virtually all body types within any chosen group, even if the average of the body-type features between arbitrarily constructed groups were different. If one accepts the principle that world-class athletes should be rare, then one predicts that a nation's population size should be an important factor in determining its production of athletes in any sport. What this means is that individuals with both the genetic predisposition for great performance and the environmental circumstances that allow the expression of these genes will be rare, without regard to the racial composition of the country.

**SUCCESS IN WORLD-CLASS TRACK AND FIELD**

If race as a biological grouping is a legitimate factor in determining an individual's ability to perform at the highest levels in track and field, there should be evidence for it. Much is made of African domination in sprinting events. As of 2006, persons of African descent hold the male and female world records in the 100-meter sprint (Assafa Powell, Jamaica, 9.77 seconds, and Florence Griffith Joyner, United States, 10.49 seconds), and the 200-meter sprint (Michael Johnson, 19.32 seconds, and Florence Griffith Joyner, 21.34 seconds, both from the United States). However, in the 400 meters, a West German woman, Marita Koch, holds the world record at 47.60 seconds; the male record holder is Michael Johnson of the United States, at 43.18 seconds. The world record in the high jump is held by Javier Sotomayor, a Cuban of some African ancestry, while the woman's record is held by Stefka Kostadinova of Bulgaria. The long-jump records are held by Mike Powell, an African American, and Galina Chistyakova of the Soviet

**Men's Top Times in the Mile, as of September 2005**

Nation	Number of Top Times	Number of Runners Responsible	Individual With Best Time
Morocco	16	2	El Guerrouj, 3:43.13*
Kenya	20	12	Ngeny, 3:43.40
Algeria	12	2	Morceli, 3:44.39
Great Britain	18	5	Cram, 3:46.32
United States	14	5	Scott, 3:47.69
Spain	5	5	Gonzalez, 3:47.79
Burundi	3	1	Niyangabo, 3:46.70
Qatar	1	1	Bashir, 3:47.97
Australia	1	1	Moltram, 3:48.98
New Zealand	5	1	Walker, 3:48.08
Germany	1	1	Herold, 3:49.22
Somalia	1	1	Bile, 3:49.40
Russia	0	0	
Romania	0	0	
Ireland	1	1	Flynn, 3:49.77
Bulgaria	0	0	
Uzbekistan	0	0	
Portugal	1	1	Silva, 3:49.50
Switzerland	0	0	
Poland	0	0	

\*World Record Holder

Note: The number of top 100 performances posted by a nation are given in column two; column three lists the number of individuals from that nation who are responsible for the top performances; column four names the individual from that nation with the top performance and lists his time.

SOURCE: Adapted from the Track and Field All-Time Performances Homepage, <http://www.alltime-athletics.com> (Accessed April 24, 2007).

**Table 1.**

Union. The triple-jump world records belong to Jonathon Edwards of the United Kingdom, who does not appear to be of African ancestry, and Inessa Kravets of the Ukraine. The 110-meter-hurdle record for men is shared by Xiang Liu of China and Colin Jackson of the United Kingdom (and of African descent). The women's record holder in the 100-meter hurdles is Yordanka Donkova of Bulgaria. Thus, an examination of the world record holders in various events shows that African Americans are well represented but that Europeans and East Asians are also present. This is a weak case for supporting the idea that blacks are inherently faster sprinters and better jumpers than members of other races.

The claim that "hybrid" races dominate middle-distances is weakly supported by the superiority of male Kenyan and Moroccan runners in the 800 meters, 1,500 meters, and mile events during the late twentieth and the early twenty-first centuries (see Tables 1 and 2). These runners include Wilson Kipketer, a Kenyan who set the world record in the 800 meters in 1997 while running for Denmark, in a time of 1:41.11; and Hicham El

**Men's Top Times in the 1500 Meters (Metric Mile),  
as of September 2005**

Nation	Number of Top Times	Number of Runners Responsible	Individual With Best Time
Morroco	40	2	El Guerrouj, 3:26.00*
Kenya	20	10	Lagat, 3:26.34
Algeria	10	2	Morceli, 3:27.37
Great Britain	3	2	Cram, 3:29.67 United States
States	1	1	Maree, 3:29.77
Spain	1	1	Cacho, 3:28.95
Burundi	3	1	Niyangabo, 3:29.18
France	1	1	Baala, 3:28.98
Bahrain	1	1	Ramzi, 3:30.00
Ukraine	1	1	Hesko, 3:30.33
Germany	0	0	
Somalia	0	0	
Russia	0	0	
Romania	0	0	
China	0	0	
Turkey	0	0	
Bulgaria	0	0	
Uzbekistan	0	0	
Portugal	1	1	Silva, 3:30.07
Switzerland	0	0	
Ethiopia	0	0	

\*World Record Holder

Note: The number of top 100 performances posted by a nation are given in column two; column three lists the number of individuals from that nation who are responsible for the top performances; column four names the individual from that nation with the top performance and lists his time.

SOURCE: Adapted from the Track and Field All-Time Performances Homepage, <http://www.alltime-athletics.com> (Accessed April 24, 2007).

**Table 2.**

Guerrouj of Morocco, the world record holder in the 1,500 meters (3:26.00, set in 1998) and in the mile (3:43.13, set in 1999). However, viewing the entire top 100 times posted in these events, by both men and women, vitiates any racial view of success in middle-distance running. For example, while Moroccan and Algerian males have posted 28 of the top 100 performances in the mile (as of 2005), these times were run by only four individuals. Similarly, twelve Kenyan males have posted 20 of the top 100 times.

Other countries of note on this list are Great Britain and the United States, which have cultural ties to the mile race (English measurement). Thirty-two of the top 100, times in the mile were posted by ten runners (not of West or North African descent) from these two nations.

The fallacy of a genetic explanation for racial prominence is further illustrated when the distribution of the top 100 times in the mile by female runners is examined

**Women's Top Times in the Mile, as of September 2005**

Nation	Number of Top Times	Number of Runners Responsible	Individual With Best Time
Morroco	0	0	
Kenya	1	1	Marenga, 4:24
Algeria	2	1	Boulmerka, 4:20.79
Great Britain	8	4	Pieterse, 4:17.57
United States	20	5	Slaney, 4:16.71
Spain	0	0	
Burundi	0	0	
Qatar	0	0	
Australia	0	0	
New Zealand	0	0	
Germany	2	2	Bruns, 4:21.59
Somalia	0	0	
Russia	19	12	Masterkova, 4:12.56*
Romania	25	8	Ivan, 4:15.61
Ireland	5	1	O'Sullivan, 4:17.25
Bulgaria	2	2	Yatzinska, 4:21.52
Uzbekistan	2	1	Zaytseva, 4:22.50
Portugal	3	1	Sacramento, 4:23.41
Switzerland	1	1	Weyermann, 4:23.92
Poland	1	1	Brzezinska, 4:22.96

\*World Record Holder

Note: The number of top 100 performances posted by a nation are given in column two; column three lists the number of individuals from that nation who are responsible for the top performances; column four names the individual from that nation with the top performance and lists her time.

SOURCE: Adapted from the Track and Field All-Time Performances Homepage, <http://www.alltime-athletics.com> (Accessed April 24, 2007).

**Table 3.**

(see Table 3). In 2005, the three nations that dominate male long-distance running (Kenya, Morocco, and Algeria) produced only two women who accounted for three of the top 100 times. Thus, Morocco, which had two males with times in the top 100, produced no women runners who posted times in the top 100. The vast majority of top-100 times have now been run by women from Russia and eastern Europe (these countries have no male runners in the top 100). Russia, Romania, Bulgaria, Uzbekistan, and Poland account for 49 of the top 100. Svetlana Masterkova of Russia set the world record of 4:12.56 in 1996. The fastest time by a North African woman is 4:20.79, run by Hassiba Boulmerka of Algeria in 1991.

The contribution of cultural factors that contribute to success in middle-distance running is further illustrated by an examination of performances in the 1,500 meters. As with the mile, North African and Kenyan male runners have come to dominate at this distance. In 2005, El Guerrouj held the world record and 16 of the top 100 times at this distance, though only one other

**Women's Top Times in the 1500 Meters (Metric Mile), as of September 2005**

Nation	Number of Top Times	Number of Runners Responsible	Individual With Best Time
Morocco	0	0	
Kenya	2	2	Marenga, 3:57.41
Algeria	1	1	Boulmerka, 3:55.30
Great Britain	2	1	Holmes, 3:57.90
United States	2	2	Slaney, 3:57.24
Spain	0	0	
Burundi	0	0	
France	0	0	
Bahrain	0	0	
Ukraine	6	4	Pozdnyakova, 3:56.50
Germany	2	2	Wartenburg, 3:57.71
Somalia	0	0	
Russia	23	12	Kazankina, 3:52.47
Romania	14	8	Ivan, 3:53.96
China	23	12	Qu, 3:50.46*
Turkey	2	2	Ayhan-Top, 3:55.33
Bulgaria	1	1	Petrova, 3:57.40
Uzbekistan	1	1	Zaytseva, 3:56.14
Portugal	1	1	Sacramento, 3:57.71
Switzerland	1	1	Weyermann, 3:58.20
Ethiopia	1	1	Dulecha, 3:58.38

\*World Record Holder

Note: The number of top 100 performances posted by a nation are given in column two; column three lists the number of individuals from that nation who are responsible for the top performances; column four names the individual from that nation with the top performance and lists her time.

SOURCE: Adapted from the Track and Field All-Time Performances Homepage, <http://www.alltime-athletics.com> (Accessed April 24, 2007).

Table 4.

Moroccan runner was in the top 100. Bernard Lagat was the fastest Kenyan at this distance in 2005, holding 20 of the top 100 times (ten other Kenyan athletes were in the top 100). However, runners from Great Britain and the United States, which are based largely on the English rather than the metric system (though Great Britain is scheduled to fully convert to the metric system by 2009), posted only four top-100 times (by three athletes) in the 1,500 meters as of 2005. As previously mentioned, runners from these two nations have fared much better in the mile, which is equivalent to 1,607 meters and is thus a slightly longer race than the 1,500 meters. The 107-meter difference does seem to have an impact on how an athlete trains for the event or for strategies employed in running it. Thus, one cannot infer that an excellent miler will necessarily be an excellent 1,500-meter performer, and vice versa.

The previous point is also supported by the pattern shown in women's 1,500-meter times (see Table 4). Here

**Leading Nations for Track and Field Medals 2004 Summer Olympics**

Nation	Gold	Silver	Bronze	Total
USA	36	39	27	102
Russia	27	27	38	92
China	32	17	14	63
Australia	17	16	16	49
Germany	13	16	20	49

SOURCE: Adapted from the International Olympic Committee website. Olympic Results: Medals by Country. [http://www.olympic.org/uk/games/past/index\\_uk.asp?OLGT=1&OLGY=2004](http://www.olympic.org/uk/games/past/index_uk.asp?OLGT=1&OLGY=2004) (accessed April 24, 2007).

Table 5.

is seen the emergence of Chinese women as the top performers in the world, a result not predicted by any of the racial typology theories of track and field. The world's top time at this distance was turned in by Qu Yunxia of China, who posted a time of 3:50.46 in 1993. China accounts for 23 of the top 100 at this distance, with twelve athletes on the list. Russia, meanwhile, also accounts for 23 of the top 100 (with twelve athletes), and Romania has 14 of the top 100 (with eight athletes). Again, the United States and Britain have had much less success in recent years, with only four top-100 times, posted by three athletes. Kenya and Algeria are also similarly reduced with three top-100 times, turned in by the same two athletes as in the mile event.

If the racial characteristics of nations do not predict their success in world track and field, what does? The evidence suggests that since world-class performance is rare and that it requires significant cultural and economic inputs to maintain, then population size and financial means should explain an individual's chance of becoming a world-class track and field athlete. For example, Table 5 supports this notion. The nations that won the most track and field medals at the 2004 Summer Olympics were nations that had both large populations and high gross domestic products. To test this idea for track and field in the aggregate, a multivariate analysis of variance was performed on the total track and field medal count from the 2004 Summer Olympics (see Table 6). Analysis of variance is a statistical technique that looks at the variance between groups and compares it to the variance within groups. If the variation within groups is greater than the variance between groups, then one concludes that the groups being compared are not statistically different from each other. If the opposite is true, then one concludes that the groups are statistically different from each other. The variables examined

were gross domestic product (GDP), population size, and ethnicity/race. Countries were divided into eight categories by gross domestic product (GDP), eight categories by population size, and six categories by race/ethnicity. Five of the race/ethnicity categories were derived from nineteenth-century classification and geographical location: Negroid (sub-Saharan Africa), Caucasoid (northern/western European), Mongoloid (East Asian), Amerindian (Latin American nations), Australoid/Micronesians (nations with indigenous populations that were Australoid), and multiracial nations (nations such as the United States and the Republic of South Africa). The use of the GDP variable was to test the idea that the production of world-class track and field athletes is not influenced by the wealth of the nation.

As seen in Table 6, the results of the analysis support this last notion; GDP was not a statistically significant factor in medals awarded in track and field at the 2004 Olympic Games. Neither was the race/ethnicity of the nation statistically significant. The only statistically significant variable in this analysis was population size. However, the entire model, using GDP, population size, and race/ethnicity together, was significant. This results from the overwhelming impact of population size in determining the nation's ability to produce track and field medal winners at the 2004 Olympic Games. GDP and race/ethnicity alone were not significant; neither was their interaction significant in this model. These results support the hypothesis that the most reliable indicator of a nation's ability to produce world-class athletes is not its race/ethnicity but its population size.

An analysis of swimming medals awarded at the 2004 Olympic Games showed that GDP, population size, and race/ethnicity were all significant variables. Of the ninety-two medals in swimming at the 2004 games, only eleven were awarded to individuals not of European ancestry (Japan 8, China 2, and Trinidad Tobago 1). The three medals awarded to the Republic of South Africa went to swimmers of European descent. These results do not support the notion that only northern Europeans can swim; rather, it suggests that world-class swimming competition is still dominated by large, wealthy nations whose participant populations are mainly of European origin (United States, Australia, Germany, and Russia).

Those who wish to champion racial determination of track and field ability might raise the criticism that the racial identification of the nations in the analysis was not correct. The assignment of nations and their athletes followed the standard racial conventions used by the racialists. This argument, however, only strengthens the criticism of biological race as an ambiguous category, thus vitiating their objection. They might point to the fact that this analysis is general and therefore ignores the accomplishments of purported races in

#### Analysis of Variance: Track and Field Medal Count 2004

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects						
Dependent Variable: Track						
Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	
Corrected Model	1067.0013 <sup>a</sup>	57	18.720	7.825	.000	
Intercept	264.263	1	264.263	110.471	.000	
RankGDP	12.026	7	1.718	.718	.658	
RankPop	180.984	8	22.623	9.457	.000	
Ethnic	6.585	6	1.098	.459	.829	
RankGDP * RankPop	12.574	2	6.287	2.628	.101	
RankGDP * Ethnic	5.286	4	1.322	.552	.700	
RankGDP * Ethnic	5.407	4	1.352	.565	.691	
RankGDP * RankPop * Ethnic	0.000	0	.	.	.	
Error	40.667	17	2.392			
Total	1340.000	75				
Corrected Total	1107.680	74				

<sup>a</sup>R Squared = .963 (Adjusted R Squared = .840)

SOURCE: Table by Dr. Joseph L. Graves

Table 6.

specific events. However, the analysis of specific events in this article undermine this claim. The burden of proof is with the racialists. They must demonstrate a pattern of racial achievement in track and field, which does not exist. Or they must propose a credible mechanism to explain the genetic basis of the racial differences. Scientifically valid evidence for these mechanisms at present does not exist. Thus, the racial explanation of track and field performance fails under the light of even elementary scrutiny of its core claims: Races exist, races differ in genes associated with athletic ability, and racially differentiated genes contribute to world-class track and field excellence.

SEE ALSO *Genetic Variation Among Populations; Genetics and Athletic Performance; Olympic Games of 1904; Olympic Games of 1936.*

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## TRANSNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZING

Transnational labor organizing is the act of organizing workers in two or more nations into the same labor union affiliation or activist network. Labor unions historically have provided skilled and unskilled workers with better working conditions and higher wages. Although

union leadership, organizers, and members in the United States have generally exhibited racist and sexist attitudes over the years, unions have nevertheless been valuable for people of color by protecting and furthering their labor rights. However, globalization has challenged the power of unions in industrialized nations. People of color and women employed in manufacturing are particularly vulnerable to the loss of unionized jobs. Unionized manufacturing industries offer relatively high wages and generous benefit packages. Unfortunately, these industries have been experiencing most of the job losses due to globalization. When unskilled workers lose these jobs, they generally tend to find employment in the predominantly nonunion service sector, where wages are significantly lower and benefits, especially health care, are often minimal or nonexistent.

### THE IMPACT OF GLOBALIZATION

Modern technologies in transportation and telecommunications, coupled with an increase in free trade agreements (FTAs) and the activities of the World Trade Organization (WTO), have made it cost-effective for corporations to locate production in developing regions such as China. Two main reasons for such shifts are the extremely low labor costs and the authoritarian political systems found in these nations. For example, average labor costs in China are approximately 20 to 30 times lower than in the United States or Germany. In addition, the authoritarian governments and business culture of developing nations offer corporations a legal environment with little to no labor or environmental protections, which further reduces production costs. Such governments also often control and discipline their workforces through the use of police and military forces, in part to prevent autonomous worker organizing. Usually these developing nations establish what are commonly known as export processing zones (EPZs) to attract foreign companies. These are special industrial parks, such as the *maquiladoras* along the Mexican side of the U.S.-Mexico border. The working conditions within EPZs have been documented by activist and labor groups, including the New York-based National Labor Committee (NLC), as sweatshop conditions lacking basic human rights. Child labor, sexual favors as a condition for continued employment, retaliation against union organizers, and violations of labor laws are common. All these factors artificially prohibit labor costs from rising to the levels predicted by free market economics.

Corporations in high-wage regions of the world have been transferring production to developing nations—a practice commonly referred to as “outsourcing”—to take advantage of lower labor costs. As a consequence, unions in developed nations experience job losses and reduced negotiating power. Another common trend is for corporations

to threaten relocation in order to extract concessions from their employees in high-wage nations. This has resulted in stagnant real wages, benefit reductions, and a disciplined contingent labor force in the United States and other industrialized nations.

This corporate strategy is similar to that used by businesses in the United States from the 1800s to the mid-1900s. Specifically, employers would use race to divide worker solidarity and prevent the formation of stronger, racially integrated unions. For example, white workers would be disciplined with threats of losing their jobs to blacks, and vice versa, pitting worker against worker. Globalization still includes racial elements that pit workers in high-wage regions, typically whites, against those in low-wage regions, typically Latinos, Africans, and Asians.

Labor scholars and union leaders argue that all workers in an enterprise need to be organized, regardless of geographic locale. This requires union members of advanced nations to develop a class-consciousness inclusive of race, gender, religion, culture, and geographic location, which can lead to transnational labor organizing. Although states openly sanction what is commonly referred to by activists as “corporate globalization,” including FTAs, they do little to facilitate or encourage transnational labor organizing. A major reason for this is that governments of capitalist nations traditionally tend to be dominated by, and therefore express, upper-class and business interests. This also explains the historically hostile attitude of U.S. political and legal institutions toward organized labor. Consequently, workers have had to engage in transnational labor organizing largely on their own.

#### WHY ORGANIZE TRANSNATIONALLY?

The logic behind transnational organizing is that by organizing all the workers of a corporation, regardless of locale, it becomes harder for the company to shift production from facilities experiencing labor actions, such as a strike, to others that are not. It also prohibits the company from pitting its unionized high-cost employees against its nonunionized low-cost workers, who are typically in poor nations and are often nonwhites and women. In addition, unionizing workers in poor nations has the effect of raising their wages and benefits and creating a better balance with those in richer nations. In the long run, this reduces the competitive advantage of outsourcing and pitting developed-nation workers against those in developing regions. It also has the positive effect of improving the quality of work life and the standard of living for employees in poor nations.

#### EXAMPLES OF TRANSNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZING

Although efforts to engage in transnational labor organizing are still rare, there are some prominent examples. One is the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC), which is based in Brussels and has more than 300 affiliates representing more than 160 million workers in more than 150 nations. The ITUC was formed in 2006 from the merger of the World Confederation of Labour (WCL), the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), and the Argentine Workers’ Center (CTA). Older and more radical examples include the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), popularly known as the “Wobblies.” Formed in Chicago 1905 by anarchists and socialists, the IWW was suppressed by employers and the government alike, and its membership dropped dramatically from its 1923 highpoint of 100,000 members to about 2,000 members at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

In addition to the work of traditional labor unions, there are also examples of transborder organizing performed by indigenous people and activists. One example is Via Campesina, a transnational movement of small- to medium-scale farmers, landless peasants, indigenous communities, and rural women. Formed in 1992, Via Campesina operates in Europe, the Americas, Asia, and Africa. Its goals include providing access to land for local people, instead of basing land acquisition on free market forces as provided by the WTO and FTAs. Another goal includes food sovereignty, the ability to be self-reliant for food production rather than depending on international trade for food access. Finally, the movement also supports sustainable methods of agriculture based on local traditions and farming techniques.

Another example of activist transnational organizing is the Transnationals Information Exchange (TIE), formed in 1978. TIE is a decentralized nonprofit network that practices social movement unionism. Its goals include promoting social rights for women, immigrant workers, and people of color, as well as the development of democratic institutions where they do not exist. It also seeks to link economic rights with political rights, especially the freedom of association and the freedom to form a union in nations where such freedoms are still suppressed. The network opposes corporate globalization centered on FTAs that represent neoliberal policies, lean production, and casual employment, which are seen as privileging capital at the expense of labor, indigenous people, and local communities. The network includes workers that are both organized and unorganized in the informal, agricultural, and industrial sectors. The TIE especially targets industries dominated by transnational corporations (TNCs) in export-oriented sectors such as textiles. It encourages self-organizing and a variety of other activist strategies ranging from the local to

the international level. Finally, the network attempts to promote solidarity between workers of developed and developing nations. It operates in most parts of the world, including Asia, the Americas, and Europe.

#### CHALLENGES TO TRANSNATIONAL ORGANIZING

There are a number of formidable obstacles to transnational labor organizing. For one, most labor legislation is nationally based. Given national sovereignty, corporations operating in different countries often have to comply with local labor laws, which tend to be much weaker than those of developed nations. In addition, many developing nations prohibit the very existence of independent labor unions. For example, many Mexican and Chinese labor unions are government controlled, often to the detriment of the workers. In fact, there are many cases where corporations have colluded with host developing nations to prevent the formation of unions. This is typically the case in EPZs. National labor laws are often suspended in these special zones in an effort to attract foreign investment. There are, however, examples of successful organizing in EPZs, such as in the Dominican Republic.

Another obstacle to transnational labor organizing is that even if a collective agreement is signed with workers in developing nations, corporations can easily relocate production to other EPZs around the world to evade higher labor costs. In such a case, the corporation effectively pits a national labor force in one developing country against that of another, and the workers willing to accept the least in terms of wages and benefits will win out. This also relates to the problem of divergent national interests. For example, workers in a poor nation may wish to focus on human rights issues, whereas those in developed nations may want to focus on improved benefit packages.

Finally, a major obstacle to transnational labor organizing is the existence of free trade institutions themselves. Specifically, most free trade rules mandate that participating nations conform to legal standards at the lowest common denominator. This significantly reduces the power of labor overall. However, there have been cases where labor organizers have used free trade rules to the advantage of workers—on the grounds of human rights, for example.

Globalization based on neoliberal principles presents a significant challenge to labor and political rights throughout the world. Nationally based organizing has been ineffective at addressing these issues, leading to the need for transnationally based organizing, particularly in light of the evolution of the globalized production process. In order to be effective, organizers are focusing on the importance of new ideologies that challenge the dominant ideology, which they believe privileges capital over

labor and citizen rights. This includes developing transnational solidarity inclusive of geography, race, ethnicity, and gender. Evidence indicates that such an approach to worker rights is promising. However, globalization is a significant and ongoing process that is unlikely to reverse course. For this reason, the reaction from labor is also ongoing and solidifying into transnational alliances between unions, independent workers movements, activists, and many other groups.

Interestingly, the same telecommunication technologies that have made globalization possible are also enabling transnational organizing. For example, the Internet has proven to be an important tool for uniting diverse groups worldwide, helping them spread their message and coordinate their efforts. Groups such as the indigenous *Zapatistas* in Chiapas, Mexico, have used the Internet to recruit supporters and disseminate their message internationally. TIE is another example of activism based on Internet communications.

**SEE ALSO** *Labor Market; Transnationalism.*

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## TRANSNATIONALISM

Transnationalism refers to the movement of ideas, people, and capital across national borders in the modern global era. The term emerged and became popular in the 1990s (though it had been in use before that), particularly in academic circles, as a way to describe and theorize the intercontinental displacements, economic relations, cultural forms, identities, and communities that characterize the contemporary era. As a concept, its emergence goes hand in hand with the ideologies of globalization and the technologies, processes, and networks that constitute an increasingly interdependent and connected world.

Transnationalism signals a different kind of analytical lens that emphasizes the connections and flows between different nation-states, territories, and regions in the world. It expands on and departs from older notions of identity that were based on national borders and allows a focus on subjectivity—or ways that identities are always in process, and constantly being inflected by different political, cultural, economic, and social factors. One key critique of the usage of the term *transnational* is that it tends to flatten out asymmetries of power between different regions of the world, nations, classes, and modes of displacement: There is a world of difference between the transnational capitalist class (a businessperson flying first-class, for example), an overseas contract worker whose mobility is regulated by the sending state, and an undocumented migrant whose mode of travel is highly perilous, and even fatal. As Caren Kaplan puts it in her 1996 examination of different metaphors of travel, “All displacements are not the same” (p. 2). Nevertheless, one way in which transnationalism remains such a key mode of analysis is the way it can bring the aforementioned businessperson, contract worker, and undocumented migrant together into one conceptual field, where the social, economic, cultural, and political forces that connect them can be analyzed, along with the kinds of effects they might have on each other’s lives. In that sense, transnationalism encourages a connective but not necessarily flattening way to understand the world and its inhabitants.

### THE SLAVE TRADE AND ITS LEGACIES

Although the term is relatively new, transnationalism itself is certainly not a new phenomenon: Even before the emergence and rise of the nation-state as a modern form of governance and identity (that is, before national boundaries existed), ideas, people, and goods traveled across other kinds of borders. The Atlantic slave trade (which took place between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries) is one example of a transnational phenomenon that has had major repercussions on the condition of African, American, and European nation-states and peoples into

the twenty-first century. The institutionalization of racism through the trafficking and enslavement of peoples of African descent had transnational effects that profoundly shape present-day economic and political development in Africa. Most historians estimate the total number of people trafficked at between nine and twelve million. As a result, the African continent suffered a tremendous loss of its human labor, the breaking up of family and tribal ties, and the devastation of ways of life. In contrast, the massive profits from the Atlantic slave trade fueled the continued development in Europe of architecture, the arts, and science, setting up a radically skewed transnational relationship that continues into the early twenty-first century.

As a transnational phenomenon, slavery laid the economic groundwork for the concept of race to emerge as an organizing mechanism of American society. Southern planters and slave traders needed to rationalize the dehumanization of a whole people in order to systematically exploit them as chattel, as property. As W. E. B. Du Bois stated almost four decades after the abolition of slavery in the United States in 1865, “the problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the color-line” (1996 [1903], p. 1).

The anticolonial poet and scholar Aimé Césaire, reflecting on the colonization that followed the abolition of the slave trade, writes about how these transnational historical processes shaped black life, identity, and consciousness in the New World. In his 1969 play, *Une tempête*, a rewriting of William Shakespeare’s *The Tempest*, that elucidates the work that racism does in the relationship between colonizer and colonized, Césaire argues:

you have ended by imposing on me  
an image of myself.  
underdeveloped, you brand me, inferior,  
That is the way you have forced me to see  
myself  
I detest that image! What’s more, it’s a lie!  
But now I know you, you old cancer,  
and I know myself as well.

Césaire and later his student, Franz Fanon, write about lives and cultures that have been profoundly shaped by the transnational processes of slavery and colonialism. Just as significantly, however, they write about a process of anti-colonialism that was similarly transnational, much like the abolition movement that preceded it. Fanon’s *Wretched of the Earth* (1965), a searing critique of European colonialism and racism in Africa (specifically the French in Algeria), influenced other anticolonial and liberation movements around the world, including the Black Power and black liberation movements in the United States. Recent scholarship, such as Paul Gilroy’s 1993 examination of the transatlantic cultures of black music, shed light on the complex networks of creativity and survival in the African diaspora,



in milieus shaped by the oppression of slavery and capital. In the early twenty-first century, the African continent continues to be marked by economic and political turmoil and communal violence that stems from these early transnational processes.

The AIDS crisis, which is a global crisis, is one example of how certain transnational phenomena, such as epidemics, natural disasters, and nuclear fallout, pay no attention to national borders. That nearly two-thirds of all the world's HIV-positive people live in sub-Saharan Africa, however, speaks to the continuing disparities that exist between Africa and its former colonizers. Old patterns of poverty, continuing social and political instability, and rapid urbanization and modernization have all contributed to Africa's disproportionate rate of infection and continuing inability to address the urgent needs of its HIV-positive citizens. In addition, AIDS continues to play a role in Africa's lagging economic development because of its impact on the labor force and households, yet treatment options and global aid for this problem fall short of the great need. Black Americans in the United States have been disproportionately affected by the AIDS epidemic, according to the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, making up nearly half of all HIV/AIDS diagnoses. A related statistic, that one in every four black people in the United States lives in poverty, indicates the racialized and classed ways in which transnational phenomena such as epidemics continue to link the lives of African peoples long after the abolishment of slavery.

In the early twenty-first century, cross-border activities epitomized by the trafficking of women and girls continue old patterns of sexual, labor, and racial exploitation. Trafficking refers to the illegal and highly profitable trade in human beings that uses coercive tactics, violence, and debt bondage to control its victims. There are many parallels to the African slave trade here, and the usual victims come from countries in the global South, such as Thailand, the Philippines, and Indonesia, as well as from places that have undergone social, political, and economic turmoil, such as Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Soviet Union, and parts of Africa.

#### TRANSNATIONALISM AND LABOR MIGRATION

The construction of race and racism is deeply tied to the migration of labor. In his 1994 examination of race relations in nineteenth-century California, Tomás Almaguer argues that labor and its status as "free" or "unfree" became highly racialized, with the latter term becoming associated with people of color, who were seen as posing a threat to immigrant and "native" white labor. White labor unions successfully agitated for limitations on Asian

immigration, and the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 was the first law that barred immigration on the basis of race.

One of the ways in which transnationalism is invoked in the early twenty-first century is in discussions of migration and the conditions that produce migration. In turn, such transnational processes of migration have a profound effect on processes of racial formation in different locales. As Michael Omi and Howard Winant suggest, racial formation is "the sociohistorical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed and destroyed" (1994, p. 55). Race, as generally construed, is the product of a social process marked by conflict, where meanings are assigned to different types of human bodies. Nowhere is this more evident than at one of the sites emblematic of transnational processes: the national border. At the U.S.–Mexico border, for instance, many institutional mechanisms work to help produce meanings about race and citizenship, and they do this by managing transnational flows of people, capital, and ideas.

When the United States closed off Chinese immigration in the late nineteenth century, one of the replacement sources for cheap labor came from Mexico, and Mexican workers were soon established as farm workers, miners, and railroad workers in the Far West. American labor shortages during World Wars I and II institutionalized a binational temporary contract labor program, the Bracero Program, between the United States and Mexico. With the permeability of the border, however, came anxiety about who could live in, work in, and claim the United States as their home. The establishment of the U.S. Border Patrol in 1924 to police the border also heralded institutionalization of the concept of "illegal alien," and the racial stereotyping of Mexican laborers began in earnest. This process of racial formation, with its creation and solidification of identities, is a transnational process, one that is highly dependent on an imbalance of political and economic power between the United States and Mexico. It is important to note the shifting perception of this population in U.S. culture. During times of labor shortage, the availability of the Mexican labor pool is viewed as an advantage. During economic downturns, however, this labor pool is portrayed as endangering the access that citizens have to the benefits of the American welfare state, and unfairly tapping the kinds of the entitlements that the state provides for working-class Americans.

The border issue is a highly volatile problem in the early twenty-first century, with illegal immigration cited as a top national priority and increasing militarization at the U.S.–Mexico border (along with a new fifteen-foot-high wall and night-vision scopes) cited as the solution. Larger transnational forces that affect migration, such as free trade agreements that established factories on the

southern side of the U.S.–Mexico border to take advantage of looser environmental protection and tax laws as well as cheap labor, are also factors, as sociologist Saskia Sassen points out in “Regulating Immigration in a Global Age” (2005). Indeed, the continuing disparity of economic opportunities between the United States and Mexico has not been addressed by transnational mechanisms of trade, such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (1994), which has taken down trade barriers such as tariffs, while migrant workers continue to risk life and limb in crossing the border. At the same time, the evacuation of traditional industrial centers in the United States to the global South has resulted in increasing unemployment for Americans, setting up conflicts over resources and jobs, and putting into play anti-immigrant measures such as California’s Proposition 187 of 1994.

### SOCIAL AND CULTURAL FORMATIONS

This economic migration of people also sets up new patterns of kinship and affiliation that build on and extend old models of family and nation. In a transnational setting, new family forms are negotiated, and community affiliations are both strengthened and changed. Identity becomes understood as being a process that is marked by different, and perhaps contradictory, loyalties and identifications. Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller, and Cristina Szanton Blanc (1993) describe the multiple identifications of migrants, and the ways in which they maintain simultaneous identities linked to different nations over the process of migration and settling. The multiple loyalties are a result of these transnational processes and have an effect on how people negotiate notions of citizenship that are normally tied to the institution of the nation-state.

The cultural realm is often seen as a stage where transnational processes and identifications take shape that involve syncretic practices that fuse different cultural traditions, languages, and genres. Among transnational youth, who learn to be fluent in many different heritages and cultures, this mode of hybridity is a way of constructing what Stuart Hall has called “new ethnicities” (1996). In New York City, where the largest Indian-American population in the United States resides, Sunaina Marr Maira (2002) has observed the cultural fusions and identity negotiations of second-generation South Asian youth that take place in dance clubs, college campuses, and other urban spaces. Often savvy with Internet media and other communications technologies, transnational youth are often at the vanguard of new cultural productions and political mobilization.

In addition, new networks built around ethnic identity, social and cultural survival, and political mobilization form as a result of different kinds of displacements.

Ties to nation and national identity do not necessarily disappear in a “borderless world” aided by technology. Nevertheless, identity and ways of understanding identity are increasingly complicated by other competing demands that are highlighted by transnational processes. Notions of race are bound less by national boundaries, enabling political activists and communities to make connections across national borders using a lens of race and racism—connections about structures of power, media and representation, the allocation of resources, militarization, and war.

**SEE ALSO** *African Economic Development; Border Patrol; Braceros, Repatriation, and Seasonal Workers; HIV and AIDS; Illegal Alien; Racial Formations; Social Welfare States.*

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## TREATY OF GUADALUPE HIDALGO

On February 2, 1848, Nicholas Trist, a representative of the United States government, signed a treaty ending the Mexican-American War. This conflict had claimed more than forty thousand lives, most of them civilians, and arose out of an American desire to acquire more territory westward to the Pacific Ocean. The expansionism that caused the war was described by the phrase “Manifest Destiny,” which highlighted the belief that God had given the white Anglo-Saxon American the mission to “civilize” all of the “lesser peoples” of North America, to bring them the benefits of Protestant Christianity and democracy, and in the process to take over their lands.

As a result of the war, the United States forced Mexico to cede about half of its territory, or more than 500,000 square miles. In particular, the Mexican Cession included the territories of California and New Mexico. In return, the United States agreed to pay Mexico fifteen

million dollars. The treaty set new boundaries between the two countries, which created geographic ambiguities that necessitated the renegotiation of the international boundary a few years later in the Gadsden Treaty of 1853. Most significantly, Articles VIII and IX of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which Trist had signed, set the terms by which residents of the newly acquired territories would retain their property and be incorporated politically into the United States. The treaty stipulated that absentee Mexican landholders would have their property “inviolably respected,” and that it would “be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty and property.” The treaty affected some 100,000 Mexicans in the new territories, including a large number of Hispanicized as well as free-ranging Indians.

As provided by Article VIII, a person had one year to “elect” his or her preference for Mexican citizenship. If this were not done, it was stipulated that they had elected, by default, to become United States citizens, and that they would be granted citizenship by Congress at some future



LITH. & PUB. BY HARRINGTON

1847

### THE BANDITS BRIDE .

*The Bandits Bride.* Mexicans who opposed the terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo were portrayed as bandits, as in this 1847 political cartoon. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

time. As early as 1849, the nature of the citizenship rights of these Mexicans became the subject of controversy. In California, the delegates to the state constitutional convention wrestled with the problems of race, rights of citizenship, and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Six of the delegates were native Californios who were aware that Mexicans who looked like Indians faced the prospect of racial discrimination. Ultimately, they argued for the protection of Mexican Californians, even if it meant endorsing the racist views of their Anglo colleagues toward Indians and blacks.

There was some concern over whether the Mexicans remaining in the territories were in fact citizens of the United States. The delegates finally agreed that “it would seem that they are not in fact American citizens, but require some further action of Congress to make them citizens of the United States.” The ambiguous citizenship of the Californios meant that they could not expect the full protection of the laws during this stressful and violent period in California’s history. It was not until 1870, with the California Supreme Court case of *People v. de la Guerra*, that the status of the former Mexican citizens finally was resolved when the court ruled that Mexicans had become citizens in 1850.

The formal recognition of the rights of U.S. citizenship were somewhat abstract blessings for Mexican Americans, considering that most Anglo-Americans treated them as foreigners, regardless of their legal status. A more tangible promise offered by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, included in Articles VIII and IX and the Protocol of Queretaro, was the promise of protection for private property. And it was in the realm of property rights promised by the treaty that the greatest controversies erupted.

#### LANDS AND THE TREATY: CALIFORNIA

In California, thousands of gold-rush migrants encroached on the original Mexican land grants and demanded that something be done to “liberate” the land. The result was the passage in Congress of the Land Act of 1851. This law set up a Board of Land Commissioners to adjudicate the validity of Mexican land grants in California. Every grantee was required to present evidence supporting title within two years. Those failing to do so would have their property pass to the public domain. The land commissioners were instructed by law to govern their decisions according to the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the law of nations, Spanish and Mexican laws, and previous decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court.

Although the Board of Land Commissioners eventually approved many of the Mexican grants, most Californio holders lost their title due to legal expenses. Other individuals held perfect titles to their land and were able to survive economically, but then lost their holdings

because they had not fulfilled the terms of the 1851 land law. A number of court cases involving Mexican and Spanish land grants emerged in regard to this issue, but the most famous one pertaining to the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was *Botiller et al. v. Dominguez* (1889). In that case the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the laws of Congress (in the form of the Land Act) took precedence over the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, and that the court had no power to enforce the treaty. Thus, although Dominga Dominguez had a “perfect title” to her land, in the form of a grant from the government of Mexico dated August 28, 1835, she lost her title because she did not bring her papers before the Court of Land Claims within the specified time provided for in the 1851 law. *Botiller et al. v. Dominguez* was an important precedent, guiding the court in its future interpretation of conflicts between treaty obligations and domestic laws. In this case, the protection of private property ostensibly guaranteed by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was essentially invalidated.

#### NEW MEXICAN LANDS AND THE TREATY

In the territory of New Mexico, federally appointed officials had to have their decisions approved by Congress, a lengthy and often politicized process. Ironically, New Mexico’s more direct link to the national government meant that the property-rights guarantees under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo would be even less secure. In 1848, private and communal land grants in New Mexico covered about fifteen million square miles. In order to determine the federal domain, Congress established the office of Surveyor General, who was given broad powers to “issue notices, summon witnesses, administer oaths, etc.,” and to report to the Secretary of Interior and, ultimately, Congress regarding the status of New Mexico land grants. Until Congress acted to confirm the findings of the Surveyor General, all lands were to be withheld from sale. By 1880, one thousand claims had been filed by the Surveyor General but only 150 had been acted upon by the federal government.

On March 3, 1891, Congress passed a law to establish a Court of Private Land Claims. The court was made up of five judges plus an attorney representing the interests of the U.S. government. Unlike the California Land Commission, the New Mexico Court of Land Claims did not require those holding perfect titles to apply to the court for confirmation; only those who had not fulfilled all the regulations of the Spanish and Mexican laws had to do so. Those not presenting their claims within two years would be considered to have abandoned their grant. But as a result of politically tainted maneuvers, the New Mexico court rejected two-thirds of the claims presented before it.

Ultimately, only eighty-two grants received congressional confirmation. This represented only 6 percent of the total area sought by land claimants. Thus, through the Court of Private Land Claims, the U.S. government enlarged the national domain at the expense of hundreds of *Hispano* villages, leaving a bitter legacy that would fester through the next century.

In the first half-century after ratification of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, hundreds of state, territorial, and federal legal bodies produced a complex tapestry of conflicting opinions and decisions. What was clear was that the citizenship rights seemingly guaranteed by the treaty were not all that they seemed. The property rights for former Mexican citizens in California and New Mexico proved to be quite fragile. Within a generation, the Mexican Americans who had been under the ostensible protections of the treaty became a disenfranchised, poverty-stricken minority, as the promises of the treaty remained only promises.

SEE ALSO *Alamo; La Raza; Mexicans; Texas Rangers; Zoot Suit Riots.*

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*Richard Griswold del Castillo*

## TRIANGULAR SLAVE TRADE

In the fifteenth century, Western Europe's sphere of influence began to expand. The opening of the Atlantic Ocean to world trade, specifically to trade within the confines of the Atlantic itself, played a major part in this growth. Portuguese adventurers navigated the coast of West Africa in search of gold and spices, capitalizing on technological advancements in shipping and developing new products for trade, with sugar being one of the most important. Over the centuries, sugar cultivation spread

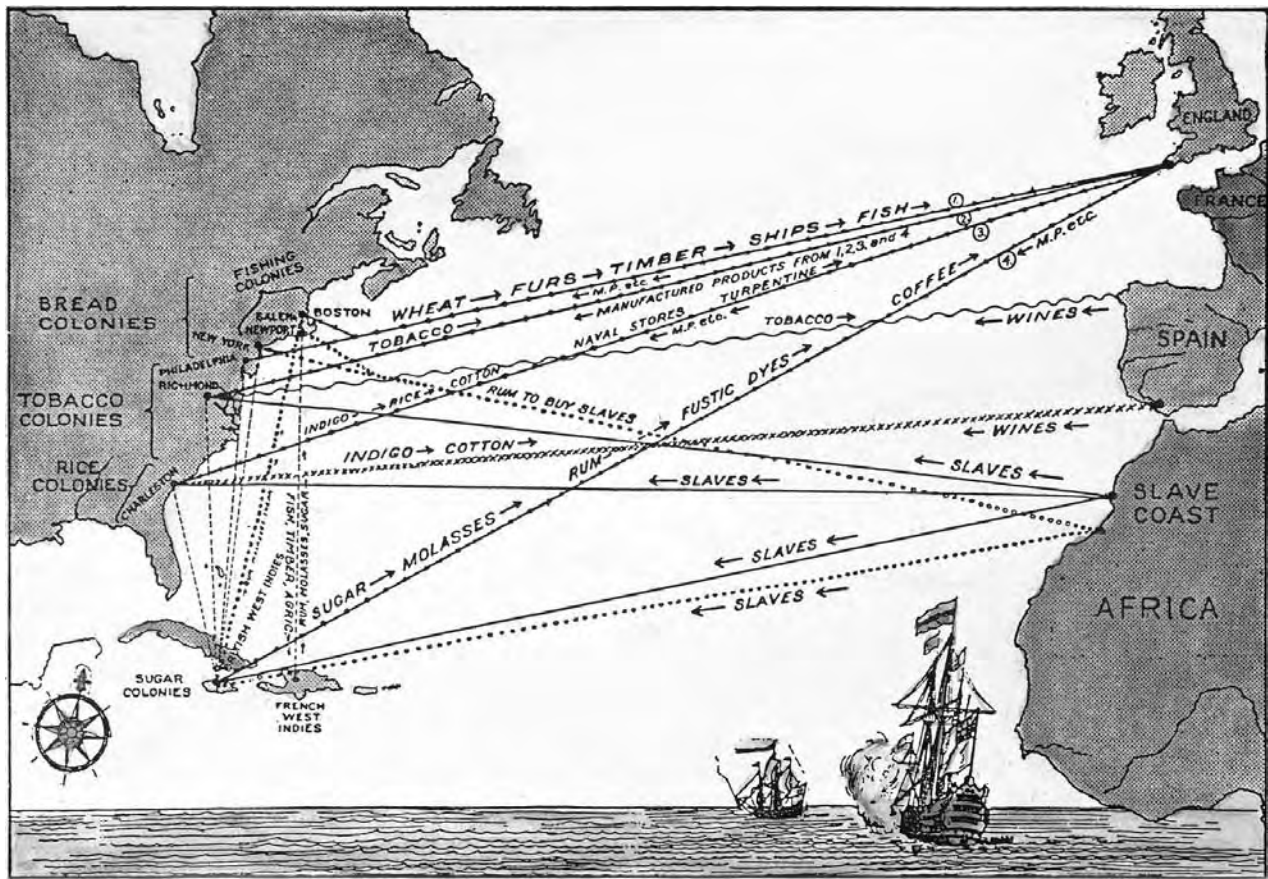
from India to the islands off the coast of West Africa and then to the Caribbean and Brazil in the sixteenth century. This expansion involved the employment of enslaved Africans to work the plantations. The combination of the three geographical regions (Europe, Africa, and the Americas) into a pattern of trade that involved the movement of labor from Africa to the Americas to produce goods for European markets has sometimes been referred to as a "triangular trade."

### THE PRODUCTS OF TRIANGULAR TRADE

While sugar production was the cornerstone of this system, other commodities, such as tobacco, rice, cotton, coffee, and indigo, also fit the same pattern of using enslaved African labor on fertile land in the Americas to supply markets in Europe. Spain and Portugal both developed sugar production in the New World, extending production that had previously been located in the Mediterranean, the Canaries, Madeira, and the island of São Tomé. Environmental conditions made the Caribbean and Brazil ideal for the cultivation of sugar. However, Spanish interest in sugar diminished with the discovery of silver and gold in the territories of modern Mexico, Peru, and Bolivia. In contrast, the Portuguese monarchy invested in sugar production along the coast of modern Brazil, which led to the flooding of the European market with sugar.

In response to demand, France, England, and the Netherlands developed their own sugar colonies in the Americas, and they also introduced other crops into the plantation regime. As a result, they invested heavily in the purchase of enslaved African labor. These countries established trading posts in Africa for the purchase of slaves, and they then, in turn, founded their own colonies in the Americas, such as the English colonies established on Barbados in 1625, Jamaica in 1665, and the Gold Coast in 1661.

The Atlantic trading system appeared to operate in a triangular pattern, with European manufactured goods taken to Africa in exchange for slaves; enslaved Africans taken to the Americas to work; and the production of the Americas returned to Europe. An estimated 12 million Africans were forcibly moved to the Americas, especially to the Caribbean and Brazil, where many died under terrible working conditions. Their descendants suffered bondage until slavery was abolished in the late nineteenth century. The patterns of transatlantic trade and intercontinental exchange were far more complex than a simple triangle, however. The major components of the system united the Atlantic into a global phenomenon. European economic development was based on slave labor and benefited Europe and European colonies. The triangular



*Map of the Triangular Slave Trade.* The pattern of trade that involved the movement of labor from Africa to the Americas to produce goods for European markets is known as a triangular trade. THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK.

trade was a circuit that relied on enslaved African labor, and it was an important factor in the emergence of the modern world economy.

Economic specialization and political factors complicated the picture, creating a far more complex network of production and trade than a simple triangular pattern. European countries often wanted to restrict trade to maximize profits within their own networks, once again suggesting a triangle across the Atlantic, but even these efforts, known as mercantilism, failed. Instead, trade flowed where it was profitable, at least in the long run, and entrepreneurs and adventurers tried different products and techniques in seeking profits from the trade across the Atlantic.

An examination of the goods and manufactures that were important in the trade with Africa, and which made the purchase of slaves possible, demonstrates the complexity of the system. Many of the items sold to Africa were objects used for money, such as cowrie shells (which

came from the Maldiv Islands in the Indian Ocean), strips of textiles that were produced in India, or objects of European iron and brass that were used as coins. Indeed, silver dollars were also used. The importance of these pieces of money in the trade with Africa demonstrates a level of economic development within Africa, one consequence of the triangular trade concept that is usually overlooked. Other trade commodities included weapons, particularly guns and ammunition, which had the effect of increasing the intensity of warfare in western Africa, and thereby increasing the number of enslaved Africans available for sale across the Atlantic. Increased warfare also led to further exploitation within Africa. Many other consumer goods—such as alcohol, tobacco, and sundry items of hardware, textiles, and jewelry—were also important, reflecting the buying power of elites in Africa. Again, these goods were often associated with the procurement of slaves. But the metals, alcohol, and tobacco came from the Americas, reflecting a bilateral trade, not a triangular one.

## TRADE AND THE NATIVE POPULATION

Similarly, a singular focus on the triangular dimension of the Atlantic world that emerged with the spread of sugar overlooks the interaction with the indigenous population of the Americas. With the arrival of Europeans the Amerindian societies suffered near genocidal population losses as a result of enslavement, forced labor, spread of disease, poverty, and simply being murdered. Without this catastrophic destruction of the native inhabitants, there would have been little free, unoccupied land for exploitation, and there would not have been the demand for the importation of workers, whether they were indentured Europeans or enslaved Africans. In the sixteenth century, Bishop Bartolomé de La Casas complained of the social impact of the European presence on the Amerindians, but only in the last decades of the twentieth century did scholars attempt to connect the plight of the Native Americans to the practices of land expropriation and slavery.

Scholars discovered that when Europeans arrived in the Americas, they encountered a variety of Amerindian populations, which were sustained by different levels of economic development. In some places, such as Central America, the concentration of the Amerindian population was relatively large. However, the introduction of smallpox, the common cold, and other infectious diseases by Europeans led to the rapid decrease of the local populations. In addition, the European use of forced Amerindians labor in the mining industry, under heavy workloads contributed to their decimation and a resulting labor shortage. Lacking cheap labor to work the vast amount of land at their disposal, Europeans turned to Africa to resolve their labor shortage. The large-scale forced migration of Africans resulted in the growth of tropical production and increased shipments to Europe. In the Americas, European countries sought to protect their respective monopolies by forcing their colonies to trade exclusively with the metropolis. Colonial planters were obliged to sell their products to the “mother country.” Because it was forbidden to produce anything in the colonies that competed with homeland products, items such as textiles, tools, hats, food, books, clothing, and weapons had to be imported. These requirements stifled the development of local industries and the accumulation of capital in the Americas. European states also enacted navigation laws and created chartered companies to maintain economic monopolies in competition with one another. However, many ambitious traders operated illegally to evade these prohibitions to profit.

## THE GROWTH OF EUROPEAN TRADE

In the late sixteenth century, the visibly increasing wealth from the overseas holdings of the Portuguese monarchy

drew the attention of the British, Dutch, and French. By the mid-seventeenth century, Dutch traders in particular were participating actively in the trade through the Dutch West India Company. The Dutch were present in different regions of the Americas, from New Amsterdam to Guiana, and including Caribbean islands such as Curacao and Aruba. In 1630 the Dutch captured Pernambuco in northeast Brazil, obtaining control over sugar production there. In 1641 the Dutch also seized Portuguese holdings in Africa, such as the ports of Elmina, Luanda, Benguela, and the island of São Tomé. The Dutch West India Company monopolized the slave trade from African ports to Dutch and Spanish possessions in the Americas from 1621 through 1737. In 1648, Portuguese and Luso-Brazilian troops expelled Dutch merchants from Luanda and the northeast of Brazil. Still, the Dutch crown remained present in Netherlands Antilles, Suriname and Guiana, which enabled the slave trade to be one of the major economic activities in Holland until the end of the eighteenth century.

While the Dutch were expanding their empire, the French settled in Guadeloupe and Martinique in 1635, and they initiated trading contacts with Senegal in the 1670s. This was the beginning of the French Atlantic empire. The capture of St. Domingue (now Haiti) in 1697 increased the demand for African slaves. Slave traders sailed from France with their ships loaded with an assortment of trade goods, including metal tools and utensils (hoes, axes, buckets), textiles (European and Indian), alcohol (wine and brandy), tools (knives, swords, and machetes), and luxury items (porcelain, corral, mirrors, pearls, and decorated knives). In certain ports of West Africa, such as Saint Louis (at the mouth of the Senegal River), Elmina, and Ouidah, traders exchanged these goods for slaves. Ships sometimes transported more than 500 people at a time. In the “Middle Passage,” slaves were fed products brought from Europe or acquired in Africa, such as dried fish and manioc flour.

In the eighteenth century, British traders established themselves at Calabar and Bonny in West Africa, where they traded metal products such as buckets and agricultural tools in exchange for African slaves. British slave traders transported slaves to Barbados, Jamaica, and Antigua, but also to mainland North America, particularly Virginia and the Carolinas to produce cotton, indigo, rice, ginger, and tobacco. The profitable production of these items depended on the importation of masses of African slave laborers. While the colonial mercantile system benefited Britain, North American and Caribbean colonies depended on Britain manufactures, creating a constant demand for British imports.

## SLAVERY, TRADE, AND THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

In the 1940s, the distinguished historian Eric Williams proposed that the triangular trade stimulated the development of capitalism in Britain. According to Williams, African slaves acquired British goods, which helped the expansion of local industry in Britain. Meanwhile, African slaves produced valuable tropical products whose profits reverted to the development of industries in England, ultimately leading to the accumulation of capital and financing the Industrial Revolution. African slave labor was the foundation of the triangular trade and, ultimately, of British industrialization and development. According to Williams's critics, however, the slave trade and the plantation system were only one part of a complex British economy that expanded in many directions at once. Nonetheless, capital and expertise in finance and management were essential to the Industrial Revolution, and slavery and the slave trade played their part.

The trade across the South Atlantic between Africa and Brazil was in many ways bilateral and did involve Europe as much as trade with the Caribbean and North America did. Geographical conditions facilitated a direct link across the Atlantic, for winds and ocean currents forced ships sailing from Portugal to navigate to Recife or Salvador, Brazil, before changing the trajectory to disembark at Elmina in West Africa or in Luanda, south of the River Congo. Consequently, ship captains also had to stop at islands or ports in the New World to restock their food and water supply and to buy New World trade goods to be sold in Africa. This trade allowed New World merchants to accumulate capital through the sale of tropical products, including tobacco and alcohol. These merchants invested their profits in the slave trade. After 1700, Brazilian traders displaced Portuguese merchants, becoming the major slave traders supplying Rio de Janeiro and Bahian markets. Thus, in addition to a triangular trade, there was also a direct two-way trade between Africa and the Americas.

The Atlantic basin became a cohesive entity during the era of transatlantic slavery, with seaport cities arising on both sides of the ocean. The displacement of the approximately 12 million Africans who were forcibly moved to the Americas was a major demographic change in the Atlantic world. The profits generated by slavery increased the wealth of the Europeans involved, but it had negative effects on African economies. Scholars debate the number of victims because it is difficult to determine the number of people who died during the wars and crises in Africa that resulted in enslavement or during the long journeys to the coast from the interior and during the Atlantic crossing. African societies sold their enemies to Europeans in exchange for alcohol, guns,

and textiles, among other foreign goods. However, textiles did not last, alcohol was consumed, and guns increased the production of captives. At the same time, Africans and their descendents were forced to work on plantations, in mines, and in urban centers in the Americas, producing wealth they were unable to acquire, and which was later used to purchase more African slaves.

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*Paul E. Lovejoy*

## TRIRACIAL ISOLATES

Scattered throughout the eastern United States, particularly in the Southeast, there have been some 200 or more communities known as triracial isolates, which comprise individuals of mixed (blended) European-American, African-American, and Native American descent. Pluralistic in nature, triracial communities have historically lived apart from blacks and whites in isolated rural enclaves. In the early twenty-first century, large numbers of individuals



remain in these rural communities as unskilled laborers or agricultural workers. However, some triracial communities boast of prosperous farmers, college graduates, and professionals. Since the mid-twentieth century, many individuals from these communities have migrated to the cities. This trend, along with increased intermarriage (generally with European Americans), has led to the extinction of many communities and the loss of collective identity.

Triracial isolate communities have historically straddled the racial divide. Some communities have identified with one particular group, usually white or Native American. Other communities have attempted to forge a new multiracial identity, refusing to deny their various ancestral backgrounds.

#### GROUP NAMES

Although these communities have been designated by social scientists as triracial isolates, many vehemently reject any such labeling. In fact, it would be wrong to think of them as one identifiable group. Commonalties among these groups have less to do with actual cultural bonds than with similarities in experiences, particularly their refusal to accept the “one-drop rule,” through which individuals suspected of having any African ancestry are considered black.

Documentary evidence is scanty, and the exact origins of these groups are unknown. Furthermore, at different times in the antebellum period, depending on the determination of the census enumerator, the same families in some communities were listed variously as white, mulatto, and free people of color. To complicate matters further, the term “free people of color” did not become interchangeable with the categories of “free mulatto” and “free black” until the mid-nineteenth century. Up to that time, it had been an elusive term that included Native American reservations, Native American rural communities, multiracial populations of European-American and African-American descent, triracial populations, and free blacks. The communities probably evolved from frontier settlements that attracted runaway slaves, trappers, homesteaders, adventurers, deserters, outlaws, outcasts, and nonconformists of all racial backgrounds.

Triracial isolates have been known by a variety of names. New York has been the home of the Van Guilders, the Clappers, the Shinnecock, the Poospatuck, the Montauk, and the Mantinecock. New Jersey (and New York) is the residence of the Ramapo (or Ramapough) Mountain People (commonly referred to as “Jackson Whites”). In Pennsylvania, they have been called Pools; in Delaware, Nanticokes; in Rhode Island, Narragansetts; in Massachusetts, Gay Heads and Mashpees; and in Ohio, Carmelites. Maryland has its Wesorts; West Virginia, its Guineas; and Tennessee and Kentucky, the

Melungeons. There are the Ramps, Issues, and Chickahominy in Virginia; the Lumbees, Haliwas, Waccamaws, and Smilings in North Carolina; and the Chavises, Creels, Brass Ankles, Redbones, Redlegs, Buckheads, and Yellowhammers in South Carolina. Louisiana has also been home to many triracial communities.

Appellations such as Chavis and Creel are family names, although many others, such as Brass Ankle, Redbone, and Jackson Whites were externally imposed and clearly meant to be insults. As such, those who bear these names have often rejected them, although many groups now embrace the names with pride. Names such as Chickahominy and Nanticoke, which suggest Native American derivation, have always been borne with pride. Some individuals in these communities would readily be taken as Native American. Others are indistinguishable from whites. However, many clearly show varying degrees of African ancestry in combination with European and/or Native American descent.

#### ANYTHING BUT BLACK

In the U.S. South, any term describing a racially blended background has generally not only included African ancestry, but also been equated with Mulatto and translated as “black.” Consequently, Brewton Berry has argued that most triracial communities have historically tended to deny any African ancestry. They have prized indigenous origins, despite having retained little or no knowledge of either Native American culture or tribal affiliations, and despite being culturally indistinguishable from local whites. Thus, most of these communities have affirmed only two components—Native American and European American—if they acknowledged their multiracial ancestry at all. In this sense, the triracial isolate quest for identity appears to be more reactionary than radical. Yet these communities have manipulated the historical U.S. binary racial construction (i.e., black and white) to their advantage, forging instead a ternary racial construction that has destabilized binary racial thinking.

While racial composition and ancestry have always been fundamental to determining who is defined as African American, there is no universally accepted definition of Native American. The definitions employed by the U.S. Census Bureau and the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) have often been at odds with each other, and both have changed over time. The BIA includes on its rolls only those individuals entitled to BIA services. Acceptance by a tribe in conjunction with proof of at least one-quarter degree of indigenous ancestry is generally required. For census purposes, self-definition has been the prevailing policy for all racial and ethnic groups since 1970. In the past, however, enumerators were instructed to record as Native American only those individuals enrolled on reservations or listed in

agency rolls, persons of one-fourth or more indigenous ancestry, or individuals regarded as Native Americans by their communities.

#### FORGING A NATIVE AMERICAN IDENTITY

Historical accounts and oral traditions reveal that the indigenous ancestors of the contemporary Lumbees were composed largely of Cheraw Native Americans and related Siouan-speaking people known to have inhabited the area in present day Robeson County, North Carolina. They were first observed in 1724 on Drowning Creek (now known as the Lumber River), when the first European settlers arrived in the area.

North Carolina has recognized the Lumbee as a Native American tribe since 1885. With this recognition, the state provided educational assistance and other services. In 1887, the state established a Native American teachers-training school for the Lumbees, which grew into the nation's first state-supported school offering higher education to Native Americans. In the early twenty-first century it is known as the University of North Carolina at Pembroke and boasts of an enrollment of approximately 3,000 students. The school is part of the University of North Carolina system, which gives credence to Lumbee assertions that they have produced more doctors, lawyers, and Ph.D.s than any other Native American community in the United States.

According to the 2000 census, 51,913 Native Americans in the United States identified their tribe as Lumbee, making them the second largest tribe east of the Mississippi River. The Lumbee are the largest nonreservation tribe in the United States, and the largest not recognized by the federal government. It was not until 1956, however, that the United States Congress passed the Lumbee Act, which officially recognized the Lumbee Indians of North Carolina. Unfortunately, the bill contained language that made them ineligible for financial assistance and program services administered by the BIA.

Many Lumbees have held local elective office, and a Lumbee has represented Robeson County in the North Carolina legislature. Also, Lumbee tribal members are active in Native American affairs at the state and national levels and are still fighting for federal recognition as a tribe. (An attempt in 1992, failed by only two votes in the United States Senate.) Some say that other Native American tribes have not supported recognition of the Lumbee because it would decrease their share of government funds. Other critics point out that the Lumbee do not live on a reservation, have never signed a treaty with the U.S. government, and cannot prove they are all members of the same tribe. To the Lumbee, however, being Native American has nothing to do with such criteria, but is a matter of how they are perceived and whether they are

respected. By 1980, the Nanticoke of Delaware, the Houma in western Louisiana, and the Poospatuck of Long Island, New York, following in the footsteps of the Lumbee, succeeded in officially changing their earlier classification as mulattoes to nontreaty Native Americans. By 1990 this was also true of the Jackson Whites, who were recognized as the Ramapo Mountain Native Americans. Although this status excludes these groups from most federal government benefits, it does place them squarely on the indigenous side of the racial divide. However, their claims to indigenous status have been met with reluctance, if not resistance, from treaty or reservation groups (e.g., the Cherokee, Comanche, and Choctaw) that qualify for federal subsidies.

Although some African Americans have accused the triracial isolate communities of claiming Native American status to escape the stigma of being black, various triracial groups have cast their lot with African Americans. Most, however, have historically maintained a strong antiblack prejudice that has, in no small part, helped bolster support for their own identity by whites. The clearest example of this was during the era of segregation. Denied entry into white schools, numerous communities not only refused to attend schools and use public facilities for African Americans, but they gained support for establishing their own public restrooms and education facilities, as well as separate sections in churches and theaters.

#### FORGING A MULTIRACIAL IDENTITY

By the 1990s, groups such as the Issues and Melungeons succeeded in negotiating federally recognized identities as "other" nonwhites. Although some individuals have always passed for white, groups such as the Melungeons have fought for legal status as white—and succeeded in this in their local communities. However, these and other triracial communities have enjoyed a status just below that of whites, while elsewhere their status has been hardly distinguishable from that of blacks. This has often led to the denial of African ancestry, the avoidance of every suspicion of association with blacks, and at times to the casting off of darker relatives. Indeed, many contemporary triracial groups are now largely phenotypically indistinguishable from the surrounding European-American community. Over time, racial blending and the movement of many darker individuals into other communities of color, has diminished the earlier presence of more African and Native American phenotypical traits.

Since the 1990s, there has been a change in attitudes among some triracial communities such as the Redbones and Melungeons. Melungeon identity, after almost becoming extinct, is experiencing a resurgence. There

has also been a surge of research that culminated in a gathering of Melungeons, called the “First Union,” held in July 2005 at Clinch Valley College in Wise, Virginia. Since the “Second Union,” held in 1998, these conferences have become yearly events. The Redbones held a similar event in June 2005, in Alexandria, Louisiana, titled “Taking Pride in Who We Are.” This “new” tri-racial identity displayed by the Melungeons and Redbones differs from the “old” triracial identity in that it seeks to deconstruct the elitist and hierarchical premises upon which the previous identity was based by acknowledging and embracing the African and other ancestries.

This about-face in identification is best expressed by Brent Kennedy, a Melungeon who sees in the faces of his living relatives a panorama of all of those who have gone before. In a moment of eloquent prose, Kennedy writes:

When I watch my own summer skin turn with lightning speed too reddish-brown for a blue-eyed Scotsman, and struggle to tame the steel-like waves in my graying Black hair, I smile at the living traces of unknown Mediterranean, African, and Native American ancestors whose ancient precious lives still express themselves in my countenance. . . . And in my mind’s eye, I can see those ancestors smiling back, wondering why it took the children of their children’s children so long to rediscover the truth (Kennedy 1997, p. xiii).

SEE ALSO *Biracialism*.

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G. Reginald Daniel  
Christopher Bickel

## TROTTER, WILLIAM MONROE 1872–1934

William Monroe Trotter was born on April 7, 1872 in Chillicothe, Ohio; he died on April 7, 1934, from a fall from the third floor of his Boston home on his sixty-second birthday, though he may have jumped. Trotter was a militant black activist whose instinctive desire for his race to improve meant doing so unassisted by whites. His key role model was his father, James, a Mississippi native who decided to settle in Boston for its amenities: the right to vote, hold public office, sit on juries, testify in court, intermarry, and attend integrated schools. Moreover, prohibited were racial discrimination on public transportation and at inns, public meetings, and public amusement places.

Living in a white neighborhood, James was a respected citizen; nevertheless, he suffered from racial discrimination. He worked entirely surrounded by whites at the Boston Post Office, a Republican domain, when in 1882 a white man was promoted to a chief clerkship over James. Acutely insulted, he resigned in protest. His greatest interest, however, was politics. Republican president Rutherford B. Hayes caused him to become a Democrat when he withdrew the last federal troops from the South in 1877; James considered this too soon and a betrayal of his race. Stressing the importance of the ballot and of political independence, he urged blacks to pursue more education as a means of exercising all their rights. He also exhorted his son to excel, setting high standards.

Monroe was not only a good student but also was elected president of his high school class, where he was the only black. On scholarships, he entered Harvard College in 1891 and in his junior year was elected to Phi Beta Kappa, the first black at Harvard to gain that honor. Harvard had an enormous influence on Trotter, as he felt inspired by friendships with white students from Europe and America, recognizing the democracy there that tangibly affirmed the possibilities for racial justice in the country. After earning his bachelor's degree magna cum laude in 1895, he received his master's degree the following year.

Trotter found his racial awareness deepening, as he experienced racial discrimination blocking his way for the first time. He had intended to enter international banking but instead worked as a clerk in four companies. Then he became a real estate agent for a Boston firm. In 1899, he founded his own company, dealing with insurance and mortgages, mostly for white clients. That same year, he married Geraldine Louise Pindell, daughter of an ex-slave, and they moved into a house in Dorchester. She died during the influenza epidemic of 1918, leaving no progeny.

The African American condition in America after Reconstruction had deteriorated steadily: Southern legislators instituted segregation and black disfranchisement, while lynching became accepted as southern justice. Booker T. Washington, the accommodationist, urged African Americans to find ways to get along with their white oppressors. In his "compromise speech" in Atlanta in 1895, Washington advocated maintaining the status quo for blacks. Washington, always subservient to white people, felt that Americans had to be in a frame of mind to listen to him, while blacks should wait to be given the vote until after they had proved they were law-abiding, productive citizens, and after they had acquired property and education. Substantive differences between the two men occurred on questions of accepting segregation, choosing education, agitating for rights, and engaging in politics. Washington represented the black masses, but Trotter, from a privileged, almost white background, seemed to personify more pride in his color and in his people.

Trotter became actively involved in racial matters. He founded or joined various associations that became militant forums for Boston's black elite, and through them, mounted an attack on Washington's servility. Such platforms proved insufficient, so Trotter and a librarian, George W. Forbes, started an outspokenly militant weekly newspaper, *The Guardian*, published first on November 9, 1901. Trotter, heir to a fortune amounting to around \$20,000, provided the money, whereas Forbes provided the technical expertise. Appearing every Saturday, it typified black newspapers then, with eight pages of local and national news about African Americans. The

new publication vehemently denounced discrimination and Washington; Trotter decried black people's treatment by white Americans, denouncing the culture from the very foundation of the Republic that produced the ruthless domination of blacks. He raged against Washington's timidity and deference to whites and called for aggressive protest and resistance, because compromise had failed. The newspaper became a national institution.

To Trotter, the North's relative freedom enabled him to battle for justice for all black Americans. Washington pushed to win short-term goals; Trotter stressed the long term. As Washington saw the right to vote as unnecessary, an eventual luxury, Trotter argued that intelligent political activity would force progress in other areas. For Trotter, the ballot was an important, perhaps the main, source of power, and he also urged independence in voting.

Moreover, Washington advocated vocational training because most blacks remained in the South working as farmers. Trotter opposed industrial education because it relegated blacks to what he called serfdom, as blacks would be considered innately inferior mentally. Trotter thought it necessary to prove the quality of black men's brains. He wanted blacks to seek and succeed at higher education, as he had.

Ever forceful, Trotter insisted on and never deviated from his racial militancy. The very name of his newspaper, *The Guardian*, suggests an ever vigilant watchdog. He wrote like the radical he was, allowing no compromise of human rights. His protests in person in various venues, ranging from churches to the White House, led to arrests. In 1904, Trotter split with Forbes, who could not abide the continuing fight against Washington. Additionally, Forbes was almost fired from his job because of *The Guardian's* spirit of protest. Trotter decided to leave the real estate business and devote himself full-time to his paper.

In 1905, W. E. B. Du Bois, Trotter, and other blacks organized the Niagara Movement to renounce Washington's policies; it was a forerunner of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Trotter derided the NAACP because it had white leaders, with its only black officer, Du Bois, in charge of communications. Consequently, Trotter established his own organization, the National Equal Rights League (NERL). The NERL was organized by and for and was led by blacks only. He firmly believed that only blacks should lead and finance a movement for their own freedom. It became another platform for Trotter, who, as corresponding secretary, made statements in the NERL name as if it were the group's position. Thus, three factions vied for representation of blacks in America—Washington, the NAACP, and Trotter—all fighting for the same ends.

In 1913 Trotter led two African American delegations to the White House to protest segregation in the federal government, which was launched by President Woodrow

Wilson, a Georgia native. Trotter tangled with Wilson in a toe-to-toe, forty-five-minute argument, resulting in an offended Wilson banning Trotter from the White House.

Trotter continued to speak out against racism in all its forms. He advocated better treatment for World War I black soldiers and protested the Marcus Garvey back-to-Africa movement. Another important concern was D. W. Griffith's 1915 film, *The Birth of a Nation*, which received ecstatic critical acclaim among whites everywhere but fierce opposition from blacks in a dozen different cities. Trotter led a demonstration and went to court to protest the film's opening in Boston, and even began a fist fight resulting in hospitalization of both blacks and whites. The frustrated black community seemed to explode, yet even attempts to have a new censorship law passed banning the film failed.

The political activist Trotter protested segregation wherever he saw it, and he organized demonstrations successfully, one against Thomas Dixon's African-American-baiting play *The Clansman*, upon which *Birth of a Nation* was based. In the 1930s he defended the nine Scottsboro, Alabama, youths condemned to die on false charges of rape. His letters and visits to various presidents produced no apparent changes. He lost the battle to represent blacks to the NAACP. *The Guardian* was vitriolic, uncompromising. Yet most blacks, including intellectuals, supported Washington and his program. Trotter sought to change their attitude from acceptance to challenges, resulting in greater accomplishments for his race. *The Guardian* stopped publishing in 1957. The William Monroe Trotter Institute of the University of Massachusetts at Boston was founded in 1984 to address the needs and concerns of the black community.

SEE ALSO *Washington, Booker T.*

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Barbara Reed

## TRUTH, SOJOURNER c. 1797–1883

Owing to her powerful and compelling personality and her forceful speaking for abolitionism and women's rights, Sojourner Truth is likely the best-known black

woman of the U.S. antebellum period. Born to enslaved parents in upstate New York, Truth left a story presenting two sides of the racially charged debate about the mental capacities and judgement of black persons. The most substantial written records of Truth's life—an autobiography narrated by her to a transcriber, an account of her renowned "Ain't I a Woman" speech, and newspaper reports of her speeches and activity—were recorded predominantly by white writers. Yet these records present two representations of the same person.

On one hand, there is the stereotyped eighteenth-century black woman speaking broken English in a Southern dialect. On the other hand, there is the self-assured, self-aware person who walked away from bondage, preached against enslavement, and provided important support for abolitionism and women's rights. Truth often appears to have been conscious of dispelling notions that the historical accident of her illiterate and formerly enslaved black female body meant she lacked intellect, power, and ingenuity. The historian Nell Irvin Painter originally observed the role of stereotypes in Truth's life in *Sojourner Truth: A Life, A Symbol* (1996). Painter notes Truth's first language and first owners were Dutch, and that she spent her life in the northern United States. These two facts alone cast Truth outside images of enslaved black women typically populating the colonial imagination.

Sojourner Truth was originally named Isabella Baumfree, taking her surname from her first owner. Along with approximately ten siblings, she was sold away from her parents at age nine. Accounts of her early life also include memories of mother Elizabeth's moral and religious instruction and prayers with Isabella and her younger brother Peter, and of Elizabeth's death shortly after Isabella and Peter's sale.

Echoing the era's Protestant evangelicalism and traditions of black religiosity, Truth credited some of her most bold and independent actions and views to divine support. Isabella saw her father, James, only twice after Elizabeth's death. One visit occurred when she was around thirteen, a time when Isabella felt especially burdened by abusive slavers, the Nealys, who repeatedly whipped her for speaking only Dutch. She attributes James's role in her subsequent purchase by John J. Dumont to divine intervention. Isabella stayed with Dumont for about sixteen years—the majority of her enslaved adult life. While with Dumont, Isabella married a fellow bondsman named Thomas and bore five children. During this period, as Truth told her biographer, young Isabella created a sanctuary in a wooded area near a small stream, where she regularly meditated.

In late 1826 (six months before the state of New York's emancipation statute), Isabella prayed for divine guidance and left enslavement one morning before daybreak, taking her infant daughter along with her. Sheltered by Isaac Van Wagener, who paid twenty-five dollars for her and her daughter, Isabella soon began taking

charge of her life. This was most apparent in her bold socioreligious activism. Though her religiosity generally was hybridized, while living with the Van Wageners Isabella practiced Methodist "holiness," including simple living, abstaining from alcohol, and avoiding anger. During this period she had a conversion experience that, consistent with such accounts by other enslaved persons, seems to mark a significant turning point in Isabella's sense of empowerment. When her son (also named Peter) was sold to slavers in Alabama, Isabella determined to have him returned. Sure that "God would help me get him" (1968 [1878], p. 45) she entered a complaint with a grand jury, sought assistance from Quakers, raised funds, and hired an attorney. She prevailed in her efforts, and Peter was returned to her custody.

Shortly after this incident, Isabella left her familiar surroundings and went to New York City with son Peter, who eventually took a career at sea. For the next sixteen years, she worked as a house servant to support herself. She attended services at the famous John Street Methodist Church, then moved to the all-black Zion Church, and eventually joined the extremist Robert Matthias's sect, a commune that practiced a more intense form of holiness. The Matthias group eventually collapsed, however, both fiscally and socially.

On June 1, 1843, Isabella changed her name to Sojourner and left New York City, saying she was following divine direction to go east and preach against enslavement. She joined the millennialist Millerite sect and became known for inspiring and cogent speaking. Sojourner honed her socioreligious rhetoric through a relationship with the cooperative Northampton (Massachusetts) Association for Education and Industry, an egalitarian commune that advocated free expression and supported women's rights, abolition, temperance, and vegetarianism. Uniting with the group in the fall of 1843, and remaining with them over the next several years, Sojourner had access to abolitionist and suffragist lecturers, including Frederick Douglass.

At Northampton, Sojourner began to express her religious piety in a decidedly social manner, as she began to speak more forcefully against slavery and to advocate women's suffrage. It was during this period that she took the surname Truth. When the association dissolved in 1846, she followed Douglass's example and published the narrative of her life. Income from the project allowed her to purchase her first home.

Sojourner Truth began giving antislavery speeches in 1844, first at Northampton and subsequently in New York. Invited by William Lloyd Garrison, she later joined the antislavery lecture circuit, speaking and selling her narrative. Her reputation as a compelling lecturer grew, and by 1846 Truth regularly addressed antislavery and women's rights gatherings, making frequent use of the

Bible to argue for both. Truth delivered her famous and oft repeated "Ain't I a Woman" speech at the 1851 Akron, Ohio, women's rights convention. In the speech, recorded from observers' memories, Truth rebutted social and religious objections to women's rights. Pointing out the hard work and difficulties of her life as a woman, and observing that Christ came "from God and a woman," Truth countered arguments against female suffrage based on women's fragility and Christ's maleness. Celebrated for its powerful response to hecklers and incisive critique of a narrowly defined womanhood, this speech sealed Truth's reputation. Although she was illiterate, Truth demonstrated intellectual independence. She had scriptures read to her by children whom, she said, did not seek to interpret what they read. In a prescient 1853 speech, Truth included racial and gender analysis of the character Esther from Christian and Hebrew scripture to argue for full citizenship of white women and all black persons.

With outbreak of the Civil War, Truth moved to Washington, D.C., where she assisted blacks fleeing to the nation's capitol. In 1867, Truth began an effort to match newly freed persons with potential employers in New York and Michigan. She also initiated a petition drive calling on Congress to settle freed people on western lands. Congress never acted on the petition, however. Truth died at her home in Battle Creek, Michigan, in 1883.

SEE ALSO *Black Feminism in the United States*.

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## TURNER, HENRY McNEAL 1834–1915

Henry McNeal Turner was a major late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century African-American religious leader. In a long and varied career, he was a Civil War soldier, recruiter, and chaplain; a Freedmen's Bureau official; a spellbinding orator; a political organizer; an editor; and a bishop in the African Methodist Episcopal (AME)

Church. He also became one of the most outspoken advocates of reparations-funded African-American emigration to the African continent as a solution to the problem of racial justice in the United States.

Henry McNeal Turner was born on February 1, 1834, in antebellum South Carolina to Sarah Greer and Hardy Turner. Because both of his parents were born free, Turner was never enslaved. As a teenager he worked as a messenger and janitor in an Abbeville, South Carolina, law office. His white employers illegally and secretly taught him to read and write when they realized that his uncanny ability to recall a large amount of information perfectly could be useful to them. He thus became a secret legal courier. Known to outsiders only as a janitor, he was in reality conveying memorized documents for the firm.

Turner was permitted to sit in the rear of a white Methodist church on Sundays, but in 1858, at the age of twenty-four, Turner felt "called" to preach to black Methodists in Baltimore, Maryland, and Washington, D.C. He became a protégé of Bishop Daniel Payne, a highly educated black churchman. Payne's colleagues introduced Turner to theology and the Hebrew, Latin, and Greek languages, which were then associated with advanced Bible study.

Nowhere in the slave-holding South did Turner's photographic memory and extraordinary education shield him from the daily racism faced by all blacks. Embittered by the racial situation prior to the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, Turner had become convinced that America would never do full justice to its African-derived population. However, his vigorous recruiting of free blacks for the Union earned him a commissioned army chaplaincy, a first for a person of color. When the war ended Turner joined the Freedmen's Bureau as an organizer, but quit his post because of the appalling racism of the bureau's field leadership. He quickly formed scores of Equal Rights Leagues, building up a political base that elected him to the Georgia state legislature in 1868, along with twenty-two other blacks. However, the white Democratic Party majority interpreted the Fifteenth Amendment as giving blacks only the right to vote and not to hold office, and they removed Turner and his fellow African Americans from their seats the following year. In Turner's last speech in office he asserted full equality in public and private life for blacks, stating "I claim the honor of having been the instrument of convincing hundreds—yea thousands—of white men that to reconstruct [Georgia] under the measures of the United States Congress was the safest and best course for the interest state." One of these measures, of course, was the Fourteenth Amendment, which made blacks citizens and guaranteed equal protection of the laws. The expulsion of Turner and his colleagues did accelerate the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment, which prohibits state action in denying anyone the right to vote on account of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." Because of his rather bold views on racial inequality, Turner received

death threats from groups such as the Ku Klux Klan, which at the time was headed by Georgia's governor.

Through his remaining Republican Party connections, Turner became the postmaster in Macon, Georgia, in 1869, but resigned under the cloud of politically inspired allegations of sexual improprieties. He then received an appointment as Collector of Customs in Savannah. His religious activities, meanwhile, elevated him to the office of bishop in the AME Church in 1880. He ordained a woman as a deacon in 1885 (a first), and that same year he wrote *The Genius and Theory of Methodist Polity*, which contains some of his progressive views of religion and race.

In 1883 Turner became one of the first black leaders to raise the issue of enslavement reparations. He argued that America's blacks should collectively ask the government for \$100 million to facilitate their relocation to the African continent. In *The Civil Rights Cases* (1883), the U.S. Supreme Court held that the Civil Rights Act of 1875, which protected individuals from discrimination and violence based on race, applied only to state action and not to acts of private individuals, such as Ku Klux Klan members. This decision reinforced Turner's belief that emigration was the only chance blacks had to live free of white racism.

Between 1891 and 1898, Turner visited Africa no fewer than four times, beginning with an organizing conference promoting Methodism in Sierra Leone. He saw Africa as a land of economic opportunity for black émigrés from a nation slowly eroding their citizenship rights. In 1892 he launched *Voice of Missions*, a monthly newspaper that promoted black migration. He assured his 4,000 readers that "I will keep you informed about the improvements being made in Africa, such as building railroads. . . . I will tell you about mines of silver, gold and diamonds that have been . . . and are being discovered and what the nations of the earth doing in parceling out the domain of the great continent regardless of the right or wrong involved in the case" (Redkey 1969, pp. 177–178). He also warned of the increased European presence in Africa, saying "it means the capture of the only spot on the globe the black man can ever hope to be in power and demonstrate the ability of self-government" (Redkey 1969, p. 180).

In addition to *Voice of Missions*, Turner was the editor of the AME *Christian Recorder*, which also promoted the idea of emigration. In 1894 Turner helped to organize the International Migration Society, which raised sufficient funds to charter two vessels to carry blacks to Africa. The *Horsa* departed for Liberia on March 19, 1895, and the *Laurada* left on March 2, 1896. The ships carried a total of 500 individuals. Turner then began promoting his denomination among blacks in Cuba and Central and South America, hoping that a common Protestant activist regional movement would promote ideas of pan-African independence and freedom in that part of the

black diaspora. His advocacy of African Americans migrating to Africa anticipated Marcus Garvey's United Negro Improvement Association, which promoted a Back-to-Africa movement in the 1920s. Always in search of a better place to live, Turner died on May 8, 1915, while traveling in Toronto, Canada.

SEE ALSO *Black Reconstruction*.

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## TURNER, NAT 1800–1831

Nat Turner was born on October 2, 1800, in Southampton County, Virginia. After living as a slave for thirty-one years, he led the most significant rebellion in the history of American slavery. Nat Turner's Revolt, launched in southern Virginia in August 1831, attempted to overthrow the slave regime that had dominated Chesapeake society for more than 150 years. Local militia crushed the uprising, and violent reprisals spread across the region, resulting in the massacre of hundreds of enslaved Africans. For southern whites, Turner's Revolt underscored the high costs and constant risks of preserving race slavery indefinitely. For black and white abolitionists in the North, the rebellion reinforced the idea, later espoused by John Brown, that enslaved southerners were willing and able to rebel, needing only weapons and outside support. For black Virginians, "Nat Turner's War" was seen as the first major armed conflict in the long struggle to end slavery.

Five days after Turner was born, Virginia authorities executed Gabriel Prosser, a slave blacksmith who had plotted an uprising in nearby Richmond. As a boy, Nat must have heard stories about this legendary rebel. Turner's

African-born mother, it is believed, saw her intelligent son as "intended for some great purpose." She noted "certain marks" on his head and chest, and she marveled when he related events that had occurred before his birth. The precocious boy built up a strong faith, combining African beliefs from his mother's world with the Christian faith of his first master, Benjamin Turner. He learned to read, memorized passages of scripture, and felt that he was specially chosen to destroy the oppressive slave system.

As a young man, Nat Turner took a wife, though evidence regarding Cherry Turner remains sketchy. More certain is the fact that he began to experience personal spiritual revelations. He claimed that once, while plowing in a field with his mind wandering in prayer, he was addressed by the same "Spirit" that "spoke to the prophets in former days" (Greenberg 2003, p. 46). In a powerful vision, Turner "saw white spirits and black spirits engaged in battle, and the sun was darkened—the thunder rolled in the Heavens, and blood flowed in streams." Other visions suggested that it was time for Nat to take up that yoke himself "and fight against the Serpent" (Greenberg 2003, pp. 46–48).

By the time he reached his mid-twenties, Turner had belonged to three masters. When his latest owner, Thomas Moore, died in 1828, Nat became the property of the man's nine-year-old son, Putnam Moore. In 1830, Putnam Moore's widowed mother married a local carriage maker named Joseph Travis.

When a solar eclipse occurred in February 1831, Nat interpreted the dramatic event as a sign that he must commence his work. He laid plans with others to act on the holiday of July 4, but when he fell ill the date was allowed to pass. Then, on August 13, when a summer haze changed the color of the sun, Turner took this as an additional sign. He notified a handful of trusted slave collaborators to join him for a meeting on August 21, a Sunday.

The conspirators gathered in the woods near the Travis homestead, and within hours they moved through the vicinity, killing white inhabitants regardless of age or sex. After securing more horses and weapons, they planned to march on Jerusalem, the county seat, and take the arsenal, which would give them a substantial beachhead. According to the *Richmond Enquirer*, Turner made it clear that "indiscriminate slaughter was not their intention after they obtained a foothold, and was resorted to in the first instance to strike terror and alarm. Women and children would afterwards have been spared, and men too who ceased to resist" (Higginson 1861, p. 177).

Several hours after midnight, Turner and five others launched their violent offensive, attacking the home of Turner's master and killing the Travis household, then



proceeding on to other farmsteads to wreak similar vengeance. By Monday night, sixty or seventy African Americans had joined the cause, and on Tuesday morning Turner's army set out for Jerusalem. Behind them at least fifty-seven whites of all ages had been killed over a stretch of twenty miles.

When some rebels stopped to refresh themselves at a farm three miles from Jerusalem, the pause proved fatal. The militia managed to attack the insurgents, who were off guard and poorly armed. Turner never regained the initiative, and with his supporters killed or dispersed, he went into hiding. By midweek, the militia had received reinforcements from Richmond; frightened and vindictive white soldiers and volunteers launched a harsh and indiscriminate offensive throughout the region. One cavalry company slaughtered forty blacks in two days, and they mounted more than a dozen severed heads atop poles as public warnings. But Turner himself evaded authorities for six weeks.

After an enormous manhunt, authorities captured the rebel leader in a local swamp on October 30. Turner was tried on November 5 and executed on November 11, 1831. Days before the public hanging, a young lawyer named Thomas Ruffin Gray managed to interview the insurgent in his jail cell, and he later published the account as *The Confessions of Nat Turner*. The text has a ring of truth and provides much of what is known about Turner and his motives.

Turner's uprising forced Virginia's legislature to consider openly, if briefly, a proposal for gradual emancipation. It revived the colonization movement, which many whites saw as a way to remove dangerous bondsmen and reduce the free black community. The uprising also prompted tighter restrictions on black preaching and greater caution regarding slave access to the Gospel. Among African Americans, Turner became, and has remained, both a martyr and a folk hero.

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Peter H. Wood

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## UNDEREMPLOYMENT

It is difficult to estimate the percentage of the world population that is jobless. Unemployment, underemployment, informal employment, and the ratio of employment to the total population are all indicators that measure employment instability. Because the use of such measures varies across countries and organizations, it is important to provide information on a number of key labor market indicators to better assess global joblessness (International Labour Organization 2007a).

To illustrate, the adult unemployment rate captures the proportion of the labor force that is not working but is looking for work (ages twenty-five and older). The “youth unemployment rate” applies to those unemployed persons between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four. Although unemployment is a commonly used indicator of joblessness, a large proportion of the non-working population is not captured with this measure. For example, the unemployment rate does not count “discouraged workers.” Discouraged workers are those persons who are no longer included in the labor force, as they have essentially given up trying to find work. Nor does the unemployment rate represent the proportion of the labor force that is underemployed. According to the International Labour Organization (ILO) (2007b), the underemployed represent those “whose hours of work are insufficient in relation to an alternative employment situation in which the person is willing and available to engage.” Finally, another key labor market indicator, the ratio of employment to the total population, is often used to assess employment opportunities at the global level and is thought to provide a better estimate of joblessness than that measured by the unemployment rate alone. This measure, however, also fails to capture the under-

employed. Hence, to adequately capture global joblessness, employment opportunities and trends, it is important to provide information on unemployment, underemployment, and the ratio of employment to the total population.

## ECONOMIC GLOBALIZATION AND UNDEREMPLOYMENT

Economic globalization constitutes the process of increasing economic interdependence across borders. With greater economic integration comes the potential for greater market productivity and efficiency. The process of globalization is observed in the growth of international trade, the rise in transnational corporations and investments, and in the unrestrained cross-border movement of capital and goods. As predicted by economists and other policy analysts, globalization has contributed to worldwide economic gains. Yet a closer look at the social dimension of globalization reveals an unequal distribution of these benefits within and across countries.

Although international economic growth and development have the potential to promote employment and decrease poverty and exclusion around the world, the evidence to date suggests that the opposite has occurred. Macroeconomic policies that enhanced global economic integration failed to sufficiently consider the national and international implications for countries with an unequal distribution of wealth. Moreover, global economic policy did not address how to increase or improve employment for the majority of workers, nor did such policies seek to remedy gender- or birth-ascribed labor market inequality. Consequently, world economic growth has been realized

## Underemployment

through globalization; however, inter- and intra-country inequality persists among the core and periphery, developed, transitioning, and underdeveloped countries, and across distinct social groups. In other words, a strong global gross domestic product (GDP) did not correspond to a reduction in global joblessness or poverty. Persistent and increasing unemployment, underemployment, informal employment, and poverty are observed in all countries, regardless of development. Moreover, such employment uncertainty associated with the global economy is further stratified by gender (Heintz 2006) and by birth-ascribed characteristics and features associated with subgroup membership (including race, ethnicity, nativity, caste, legal status).

### HOW GLOBALIZATION AFFECTS EMPLOYMENT AND POVERTY

With growing interdependence comes greater vulnerability across borders. The SARS outbreak in Asia, the spread of HIV/AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa, Russia, and the Ukraine, the impact of 9/11 in the United States, the Iraq War and other armed conflicts and violence, have all had a negative, if temporary, effect on regional economies (Harasty and Schmidt 2004). In the global economy, regional events affect the global marketplace. For example, the volatility of markets in Latin America and Asia have slowed global economic growth, and the global tourism and travel industry has been negatively impacted by 9/11 and the subsequent War on Terror. Thus, global economic stability is correlated with national economic and non-economic crises and events.

In contrast, macroeconomic policies favoring globalization, such as freer trade and markets, government deregulation, and the emphasis on private over public sector oversight, have succeeded in increasing global productivity and efficiency. In 2006, International Monetary Fund (IMF) estimates report a slow but steady growth in global output and global labor productivity. For example, global output grew by 5.2 percent and global labor productivity grew by 3.4 percent (International Labour Office 2007b). It appears, then, that globalization benefits the economy by promoting strong worldwide economic development. Yet macroeconomic policies geared toward globalization have emphasized the unrestrained flow of capital and goods. Hence, global economic policies with a social dimension, such as increasing the cross-border flow of labor, enhancing or improving employment opportunities, or policies that attempt to reduce inter- and intra-national poverty or inequality across race, class, and gender, have not been pursued. Although it is reasonable to expect that global economic growth would likely enhance employment opportunities and reduce poverty around the world, the lack of macroeconomic



*Day Laborers Await the Announcement of Day Jobs, San Francisco, 2002. Informal employment is on the increase. Here potential workers wait to hear if there is a job available for that day. AP IMAGES.*

policies that address these specific concerns has resulted in an increase in joblessness around the world. Employment trends between 1996 and 2006 suggest that on the whole, globalization has had a negative impact on employment outcomes and has increased poverty.

### JOBLESSNESS

In 2006, global unemployment reached an all-time high of 195.2 million persons (6.3%), and world underemployment was estimated at between 25 and 30 percent (Köhler 2004; ILO 2007). Correspondingly, the world's employment-to-population ratio declined between 1993 and 2006 (to 61.4%, down from 62.6% in 1996 and 63.3% in 1993). The persistent decline in the employment-to-population ratio coupled with the rise in unemployment and underemployment suggests that the demand for jobs in the global economy has outstripped the supply of jobs that are available (Heintz 2006; ILO 2007b). Furthermore, the employment-to-population ratio and the unemployment and underemployment rate are stratified within and across

countries. Poorer, underdeveloped countries face greater unemployment and underemployment than richer, developed countries. Moreover, underemployment is a far more prevalent and pressing problem than unemployment in underdeveloped countries (Köhler 2004). In particular, North Africa and the Middle East report the highest unemployment rate and the lowest employment-to-population ratio (12.2% and 47.3%, respectively) (ILO 2007b). Such findings reflect the limited employment options for women in these countries, the prominence of and dependence on the production of oil in the region (and which generates relatively few jobs), and population growth (ILO 2007b). In the United States, underemployment is associated with “the underclass,” typified by U.S.-born black men who experience extreme and concentrated poverty and joblessness in America’s inner-city neighborhoods. Observers note that underemployment in the United States is more likely to occur among women than men, ethnic and racial minorities than non-Hispanic whites, and immigrants than the U.S.-born (De Jong and Madamba 2001).

#### POVERTY

Nations experience poverty differently. For example, Latin America has experienced the largest gap between the rich and the poor in the less developed world. In particular, indigenous people in Latin America are disproportionately more likely to experience extreme poverty, as they make up only 10 percent of the population of Latin America but constitute the majority of the poor. In the developed world, the gap between the rich and poor is greatest in the United States. In the United States, the wealthiest 1 percent of the population is richer than the combined bottom 40 percent. The inequality gap between these two groups is widening rather than narrowing over time. Moreover, although global poverty is on the decrease, from 15.1 percent in 1993 to 12.7 percent in 2004, regional disparities remain. For example, rapid growth in China and East Asia have led to poverty reduction, but similar changes have not been realized in sub-Saharan Africa or the transition economies of Central Asia and Europe. Additionally, poverty is stratified by gender, race and ethnicity, and nativity. For example, female-headed households experience poverty at a greater rate than their male counterparts. Racial or ethnic minority status intersects with gender to heighten inequality. For example, approximately 40 percent of black and Latino female-headed households experience poverty in the United States. Moreover, immigrants are more likely to live in poverty than U.S.-born residents (17.1% compared to 11.8%, respectively).

Global poverty is difficult to measure. Rough estimates suggest that extreme poverty, the number of people worldwide who live on less than two dollars a day, has

approached 1.4 billion persons, or about one-fifth of the world’s population (ILO 2007b). Other estimates put this number at closer to 3 billion people. Children make up a third of this total population. According to figures generated by UNICEF, approximately 30,000 children die each day due to extreme poverty, about 11 million children under five years of age each year (Shah 2006). They “die quietly in some of the poorest villages on earth, far removed from the scrutiny and the conscience of the world. Being meek and weak in life makes these dying multitudes even more invisible in death” (UNICEF 2005). Notably, these staggering numbers actually reflect a decline in poverty that has occurred in the early years of the twenty-first century. This is due, in part, to the concerted effort by the United Nations and other international organizations to highlight and combat global poverty. Additionally, the proportion of the global labor force that is female is on the rise, which further contributes to the decline in poverty. Women are more likely to experience poverty because their work is generally low-skilled, low-wage, and insecure; however, at the level of the household, women’s wages make a positive contribution to total income. The wages women contribute to the household often alleviate the risk of extreme poverty, especially in countries where women’s work compensates for the increase in male unemployment (Heintz 2006).

Poverty is related to employment outcomes; therefore, an increase in unemployment or underemployment is often associated with an increase in poverty. Since unemployment and underemployment are on the rise, a substantial segment of the global population is vulnerable to falling below the poverty line. Growing joblessness coupled with a lack of productive and decent work in the formal sector of the global economy has led to a rise in informal employment. Informal work is generally low-skilled and low-wage, often located in the service sector, agriculture, or the non-durable manufacturing industry (Heintz 2006).

#### LABOR MARKET SEGMENTATION

National labor markets are stratified by gender and one or more birth-ascribed characteristics rooted in race, caste, ethnicity, nativity, or indigenous status, among others. The international labor market is a macrocosm of such structural inequality. For example, in the United States, globalization has ushered in a restructuring of the economy that is characterized by a decline in good-paying jobs in durable goods manufacturing and the aerospace and defense industries. At the same time, there has been a rise in low-wage, low-skilled jobs in non-durable goods manufacturing, such as in the garment or electronics industry, and the service industry. Hence, although jobs at the

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bottom and at the top of this “hourglass economy” remain plentiful, the “narrowing middle” forces occupational segregation and constrains intergenerational mobility, especially among racial and ethnic minority groups. Additionally, recent immigration policy reforms, such as the Hart-Cellar Act of 1965, the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, and the Immigration Act of 1990, have dramatically increased legal immigration to the United States. Alongside legal immigration, illegal immigration by Mexican and Central American migrants continues unabated (Valdez 2005). Such economic and demographic changes have spurred a wage and work gap between non-Hispanic whites and ethnic and racial minorities that persists into the twenty-first century. For example, native-born ethnic and racial minorities are more likely to be unemployed and underemployed; native-born and foreign-born Latinos, regardless of legal status, are concentrated among the working poor. For men, such occupations include labor-intensive work in the construction or service industries. For women, occupations include domestic work or factory work in sweatshop-like conditions in the garment industry. Other industrialized nations face similar patterns of stratification across subgroups. In Japan, for instance, foreign-born men from Brazil and Pakistan work in occupations characterized as “dirty, dangerous, and difficult,” while Filipinas are relegated to work in hostess bars and other occupations in the “entertainment” industry.

### **INFORMAL EMPLOYMENT**

Informal employment in developed and underdeveloped countries and in rural and urban settings is on the increase for men and women, as “lean” and “just in time” production techniques decrease the number of jobs that are available in formal employment. Informal employment constitutes non-standard work that is low-skilled and low-wage, often requires excessive hours of work, is generally inflexible and insecure, and lacks protections, regulations, and benefits that more formal employment guarantees. Women engage in informal employment to a greater degree than men. In less developed countries, the majority of non-agricultural women’s labor takes place in the informal sector. In developed countries, the highest percentage of informally employed women occurs in sub-Saharan Africa (84%).

The disproportionate number of women working in the informal sector relative to men is due, in large part, to gender inequality in developed and especially underdeveloped countries. For example, women in underdeveloped nations may work for subcontractors assembling work at home for a fixed price or work as unpaid family workers in family-owned enterprises. In developed nations, women’s informal employment includes domestic work, work in the entertainment industry, factory

work, “home work,” and unpaid family work. Because such informal labor market practices lack the protections found in more formal employment such as childcare support or sick leave, and because women are more likely to engage in this type of work, women are more likely to experience poverty than men; this has been termed the “feminization of poverty.”

Additionally, women’s non-market work—unpaid labor that contributes to the maintenance of the household—is crucial for its socioeconomic stability. The time expended in non-market unpaid work is largely non-negotiable, however, and the hours left available for paid market work are compromised by such household responsibilities. The combination of unpaid non-market work and the fewer hours left available for wage-work, and the likelihood that such work will be located in the informal sector, results in the devaluation of women’s work. This “feminization of labor” characterizes the majority of women’s work in developed and developing nations (Heintz 2006).

Finally, in underdeveloped, post-colonial countries, the exploitation of children, women, and indigenous workers occurs at the national and international level. Outsourcing by developed countries leads to increased employment opportunities in less developed countries, but the factory or service jobs that are generated are labor intensive and low paying. In 2004, the ILO reported that one in six of the world’s children (ages five to seventeen) engages in child labor, which may include forced labor, prostitution, or work that is hazardous and dangerous (Harasty and Schmidt 2004). Moreover, sex tourism in Southeast Asia, the Dominican Republic, and the Caribbean promotes the exploitation of women and children from underdeveloped countries by Westerners. For example, Thailand’s sex tourism industry generates 4.3 billion U.S. dollars annually, which accounts for 3 percent of Thailand’s GDP.

### **FAIR GLOBALIZATION**

Research on globalization has emphasized the possibility of “fair globalization” (Halonen 2005). Fair globalization seeks to promote economic growth and development while at the same time improving employment opportunities and reducing poverty. Rather than suggesting that a fair globalization is ethical, moral, or idealistic, scholars, activists, and organizations argue that the observed economic growth that has been attributed to globalization cannot be sustained without a population of decently employed workers. In other words, macroeconomic policies that facilitate economic internationalization need to expand beyond policies that promote the unrestrained cross-border flow of capital and goods. Additional policies are required that would ensure decent and productive

work. The ILO (2007) defines “decent and productive work” as “opportunities for women and men to obtain decent and productive employment in conditions of freedom, equity, security and human dignity.” Such work is not produced in the informal sector but must be created in the formal sector. Policies in the early twenty-first century that target the social dimension of globalization are taking root, such as the United Nation’s Millennium Declaration, which seeks to halve world poverty and achieve universal primary education by 2015, and the ILO’s commitment to worldwide decent and productive employment as well as their strategic and aggressive policy to end child labor.

The attention being paid to the contradictions of globalization and global economic growth on the one hand and rising joblessness and poverty on the other, may have the desired effect. Macroeconomic policies may begin to address the unequal distribution of resources across developed and underdeveloped countries, if only to sustain future global economic growth. Whether such policy changes at the international (or national) level can address socioeconomic stratification at the national level is less clear, since gender and birth-ascribed stratification appears to be an endemic, structural feature of labor markets.

**SEE ALSO** *Poverty; Social Problems; Undocumented Workers.*

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Zulema Valdez

**UNDOCUMENTED WORKERS**

Undocumented workers are foreign-born workers who lack the legal documentation required to work in the country in which they live. As outlined by Charles Kelly in a 1977 article, these individuals may have crossed a national border without going through the required inspection process, they may have entered with counterfeit documents, or they may have overstayed legitimate tourist or working visas. In the United States, an undocumented worker is someone who is foreign born, is not a permanent resident, and is not a U.S. citizen. An undocumented worker can be deported for being in violation of U.S. migration and naturalization law and for not possessing permission to work in the United States. These workers, like others in a country illegally, are often referred to as “illegal aliens,” or “illegal immigrants.”

**TRACKING UNDOCUMENTED WORKERS**

Because of their clandestine status, it is usually difficult to know exactly how many undocumented immigrants there are in a specific country or region. Demographers have created statistical methods to estimate how many undocumented immigrants exist in a population. According to estimates made by Jeffrey Passel, a researcher with the Pew Hispanic Center in Washington D.C., there were 11.1 million undocumented immigrants living in the United States in 2005. Of these, 7.2 million were unauthorized migrants employed in March 2005, accounting for about 4.9 percent of the civilian labor force. The other 3.9 million were home-stay woman and children. The same report showed that undocumented workers made up a larger share of the workers in certain occupational categories, including 24 percent of all workers employed in farming occupations, 17 percent in cleaning (or janitorial occupations), 14 percent in construction, and 12 percent in food preparation (Passel 2005, p.1). Passel also found that in 2005 undocumented immigrants made up 30 percent of the foreign-born population in the United States and were largely

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from Latin America, with most unauthorized migrants coming from Mexico.

In 2005 there were 6.2 million undocumented immigrants from Mexico in the United States. Passel's study found that between 60 and 75 percent of the more than 11.1 million undocumented immigrants in the United States entered the country illegally and without inspection, in most cases entering across the 2,000 mile U.S.-Mexican border. The other 25 to 40 percent entered legally and subsequently overstayed visas or violated the terms of their admission. If a foreign national enters a country legally and then overstays a visa or violates the terms of admission, he or she automatically becomes an undocumented immigrant. If the same person gets a job, then he or she becomes an undocumented worker.

### GLOBALIZATION AND WORKER PATTERNS

The forces of globalization and market competition have encouraged the hiring of undocumented workers worldwide. By employing such workers, companies can compete more easily in the global market economy and make more profits. Increased profits are made by paying low wages to undocumented workers (in many cases under the minimum wage); by not investing in safety measures or appropriate working equipment, which can be very expensive, and therefore forcing the undocumented workers to labor under dangerous conditions; by not paying overtime; by denying workers benefits such as health insurance; and by paying them under the table.

For these reasons, such employers generally avoid investigating whether documents presented at the time of hiring are authentic. Workers are supposed to be asked by employers at the time of hire to provide proof that they are allowed to work in the United States. Foreign workers can present a Permanent Resident Card (also called a Green Card) or a working permit (or working visa), as well as a Social Security card. Some employers, however, just take a copy of the Permanent Resident Card and the social security card from the prospective worker and file it in their records, just in case they are investigated by immigration authorities. They can then demonstrate that they were given documentation, and that this documentation suggested that the worker was authorized to work in the United States.

Most undocumented workers, however, can buy fake documentation from counterfeiters in the informal markets of global cities for just a few hundred dollars. In most cases, Social Security numbers are made-up numbers, but in other instances they match the numbers of real citizens. According to a 2005 *New York Times* article by Eduardo Porter, as many as three quarters of the undocumented workers in the United States pay payroll

taxes, contributing between \$6 billion and \$7 billion in Social Security funds that they will be unable to claim later in life.

### IMMIGRATION LAW

In an attempt to control undocumented immigration, the U.S. Congress passed the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA), which awarded amnesty to and legalized the status of more than three million undocumented immigrants. At the same time, a new federal law, known as the Employers Sanctions Provisions of IRCA, Immigration and Nationality Act, Section 274a, prohibited employers from hiring undocumented workers and threatened them with large fines if they did so. As a result, many companies changed their strategies of hiring undocumented workers directly, and instead subcontracted out the work. Thus, the employer could not be blamed for having undocumented workers on their premises. If they are caught, the company could (and still can) argue that they had merely hired the subcontractor and that they were not aware of the legal status of the workers.

In 2005 several Wal-Mart stores were accused of hiring undocumented workers. Wal-Mart authorities were not able to argue lack of knowledge of the problem because federal agents had taped a conversation that showed that Wal-Mart executives knew that the subcontractors they used had hired illegal immigrants. Moreover, an article carried by the Associated Press and other sources revealed the conditions that undocumented workers faced at Wal-Mart: "Many of the janitors—from Mexico, Russia, Mongolia, Poland and a host of other nations—worked seven days or nights a week without overtime pay or injury compensation, said attorney James L. Linsey. Those who worked nights were often locked in the store until the morning, Linsey said" (Associated Press 2005, p. 1). This is a damning illustration of the conditions faced by undocumented workers in America.

U.S. immigration law has opened the doors for numerous immigrants to enter the country, but this door is mainly open to skilled workers. Unskilled workers have very few options when applying for a visa, with the result that most such workers have to enter the country illegally. According to Rob Paral, a Research Fellow with the Immigration Policy Center, only one category of visas in U.S. immigration and naturalization policy is targeted to low-skilled workers, and only 5,000 of these are issued per year. Most visas are reserved for high-skilled occupations, and 130,000 of these are allowed per year. According to Timothy Hatton and Jeffrey Williamson, the authors of *Global Migration and the World Economy* (2005), high-skilled workers find it much harder to mask an illegal status and secure illegal employment that fully exploits their skills. Low-skilled jobs, however, are less likely to



*Rebuilding New Orleans, 2006. Following Hurricane Katrina, large numbers of undocumented workers, such as this laborer from Mexico, came to the region and performed much of the clean-up work.* MARIO TAMA/GETTY IMAGES.

require the licenses, certifications, and other documentation that might reveal legal status. They also point out that the wage differential between the countries of origin and destination is much larger for low-skilled work than for high-skilled work. It does not come as a surprise, therefore, that undocumented low-skilled workers are disproportionately represented in current immigration flows.

Undocumented workers are protected by labor rights in the United States and several other countries around the world. According to the *Workers' Rights Handbook*, examples of the kind of labor rights that undocumented workers may be awarded include the right to get paid at least the minimum wage, to get paid overtime, to receive workmen's compensation insurance, and the right to organize. Unfortunately, in most cases, undocumented workers do not fight for their labor rights even when they are violated due to the fear of losing their job or getting deported if they complain.

#### UNDOCUMENTED WORKERS WORLDWIDE

The phenomenon of undocumented migration and undocumented workers is not unique to the United States. Globalization and the demand for cheap labor in the global market economy have created an underground demand for undocumented workers all around the world, especially in the most developed nations. Structural adjustment programs in developing nations and the expansion of free trade have caused thousands of workers around the world to be displaced from their jobs, leading to very high rates of unemployment. Sometimes referred to as a new form of slave labor, undocumented workers in developed nations

are paid low wages for doing jobs in which they work under unsafe conditions, are not given any labor-related benefits, and are often forced to work for long hours without being paid overtime, among other abuses. Even conservative estimates claim that the number of undocumented immigrants around the world is about 10 million (see Skeldon 2000). Nation-states all around the world are currently fighting the problem of undocumented workers, who some claim displace citizens from jobs and lower wages in the country of destination.

The majority of undocumented immigrants around the world enter the country of destination illegally through the use of a smuggler, who either smuggles the person into the country or finances the cost of undocumented entry. The cost of smuggling can range from a few hundred dollars to several thousand dollars depending on the place of origin of the migrant, method of smuggling (by earth, by air, or by sea), and how strict the border enforcement has become at the port of entry. In 2007, smuggler costs to get into the United States were on average between \$1,500 to \$3,000 for Mexicans and \$5,000 to \$10,000 for Central Americans (Flores, 2007). According to Ko-Lin Chin (1999), author of *Smuggled Chinese: Clandestine Immigration to the United States*, the fees paid by the Chinese range from \$30,000 to \$60,000. Family and friends often cover the cost of the smuggling fees at the time of arrival to the United States. In other instances, the debt the worker incurs is taken out of the wages earned when the immigrant begins to work in some kind of shop or restaurant that is owned by intermediaries of the smuggler. If the money was provided by family and friends, very rarely the debt is forgiven. In most instances, undocumented workers spend large amounts of time (several months or years) after their arrival trying to pay back their debt for smuggling fees.

Undocumented workers are less likely to bring family members with them because of the dangerous circumstances under which they are smuggled, and because they are more likely to get caught if they travel with family members. Thus, undocumented workers with family members in the country of origin are more likely to move more frequently back and forth between the two countries. In the case of the United States, tighter border enforcement has not helped to reduce the flow of undocumented immigrants, but it has increased the rates charged by smugglers and redirected illegal crossings to nontraditional ports of entry. These changes have resulted in a death toll of about 400 deaths per year since the border was militarized in 1993 (see Massey et al. 2002). Tighter border enforcement has also helped to increase the number of undocumented workers who stay longer in the United States, because it is more difficult for undocumented workers to continue with their



traditional circulatory flow. Despite internal immigration enforcement laws, such as those enacted by the U.S. Congress, governments tend to poorly enforce their immigration laws due to political and economic factors. Moreover, the demand for workers to fill jobs not easily filled by native-born or documented workers only reinforces the dynamics of undocumented immigration, despite border enforcement.

#### IMMIGRANT WORKERS AND RACISM

In addition to high levels of exploitation, undocumented workers face high levels of racial discrimination. In most nations around the world, undocumented workers tend to be members of racial minorities. As in the case of the United States, where numerous undocumented workers look Hispanic or Latino, in other places around the world undocumented workers are easy to spot, and they can then be subjected to racial profiling and discrimination. In Germany, Turkish undocumented workers are often visually distinctive, and African undocumented workers are easily spotted in Spain because of their physical features and the color of their skin. Racial discrimination associated with undocumented migration status is considered a new form of racism, especially in the United States.

Anti-immigrant sentiment in the United States reached new heights during 2006, leading to millions of undocumented immigrants marching in the streets of major U.S. cities and protesting immigration laws that threatened to convert those who offer help to undocumented immigrants into felons. As a result of the nationwide protests, hundreds of new immigration laws curtailed the ability of employers to hire undocumented workers, forcing the police to inquire about the legal status of those who they detain, and allowing landlords to deny renting to undocumented immigrants. In most instances, these local laws have been revoked in federal courts given that such laws have been declared to be unconstitutional and according to federal law, only the federal government and not the local government can inquire about immigration status of any person (Rubinkam 2007). In addition, a 700-mile-long fence along the U.S.-Mexican border was approved by the Congress and signed by President George W. Bush. Other bills have been debated in Congress, including one that would award amnesty to millions of undocumented immigrants. A backlash against illegal immigration all over the United States has caused thousands of workers to be deported, so that families have been suddenly separated and children terrorized when they returned home from school to find that their parents had been taken away. Despite the deportations and the new laws, there is no sign that the flow of undocumented workers to the United States and

other developed countries will come to an end any time soon.

**SEE ALSO** *Underemployment.*

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## UNESCO STATEMENTS ON RACE

The establishment of the United Nations (UN) following World War II led to a surge in declarations, conventions, and organizations aimed at promoting human rights and equality. The legacy of Nazism and the failure of the League of Nations galvanized the UN to formulate two critical postwar documents: the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), and the Genocide Convention (1948). The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) was established in 1945 to “embody a genuine culture of peace.” It was within this international atmosphere that UNESCO, as one of its early public acts, issued a Statement on Race in 1950.

Racism was the essence of Nazism, and the defeat of that regime provided an opportunity to pursue an egalitarian agenda. Despite the defeat of Nazism, racism in the late 1940s remained a powerful ideology. Segregation in the United States was in full force, and southern racism was yet to be challenged politically. UNESCO took up the challenge and established a committee of experts that published the 1950 Statement on Race, which declared that there was no scientific basis or justification for racial bias (*The New York Times*, July 18, 1950). The publication created a controversy that, in various forms, has lasted ever since. Nevertheless, the publication of the statement marked the emergence of a new scientific orthodoxy that continues into the twenty-first century. This persistence is most remarkable given the ongoing changes in the study of the life sciences. But perhaps as noteworthy is how the specific makeup of the committee fanned the controversy, for while the subject matter reputedly dealt with issues of physical anthropology and biology, the scientists on the UNESCO committee were largely social scientists. The question of whether race is a biological phenomena or a social construct was, and remains, controversial.

The 1950 UNESCO statement was revolutionary. Although during the previous two decades significant shifts had taken place in scientific perspectives concerning the biology of race, the claim of biological equality advanced in the statement was unprecedented as a declaration by an official public body. The committee asserted human equality based on four premises: (1) the mental capacities of all races are similar, (2) no evidence exists for biological deterioration as a result of hybridization, (3) there is no correlation between national or religious groups and any particular race, and (4) “race was less a biological fact than a social myth,” and that biology proved the “universal brotherhood of man.” The first three, viewed from the perspective of half a century later, have become part of the mainstream, or at least part of liberal orthodoxy. But the fourth claim presented an

epistemologically radical position. The “brotherhood of man” had a subversive ring to it at the beginning of the cold war, and the positive assertion about equality based on science remains controversial today. In 1950, many viewed this claim to be the weaker point of the statement, and it was subject to widespread criticism.

During the prewar years, the scientific community had moved from racist positions to a primarily agnostic understanding of the relation between racial biology and social manifestations. Biologists, anthropologists, and psychologists all contributed to a critique that delegitimized previously held racist theories, especially those associated with eugenics in the first quarter of the century. Among the prominent scientists who shaped this antiracist shift were Franz Boas (1858–1942) and his students, including Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead in the United States, and biologists such as J. B. S. Haldane, Julian Huxley, Lancelot Hogben, and Lionel Penrose in England. It was Penrose who played a major role in undermining the positivists’ claims regarding racial differences, by showing that in many cases mental ability resulted from a combination of biology-genetics and environment, including pathological causes. Penrose showed that the idea that there was an explicit clear correlation between genetics and IQ could not be proven. The critics, with some exceptions, tended to be outsiders or socially marginal to the scientific community because of their ethnicity, gender, or politics. Even those who were at the heart of the British elite, such as Huxley and Haldane, were outsiders by their professional position or politics. In other words, it was Jews, women, and leftists who predominated in the ranks of those critical of racist viewpoints. From the vantage point of early twenty-first century, the substance of the critics writing on race would be considered to fall among those who believe in deep and biological racial divides. In other words, the theories supported by anti-racist scientists in the 1940s would be considered now by many to be racist. What made them “critics” was that their relative position opposed the conventions of their time. The whole spectrum of scientific understanding of racial differentiation has shifted.

Among this group was Ashley Montagu (1905–1999), who was born to a Jewish immigrant family in London and later migrated to the United States. Informally part of the Boasian network in New York during the thirties, Montagu never achieved the academic prestige to which he aspired. As an outsider, however, he was to play a major role in the public understanding of the science of race. His most famous book, *Man’s Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race* was first published in 1942.

UNESCO’s expert committee on race was created by the UNESCO Fourth General Conference, which called

for the collection of scientific data on race problems and for an educational campaign to disseminate scientific knowledge of race. UNESCO's Director-General at the time was Julian Huxley, who had criticized unfounded racist claims for fifteen years and was the coauthor of the book *We Europeans*, probably the first book to argue for the use of the term *ethnic* as a replacement for *race*. This change in terminology was seen as a way to counter scientific and, in particular, Nazi racism. Perhaps even more important to the formation of the committee was the Brazilian anthropologist Arthur Ramos, who headed the Social Sciences Department of UNESCO. He determined the composition of the committee, which reflected his interest in the social sciences and thus challenged the more conventional view of race as a biological category. Montagu turned out to be the only committee member who was a physical anthropologist and had biological expertise. He was therefore chosen to be the rapporteur. In hindsight, it is clear that this choice increased the likelihood of a controversial statement. Montagu was more of an outspoken critic than a consensus builder, and his personal social qualities were not universally admired. His clear and often outspoken position on race was not unknown to the committee, so it would be wrong to assume that their findings were not embraced by the committee as a whole.

In the following decades, Montagu would publish extensively on numerous aspects of social relations, arguing against racism and other forms of discrimination and in favor of egalitarianism. At times, however, he took his analysis and claims further than his peers felt comfortable supporting. In 1950, neither the scientific community nor the public were ready to treat race as a social construction, but UNESCO's statement was destined to redraw the lines of the debate.

The draft statement of the expert committee was sent out to various international scientists, most of whom were sympathetic to its antiracist viewpoint and had participated in previous public declarations. Their replies underscore both the scientific and political concerns of what can be said about race scientifically, as well as what ought to be said politically. The internal concerns regarding the composition of the committee led UNESCO primarily to solicit the opinion of biologists. The prevailing responses to the draft criticized the positivist view put forth in the statement about the "universal brotherhood of man." Despite behind-the-scenes politicking, Montagu, as rapporteur, was able to keep this phrase in the final text. Once the statement was published, the result, as expected, was widespread criticism. Among the critics were prominent conservative and racist scientists such as Cyril Darlington, Ronald Fisher, and Ruggles Gates, but also less vehement sympathizers. In general, the debate was largely confined to small scientific circles, but the

statement's effectiveness was damaged by exaggerated assertions that lacked scientific backing.

The press coverage was not extensive, but the scientific turmoil troubled UNESCO at a time when it was struggling to establish political and professional credentials. Consequently, it was pressured to establish a second committee comprising geneticists and physical anthropologists. In an effort to keep a façade of continuity, the new expert committee also included Montagu, and the new statement was presented as an explication of the first statement, not as revision. The new rapporteur was Leslie Clarence Dunn, one of the foremost developmental geneticists, who also published popular text book on biology, and wrote on race, and the focus shifted to biology and physical anthropology. Several of the new members were among the commentators on the draft of the first statement whose opinions were not incorporated into that statement. Among the prominent new members were John Burton Sanderson Haldane, and Solly Zuckerman. Haldane was a Communist who formulated his antiracism as an anti-Nazi stand. While not always sensitive to racial offense, his egalitarianism was explicit and political. Zuckerman's Jewishness made his position on race more egalitarian than might have been expected from his centrist political position. The committee was far from monolithic, yet it had a strong antiracist and egalitarian commitment. It published its "Statement on the Nature of Race and Race Differences" in June 1951, with its authors highlighted as being "Physical Anthropologists and Geneticists." It was sent to ninety-six scientists for comments before publication. In addition to the statement, UNESCO printed eight booklets on various aspects of race, and these served as more detailed mini-statements. The industry of scientific antiracism was thus beginning to take shape, moving beyond individual efforts and becoming institutionalized.

An examination of the differences between the first and the second statements displays a wide spectrum of attitudes on the concept of race among scientists in the early 1950s. While most commentators refrained from negating the biological basis for intelligence outright, they became comfortable assigning racial differences to social factors. Race was losing its scientific (i.e., biological) credibility, but it remained a powerful force in popular culture and society. The confusion among these categories has never really been resolved in the public discourse. Although the 1950 statement was primarily sociological, it offered an explanation of the mechanism of racial differentiation through evolution, denied "race" had any concrete meaning, and advocated replacing the concept of race with an "ethnic" framework. The 1951 statement was more tentative, recognized that race mixture (the term at the time for the population descended from recognizable two races) existed "for an indefinite

but a considerable time,” and argued that while the process of racial differentiation is unknown, many populations could be classified anthropologically in racial terms. The controversial declaration of the first statement on the biological evidence for universal brotherhood was ignored in the second statement.

The two statements contributed to a new dogma and to confusion about race. They emphasized what is unknown by science about race and pointed to the lack of positivist knowledge of what race is. By asserting that many populations can be classified racially, but then being unable to say much about such a classification, these statements were bound to lead to public confusion. So while the impact of the statements on policy has been questioned by historians, their influence has been significant, if indirect. They were part of a trend by scientists to renounce racial prejudices as lacking a scientific basis. UNESCO continued to fight racism and publish periodically on race, while scientists by and large switched their focus to environmentalism. Over the years, different organizations have pronounced on race, including the American Anthropological Association (AAA), the American Association of Physical Anthropologists (AAPA), and the American Sociological Association.

The 1998 statement on race by the AAA for example, illustrates how little had changed since 1950. The AAA statement (which followed the AAPA's statement) hardly differed in substance from the early UNESCO statements. The focus of the critique of the claims of racial differentiation remained on intragroup variability—differences within the group as opposed to between the group and any group it borders—which has been the main argument against racism since the 1930s. For example, if skin color is the variable to be examined, whites are more different among themselves than from the nearest non whites. The difference between Nordic and any darker skin whites is bigger than between the latter ones and light skin blacks. The principle distinction is true, regardless where one choose to draw the boundaries. It similarly applies to other characteristics. This viewpoint advocates that intragroup differences are far wider than intergroup distinctions. This has been recognized by writers since the 1920s, yet it was presented by the AAA as the central claim for a denial of the significance of race. Beyond this observation, the statement focused on the history of race as a reflection on the science of race. This particular history by the AAA amounted to a sharp criticism of race thinking over time, coupled with an inability to describe any “correct” aspects of race that would explain racial differences.

Another angle to view the transformation of scientific thinking can perhaps be viewed from those who were perceived as right wing conservatives. It is their ongoing

explication of racial differences as an explanation of human behavior that provided the motivation for the more recent statements on race. Each of these anti-racist statements aimed to slay the dragon of racism once and for all. Among these scientists, even the hereditarians and racialists, who since the late sixties and early seventies reasserted themselves in claims about the correlation of race and science, followed by the debate over sociobiology, were far less deterministic than even the egalitarians of the earlier period. Their scientific claims were dismissed, but it is historically instructive to see how much the whole spectrum shifted against an epistemology of stable or identifiable races.

UNESCO published additional statements on race over the years, authored by leading scientific figures who pronounced on various questions with the persistent goal of advocating human equality. The dissonance between popular views that race matters in a certain biological sense and the scientific inability to clarify what these differences might be has left scientists criticizing misconceptions without being able to offer an alternative sets of positivistic beliefs. Thus, scientific dissonance is the dominant aspect of the debate. This is illustrated by the National Cancer Institute (NCI) statement, which posits that “race is not a biologically determined classification. Race is a product of our social and political history.” This dissonance leads to explicit confusion within the NCI statement itself, which also states that “Despite the fact that race is not a tenable biological classification, there are valid reasons to retain it as an indicator of health outcomes” (1997).

Race persist in popular representations, but cannot be clearly captured by scientific definitions and studies. The need to name a race and to have a clear demarcation of the group conflicts with the wide human diversity that does not avail itself for such clear demarcations. The dissonance is a subject of popular and academic confusion, as the word race conveys different things in distinct discourses and in specific contexts. UNESCO's efforts to clarify it has done much to articulate an official anti-racist position, but did not succeeded in bringing the debate to an end.

SEE ALSO *Montagu, Ashley.*

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*Elazar Barkan*

## UNITED FARM WORKERS UNION

The United Farm Workers of America (UFW) is a predominantly Mexican farm labor union operating primarily in California, but also in Arizona, Texas, Washington, and Florida. The organization first emerged in 1965 under the leadership of César Chávez. During the height of its activities in the 1960s and 1970s, the UFW was able to improve working conditions for farmworkers and was part of a broader movement for the social and political inclusion of people of Mexican origin into American society.

During the 1960s, a plethora of political advocacy organizations emerged in the United States pressing for social and political change. This time period is most often associated with the civil rights and antiwar movements, but women, gay and lesbian persons, Native Americans, and Latinos were also active in pressing for change throughout the country. The UFW was part of this social-movement cycle.

The emergence of the UFW in the 1960s was predicated on a long history of Mexican American political mobilizations, dating to the early part of the twentieth century. During the 1930s there were significant instances of farm labor insurgency throughout California (Daniel 1981, González 1999, L. Majka 1992). However, despite widespread labor mobilization, labor unions were unable to significantly alter their situation due to their extreme political and social marginalization.

A major obstacle to farm-labor mobilization during the 1940s and 1950s was the Bracero Program. From 1942 to 1964, the United States imported Mexican guest workers, referred to as “*braceros*,” to work in agriculture. Orig-

inally conceived in response to domestic labor shortages during World War II, the Bracero Program proved highly profitable, and growers successfully lobbied to have the program extended after the war. Because braceros were neither permanent nor American, they were a highly malleable low-wage labor force. Their widespread use throughout the industry depressed wages for domestic workers and made labor organizing exceedingly difficult. Farm-labor advocacy during this period was aimed at government legislation to terminate the program. Ernesto Galarza and the National Farm Workers Union worked closely with a wide variety of urban liberals, churches, and other progressive organizations to repeal Public Law 78, which authorized the program, and in 1964 Congress rescinded authorization to renew the program. The end of the Bracero Program initiated a new era in farm labor mobilization.

César Chávez started the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA), the organizational precursor of the UFW, in Delano, California, in 1962. The organization was originally intended to be a farm-labor-based social services and advocacy group with a broad range of goals for political and economic justice. It was only in 1965, when it joined forces with the AFL-CIO–affiliated Filipino Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC) that the organization explicitly became as a farm labor union.

In 1965 the AWOC, led by Larry Itliong, demanded Coachella Valley grape growers in Southern California increase their wages. After a strike, growers agreed to the increase. Later in the growing season, AWOC workers demanded similar wage increases from growers in Delano. When growers began using Mexican scab labor, AWOC approached the NFWA for support. Although Chávez was initially reluctant, the organizations agreed to work together to better the lives of farmworkers. By 1970 the UFW was able to sign 150 contracts with growers producing 85 percent of California’s grapes. The campaign was successful because of an effective public boycott, and because of links the UFW was able to build to a variety of progressive organizations and elites sympathetic to the farmworker cause.

In 1966 the AWOC and the NFWA officially merged to form the UFW. The new organization affiliated with the AFL-CIO. This relationship proved to be beneficial, as labor groups throughout the country and abroad provided financial support to the UFW. The union also forged links with clerics, church groups, students, civil rights activists, and political figures such as Robert Kennedy. During this period, Chávez began the first of several fasts, inspired by the non-violent tactics of the Indian nationalist leader Mahatma Gandhi. The UFW also participated in marches to the state capital, which were influenced by civil rights marches in the South. The public support received by these widely publicized events helped the UFW to counter the



**United Farm Workers Rally, 2002.** *The United Farm Workers of America (UFW) works to improve working conditions for farm laborers.* AP IMAGES.

efforts of California agribusiness and their political allies, and they eventually won favorable contracts with grape growers.

The use of Mexican cultural symbols has been central to UFW organization and strategy. It is notable that the grape boycott was started on September 16, 1965, Mexican Independence Day. The UFW emblem, a black eagle on the middle of a red background, is a reference to the eagle found on the Mexican flag. During strikes, marches, and other public events, images of Our Lady of Guadalupe, the patron saint of Mexico, and Emiliano Zapata, a revolutionary war hero who fought for peasant land rights, are prominently displayed. After the death of Chávez in 1993, he too has become a symbol for the movement.

In 1979 the union moved its headquarters from Delano to La Paz, a small town in the Tehachapi Mountains of California. The union suffered internal strife during this period, and several high-ranking officers left the organization. In the decade that followed, the UFW retreated from the fields and began to focus its efforts on direct-mailing techniques to call attention to the plight of farmworkers, especially the negative effects of pesticides. Scholars have pointed to a hostile political environment, and the increasingly effective anti-union strategies of agribusiness to account for the decreased activities of the union during this time period (Mooney and Majka 1995, Majka and Majka 1992).

When César Chávez died in 1993, his son-in-law, Arturo Rodriguez, took over as head of the organization.

With Rodriguez at the helm, the UFW started to organize in the fields again. This effort began in 1996 with a campaign to organize strawberry workers on California's Central Coast, an enterprise that met with mixed results. The UFW has also moved into urban areas, organizing factories and buying low-income housing. The organization has also continued its political advocacy work, leading some critics to charge that it is neglecting its farmworker roots. While the UFW no longer has as many workers under contract as it did in the late 1970s, its work to increase the social and political well-being of farmworkers continues to be substantial. It is a major political advocacy organization, not only for farmworkers but for all Mexican Americans.

**SEE ALSO** *Chávez, César Estrada; Day Laborers, Latino; Farmworkers; Galarza, Ernesto; Immigrant Domestic Workers; Labor Market, Informal; Undocumented Workers.*

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## UNITED KINGDOM RACIAL FORMATIONS

The United Kingdom comprises the historic kingdoms of England and Scotland, the principality of Wales, and the province of Northern Ireland. The United Kingdom is also known as Great Britain, or simply as Britain. In 2006, for the first time in British history, the total population of the United Kingdom surpassed 60 million. In terms of contemporary ethnic affiliation, according to the National Statistics Office, Table 1 indicates the various nomenclatures that served to categorize the British population for the 2001 Census. The table shows that

**Population of the United Kingdom:  
By Ethnic Group, April 2001**

United Kingdom

	Total population		Non-White population (Percentages)
	(Numbers)	(Percentages)	
<b>White</b>	<b>54,153,898</b>	<b>92.1</b>	-
<b>Mixed</b>	<b>677,117</b>	<b>1.2</b>	<b>14.6</b>
Indian	1,053,411	1.8	-
Pakistani	747,285	1.3	16.1
Bangladeshi	283,063	0.5	6.1
Other Asian	247,664	0.4	5.3
<b>All Asian or Asian British</b>	<b>2,331,423</b>	<b>4.0</b>	<b>50.3</b>
Black Caribbean	565,876	1.0	12.2
Black African	485,277	0.8	10.5
Black Other	97,585	0.2	2.1
<b>All Black or Black British</b>	<b>1,148,738</b>	<b>2.0</b>	<b>24.8</b>
<b>Chinese</b>	<b>247,403</b>	<b>0.4</b>	<b>5.3</b>
<b>Other ethnic groups</b>	<b>230,615</b>	<b>0.4</b>	<b>5.0</b>
<b>All minority ethnic population</b>	<b>4,635,296</b>	<b>7.9</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>All population</b>	<b>58,789,194</b>	<b>100</b>	-

SOURCE: National Statistics website: [www.statistics.gov.uk](http://www.statistics.gov.uk).  
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Table 1.

people of color made up 7.9 percent of the population at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

The story of “ethnic diversity” in the United Kingdom is not completely told by census figures, however, as they give a rather static or homogenous view of white ethnicity. Since the earliest times, many peoples with varied histories, beliefs, languages, and cultures have settled in Britain, from the Neolithic, Bronze, and Iron Ages (5000 BC–100 BC), to the Roman Britain era (55 BC–410 AD). In short, Picts, Celts, Romans, Saxons, Angles, Danes, Jutes, Vikings, and Normans are key historical cultural groups that led to the “normative” white ethnic categories now known as the English, Scottish, Welsh, and Irish. Thus, the ethnic heritage of the United Kingdom is one of deep-rooted cultural mixture. In modern times, contemporary white British ethnicities have continued to blend with the arrival of eastern European migrants after the break-up of the Soviet Union. Crucially, from a white ethnic historical perspective alone, racial formation in the United Kingdom is complex, fluid, and deeply mongrelized.

**PEOPLES OF AFRICAN DESCENT AND BRITAIN**

The British Empire, in both its colonial and postcolonial histories, has arguably the most responsibility for the

majority of settlement by people of African heritage in Britain. After all, it was this colonial presence that pushed millions of Africans into what is now referred to as the African Diaspora.

However, there is evidence of an African presence in Britain during the Roman era. Noted British historians, such as James Walvin, have found archeological evidence for a legion of African soldiers. These were not enslaved individuals, and some were high-ranking officers within the Roman army. Coming up the centuries, we find that in 1596 Queen Elizabeth I was “discontented” with there being “too many negars and blackamoores in the realm” (Bygott 1992, p. 18).

Therefore, African descent has longevity on mainland Britain, yet it can be deemed a contentious presence in the minds of certain social forces in the power structure from the sixteenth century onward. But it is in the era of Empire, enslavement, and colonialism that people of African descent arrived from the North American continent after the American War of Independence. These were the African Americans that fought with the British and then emigrated to England and its Caribbean colonies.

Cities like Bristol, Cardiff, and Liverpool were built mostly with the profits of the transatlantic slave trade. Slavery in the British colonies was formally abolished in 1833, but the sea routes of the “Black Atlantic” continued to bring peoples of African heritage to the mother country. The numbers were not large, but there is evidence of black communities in London, Bristol, and Liverpool from the mid-1800s onward. These communities developed in a time of overt racism, for the proliferation of a popular culture that celebrated the British Empire also deemed subjected peoples to be inferior. This is the backdrop to black presence in Britain in the twentieth century.

**THE WORLD WARS AND THE POSTWAR ERA**

The United Kingdom looked to its colonies for funding, munitions workers, and soldiers during both world wars. West African, African Caribbean, and Indian volunteers worked for the British war effort in various capacities. India alone had almost four million individuals enrolled in all services. During World War II, two and a half million Indians, the largest volunteer army in history, put their lives at risk for the British Empire.

Once World War II ended, there was a need for labor in the United Kingdom to help rebuild the economy. It was mostly African Caribbean workers that were recruited to fill the jobs that most whites would not do. After World War II came the “laissez-faire” era of migration to Britain. Due to the need for labor, racism was not as prevalent in the late 1940s and early 1950s. A booming economy also made it a

less discriminatory environment for black workers. However, this was not to last. By the late 1950s, political forces were to emerge to curtail the African Caribbean and Asian migration to Britain. African Caribbeans were often deemed the “reserve army of labor,” and they were thought to be only a transient, not a permanent, working group. However, many thousands of African Caribbean migrants decided to stay and raise families in Britain. By the end of the 1950s, the black presence in Britain was largely defined as a social problem, though the issue of white racism was rarely raised in mainstream circles.

In terms of the contemporary generation of peoples of African descent in the United Kingdom, the majority of social indicators point to there being major disparities between them and their white counterparts in terms of education and employment opportunities. Whites are twice as likely to gain employment, and young black men are more likely to be excluded from schools. Moreover, Home Office figures for 2003 reveal, in terms of the criminal justice system, that young black men in England and Wales represented about 12 percent of the total prison population, while black women represented a staggering 19 percent of the total prison population. Given the fact that peoples of African descent are only 2 percent of the overall British population, there is some way to go to achieve racial equity in prison confinement.

**ASIANS IN BRITAIN**

The label “Asian,” in relation to the United Kingdom context, most often refers to migrants and their children from the South Asian countries of Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. However, the term also includes those peoples of Asian descent who previously resided in the African nations of Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda. Asians came to the United Kingdom mainly in two periods: During the 1950s they came from their original homelands, and in the 1970s they came as refugees from these African nations. Finally, there are approximately 250,000 Chinese in the United Kingdom, though they are not usually considered in the same cultural reference as South Asians.

**COLOR-CODED IMMIGRATION LEGISLATION**

By 1960, with the threat of immigration legislation becoming more severe—in the form of laws that prevented black migrants from entering Britain—migration from the Caribbean, Pakistan, and India rose sharply. This ushered in the 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act. Basically, this immigration legislation meant that British colonial subjects were no longer “free” to enter Britain, that there was now no automatic right of entry. A system of employment

Recorded “Race” Riots in the United Kingdom	
1919	Liverpool and Cardiff experience anti-Black riots
1948	Liverpool anti-Black riots
1958	London, Nottting Hill anti-Black riots
1972	Liverpool anti-Black riots
1981	Bristol, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, and other cities experience urban rioting, mainly among young Blacks and the Police
1985	Liverpool experience sporadic urban rioting in Toxteth/Liverpool 8
2001	Asians revolt in Bradford, Oldham, and Leeds

Figure 1.

vouchers was introduced, whereby migrants were “ranked” by skill and usefulness to the nation. Further immigration legislation in 1965, 1968, 1971, and 1981 effectively determined entry and the right to stay in Britain on racial grounds. Immigration policy was basically “color-coded,” and only migrants from former colonial territories such as Australia, New Zealand, or Gibraltar—or those colonies that happened to be mainly white in ethnic terms—were secure in their rights to entry and stay in Britain. Throughout the 1980s, immigration legislation became more stringent for people of color, but evermore lax for white migrants.

**ANTIRACIST AND ANTIDISCRIMINATION LAWS**

During this period, antiracist and antidiscrimination laws focusing on “race” also emerged to offset prejudice and racism toward people of color in the United Kingdom. Arguably, the most pertinent of these laws are the 1976 Race Relations Act and the 2000 Race Relations Amendment Act. Basically, under the Race Relations Act, it is unlawful to discriminate against a person on the grounds of “race, colour, nationality (including citizenship), or ethnic or national origin” (Commission for Racial Equality). The key areas in which the legislation applies are the fields of employment, housing, health, education, and other public authorities associated with social welfare provision. Public authorities now have a statutory obligation to eradicate unlawful discriminatory practices. It is difficult to gauge the effectiveness of such laws in British society, and most social indicators in the mid-2000s show a rise, not a decline, in prejudice and racism, according to the Commission for Racial Equality. Moreover, commentators have long argued that these antiracist laws are generally “toothless” in terms of bringing to justice the perpetrators of racialized discriminatory practices. Finally, for the United Kingdom to have the Race Relations Act, which deems racial discrimination illegal, at the same time that there are overtly racist British immigration and





*Neville Lawrence Speaks at a News Conference, 1997. After the death of teen Stephen Lawrence at the hands of racist youths, there was a public inquiry that led to the Macpherson Report, which concluded that there was institutionalized racism throughout the British police force, and in other public institutions. AP IMAGES.*

asylum policies is somewhat contradictory. At the very least, it sends conflicting messages to the British public.

#### STEPHEN LAWRENCE AND THE MACPHERSON REPORT

The murder of Stephen Lawrence in April 1993 is seen as a watershed in dealing with the problem of race in Britain. Stephen Lawrence was an 18-year-old middle-class black man when he was killed by five white racist youths. He was stabbed to death at a London bus stop, and it was later found that the police failed to adequately deal with the murder scene in a professional manner. For instance, they let Lawrence die in a pool of blood without giving him immediate medical assistance, and they also let vital clues about the identity of his killers slip by. Stephen's parents, Doreen and Neville Lawrence, campaigned vigorously for social justice, and in 1997 there was a public inquiry that led to the Macpherson Report, released in 1999. In the report, Sir William Macpherson acknowledged that there was "institutionalized racism"

throughout the British police force and in other public institutions. His recommendations for the prevention of racism led to a call for greater multicultural education. This would include the following: a value for cultural diversity would be put into the National Curriculum; Local Educational Authorities (LEAs) would need to promote antiracist strategies; LEAs would be inspected and monitored to see how antiracist policy was being implemented; both the police and local governments would promote cultural diversity initiatives. These recommendations had widespread publicity, and numerous "targets" for improving cultural diversity were established in these institutions. Only time will tell, however, if significant improvement occurs.

#### NEW IMMIGRANTS AND ASYLUM SEEKERS, 1990s–2000s

By the 1990s, immigration policy was turned more toward the asylum seeker, particularly those associated with the wars in Somalia and Sierra Leone and the break-

up of the old Yugoslavia. Increasingly, the British public was bombarded by the right-wing press with the idea of “asylum seeking spongers” who were out to exploit the welfare state. This created a “moral panic” against asylum seekers not seen since the days of the anti-immigrationist Enoch Powell in the late 1960s. The era of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher (1979–1990) and her successor John Major (1990–1997) created what could be deemed a “xenophobic Britain,” particularly by the 1990s. The 1993 Asylum and Immigration Appeals Act established the right of asylum seekers to appeal a denial of asylum, but it also gave the Home Office stronger powers to deport those seeking asylum. Many thousands have not been allowed into Britain under this law. Under Prime Minister Tony Blair’s tenure (1997–2007), a continued regression regarding asylum seekers occurred. The Home Office revealed in 2003 that the majority of applications for asylum come from Somalia, Iraq, Zimbabwe, Iran, and Afghanistan. In 2005, the Commission for Racial Equality in the United Kingdom stated that applications had reached a thirteen-year low, indicating the increasing difficulty such individuals have in entering Britain. Finally, Home Office figures reveal that around 375,000 people from eastern Europe came to work in the United Kingdom between 2004 and 2007, and the number of foreign workers in the United Kingdom stood at 1.5 million in 2007, or one in every twenty-five workers. This represents the largest group of migrants to the United Kingdom since the 1950s and 1960s.

Overall, in the context of black and Asian minorities in Britain, there is a definite difference in the experiences of these groups in British society. For example, Indians tend to be more affluent than Bangladeshi and Pakistani settlers. Asians also fair better in British schools compared to African Caribbean pupils and, in some instances, white ethnic groups. With these racial nuances becoming more and more clear in social analysis, racial formation in the United Kingdom will continue to offer both complexity and enduring racialized inequalities. Crucially, although people of color represent about 8 percent of the British population, their collective impact has had a tremendous impact on how the United Kingdom, in keeping with its past, continues to develop via both migrant and indigenous peoples. British racism is part of the experience that people of color have contended with and continue to contend with.

**SEE ALSO** *Africa: British Colonies; Colonialism, Internal; Racial Demographics in the Western Hemisphere; Racial Formations; Social Welfare States; White Racial Identity.*

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## UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION

A constitution is a formal statement of the central governing principles of a nation. Generally, a constitution will set forth the structure, powers and duties of the government and state the rights of the government’s citizens. The United States Constitution is considered the first modern constitution produced by the European Enlightenment and a model for virtually all subsequently written constitutions. However, the Constitution was written by men who were deeply influenced by the racial ideology of the day and who were also committed to protecting the significant economic benefits that were provided by the enslavement of African people. As a result, the United States inherited a political system that, due to its compromises over slavery, would allow race to remain a divisive political issue for much of the country’s existence.

#### THE FRAMERS AND THEIR TIMES

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the American colonies were established and a new nation was beginning to develop, notions of white supremacy and the inherent inferiority of Africans were widely held. The framers of the Constitution were no different in this respect from their fellow colonists. Thomas Jefferson, in his *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1787), mused that blacks “are inferior to whites in the endowments of both body and mind,” and viewed Africans as less capable than whites in reason, imagination, and emotional capacity. Benjamin Franklin, admitting in *Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind* (1755) that he was “partial to the Complexion” of his own race, wondered, “Why increase the Sons of Africa, by Planting them in America, where we have so fair an Opportunity, by excluding all Blacks and Tawneys [by which he meant Indians], of increasing the lovely White and Red [by which he meant only “Saxons” and “English”]?”

The United States Constitution, as originally framed and ratified, made no overt textual reference to race. Several provisions had direct or indirect racial significance, however, insofar as they accommodated the institution of slavery. The Constitutional Convention in 1787 represented an effort to overcome the perceived shortcomings of the earlier Articles of Confederation and form a more viable union. The primary impediment to this process was slavery. In his notes, James Madison described slavery as the principal source of division at the convention, eclipsing even the conflict between large and small states over political representation.

Although the slavery question was not part of the Convention's agenda, it lurked in the background of almost every major issue decided at the Convention and occasionally burst out into the open. The desire on the part of large states to replace the uniform representation of the Confederation Congress with proportional representation could not be resolved without considering the slavery issue. Although the enslaved could not vote, Southerners viewed them as a kind of property that deserved protection in the allocation of government power. Furthermore, the sparsely populated South was reluctant to join a governmental scheme that would leave them as the junior partner to the more populated North. Slavery also figured largely in the debate over Congress's power to tax and regulate commerce. Southern delegates sought to protect slavery by restricting Congress's ability to use its commerce and taxing powers to eliminate slavery or make it less profitable.

The interest in a more viable political and economic union was dispensable to some Southern delegates if it did not accommodate slavery. Opposition to slavery among Northern delegates melted when confronted with the intensity of this agenda. As Thurgood Marshall put it in a 1987 speech: "The record of the framers' debates on the slave question is especially clear: the Southern states acceded to the demands of New England states for giving Congress broad power to regulate commerce, in exchange for the right to continue the slave trade" (1987, p. 2).

#### ACCOMMODATIONS OF SLAVERY

The new union was predicated on federal acquiescence in slavery and the reservation of self-determination for each state. The document itself was drafted in terms that did not use the words *slavery* or *Negroes* or *Africans*, whether out of embarrassment or political expediency. But the concerns of the slaveholding regions were addressed in various ways. Proportionate representation in the House of Representatives and factoring of direct taxes was based on a population count that recognized a slave as three-fifths of a person. Congressional regulation of American participation in the international slave trade was prohib-

ited until 1808. A fugitive slave clause was adopted as the basis for federal legislation that enabled slave owners to recapture runaway slaves without any legal process.

Other provisions in the Constitution accommodated slavery indirectly. Sections of the Constitution requiring the federal government to put down rebellions or to protect states from "domestic violence" clearly contemplated federal aid in event of a slave rebellion. Article I, Section 9, prohibiting federal taxes on exports, prevented an indirect tax on slavery through the taxation of exports produced by slaves. Article I, Section 10, likewise prevented states from taxing exports or imports. The establishment of an electoral college incorporating the slave-state weighted scheme of proportional representation in Congress meant that Southern states had greater influence on the selection of a president than they would have had with direct popular elections. Finally, the amendment process was cast in the South's favor. The three-fourths majority requirement for amendments made it difficult to amend the constitution without the agreement of slaveholding states, and those provisions of the Constitution permitting the slave trade and requiring direct taxes on slaves at a reduced three-fifths rate could not be amended at all until 1808.

The accommodation of slavery was a key to brokering the union's founding. It was a model of political resolution that continued through the first half of the nineteenth century, but with diminishing returns. Northern concessions to the slavery agenda were inspired in part by Southern acquiescence in the nation's first stage of territorial expansion. The Northwest Ordinance, which created the territories of Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and Ohio, explicitly prohibited slavery. Southern delegates also fostered the sense that slavery was a dying system.

Far from being terminal, slavery grew during the nation's early years. Congress in 1808 prohibited American participation in the international slave trade. The impact of this action was limited by the federal government's inability to patrol the nation's shores effectively and the continuing demand for slaves. Territorial expansion and fugitive slave controversies ultimately undid original expectations that the union could accommodate slave and nonslave states. The creation of each new territory and admission of each new state generated increasingly acrimonious debate and sectional antagonism. Congress responded to these episodes by recycling the methods of resolution first used by the nation's founders. Among the most notable of these efforts was the Missouri Compromise, which in 1820 established a permanent geographical boundary between slave and nonslave states and territories.

Each new resolution of the slavery issue, however, merely prefaced an escalation of the controversy.

Westward expansion increased each side's fear that the other would gain the upper hand. Adding to the volatile mix was the abolitionist movement, which emerged in the 1830s and antagonized the South to the point that the movement was criminalized.

### THE CIVIL WAR

By the 1840s the failure to address slavery at the founding was bearing threatening consequences. In *Prigg v. Pennsylvania* (1842), the Court invalidated a state enactment that prohibited a slave owner from capturing a fugitive slave without due process of law. It found specifically that the antikidnapping law conflicted with federal law permitting slave owners to enter a free state, capture, and remove runaway slaves. This decision sensitized the North to its complicity in slavery. For the South, the federal government's exclusive interest in fugitive slave matters suggested the potential for slavery to become a matter of national rather than state resolution.

As sectional antagonism and distrust mounted, the political system became increasingly challenged in its ability to manage the slavery issue. The creation of new territories and states by the 1850s had become a particularly high-stakes venture, as evidenced by the chicanery and violence in connection with the admissions of Kansas and Nebraska into the union. With the political process gridlocked on the issue of slavery, it eventually turned to the Supreme Court for a resolution. The Court responded with a decision that proved to be disastrous.

In *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1856), the Court found that no person of African descent (slave or otherwise) could be a citizen of the United States or the beneficiary of rights under the federal Constitution. This determination was grounded in the notion that African Americans were inferior, had "no rights that white men are bound to respect," and could be justly and lawfully reduced to slavery. Chief Justice Roger B. Taney maintained further that Congress had no power to regulate slavery in the territories and that the right to own slaves was constitutionally protected.

Northern reaction to the Court's ruling was profoundly negative but generally did not reflect any premise of racial equality. To the contrary, racial segregation and discrimination were common aspects of the Northern cultural landscape. These sentiments were shared by President Lincoln, who observed that "when you cease to be slaves, you are far removed from being placed on an equality with the white man. . . . I cannot alter it if I could. It is a fact" (quoted in Fehrenbacher 1978, Introduction).

Lincoln ignored the Court's decision and midway through the Civil War issued the Emancipation Proclamation. Congress repealed fugitive slave legislation in

1862, and the Thirteenth Amendment (1865) formally prohibited slavery. The scholar Derrick Bell describes *Dred Scott* as "the most frequently overturned decision in history" (1973, p. 21). This observation reflects the reality that, although repudiating the *Dred Scott* ruling, the Thirteenth Amendment did not foreclose racist ideology as a driver of policy. Slavery, once outlawed, was superseded by the Black Codes, which established a comprehensive set of race-based burdens on opportunity, residence, travel, assembly, voting, and other activities.

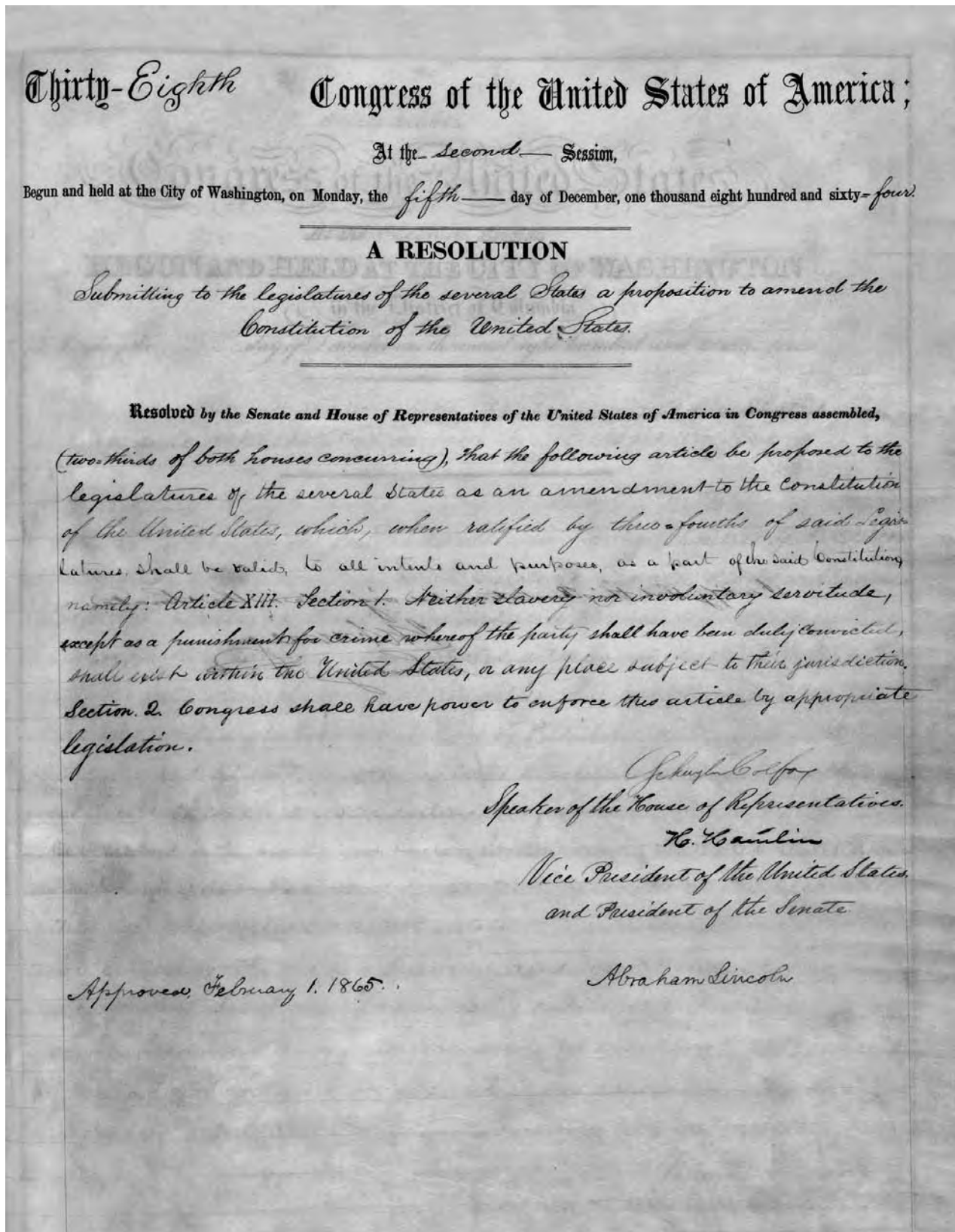
### EARLY CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION

With the end of the Civil War, the issues dividing North and South returned to the political process. President Andrew Johnson, who took office upon Lincoln's assassination, adopted the position that the Thirteenth Amendment only abolished slavery. Despite Johnson's narrow view of the Thirteenth Amendment, Congress used it as authority to adopt the nation's first civil rights legislation. The Civil Rights Act of 1866 prohibited racial discrimination in civil rights or immunities and guaranteed that all persons, regardless of race, would have the same rights to make and enforce contracts, sue or be sued, inherit, purchase, lease, sell, and hold property, and be subject to like punishment.

President Johnson's veto of the law was overridden but evidenced the legislation's fragile foundation. To secure the enactment's long-term vitality, and consistent with concern that the Thirteenth Amendment was a limited source of authority, the Reconstruction Congress framed the Fourteenth Amendment, proposed in 1866 and ratified in 1868. This provision established that state citizenship derives from federal citizenship, not the reverse as the *Dred Scott* Court had indicated. It provided that the states could not abridge the privileges and immunities of federal citizenship, deprive a person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, or deny a person equal protection of the laws. The amendment also empowered Congress to enforce its terms by appropriate legislation.

Missing from the Fourteenth Amendment, as initially framed, was any protection for the right to vote. Despite initial resistance to including this right in its postwar agenda, Congress eventually saw it as a means of accelerating movement toward reconstruction. The Fifteenth Amendment thus was framed and ratified, in 1870, with the expectation that the right to vote would provide the ultimate protection against political hostility toward former slaves.

The Court's ruling in *Strauder v. West Virginia* (1879) represented the first use of the Fourteenth Amendment to invalidate a racially discriminatory state law. The Court in this case found the exclusion of



**Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.** The Thirteenth Amendment formally prohibited slavery. The Black Codes, however, established a comprehensive set of race-based burdens on opportunity, residence, travel, assembly, voting, and other activities. NATIONAL ARCHIVES & RECORDS ADMINISTRATION.

African Americans from juries unconstitutional. In striking down the enactment, the Court described the Fourteenth Amendment as prohibiting laws that singled out a group for legal discrimination, implied inferiority in civil society, lessened their enjoyment of rights others enjoy, or reduced persons to the condition of a subject race. The equal protection clause, as the Court saw it, ensured that state law would be the same for all persons regardless of their race. But the Court quickly narrowed this expansive view of the Fourteenth Amendment's scope.

Four years later, in the *Civil Rights Cases* (1883), the Court invalidated the Civil Rights Act of 1875 on grounds it exceeded Congress's regulatory authority under the Fourteenth Amendment. This legislation prohibited discrimination in public accommodations. The Court, however, determined that racial distinctions in this context were customary, and the legal system could not be used to reach "mere discriminations."

The *Civil Rights Cases* and the Supreme Court's subsequent jurisprudence created a constitutional environment accommodating toward racial discrimination. The key to enacting laws that differentiated on the basis of race was to present them (and have them accepted) as enactments that did not imply inferiority and were consistent with societal norms. Laws designed to establish and maintain separation on the basis of race emerged throughout the South in the late 1880s. These enactments candidly aimed to segregate, protect racial integrity, preserve white supremacy, and minimize cross-racial interaction. Such legislation actually was modeled on enactments in the North that traditionally had mandated racial segregation in education and other contexts. In *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), the Court noted these historical realities in determining that prescriptive racial segregation was constitutional.

The *Plessy* decision concerned a state law mandating separate but equal accommodations on passenger trains. Although acknowledging that the Fourteenth Amendment established absolute equality of the races under the law, the Court found that the amendment did not eliminate distinctions on the basis of color, enforce social (as opposed to political) equality, or require commingling of the races on terms that were unsatisfactory to either. It viewed official segregation as a reasonable exercise of the state's police power that accounted for the public's comfort, peace, and good order. The Court also determined that segregation did not constitute oppression of a particular group but an accommodation of custom and tradition. Responding to arguments that segregation implied inferiority in civil society, the Court attributed any such understanding to a misplaced interpretation by "the colored race." Justice Marshall Harlan, in a dissenting opinion, criticized the Court for denying

segregation's true nature. He maintained that the Constitution forbids any "caste" system and is "color-blind."

#### A SYSTEM OF RACIAL ADVANTAGE

Prescriptive segregation became a dominant system of racial management that defined opportunity and advantage comprehensively on the basis of group status. For several decades after *Plessy*, the separate but equal doctrine maintained a formal concern for equality but in reality drove a system of racial advantage (and disadvantage). In *Cumming v. Richmond County Board of Education* (1899), the Court upheld a school board's closure of an all-black high school on grounds its financial resources were limited. This outcome previewed a legacy of extreme funding disparities in public education. South Carolina in 1915, for instance, spent ten times more money on educating white students than black students. In *Gong Lum v. Lee* (1927), the Court rejected arguments that a child of Chinese descent could attend a school reserved for whites.

During the 1930s, federal and state courts began to take a harder look at segregation. This development arose out of the litigation strategy of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), which challenged obvious inequalities such as funding or lack of higher education opportunities altogether. In these cases, states operating single-race graduate and professional schools typically were given the choice of establishing parallel institutions for nonwhites or allowing nonwhites to matriculate.

The constitutional foundation for segregation also was weakened by evolving standards of judicial review. The Court in *United States v. Carolene Products Co.* (1938) found that prejudice against discrete and insular minorities impaired the political system's ability to protect minorities from hostile legislation. It thus signaled a readiness to evaluate laws enacted against groups that were excluded from the political process. In *Korematsu v. United States* (1944), the Court officially embraced a strict standard of review for laws that differentiated on the basis of race. The *Korematsu* case concerned the relocation of persons of Japanese descent from the West Coast during World War II. In the face of scant evidence of Japanese-American disloyalty, the Court deferred to alleged national security concerns in upholding the federal government's action. It observed, however, that any legal restriction burdening the civil rights of a particular racial group are "immediately suspect" and must be subjected "to the most rigid scrutiny." The *Korematsu* case was sharply criticized after the war and led to an official apology and reparations for internment camp survivors and their families in 1988.

In the years between the *Korematsu* ruling and the invalidation of segregated public education in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), states operating racially identifiable schools poured substantial resources into equalization. Even if equality of funding could be hypothetically demonstrated, however, the Court was willing to identify inequality with respect to intangible factors such as a school's reputation. In *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950), it determined that segregated legal education would remain unequal even if tangible differences were eliminated. The Court accordingly ordered desegregation of the University of Texas School of Law. It reached a similar conclusion in *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education* (1950), when it found degrading restrictions on an African American admitted to an all-white graduate program—such as being forced to observe lectures from the hallway—unacceptable.

#### BROWN V. BOARD AND ITS AFTERMATH

The constitutional death knell for racially segregated schools was struck in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954). Key to the outcome in this case was the Court's sense that it could not correlate modern law or understandings to the period in which the Fourteenth Amendment was adopted or segregation initially was upheld. It noted that public education had become a primary determinant of personal development and success and referenced psychological data showing that segregation had a detrimental effect on African-American children. The Court concluded that racial segregation in public education inherently was unequal.

Because the equal protection guarantee by its terms applied to the states but did not apply to the federal government itself, the Court turned to the Fifth Amendment due process clause as the basis for invalidating segregated schools in the District of Columbia. In *Bolling v. Sharpe* (1954) the Court determined that school segregation had no reasonable relationship to a legitimate government objective and thus constituted an arbitrary deprivation of liberty under the due process clause.

Having declared segregation unconstitutional, the Court faced the challenge of framing a remedy that would dismantle it. Knowing that resistance was likely, the Court in *Brown v. Board of Education II* (1955) announced that desegregation should take place "with all deliberate speed." This Court solicited input from the states that would be most affected by this ruling. Reaction to the desegregation mandate, however, generally was characterized as resistance, delay, evasion, and hostility.

Although the *Brown* decision technically governed segregation in public education, its logic extended to the entire public sector. In short order, segregation was invalidated in a variety of public settings. Even as desegregation became the law of the land, many states maintained

their laws prohibiting interracial marriage. In *Loving v. Virginia* (1967), the Court reviewed an antimiscegenation law that the state justified on the grounds of applying it even-handedly. Despite this purported symmetry, the Court concluded that the law was grounded in racist ideology that conflicted with the central meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment.

The elimination of laws that formally classified on the basis of race did not account for all causes or conditions of racial disadvantage. Against this backdrop, a key issue of the 1970s was whether an equal protection claim could be established on the basis of disparate impact alone. In *Washington v. Davis*, the Court determined that a plaintiff must provide evidence of discriminatory purpose to establish an equal protection claim. This requirement reflected the Court's concern that a focus on effect alone would put a broad range of legitimate laws at risk.

Discerning a discriminatory purpose was simple when racial segregation was officially prescribed. When not manifest, illegal motive is difficult to prove. Dating back to *Yick Wo v. Hopkins* (1887), the Court has recognized that laws that are racially neutral on their face also must be assessed with respect to their application. In *Arlington Heights v. Metropolitan Housing Development Corp* (1978) the Court identified several other factors that may be relevant to determining discriminatory motive. Potential cues include statistical disparities, patterns, or effects that are inexplicable except on grounds of race, legislative history, and departures from normal procedures.

The Court seldom has found discriminatory purpose on the basis of circumstantial evidence. In *McCleskey v. Kemp* (1987) the Court upheld the Georgia death penalty despite a showing of significant disparities in its application to whites and nonwhites. This case arose against the backdrop of a dual system of criminal justice in Georgia. As Justice Brennan noted in a dissenting opinion, defense lawyers invariably would factor race into the advice they gave clients with respect to accepting or rejecting a plea agreement. The Court was unmoved by statistical disparities that, in its words, "[appear] to correlate to race." However, in a voting rights case, *Shaw v. Reno* (1993), the Court found that an oddly configured congressional district could not be understood as anything but racially motivated. The white plaintiffs in *Shaw* had alleged that the majority black district had been created in violation of the equal protection rights of white voters.

The Court's embrace of a discriminatory motive requirement represented a critical juncture in equal protection doctrine. Discriminatory intent is difficult to prove when not evidenced on the face of the law. The net result is that judicial relief other than for the most egregious forms of racial discrimination is difficult to find, and racial discrimination motivated by unconscious racism cannot be remedied at all.

## AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

The Court's first substantive ruling on affirmative action, *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* (1978), concerned a preferential admissions program at the University of California at Davis Medical School that set aside sixteen of one hundred spots for minority applicants. There was no majority opinion in the case and the justices split on whether the admissions plan passed constitutional muster. Justice Powell provided the deciding vote. He found that the program violated Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, but maintained that race could be a limited factor in the admission process.

Powell's opinion proved to be particularly influential on the eventual contours of affirmative action jurisprudence. Key points that he articulated, and that the Court eventually embraced, were that racial preferences should be strictly scrutinized and cannot be justified on the basis of societal (as opposed to particularized and proven) discrimination. Powell introduced the notions that affirmative action must be scrutinized for its potential to stereotype or stigmatize, and quotas are impermissible except in extraordinary circumstances. He also maintained that diversification of a student body represents a compelling interest that may justify the factoring of race as one of several considerations in the admission process.

A decade after *Bakke*, the Court remained divided on affirmative action and, in particular, the standard of review that should govern its analysis. A strict scrutiny standard measures whether the government regulatory interest is "compelling" and the regulatory means are "narrowly tailored" toward the regulatory objective. An intermediate standard of review assesses whether the regulatory interest is "important" and the regulatory means are "substantially related" to the regulatory objective. In *Richmond v. J. A. Croson Co.* a majority of the Court for the first time embraced strict scrutiny as the appropriate standard of review. At issue in *Croson* was a municipal program that set aside 30 percent of construction contracts to minority business enterprises. Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, writing for a plurality of four justices, maintained that "searching inquiry" was necessary to determine the true purpose of a racial classification and "smoke out" illegitimate uses of race. Strict scrutiny further ensured that the regulatory means closely fit the regulatory goal and guarded against motives based on illegitimate prejudice or stereotype.

Even if a government's intentions were good, O'Connor contended, racial classifications carried the risk of stigmatic harm and potential for promoting notions of racial inferiority and racial politics. Although acknowledging the nation's history of discrimination, she saw a greater risk in maintaining the relevance of race and opportunity for competing and immeasurable claims to relief from

every disadvantaged group. Justice Antonin Scalia, in a concurring opinion, provided the fifth vote for strict scrutiny. He urged an even more rigorous analytical model that would allow race to be factored only when necessary to eliminate systems of unlawful discrimination.

The strict scrutiny standard announced in *Croson* applied to affirmative action programs adopted by states. Left open was the possibility that, given Congress's power to enforce the Fourteenth Amendment through appropriate legislation, a different standard might govern federal affirmative action programs. Despite some conflicting cases before and after *Croson*, the Court in *Adarand Constructors, Inc. v. Peña* (1995) concluded that federal affirmative action programs should be reviewed pursuant to the same strict scrutiny criterion governing state programs. The federal government, like the states, must demonstrate some instance of racial discrimination (for which it is responsible) as a basis for race-conscious remedial action.

The uniform application of strict scrutiny to governmental actions, whether they were intended to improve the condition of historically subjugated groups (and thus incidentally harmed the white majority), or intended to subjugate a particular group, is referred to as "formal equality" or "colorblindness." Following *Croson* and *Adarand*, colorblindness has become the centerpiece of the Supreme Court's constitutional jurisprudence of race. Using colorblind analysis, federal courts treat all governmental racial classifications in the same way—courts will evaluate a rule attempting to integrate a housing project in the same manner that they would a rule seeking housing segregation. On the surface, this even-handedness appears fair. However, critics of color-blindness have pointed out that failing to distinguish between oppressive acts and remedial ones when applying strict scrutiny makes it difficult for governments to take affirmative steps to advance racial justice. Consequently, existing racial disparities become locked in as the constitutional status quo. Critics of color-blindness seek to erode this roadblock, as they see it, in constitutional development by focusing judicial attention on result-determined measures of equality and away from process-based ones like formal equality. Other scholars have expressed interest in moving away from the Fourteenth Amendment as a measure of constitutionality and reinvigorating the Thirteenth Amendment's prohibition against the "badges and incidents of slavery" as a way to legitimate a government's efforts at racial remediation.

**SEE ALSO** *Affirmative Action; Brown v. Board of Education; Civil Rights Acts; Color-Blind Racism; Dred Scott v. Sandford; Peonage Cases; Voting Rights Act of 1965.*

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## URBAN LEAGUE

The National Urban League is a Progressive Era organization formed in New York City in 1911. It grew out of the cooperative efforts of black and white social reformers, who founded the organization and its precursors to confront the economic and social problems of African Americans, par-

ticularly those in the nation's northern cities. Many observers have noted that the Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) essentially divided up the task of advancing the interests of African Americans, with the NAACP fighting for legal rights and the Urban League focusing on providing blacks with a stake in the American economy. Colloquially, the Urban League was often called the "State Department" of African-American affairs, while the NAACP was known as the "War Department."

## ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

The Urban League emerged as a response to the lack of economic opportunity for African-American men in U.S. cities. New York City became the focal point for this effort because it had the largest population of African Americans of any city outside of the South. During the first decade of the twentieth century, the city's black population increased by 50 percent, and by 1910 there were about 75,000 blacks living there. This pattern of growth in the black population would be repeated in New York and other major cities as well during the Great Migration of the 1910s and 1920s. By 1930, for example, the black population of Harlem, New York, had grown to 165,000. In Chicago, the black population grew from 44,000 in 1910 to 110,000 in 1920. Cities such as Cleveland and Detroit saw similar growth rates. Most of those moving to these northern cities came in search of economic opportunity and to try to escape the blatant and legal racism of the Jim Crow South. With the growth of the black population in these cities, the Urban League grew to twenty-seven affiliates by 1919, all but one (in St. Louis, Missouri) east of the Mississippi River. While most were in the Northeast industrial corridor, a few appeared in cities in the South, such as Atlanta. In the first decade of the twenty-first century, the Urban League has 115 affiliates in thirty-four states and the District of Columbia, with 50,000 members and an annual budget of \$45 million.

One of the major problems this burgeoning black population experienced was a lack of jobs, particularly in the professions and the industrial sector. Black men were often unable to find work because they lacked job training and skills, and because of entrenched discrimination in the labor force. Because they were unable to find work, their wives were often forced into the labor market, for women were able to find employment in domestic service and similar sectors. During this period it is estimated that 59 percent of black women in New York held jobs outside the home (in contrast to white women, whose labor participation rate was 24.6 percent, and foreign-born women at 27.2 percent). Additionally, blacks had the lowest percentage of home ownership of any U.S. city with a black population of 2,500 or more, a

death rate one and a half times that of whites, and an illiteracy rate twelve times that of whites (Weiss 1974, p. 12). Meanwhile, the increased mechanization of labor often forced black men out of those jobs they were able to secure, while the labor unions, eager to protect the jobs of white men against both blacks and new waves of foreign immigrants, remained resistant to admitting African-American members.

### EARLY HISTORY

The Urban League was formed from the consolidation of a number of organizations, including the Committee for Improving the Industrial Condition of Negroes in New York (CIICN), founded in 1906; the National League for the Protection of Colored Women (NLPCW), formed in 1905; and the Committee on Urban Conditions Among Negroes, formed in 1910. The chief goals of the CIICN, reflecting the ideology of Booker T. Washington, were to provide blacks with industrial and commercial training and then provide them access to jobs. For instance, it persuaded the New York Board of Education to offer evening programs in vocational education in black neighborhoods.

The NLPCW, with chapters in New York, Baltimore, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Washington, D.C., was particularly concerned about the large proportion of black women in domestic service—in New York City, some 90 percent of working black women—who typically labored long hours for low and sometimes uncertain pay. Many of these women had been lured North by unscrupulous labor agents in the South, who preyed on them by offering them hopes of prosperity that almost always went unfulfilled. They arrived in the cities with no place to stay, no money, and no job. Members of the NLPCW met these women at train stations, provided them with lodging, and developed a network of social agencies that provided them with help and information.

Although the Urban League was formally founded in 1911, its members often trace its founding to 1910 and the formation of the Committee on Urban Conditions, the Urban League's most immediate precursor. That year, the leaders of the three leading organizations met with the goal of joining forces and consolidating their efforts. After some initial resistance from the Committee on Urban Conditions, the organizations agreed to join, and on October 16, 1911, the National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes was born. The organization took its current name, the National Urban League, in 1920. The NLPCW and the Committee on Urban Conditions remained as standing subagencies of the Urban League.

The principal goals of the Urban League were to provide employment opportunities in the private sector, break down the color line in organized labor, and promote vocational and occupational education. For the first

two decades of its existence, its focus remained primarily on the private sector. The organization struggled financially, and not all of its programs, such as scholarships for undergraduates to study social work at black colleges, were entirely successful. The league did, however, succeed in persuading colleges and universities to include economics, sociology, and urban studies in their curricula, and it was able to place a large number of black social workers in social service agencies. Additionally, the league promoted such welfare services as charitable agencies, settlement houses, and immigrant-aid societies. It also promoted such values as proper dress, sanitation, personal hygiene, health, punctuality, and homemaking skills, and it sponsored summer camps, daycare centers, kindergartens, community centers, and the like.

Reliable data about the number of job placements attributable to the Urban League are hard to find. Some African-American men obtained industrial jobs because of labor shortages during World War I, while others obtained jobs without the help of the Urban League. Nevertheless, the organization did succeed in finding decent jobs for thousands of workers, particularly during the boom years of the 1920s. It was also successful in opening up industrial plants that had previously been closed to African Americans. The organization claimed, for example, to have placed some 15,000 workers in Chicago in 1920. In connection with these efforts, the league stressed the scientific investigation of the conditions of urban blacks, much of it reported in its journal, *Opportunity: Journal of Negro Life*, which was published from 1923 until 1949. This focus on investigation has continued in the league's current flagship publication, *Opportunity Journal*; an annual report titled *The State of Black America*, published since 1976; and the organization's twenty-year retrospective volumes, the last published in 1990.

### NEW GOALS

With the coming of the Great Depression in the 1930s, the Urban League turned more of its attention to the public sector. It sought to have blacks included in the federal recovery and relief programs of the New Deal. By the 1940s and 1950s it was successfully attacking segregation in the defense industries and the military, though its primary mission remained education rather than civil rights. The civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s, however, led to calls for a change in the Urban League's mission. Under the leadership of Whitney Young, the league shifted its focus to civil rights and played an integral part in organizing the 1963 March on Washington and the 1968 Poor People's Campaign. The league called for a domestic "Marshall Plan" (the

## *Urban League*

plan for financing the reconstruction of Europe after World War II), and it sponsored voter registration drives, help for black veterans, open-housing campaigns, adoption programs for hard-to-place black children, and similar projects. Young also initiated such programs as the Street Academy, which helped prepare high school dropouts for college, and New Thrust, a program that developed the leadership skills of urban blacks with a view to identifying and solving urban social problems.

This emphasis on a more activist approach continued into the 1970s, under the leadership of Vernon Jordan, and beyond. In the 1970s the federal government contracted with the Urban League to provide social welfare programs and government employment. The organization continues to work closely with Congress and other federal agencies to address such social problems as poverty, failing schools, teenage pregnancy, crime, gun violence, and households headed by single women. Affiliated organizations such as the Urban League of Young

Professionals of Pittsburgh tap the leadership skills of African-American professionals to solve urban problems.

**SEE ALSO** *Civil Rights Movement; Labor Market; NAACP; Poverty; Social Problems; Washington, Booker T.*

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*Michael J. O'Neal*

# V

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## VESEY, DENMARK

*c. 1767–1822*

The man later known as Denmark Vesey was born around 1767, probably on the Caribbean island of St. Thomas. Captain Joseph Vesey, a Carolina-based slaver, purchased the boy in September or October of 1781 as part of a cargo of 390 bondpeople. During the passage to the French colony of Saint Domingue (present-day Haiti), Vesey noticed the child's "beauty, alertness and intelligence" and employed him as a cabin boy. But when his ship, the *Prospect*, reached Cap François, the captain decided he "had no use for the boy" and turned him over to his colonial agents. Either traumatized by his new life in Saint Domingue or feigning illness, the child began to display "epileptic fits." As a result, Vesey was forced to take the child back when he returned to Cap François on April 23, 1782. The fits promptly ceased, and Vesey decided to keep him as a servant.

Charleston authorities later described the child as a person of "superior power of mind & the more dangerous for it." Vesey, however, saw only the value of a tall, muscular boy already conversant in two languages. He gave the boy a new name, Telemaque, who in Homer's tale was the wandering son of Odysseus; over time, Carolina bondmen either punned or corrupted the name into "Denmak," which then became "Denmark."

In the spring of 1783, following the British evacuation of South Carolina, Vesey settled into Charleston as a ship chandler. At some point during this period, Denmark married his first wife, an enslaved woman named Beck. She may have been Denmark's senior, because she already had a daughter, Sarah, from a previous relation-

ship. Beck had several masters over the course of her life, but she remained married to Denmark long enough to give birth to at least three of his children. Toward the end of his life, Vesey married again. His last wife, Susan, was born a slave around 1795 but was free by 1821, when tax collectors listed her under the name of "Susan Vesey" and characterized her as a "free negro." She was the only woman to carry his surname. Some historians have speculated that Vesey practiced polygamy, although no evidence exists to support the theory. In a time of high female mortality, especially among urban bondwomen, Vesey could easily have united with the several women his friend Monday Gell later spoke of and yet remain monogamous.

On September 30, 1799, Denmark happened upon a handbill announcing the "East-Bay Lottery." He bought a ticket and won the top prize of \$1,500, a princely sum at the time, particularly for a slave. Joseph Vesey and his wife, Mary Clodner, agreed to sell him his freedom for \$600, and on December 31, 1799, the thirty-three year old Denmark was at last free.

Chained to the South by family ties, Denmark remained in the city and apprenticed himself to a carpenter, an easy trade to learn and a lucrative business in Charleston, which was expanding up the peninsula. At the same time, he adopted "Vesey" as a surname, probably as a linguistic tie to an established businessman. He threw his enormous energies into his business, and, according to one former slave, labored "every day at de trade of carpenter" and "soon became much [re]spected" and "esteem[ed] by de white folks." But because of competition from white carpenters, free Mulattoes (whose fathers provided business contacts) and enslaved craftsmen (who lived with their

masters and paid no rent), Vesey barely maintained a modest income. Despite published claims made in 1822 that he died a rich man worth nearly \$8,000, there is no evidence that Vesey ever owned a single piece of property. His rented home, at 20 Bull Street, was owned by Benjamin Ireland, a white carpenter.

Although Vesey was briefly a practicing Presbyterian, around 1818 he joined the city's new African Methodist Episcopal congregation. Formed when 4,376 slaves and free blacks resigned from the Methodist fold because church authorities voted to construct a hearse house above a black cemetery, the African Church, as both whites and blacks called it, quickly became the center of Charleston's enslaved community. Sandy Vesey also joined, as did four of Vesey's closest friends—Peter Poyas, a literate ship carpenter; Monday Gell, an African-born Ibo who labored as a harness maker; Rolla Bennett, the manservant of Governor Thomas Bennett; and Jack Pritchard, a fellow carpenter. The temporary closure of the church by city authorities in June 1818, and the arrest of 140 congregants, one of them presumably Vesey himself, only reinforced the determination of black Carolinians to maintain a place of independent worship. In 1820 several "Negroes was taken up" for holding a late-night service at the church, and city authorities warned Reverend Morris Brown that they would not tolerate class leaders conducting instructional "schools for slaves," as "the education of such persons was forbidden by law." The "African Church was the people," Monday Gell replied. He and Pritchard had considered insurrection in 1818, "and now they had begun again to try it."

At the age of fifty-one, Vesey briefly thought about emigrating to the English colony of Sierra Leone. But as Beck's children remained slaves, Vesey resolved instead to orchestrate a rebellion, followed by a mass exodus from Charleston to Haiti, where President Jean-Pierre Boyer had recently encouraged black Americans to bring their skills and capital to his beleaguered republic. Vesey did not intend to tarry in Charleston long enough for white military power to present an effective counterassault. "As soon as they could get the money from the Banks, and the goods from the stores," Rolla insisted, "they should hoist sail" for Saint Domingue and live as free men. Vesey planned the escape for nearly four years. His chief lieutenants included Poyas, Gell, and Rolla Bennett. Vesey's inner circle also included "Gullah" Jack Pritchard, an East African priest purchased in Zinguebar in 1806. Although there are no reliable figures for the number of recruits, Charleston alone was home to 12,652 slaves in 1820, along with 10,653 whites and 1,475 free blacks (Wade 1964). Pritchard, probably with some exaggeration, boasted that he had 6,600 recruits on the plantations across the Cooper and Ashley Rivers. The plan called for Vesey's followers to rise at midnight on Sunday, July 14 (Bastille Day), slay their masters, and sail

for Haiti and freedom. As one southern editor later conceded: "The plot seems to have been well devised, and its operation was extensive."

The plot unraveled in June 1822 when two slaves, including Rolla's friend George Wilson revealed the plan to their owners. Mayor James Hamilton called up the city militia and convened a special court to try the captured insurgents. Vesey was captured at the home of Beck, his first wife, on June 21, and he was hanged on the morning of Tuesday, July 2, together with Rolla, Poyas, and three other rebels. In all, thirty-five slaves were executed. Forty-two others, including Sandy Vesey, were sold outside the United States; some, if not all, became slaves in Spanish Cuba. Denmark Vesey's son Robert lived to rebuild the African Church in the fall of 1865.

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Douglas R. Egerton

## VIOLENCE AGAINST INDIGENOUS PEOPLE, LATIN AMERICA

"You nobles are greatly burdened; the story of your hardships is no joke. It is a tale of partings, of endless deprivations, and of people being left by the roadside because there they had been knifed—as it was at Balcab, where you runners were cut up while on foot on the road, and as it was in the scrub forest, where the runners went along afraid of being raped, of being forced to assume a shameful burden by the foreigners, the abuse of all the foreign dogs together empowered by the possession of steel to lift skirts."

"You! Man! Your clothes to the dogs!"

The *cab* residents were lifted up and hung like pigs; they suspended them like swine.

"Your clothes, man!"

They had also abused the women in this way: “Woman! Your clothes! Off with your petticoat!” This was the nature of the burden.

What has been told here happened not once, nor twice, but many times; on countless occasions these things were done to our lords here on the road to Calkini” (Restall 1998, p. 91–92).

This account of the experiences endured by the mid-sixteenth-century Yucatec Maya nobility, given in 1541 by the fifteen-year-old Alonso Canche, does not test modern expectations of what is meant by the term *violence*, which is generally conceived of in terms of physical acts. Yet a charting of such physical violence over the past 500 years would, for one thing, take volumes, and, as Michael Taussig provides a reminder, it would also be insufficient, for words on a page can never transmit adequately the experiences engendered by violence. What is more, any attempt to make the violence in Canche’s account more familiar by noting the parallels between the rapes of men and women in his times and those that occur in modern cultures would fail to capture the racial character of the centuries of violence against indigenous people.

There is, however, a second level of the meaning of violence. That is, one can consider the types of conceptual or ideological violence that make physical violence acceptable or even advocated in the first place. Here, one confronts the way in which the violator justifies and legitimizes his act, the process by which violence becomes possible to begin with. This rationale will not, however, be found in the writings of indigenous authors, for such records were not widely circulated and so did not have an impact on the overall sensitivity toward indigenous people. One must therefore turn to those records that did get widely read and replicated by secondary authors, and thus contributed to an overall “outside” perspective of indigenous people. From this perspective, the main contributions to the racialization of indigenous people since the time of European contact can be recognized. Specifically, one can then confront an external ideological definition of racial difference coupled with the potential for substantial external economic gain that has enabled physical violence against indigenous people.

Such interplay is illustrated by Hernán Cortés’s sixteenth-century letters to Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor. Concerning his activities in the Aztec capital, Tenochtitlan, Cortés gave a conflicted description of local folk: “I will say only that these people live almost like those in Spain, and in as much harmony and order as there, and considering that they are barbarous and so far from the knowledge of God and cut off from all civilized nations, it is truly remarkable to see what they have achieved in all things” (Pagden 1986, p. 108). Much as, his companion in arms, Bernal Díaz del Castillo marveled at his first view of

Tenochtitlan, comparing it to a dream, Cortés appreciated much of what he encountered. Yet his sixteenth-century Spanish sensibilities, anchored to Christian and Aristotelian ideologies, forced him to downplay an observationally derived appreciation in favor of ideological deprecation.

Indeed, the extent to which Christian and Greek philosophies justified racial violence (and from which Cortés consciously and subconsciously drew) took center stage in the Great Debate at Valladolid between Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda and Bartolomé de las Casas in 1551. Sepúlveda argued that indigenous people were to be considered natural slaves who would benefit from conquest, irrespective of whether or not they were first evangelized. Las Casas, on the other hand, championed the idea that the role of the Spaniards was to convert indigenous people to Christianity—that political or economic interests should take a back seat to spiritual demands. The fact that Las Casas enjoyed favorable royal appointments after the debate, along with the decree of Charles V’s successor regarding forced labor in the Peruvian silver mines, might be interpreted retrospectively as signs that the concerns of indigenous people had been vindicated. A written diplomacy that took shape within the post-debate period, evidenced in Philip II’s decree concerning the racialized maintenance of the Potosi mines’ economic salience, also supports this view:

“Given that the mines of Peru cannot be exploited using Spanish laborers, since those who are there will not work in them, and as it is said that slaves cannot withstand the work, owing to the nature and coldness of the land, it appears necessary to employ Indians. Though these are not to be forced or compelled, as has already been ordered, they must be attracted with all just and reasonable means, so that there will be the required number of laborers for the mines. To this end, it seems that great care must be given to the settlement of large numbers of Indians in nearby towns and estates, so that they might more easily apply themselves to the work involved” (Cole 1985, p. 5).

Whereas there is a hint here as to the unenviable position of being subject to “settlement,” it would appear that indigenous Andeans were not only to be respected, but that they also might stand to gain financially from the mining operations.

This statement, however, serves to demonstrate the complexity of the continued racialization process of indigenous people, which cannot entirely be traced back to a hierarchically driven ideology. On the contrary, ideology and local sensibilities were amalgamated into local variants that produced strikingly similar experiences for the indigenous people subject to them, regardless of the degree to which they saw themselves as diverse in culture or identity. That such an amalgam existed in the

Peruvian mines during the late sixteenth and entire seventeenth centuries is readily attested, for example, by eyewitness accounts. At the close of the sixteenth century, Fray José de Acosta wrote:

“They labor in these mines in perpetual darkness, not knowing day from night. And since the sun never penetrates to these places, they are not only always dark but very cold, and the air is very thick and alien to the nature of men; so that those who enter for the first time get as sick as at sea—which happened to me in one of these mines, where I felt a pain at the heart and a churning in the stomach. The [laborers] always carry candles to light their way, and they divide their labor in such a way that some work by day and rest by night, and others work by night and rest by day. The ore is generally hard as flint, and they break it up with iron bars. They carry the ore on their backs up ladders made of . . . twisted rawhide joined by pieces of wood . . . so that one man may climb up and another down at the same time. These ladders are twenty meters long, and at the top and bottom of each is a wooden platform where the men may rest. . . Each man usually carries on his back a load of twenty-five kilograms of silver ore tied in a cloth, knapsack fashion; thus they ascend, three at a time. The one who goes first carries a candle tied to his thumb, . . . thus, holding on with both hands, they climb that great distance, often more than 300 meters—a fearful thing, the mere thought of which inspires dread” (Cole 1985, p. 24).

The climbing of fifteen sequential six-story buildings with a fifty-pound load on one’s back in the conditions described by Acosta may in itself constitute a type of violence, but the treatment of indigenous Andeans beyond the job description resolves any ambiguity. Engaging in a continued textual diplomacy, Viceroy Francisco de Toledo dictated at the time that mine laborers should be restricted to making two trips per day, but by the 1580s they were making more than ten times that. Moreover, indigenous laborers were “whipped, beaten, [and] struck with rocks” on their way to completing their individual daily quotas of nineteen loads, “despite the fact that quotas themselves had been prohibited by the viceroy” (Cole 1985, p. 24).

So the words spoken in Europe, even the decrees sent from Spain, would not overturn or unmake the stereotyping of racialized indigenous people or the persistent racialization (and its effects) in the Western Hemisphere en route to economic gain. The triumvirate of physical violence, racialized ideology, and economic gain worked together to engender violence, even after such governmental mandates as the post-debate upholding of the New Laws of 1542. Las Casas advocated for the new laws, which notably prohibited enslavement and mistreatment

of indigenous peoples. These laws spurred a revolt that led to most of them being revoked on October 20, 1545.

The violence extended to indigenous families as well as entire communities. Jeffrey Cole gives an account of the degree of exploitation suffered by the mine laborers’ families: “If a [laborer] died in the hospital . . . his wife and children were forced to hire a . . . substitute to serve in his stead. Hospitalized [laborers] and their families were further preyed upon by priests, who charged exorbitant sums for religious services and demanded devastating compensation for funerals” (Cole 1985, p. 31). The number of young men leaving their hometowns in order to avoid conscriptions further disturbed community life. The fact that indigenous voices were not heard in the “Great Debate,” and that they played no positive role in shaping local sensibilities in Potosi regardless of purported royal sentiment, thus facilitated their continued racialization.

The discord between official declaration and local adaptation played out along racial lines as clearly in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Colombia as in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Peru. For example, Michael Taussig notes that, in reference to the extraction of rubber, authorities balked at the local use of the word *conquistar* to describe the interactions between representatives of the British Rubber Company and indigenous Amazonians. Joaquin Rocha, though, sent a ready response in his report of 1905:

“When a tribe of savages is encountered which nobody knew about or which has never had contact with whites, then it is said that they have been conquered by the person who manages to trade with them so that they will work rubber, will plant food, and will build a house for him to live in their midst. Thus entering into the great and common labor of the whites, these Indians are brought into civilization” (Taussig 1987, pp. 24–25).

With the exception of substituting “whites” for “Spaniards,” the reader will be challenged to find any way in which this statement differs from the underlying assumptions, motivations, expectations, or racializations of Europeans seeking financial gain from the Western Hemisphere during prior centuries. Moreover, the masking of indigenous experiences with euphemisms belies the eyewitness account provided by Roger Casement in 1912:

“The number of Indians killed either by starvation—often purposely brought about by the destruction of crops over whole districts or inflicted as a form of death penalty on individuals who failed to bring in their quota of rubber—or by deliberate murder by bullet, fire, beheading, or flogging to death, and accompanied by a variety of atrocious tortures, during the course of these 12 years, in order to extort these 4,000 tons of rubber cannot have been less than

30,000, and possibly came to many more” (Taussig 1987, p. 20).

Again, racialization is a tool of foreign economic venture, and the same rhetoric is marshaled, leading to the same methods of physical violence. Indeed, there may be few master narratives still recognized by the postmodern academy, but one would be hard pressed to find anything so coherent or enduring as the story of violence against indigenous people in the Western Hemisphere.

Yet caution is needed here so as not to take this as a demonstration that to be indigenous is to be violated, or to be violated uniformly. Rather, it shows that among the countless indigenous experiences, those that have included encounters with colonialism, statehood, or globalization have been accompanied by a process of racialization that incorporates a propensity for violence.

On the other hand, to be indigenous is, in many ways, to recognize the groundedness of meaning in a community’s locale. The very approach of European and European-derivative cultures to indigeneity, however, has explicitly violated this groundedness. The setting has not mattered, nor has the difference in goods, whether it be fabled gold, silver ore, or rubber trees. The racialization process has resulted in indigenous experiences that are independent of location, which is perhaps the greatest violence committed against them. The very fact that Aymara speakers from the Andes, Maya speakers of the Yucatan Peninsula, and Chumash speakers of the California Pacific Coast were all referred to in official documents simply as *indios* lays bare the role of indigenous peoples in European economic and religious ventures.

Taking violence now can thus be seen as a forced infringement on an individual’s or a community’s sovereignty. In this case, it becomes apparent that the racialization of indigenous peoples, through economic pressure and ideological irresponsibility, has been facilitated by a violence of representation. Namely, indigenous people have had no voice in representations of themselves, either as individuals or as a culture. These representations have consistently come from others, either in “travelers’ tales,” in records of the Inquisition that found their way into general histories, or in the tales of anthropologists from the nineteenth-century through the present day. The percentage of media representations of indigenous culture by indigenous people most likely does not register as a whole number. Are these not forced impositions on indigenous communities? And have they not facilitated the construction of racial images?

The issue of violence, thus defined is among the most important confronting indigenous attempts at cultural revival, of sovereignty and of the redress of human rights violations. Numerous coalitions have attempted to overcome this predicament for centuries (several by tak-

ing up arms), but the latest such attempt, that of the *Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional* (EZLN, or Zapatista Army of National Liberation) in Chiapas, Mexico, carries with it an opportunity unavailable to previous groups relative to the factors discussed here. Namely, the indigenous Maya of the EZLN have used radio and the Internet to create their own voices and create representations of themselves. The degree to which this effort is successful may well impact the potential for future indigenous attempts at cultural revival, political representation, and civil rights advances.

**SEE ALSO** *Blackness in Latin America; Indigenismo in Mexico; Indigenous; Latin American Racial Transformations; Mexicans; Occupational Segregation; Zapatista Rebellion.*

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Gerardo V. Aldana

## VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND GIRLS

Violence against women and girls has come to be recognized as a major social problem with serious consequences for individuals, their families, communities, and society as a whole. Commonly understood to include sexual assaults, stalking, sexual harassment, and abuse by intimate partners and household members, the forms of violence that women and girls experience have particular dynamics that make the impact particularly profound.

According to the National Institute for Justice, 25 percent of women in the United States will experience abuse by their husbands or live-in intimate partners in their lifetimes, at a rate of approximately 1.5 million per year (Tjaden and Theonnes 2000). In terms of sexual assault, one in six women are raped each year, more than 86,000 children are molested, and anywhere from 30 to 70 percent of women experience sexual harassment that includes physical threats of abuse (Tjaden and Theonnes 1998). Studies of women in dating relationships, including same-sex relationships, reveal similar rates of violence, both physical and sexual in nature. Even in situations where the intimate relationship has ended, the abuse often continues, as in the



case of women who are stalked by people they had a previous relationship with (Broaddus and Merrill 1998, Butler 1999).

When talking about these forms of abuse against women and girls, researchers and advocates are referring to situations that are far more menacing than simple arguments or fights between partners or annoying unwanted physical or sexual encounters. The kind of violence that is captured in the aforementioned statistics is profoundly serious, for the problems are not merely a series of isolated incidents, but rather a pattern of aggressive behavior that tends to escalate over time, leaving women in serious peril. For example, nearly one-third of all women murdered in the United States are murdered by current or former intimate partners; violence is the leading cause of death for women in some age groups; sexual assault is a major reason that adult women give for attempting suicide; child sexual abuse is a strong precursor to later problems with truancy, drugs; and alcohol; and stalking and sexual harassment cost women millions of dollars each year as they attempt to flee dangerous living and work situations (Cecil and Matson 2001, Baynard et al. 2002, Violence Policy Center 2004).

It is also important to recognize that the types of violence discussed here are decidedly gendered; the victims are overwhelmingly women and those who inflict intimate partner violence, those who rape, and those who are engaged in extreme forms of stalking are typically men (Bachman 1994). There are some exceptions to this, however, including same-sex violence and the abuse of frail elderly men by women who are their caretakers. The overall pattern, however, is one that firmly establishes women and girls as the primary targets of these forms of violence.

Emotional and psychological abuse reinforces physical and sexual assaults. Women who are physically assaulted are often made to feel like the abuse is their fault; children who are molested are isolated from other people as a way to increase the terror they feel; rape victims suffer greatly from the insults and the shame that accompany the physical aspect of the assault; and the general denial and minimization that enables abuse to continue is particularly painful for those who experience it over time.

Paradoxically, despite these serious consequences, violence against women is still casually accepted in some social spheres. The physical abuse of women that is normalized in mainstream movies, images of rape, and other forms of degradation of women can easily be found in popular music, and jokes about wife abuse and incest can be overheard in everyday conversations. This social acceptance of violence against women and girls is linked to their relative diminished social status (in terms of economic and cultural power). This explains why institutions have been slow to respond to these problems, why

communities have not held accountable those who use violence, and why so many of the women and girls who experience violence have been forced or coerced into silence and submission.

Since the 1980s, however, great strides have been made to give voice to these problems. Advocates and activists have challenged the underlying gender dynamics that give rise to violence against women and girls, and they have attempted to change those institutions that are obligated to protect vulnerable members of society. In the early twenty-first century, there are shelters for battered women, rape crisis centers, prevention programs for children, and a range of other services designed to provide services and support to victims. Legal and legislative changes have heightened sanctions for those who use violence, and a growing body of research has established prevalence rates, the consequences of abuse, and the best practices to respond to these problems. Elected officials, well-known celebrities, and everyday citizens take a stand against violence against women, and both public and private donors support the work. Due in great part to grassroots feminist activism, the problem of violence against women is understood differently than it once was, and it is safe to say that hundreds of thousands of women and girls are safer in the early 2000s than they were before the advent of the social movement that responded to the problems of violence against women.

Race and racism have also figured into the understanding of and responses to the problem of violence against women in important ways. The rate of violence against women and girls reported in most communities of color is higher than the national average (Buchanan and Ormerod 1992, McNutt et al. 1999). A closer analysis of this statistic reveals that this difference is linked to variables such as income, age, employment status, the presence of children in the household, and social factors such as the presence of weapons, the use of drugs and alcohol, the availability of services, and the effectiveness of prevention messages (Honeycutt, Marshall, and Weston 2001; Taylor 2002). That is, the rates of violence against women of color might actually not differ that much from those of white women if other variables are controlled.

Furthermore, when violence occurs, institutions do not respond to needs of women of color as readily, resources are not sufficiently allocated to communities of color to ensure women's safety, and law enforcement agencies have not necessarily proven themselves to be agents of assistance in disadvantaged neighborhoods. Without opportunities for safe housing, good health care, or employment, women of color who experience violence are often left with few options but to remain in dangerous relationships and situations (Donovan and Williams 2002).

Many scholars and activists point to these and other social factors to explain why women of color are at particular risk, and they have challenged the antiviolence movement and related institutions dedicated to justice and safety to expand their attention to look at violence against women of color. In so doing, women of color, with support from male allies, have made significant contributions to the work to end violence against all women by challenging racial and patriarchal privilege and promoting the kind of broad-based social changes that ending violence against all women and children will require.

SEE ALSO *Feminism and Race; Pornography; Rape; Social Problems.*

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Beth E. Richie

## VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 is generally considered to be one of the most significant pieces of federal civil rights legislation ever passed by the United States Congress. The Act has helped African Americans to exercise their right to vote and engage in political participation, overcoming almost a century of poll taxes, literacy tests, intimidation, and violence that served as obstacles to the Fifteenth Amendment's guarantee of a right to vote throughout the South. Though still contested on various fronts, the legislation has changed the American political landscape in significant ways, affecting small town and city governments as well as Congress.

Many historians and political scientists view the vote as the most important form of conventional political participation, and American civil rights leaders thought that the franchise was the most accessible and effective means of advancing the struggle for racial equality. According to James Button, in *Blacks and Social Change: Impact of the Civil Rights Movement in Southern Communities* (1989), "the assumption was that voting rights would pave the way for all other changes, since the franchise is the normal method by which demands of citizens are fulfilled" (p. 5). Many expected that through electing blacks and moderate whites to office, progress in the political realm would also enable African Americans to make important gains in areas such as education, employment, housing, and public services. Moreover, it was believed that the vote would have both a symbolic and practical effect on democratic practices, because it would provide a sense of viable citizenship and improved self-esteem. Finally, a reliance on federal rights and intervention would not only provide leverage to bargain over state and local resources, it would also insulate blacks from state-sanctioned or condoned violence and terror.

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE STRUGGLE TO VOTE

Passed as one of the Reconstruction amendments following the Civil War, the Fifteenth Amendment provides that “the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.” Each of these amendments also granted Congress the power to enforce the amendments by appropriate legislation. However, after the Hayes-Tilden Compromise of 1877, blacks were effectively disenfranchised through an interlocking system of discriminatory laws and widespread violence. In 1890, for example, Mississippi held a convention to write a new constitution. The spirit of the convention was captured by one white leader, who exclaimed, “We came here to exclude the Negro, from voting.”

Under this new constitution, voters in Mississippi had to pay a poll tax two years before an election. Blacks at the bottom of the socioeconomic scale rarely had the funds to pay the tax, however. In addition, the state required all voters to pass a literacy test, though 60 percent of black men could not read at the time. What is worse, clerks, who were always white, would require blacks to interpret the most difficult passages of the test, while whites were routinely tested on uncomplicated passages. In 1898, Louisiana introduced a new device into its constitution, the “grandfather clause,” which allowed anyone to register whose “grandfather” was qualified to vote before the Civil War. This benefited only whites, of course, because only white citizens could vote before the Civil War. In 1902, Mississippi passed a law that made political parties private organizations outside the authority of the Fifteenth Amendment. Because whoever won the Democratic primary almost always won the general election, this permitted Democratic parties in Southern states to openly exclude blacks from membership in the only party that mattered in the South. This voting regime was referred to as the white primary. Another method used to prevent African-Americans from voting was felony disenfranchisement, or withholding the right to vote from persons convicted of felony offenses. Several Southern states enacted felon disenfranchisement laws and carefully selected “disenfranchising crimes” to disqualify a disproportionate number of black voters.

The white primary, the grandfather clause, the poll tax, the literacy test, and felon disenfranchisement are simply the most well-known methods of disenfranchisement. Other inventive methods included transferring the power to determine voter qualifications to “private,” all-white political clubs, giving newly enfranchised blacks only two weeks to register, and property ownership requirements. As late as 1940, as a direct result of these interlocking discriminatory laws and schemes, only 35

percent of blacks were registered to vote in the confederate states, with only 1 percent being registered in Mississippi. It was not until 1944, in the Supreme Court case of *Smith v. Allwright*, that the “white primary” was effectively struck down. The poll tax was not struck down until 1966, in *Harper v. Virginia Board of Elections*.

## THE IMPORTANCE OF DIRECT- ACTION PROTEST IN THE 1960s

The activism of the civil rights movement was of central importance in assuring the right to vote. During the 1960s, direct action protests, marches, and sit-ins emerged as major instruments of political change. Indeed, during the summer of 1964, known as “Freedom Summer,” thousands of civil rights activists conducted an intensive voter-registration campaign in the Southern states. The activists focused on Mississippi, because in 1962 only 6.7 percent of African Americans in the state were registered voters, the lowest percentage in the nation.

The activities of the civil rights workers were met with threats, protests, and brutal violence. In June 1965, for example, three young civil rights workers—James Chaney (an African American) and two white co-workers, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner—were murdered near Philadelphia, Mississippi. Earlier, in March 1965, more than 600 peaceful civil rights marchers were beaten by Alabama state troopers and local sheriff’s officers as they crossed the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma on their way to Montgomery. These incidents and others sparked national outrage and helped generate support for voting-rights enforcement. The national attention helped to spur President Lyndon B. Johnson to urge Congress to pass strong voting-rights legislation, which became the Voting Rights Act that was signed by President Johnson on August 6, 1965.

## CONTESTED INTERPRETATIONS OF THE VOTING ACT

The Voting Rights Act generally prohibits the denial or abridgement of the right to vote because of one’s race or color through the imposition of voting qualifications or prerequisites. Sections 5 and 2 of the act have generated the most controversy. Section 5 provides for extensive federal oversight and intervention to assure compliance, requiring federal approval, or “preclearance,” of changes in voting procedures in areas with a history of discrimination (primarily, but not exclusively, Southern states and subdivisions). Section 2 prohibits any “voting qualification . . . which results in a denial . . . of the right . . . to vote on account of race or color.” It assures that minority votes will not be diluted, or submerged within majority white districts, in ways that deny minority voters “an equal opportunity to participate in the electoral



**Voting Rights Act of 1965.** President Lyndon Johnson gives Martin Luther King Jr. one of the pens used to sign the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The Act is generally considered to be one of the most significant pieces of federal civil rights legislation ever passed by the United States Congress. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

process and to elect representatives of their choice” (*Thornburg v. Gingles*, 478 U.S. 30 [1986]).

Additionally, the Act was amended in 1975 to prohibit voting qualifications that would deny the right of any citizen to vote because he or she is a member of a language minority. As a result, covered states and political subdivisions must now supply bilingual or multilingual assistance or other materials or information relating to the electoral process. Importantly, the preclearance provisions of Section 5 and the protections for language minorities must be renewed periodically by Congress. Civil rights groups expect opponents will vigorously contest renewal when the issue is next before Congress in 2007.

#### COURTS AND THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT

In interpreting the Voting Rights Acts, courts have focused predominately on two issues: whether various

voting procedures deny minority voters access to the ballot, and whether various political representation plans dilute minority votes to the point that members of minority groups cannot elect the candidate of their choice.

In 1980, in *City of Mobile v. Bolden*, a challenge to the city’s at-large voting scheme, the Supreme Court held that Section 2 of the act would not afford relief in vote-dilution cases unless there was proof of intentional discrimination. But it was virtually impossible to provide such proof, and vote-dilution claims came to a virtual standstill after this decision. However, in 1982 Congress not only extended Section 5 for twenty-five years, it also amended Section 2 to prohibit discriminatory effects even in the absence of intent.

In 1986, in *Thornburg v. Gingles*, the Supreme Court construed the amended Section 2 for the first time. In a case involving a legislative redistricting plan of multimember districts in North Carolina, the Court held

that minority plaintiffs can successfully establish a vote-dilution claim if they show that their community is sufficiently large and geographically compact enough to make up a majority in a single member district, that the group is politically cohesive, and that the white majority's bloc voting will defeat the minority candidate. After *Thornburg v. Gingles*, and throughout the 1980s, black voters were able to press for black majority districts, and candidates of their choice, who were usually black, were consequently voted into office.

However, with the decision in *Shaw v. Reno* (1993), the Supreme Court announced a new voting rights jurisprudence based on color-blindness. In the case, white plaintiffs challenged a North Carolina redistricting plan on the grounds that majority-black district lines deliberately segregated voters into separate districts on the basis of race, violating their constitutional right to participate in a "color-blind" electoral process. Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, writing for the 5-4 majority, found that the district was so bizarrely drawn that it could not be understood as anything other than an effort to separate voters into different districts on the basis of race. Such a district, according to O'Connor, reinforced racial stereotypes and threatened to undermine the U.S. system of representational democracy by signaling to elected officials that they represented a particular racial group rather than their constituency as a whole. *Shaw* broke new ground, evidencing a judicial hostility to race based districting to empower blacks and to protect them from illegal gerrymandering and vote dilution.

Yet in spite of these cases, race conscious redistricting *per se* is not unconstitutional, although it is now weighed against the normative interests of rights that inhere in individuals. The Supreme Court thus set the stage for individualized color blindness to triumph over group-

based race consciousness. In the context of vote dilution, this is a peculiar jurisprudence because, as Chandler Davidson (1984) observes, vote dilution is a racialized group phenomenon: "It occurs because the propensity of an identifiable group to vote as a bloc waters down the voting strength of another identifiable group. . . . [O]ne individual acting alone could not dilute the vote of another individual or of a group of individuals."

After the *Shaw* line of cases, increased attention has been paid to alternatives such as influence districts, cumulative voting, and proportional representation. Out of necessity, perhaps, the next chapters in the struggle for political participation by African Americans and other ethnic minorities may focus on these approaches.

**SEE ALSO** *Civil Rights Acts; Civil Rights Movement; Language; Social Psychology of Racism.*

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*John O. Calmore*

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## WAGNERIAN MUSIC

Taken solely as a musician, Richard Wagner (1813–1883) must be placed in the most elite rank of Western composers, alongside Bach, Mozart, and Beethoven. Nonetheless, his politics, philosophy, and theory of history are inseparable from nineteenth-century anti-Semitism. Identifying the exact nature and extent of Wagner's hostility to Jewish people, and the effects of this hostility on his art, is complicated by the fact that bigotry is always irrational. Moreover, anti-Semitism has cultural, religious, and pseudo-racial manifestations. It is undeniable that each of these forms of anti-Semitism is reprehensibly present in Wagner's writings, but there is no consensus as to whether they are detectable in any of his operas.

In Wagner's theory of the musical stage was that all components of an opera must express an aesthetic system and a political and cultural philosophy. He believed that by writing his own texts, designing his own scenarios, and dictating elaborate stage directions, he could impose eternal control over the meanings that he considered essential to his works of art. Yet despite all his efforts, Wagner's works, no less than those of less deliberate composers, have been subjected to the subsequent interpretations of producers, audiences, and critics. It requires no particular inventiveness to discover anti-Semitism in Wagner's public and private utterances, but it is a more difficult matter to pinpoint precise expressions of anti-Semitism in the music or texts of his operas.

Wagner shamelessly expressed anti-Semitism in his infamous essay, *Das Judentum in der Musik* (1850). The common translation of this work, "Judaism in Music," seems to imply a religious element, but Wagner's pur-

poses were more sweeping than that, and a more accurate translation might be "Jewishness in Music." Wagner was hostile towards all aspects of Jewish heritage, which he viewed as an alien and destructive force in German culture, and indeed in all European civilization. Wagner's anti-Semitism was not so much religious as racial and ethnic. Although he was contemptuous of bourgeois Christianity, he nonetheless accepted the traditional Christian view of the Jewish people as hoarders of money that was "slimy with the blood of countless generations." He confessed to an "involuntary repellant" for the "nature and personality of the Jews," who, he insisted, were responsible for a corruption of the public taste in the arts.

But if it was Wagner's intention to communicate anti-Semitism by strictly musical devices he seems to have failed in the meritless task. For while it is certain that the texts of his operas communicated idiosyncratic philosophical messages, the most careful searchers have failed to detect specific anti-Semitic references in his lyrics. Scholars debate whether certain of his characters were intended to personify any of the pejorative Jewish racial or cultural stereotypes that were all too prevalent in nineteenth century Europe, but they have offered little specific direct evidence of any such characterization. Finally, while Wagner, especially in *Die Meistersinger*, clearly contributed to a theory of what the Nazis later called *entartete musik* (degenerate music), it is unclear whether he attempted to incorporate his theoretical anti-Semitism into any of his musical compositions. His works do not contain travesties or pejorative depictions of Jewish liturgical music, which he disparages in *Das Judentum*. Although Wagner expressed patronizing or hostile attitudes towards Jewish composers such as Felix

Mendelssohn and Giacomo Meyerbeer, his attacks never took the form of a cheap musical parody.

Wagner desired that his music should express not only emotions, but complicated philosophical principles as well, and particularly the revolutionary ideals, radical moral values, and spiritual strivings that he associated with the German race. Like the classical Aristotelean critics and his contemporary composers of “tone poems,” Wagner believed that music imitated emotional states, and he believed that he could communicate precise spiritual messages by assigning them to specific musical phrases, which he called “leitmotifs.”

Musical notes, like words, can be used as symbols and arbitrarily assigned to specific referents, and a musical phrase, like a word phrase, can symbolize anything one chooses to attribute to it. A *Hakenkreutz* (swastika), for example, may have entirely different meanings to a Navaho, a Hindu, or a Jew. Likewise, pictures on canvas or actions on stage may have equivocal references. Wagner sought to exert maximum control over how the symbolic elements of his art would be perceived by reinforcing the occurrences on stage with words and music, imagining that he could prevent any distortion of his meanings. It is from his predictable failure to triumph over ambiguity that the greatest strength and beauty of Wagner’s art, as well as its evil misuses, have arisen. Wagner’s romanticized historiography included three mythical Germanic worlds. The first of these, comprising his four-opera cycle *Der Ring des Nibelungen*, had its sources in ancient pagan myths, including the Norse *Volsunga Saga* and the medieval German epic *Das Nibelungenlied*, from which he freely adapted his texts. The mythical sources of the operas *Tannhäuser*, *Parsifal*, and *Lohengrin* were in the Grail myths of late medieval Christianity. A third source, reflected most prominently in the setting of *Die Meistersinger*, was Wagner’s idealized view of the organic German town, the *Burgertum* of the late Middle Ages and early renaissance. Each of these worlds clearly offers a setting to display grandiose conceptions of Germanic identity, and each of them is readily employable to racist, ethnocentric or anti-Semitic ends.

The mythology of the Ring Cycle presents a world in opposition to both Old and New Testament traditions. It is an attempted revitalization of pagan Germanic myth and an attempt to discover in it the uncompromised barbarian vigor and primitive virtues praised by the Roman historian Tacitus in his depiction of Germanic tribes. These virtues, which Wagner expressed through the eponymous hero of his opera *Siegfried*, included fearlessness in battle, the sanctity of oaths, and an absolute loyalty to the king.

In addition to its savage heroes, the world of *Der Ring* is populated by gods, giants, and dwarfs. Some people

have seen in Wagner’s dwarfs the embodiment of a vicious stereotype of the Jewish people as hoarders and manipulators of wealth. In *Das Judentum in der Musik*, Wagner wrote negatively about Jewish bankers, then proceeded to describe Jewish musicians with the same scurrilous imagery that he assigns to the subterranean dwarfs of *Das Rheingold*. He described the work of Jewish composers, for example, as a “worm-befretted carcass.” Two years earlier, in an 1848 prospectus for *Der Ring des Nibelungen*, he had similarly characterized the gold-hoarding dwarfs as being “like worms in the dead body” of German art.

Wagner’s chosen people, the Wälsungs, are a race with no perceptible virtue other than the warrior trait of physical courage, loyalty to their chief, and a somewhat ambiguous reverence for women (clouded by an extreme possessiveness and a tendency to regard women as trophies). Wagner’s superman, Siegfried, is not a noble savage, but a virile barbarian who, like his father, is beyond Christian notions of good and evil. He shares these traits, presumably, with the *Übermensch* of Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche, and one can see in him the precursor of the Hitler youth—tall, blonde, handsome, rash, unreflective, and controlled by forces he is incapable of contemplating.

Wagner’s racial attitudes are often confused with those of Nietzsche, who, like Wagner, heralded the coming of a new “superman,” unconstrained by the supposedly tenderhearted values of bourgeois Christianity. But where Nietzsche’s philosophy placed supreme value on the individual will, Wagner celebrated the collective German *Volksgeist*, or “national character.” Nietzsche expressed an admiration for certain cultural values that he associated with Jewish people, and he was equally hostile to the Jewish and the Christian religious heritage. Wagner’s racial nationalism viewed the Jews as an inferior, unredeemable race who could play no role in the German nationalism he celebrated. But Nietzsche opposed racial anti-Semitism and the herd mentality of vulgar German nationalism. Thus, Wagner found himself in the contradictory position of trying to reconcile barbarian lawlessness with nationalistic communalism. The supermen of the Ring cycle—Siegfried and his son Siegfried—are antisocial outlaws as well as symbols of ethnic purity, tribal loyalty, and racial spirit.

Wagner’s use of Grail mythology is more notable for its sexism than for its anti-Semitism. It centers on chaste knights whose holiness is often proven by their renunciation of sensual females, as in the examples of Parsifal and Tannhäuser. The opera *Lohengrin* combines familiar elements of classical, Germanic, and Hebraic mythology. A young woman is commanded by her husband and champion that she must never ask his name. When natural curiosity finally overcomes her, he reveals that he is Lohengrin, son of Parsifal, and a keeper of the Grail.



**Adolf Hitler Unveils a Monument to Richard Wagner, 1934.** Nineteenth-century composer Richard Wagner's musical treatment of alleged Germanic folklore fanned the flames of racism in Germany and contributed to the success of the Nazi movement.  
© HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS.

He then leaves her, returning to his sacred vigil at Mounserat, and she dies of grief. There is nothing anti-Semitic about this, unless one accepts the proposition that there is no place for Jews within the mythology of medieval Christianity, other than that of the Wandering Jew. But the only person in any of Wagner's operas with the name "Wanderer" is Wotan, the king of the gods and the progenitor of the Germanic master race, the Wälsung.

*Die Meistersinger* is the only Wagner opera that is not dominated by supernatural forces. Set in the sixteenth century, it involves a songfest and two competitions, one for a musical prize, the other for the hand of a beautiful young woman. There are two heroes, one of them the historical Hans Sachs, a shoemaker and poet. The other is Walther, a young knight who, somewhat incongruously, is not associated with any sort of practical hand trade, but who demonstrates his craftsmanship by

composing a masterful song. Reminiscent of Marxism in its conception, the opera envisions a world before the rise of industrial capitalism and a time before workers were alienated from their labor. The villain of the opera is the unattractive character of Beckmesser, in whom some critics have seen a caricature of the Jewish bourgeoisie. There is no internal evidence for this interpretation, although in his blind attempts to adhere to rules that he does not understand, he resembles the fabrications of *Das Judenthum*. Some critics have seen in Beckmesser's unimaginative interpretation of the guild's formal rules, and in the horrid cacophonies he produces, an intentionally grotesque travesty on Jewish religious music.

The hostility of many audiences, Jewish and non-Jewish, to Wagner stems largely from the fact that he was much admired by Hitler. Indeed, his operas came to symbolize German racial and artistic supremacy to the



Nazis. Since the destruction of the Third Reich, Wagner's music has been associated in the popular mind with both fascism and Western imperialism. During the 1970s, for example, the most familiar of his musical themes, *The Ride of the Walküres*, accompanied the depiction of a helicopter attack on a Vietnamese village in Francis Ford Coppola's film *Apocalypse Now*.

Wagner did not publicly disclose his anti-Semitism in the first anonymously published edition of *Das Judentum*, which was released in 1850, but in the 1869 edition he restated his views shamelessly. It would seem, therefore, that if he had intended to portray the Dwarf Nibelungs as symbols of a supposedly Jewish capitalism, or Beckmesser as a symbol of decadent Jewish art, he could have done so openly and without any qualms. Yet when one compares Wagner's abstract anti-Semitic blathering to his formulations of German myth in the prospectus for *Der Ring*, and then compare those to the texts of his operas, it is easy enough to find continuities. It is thus perfectly understandable that, given Wagner's unsavory anti-Semitic attitudes and the deployment of them by the Nazi generation, there is a continuing hostility to any performance of his works in Israel. Despite the fact that some Jewish musicians and conductors insist that there are no specific expressions of anti-Semitism in his music, there are many persons, both Jewish and non-Jewish, whose appreciation of his music will always be diminished by the composer's avowed anti-Semitism.

SEE ALSO *Anti-Semitism*.

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Wilson J. Moses

## WALKER, DAVID

c. 1796–1830

David Walker was born free in Wilmington, New Hanover County, North Carolina, to a free black woman and an enslaved man. Walker was one of fewer than two dozen free blacks in the city, most of whom labored side by side with the enslaved in the city's port economy. Accounting for nearly 60 percent of New Hanover

County's total population, African Americans on the Lower Cape Fear were dominant as workers in the maritime trades, into which they infused their specialized knowledge and cultural heritage. Highly concentrated in the population, they also shaped institutions such as the church. Walker likely encountered the Methodist faith here, which was strong in Wilmington. Church membership offered Wilmington African Americans—particularly free blacks such as Walker—opportunities to gain leadership skills, discuss troubles confronting them, and learn of the situations of blacks in other locations. This was particularly true of enslaved blacks working with seamen, whose vessels traveled up and down the Atlantic coastline and abroad.

### LIFE IN CHARLESTON

Moving to another seaport city—Charleston, South Carolina—sometime in the 1810s, Walker found a much larger black population, numbering more than 3,600 in 1820 and constituting almost three-quarters of the city's residents, and a complex urban economy. Established a century earlier by English slaveholders from Barbados, Charleston had an almost Caribbean pattern of racial relations, featuring important social distinctions between Caucasians, white-appearing free black elites, and dark free African American and enslaved black masses. A product of complex racial histories that privileged the descendants of mixed-race unions, this multi-tiered racial caste system (whites, free black elites, nonelite free blacks, and the enslaved) at times fostered class divisions among African Americans that likely informed Walker's concern with black disunity.

Charleston also offered a rich institutional life for the city's large free black population, which numbered nearly 1,400 in 1820. In 1817 the city became home to a congregation of the newly founded African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church, the first independent black church in the nation. Walker was clearly influenced by, and likely participated in, this rare autonomous black institution in the heart of the plantocracy. Another institution, the Brown Fellowship Society, likely imparted a subtler but just as critical influence on Walker. Begun in 1790 as a burial society, the institution catered only to Charleston's free mulatto ("colored" or "brown") elite. Inspired by these experiences, Walker later wrote clearly about the class and status divisions that undermined the unity of African-descended people in America.

During his time in Charleston, Walker could not have been unaffected by the prosecution of African Americans involved in Denmark Vesey's alleged plot to lead a slave revolt involving thousands. Vesey, a free black man, conspired with enslaved African Americans and other free blacks to rise up on July 14, 1822—a date

commemorating the French Revolution's Bastille Day—and take over the city before fleeing to the black Caribbean nation of Haiti. Betrayed by two slaves, the plan never came to fruition. White authorities responded with a brutal campaign of repression, during which forty-three of Vesey's followers were deported and thirty-five hanged, including Vesey himself. In the wake of this repression, Walker may have decided to move north.

#### LIFE IN BOSTON

After moving to Boston by 1825, Walker encountered a community of African Americans numbering around 1,000, most of whom were economically and socially depressed. On Brattle Street, Walker opened a clothing business, which became a locus of black organizing, and married Eliza Butler, a member of Boston's African American middle class. As his business grew, he took on roles of community leadership. He became a Prince Hall Mason, a member of Samuel Snowden's Union United Methodist Episcopal Church, and an agent for *Freedom's Journal*, the first black newspaper in America. Walker was also a cofounder of the Massachusetts General Colored Association (MGCA), a pioneer black antislavery and racial uplift group established in 1826.

In meetings of the MGCA, often in his store, Walker developed the ideas that would coalesce into his most significant historical contribution, a revolutionary seventy-six-page pamphlet titled *David Walker's Appeal, in Four Articles, Together with a Preamble, to the Coloured Citizens of the World, but in Particular, and Very Expressly, to Those of the United States of America*. First published in late 1829 by a sympathetic Boston printer, the *Appeal* went through three quick editions, each featuring minor changes, the last being published in June 1830. Understanding the incendiary nature of his work, Walker relied on friends and sympathizers in the shipping trades to distribute the *Appeal* to southern ports, going so far as to smuggle copies in the lining of sailors' clothing.

Four themes dominated Walker's concerns in the *Appeal*. The first was that American slavery constituted the gravest moral violation in the history of the world, a crime that demanded immediate abolition. "We, (coloured people of these United States) are the most degraded, wretched, and abject set of beings that ever lived since the world began," Walker charged. Following this, he asserted that God's judgment would fall upon the country for slavery unless the institution was immediately abolished. God would redeem the nation once slavery and prejudice were extirpated. Relying on a long tradition of American jeremiad, Walker admonished the nation about the consequences of countenancing slavery. "Americans!!," he railed, "I warn you in the name of the Lord . . . to repent and reform, or you are ruined!!!"

Walker declared that African Americans had a duty to awaken themselves politically. Primarily, this meant conscious efforts to forge a much needed unity, defined by the goal of self-liberation, among scattered black populations. Walker repeatedly stressed the importance of unity among African Americans. "Remember that unless you are united," he wrote, "keeping your tongues within your teeth, you will be afraid to trust your secrets to each other, and thus perpetuate our miseries under the Christians!!!!" Walker thus called upon black people themselves to play the foremost role in dismantling the mechanisms of their oppression. While violence served as one possible means, more important was the effort to uplift the black population through a rigorous campaign of self-education. This promised not simply to combat the ignorance caused by slavery and racism but also to expose the long history of wrongs done to blacks. "For colored people to acquire learning in this country, makes tyrants quake and tremble on their sandy foundation," Walker believed; the words of educated African Americans would make blacks' oppressors "know that their infernal deeds of cruelty will be made known to the world."

Contemporary black thinkers such as William J. Watkins of Baltimore and Samuel Cornish of New York and *Freedom's Journal*, had expounded on themes similar to those Walker expressed in the *Appeal*. Unlike earlier black expressions of discontent, the pamphlet was revolutionary because of its uncompromising rhetoric and strident tone. Walker replaced the supplication characteristic of an earlier phase of black protest with a new militancy. In considering the prospect of revolt against slaveholders, for example, Walker cautioned his black readers, "Do not trifle, for they will not trifle with you. . . . If there is an attempt made by us, kill or be killed." Thus, employing a strident rhetorical style, more common to street-corner exhortation than learned discourse, Walker sought above all to energize his listeners. He clearly accomplished this among the southern white authorities who sought to suppress the work—by seizing copies of it when they could, initiating laws banning distribution of antislavery literature, and offering rewards for its author's apprehension. Walker's untimely death in 1830 was rumored to have been caused by these forces of reaction, though it is also likely that he fell victim to consumption.

While the *Appeal* helped inspire the conservative defense of slavery, it played an even more important role in the history of radical antislavery thought. Walker's pamphlet helped drive white reformers such as William Lloyd Garrison to espouse the immediate abolition of slavery, though most white abolitionists distanced themselves from Walker's militancy. Black activists such as Henry Highland Garnet consciously incorporated Walker's themes into their own radicalism. The *Appeal* thus served as a comprehensive

model for much later black protest thought, both modeling a tradition of black self-help designed to command whites' respect and serving as a form of pragmatic black nationalism built on the political unity of all people of African descent. In the end, David Walker's life and thought heralded the birth of a militant tradition of racial politics, in which a marginalized people sought to sway the "public mind" through the use of the printed word.

SEE ALSO *Vesey, Denmark*.

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Patrick Rael

## WASHINGTON, BOOKER T. 1856–1915

Booker Taliafero Washington, a black educator, orator, and leader, was born a slave in Franklin County, Virginia, on April 5, 1856. His mother, Jane, was a cook, and his father was a white man who has remained unidentified. After emancipation in 1865, Booker, his mother, and his brother moved to Malden, West Virginia, where, with his stepfather, he worked in salt and coal mines and as a houseboy for the mine owners, General Lewis Ruffner and his wife Viola. In 1872, after acquiring a rudimentary education at public schools and from Mrs. Ruffner, Washington enrolled in the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, in Virginia.

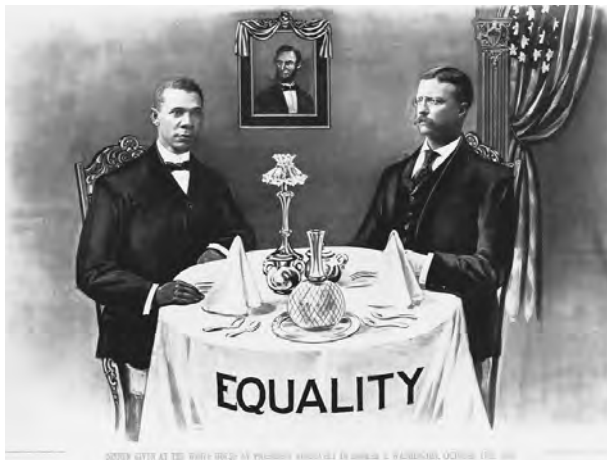
Founded to educate former slaves, the school taught habits of rectitude, hard work, and service along with industrial and liberal arts. Washington flourished at what was essentially a high school, and after graduation he was invited to teach at his alma mater.

In 1881, Washington accepted a position as principal for a new state-funded school for blacks in Tuskegee, Alabama. Modeling the school after Hampton, Washington built Tuskegee into a showcase of industrial education and black self-help. Although the idea of industrial education was not original with Washington, he became its most ardent and noted black advocate. By century's end, Tuskegee boasted an endowment of nearly two million dollars, more than one hundred buildings, a faculty of nearly two hundred black men and women, and an international student body.

In 1895, Washington was catapulted to national prominence when he delivered a five-minute speech at the Atlanta Cotton States and International Exposition. His "Atlanta Compromise" speech summarized the program of education, self-help, and racial cooperation that he had pursued at Tuskegee. Whites concluded that Washington offered a palatable resolution of the nation's "Negro problem," namely black acquiescence to white supremacy in social, political, and economic matters. Washington himself believed that he was striking a bargain with whites, not surrendering to them. In return for white aid for greater educational and economic opportunity, he set aside black claims for civil and political equality in the South. Accommodating to, but not endorsing, racial segregation, Washington proposed, "In all things that are purely social, we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress."

His widely published speech caught the attention of white philanthropists, who selected Washington to serve as the conduit through which charitable donations reached black institutions across the nation. His influence soon extended to national politics, and two U.S. presidents, Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft, discussed race relations with him and solicited his advice regarding patronage appointments. Washington simultaneously extended his influence over black institutions by founding the National Negro Business League in 1900 to foster black entrepreneurship, by subsidizing newspapers and organizations, and by undermining groups that were hostile to him. By the turn of the century, no meeting or discussion on racial topics was complete without an appearance or a comment by Washington.

Washington's rise to leadership was symptomatic of the deteriorating status of African Americans at the end of the nineteenth century. Increasingly denied meaningful political participation in the South, blacks had few mechanisms to select black leaders who could be assured of recognition



**Booker T. Washington and President Theodore Roosevelt, 1901.** Both presidents Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft discussed race relations with Washington and sought his advice on patronage appointments. © CORBIS.

by whites. Whites, not blacks, effectively selected the leaders who spoke on behalf of blacks. In Washington's case, connections, ambition, and circumstances, rather than a democratic process, anointed him a race leader. Yet his power remained tenuous because it derived from white patronage, which could never be taken for granted.

Constrained by the source of his power, Washington elected to use furtive means to challenge white supremacy. While voicing only tepid opposition to the disenfranchisement of southern blacks, he secretly funded legal challenges to constitutions in Louisiana and Alabama that restricted black voting. His private behavior, including a controversial meal with Theodore Roosevelt in the White House in 1901, also periodically breeched racial conventions, demonstrating that, despite his talk about the races being as distinct as fingers on a hand, he acceded to segregation only out of expediency.

Washington's power over black institutions inevitably bred resentment among African Americans, however. As early as 1892, Washington alienated black clergy by suggesting that they were unfit to lead the black community, and his emphasis on industrial education irked black proponents of liberal arts education. In addition, his dismissal of electoral politics outraged black politicians who were struggling to retain their offices and influence in the face of disenfranchisement. In 1903, Washington's perceived persecution of William Monroe Trotter, a black editor and civil rights activist in Boston, drew out other critics, including Ida B. Wells-Barnett, who fumed about his restrained denunciations of lynching; W. Calvin Chase, a Washington D.C. editor, who criticized Washington's alleged "political dictatorship"; and W. E. B. Du Bois, who offered a comprehensive criticism of Tuskegee and its creator. A year later, Du

Bois and other militants gathered at Niagara Falls, Canada, where they founded the so-called Niagara Movement. By 1909 they had forged a coalition of white racial liberals, reform-minded social workers, socialist radicals, and black militants into the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

Washington eyed the NAACP warily, and his relationship with the organization soon deteriorated into open and permanent competition. An even greater threat to Washington's power was the election of Woodrow Wilson, a southern-born Democrat, who rapidly expanded the segregation of federal offices. No longer able to use his influence in the nation's capitol to reward allies and punish critics, and no longer able to control the black press as he once had, Washington was dismayed in 1913 when the NAACP turned to the issue of black education and organized an association of black industrial and secondary schools.

In the final years of his life, despite his deteriorating health, Washington maintained a punishing regimen of speaking engagements, meetings, and fund-raising tours. He seemingly became impatient with the obstacles that impeded his program and became more outspoken in his condemnation of lynching, segregation, and disenfranchisement. By 1912, Washington's increasingly strident denunciations of racial injustice surprised even his blacks critics. The optimism that had made his earlier pronouncements seem far too optimistic was replaced by a new urgency. Finally, on November 14, 1915, his body gave out and he died of "nervous exhaustion and arteriosclerosis." Appropriately, he was buried in a cemetery on the grounds of Tuskegee, the institution and cause to which he had devoted his life.

Washington was married three times. He married his first wife, Fannie N. Smith, in 1882. They had one child, Portia M. Washington, before Fannie's death in 1884. A year later, Washington married Olivia A. Davidson, a teacher at Tuskegee who subsequently served as assistant principal at Tuskegee. Before her death in 1889, she and Washington had two sons, Booker T. Washington Jr. and Ernest Davidson Washington. In 1893, Washington married Margaret James Murray. As Washington achieved international prominence, Murray likewise emerged as a leading figure in various women's organizations. They had no children together. Murray died in 1925.

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W. Fitzhugh Brundage

## WATSON, THOMAS E. 1856–1922

Thomas E. Watson was a southern politician who rose to fame on the intersecting paths of class and race. In his early years he was a powerful spokesman for populism and the poor; later he combined economic radicalism with extreme Negro-, Jew-, and Catholic-baiting. His career carried him from Thomson, Georgia, where he was born on September 5, 1856, to the Georgia State Legislature, the U.S. House of Representatives, and the U.S. Senate.

In his youth Watson attended local schools, then a small Baptist college. He began studying law while teaching school, was admitted to the bar in 1875, and became a success as a trial lawyer. He was elected to the Georgia State Legislature in 1882, where he supported public education for children of both races and opposed the convict lease system. As the agrarian rebellion of the mid-1880s spread, he adopted as his own the platform of the Farmers' Alliance, which included abolition of national banks and opposition to the crop-lien system. He was elected to Congress in 1890 as a Democrat from Georgia's Tenth District, but upon entering Congress he shifted his allegiance to the new People's (Populist) Party then emerging on a program of nationalization of transportation and communication, a graduated income tax, direct election of senators, the eight-hour workday, free coinage of silver, and other reforms. In Georgia, he led the fight for an interracial movement of the poor: At one point during the election campaign of 1892, when a black Populist campaigner was threatened with lynching, Watson called upon Populists to rally to the man's defense. Two thousand white farmers marched to the Thomson village courthouse under arms, where they heard speeches by the black Populists and by Watson, who declared, "We are determined in this free country that the humblest white or black man that wants to talk our doctrine shall do it." As one historian put it, "The spectacle of white farmers riding all night to save a Negro from lynchers was rather rare in Georgia." "Watson has gone mad," howled the conservative press (Woodward 1963, p. 240).

Watson's call for unity of black and white poor was widely perceived as the most subversive aspect of his teachings. In an article in *Arena*, he wrote: "Now the People's

Party says to these two men, 'You are kept apart that you may be separately fleeced of your earnings. You are made to hate each other because upon that hatred is rested the keystone of the arch of financial despotism which enslaves you both'" (Woodward 1963, p. 220). One editor wrote, "The South and especially the tenth district is threatened with anarchy and communism" because of "the direful teachings of Thomas E. Watson" (Woodward 1963, p. 223). At the same time, there were fissures in the coalition, due in part to the differences in standing between black wage laborers and white farm owners. When the Colored Farmers' Alliance proposed to call a strike of black cotton pickers, the president of the (white) alliance denounced it as an effort "to better their condition at the expense of their white brethren" (Woodward 1963, p. 219).

Watson ran for reelection in 1892 and again in 1894 but was defeated both times because of fraud and violence; in one election his opponent received a majority of 13,780 votes in a county with only 11,240 eligible voters. Nevertheless, the Populists made gains nationally, polling 1,471,000 votes in the congressional elections of 1894 and gaining several governorships. The party gained support in urban areas, where radical sentiments increased in the wake of the depression of 1893 and the 1894 Pullman strike, and hoped to replace the Democrats as one of the two national parties.

In 1896, the national Democratic Party, feeling the heat of Populism, nominated William Jennings Bryan for president on a platform of free coinage of silver. Whereas free silver had always been a Populist demand, it had been only one of many; now the party was confronted with a dilemma—to go with Bryan or hold out for the complete platform. At its St. Louis convention the party split, some voting to support Bryan ("fusion"), others to remain independent ("mid-road"). Watson resisted fusion, but as a compromise he agreed to accept the Populist nomination for vice president on a ticket headed by Bryan.

The election, won by Republican William McKinley, was a debacle for Populism, leaving its supporters embittered and leading to the party's demise. Watson withdrew from politics, turning his attention to writing histories, biographies, and a novel. In 1904 he returned to politics with a new idea: The so-called Negro Question had always been his nemesis. If, he reasoned, the black vote could be eliminated as a factor in elections, poor whites would no longer be afraid to vote their interests and the banker-industrialists dominating the New South could be overturned. Hence, he endorsed the disfranchisement of black voters by any means necessary. In 1905 Watson asked in a widely distributed statement, "What does Civilization owe to the Negro? Nothing!! NOTHING!!! (Woodward 1963, p. 380). By 1913 when blacks were lynched at a rate of one per week, he wrote that "Lynch law is a good thing; it showed that a sense of justice yet lives among the people"

(Woodward 1963, p. 432). The violence of his language propelled him to the front ranks of southern white-supremacist demagogues. He also launched attacks against the Catholic Church, which he accused of serving a foreign power, and against Jews, whom he saw as representatives of northern capitalist interests. His stirring up popular resentment of Jews led to the 1915 lynching of Leo Frank in Atlanta.

For fifteen years after his return he dominated Georgia politics, continuing to present himself as a champion of poor whites. He opposed U.S. entry into World War I, declaring it a war fought to safeguard Morgan's loans to Britain: "Where Morgan's money went, your boy's blood must go" (Woodward 1963, p. 455). In 1920 he got himself elected to the U.S. Senate, where he supported the Bolshevik Revolution and opposed U.S. intervention in Russia. He denounced the League of Nations as an imperialist alliance and fought against increased military appropriations. To the supporters of a standing army, he asked, "Whom, then, do you fear? You are afraid of your own proletariat. . . . Such men as Mellon, and Hoover, and Elbert Gary, and J. P. Morgan . . . these vast combinations of capital want a standing army in order to beat down the dissatisfied" (Woodward 1963, p. 480).

Watson died on September 26, 1922. "Between seven and ten thousand people were said to have attended the funeral services at [his home in Georgia]. . . . Most conspicuous among the floral tributes was a cross of roses eight feet high, sent by the Ku Klux Klan" (Woodward 1963, p. 486).

SEE ALSO *Southern Politics, 1883-1915*.

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Noel Ignatiev

## WELLS-BARNETT, IDA B. 1862-1931

Ida Bell Wells-Barnett, a journalist, suffragist, and civil rights activist, was best known for launching the nation's

first anti-lynching campaign in 1892. Born on July 16, 1862, in Holly Springs, Mississippi, Wells began her activist career in 1883 when she sued the Chesapeake, Ohio and Southwestern Railway in Memphis, after being refused a first-class seat in a ladies' car. Although Wells ultimately lost the case in 1887, she was the first black plaintiff to challenge a separate coach case before a state supreme court after the U.S. Supreme Court invalidated the civil rights act of 1875.

On March 9, 1892, the lynching of three black men in Memphis, including Thomas Moss—a close friend of Wells and the president of a co-op grocery that successfully competed with a white-owned store—was the catalyst for Wells's life-long career as an anti-lynching activist. Her efforts began with a boycott of the city's streetcars and calls for blacks to leave Memphis for new territories then opening up for settlement in Oklahoma. Whereas she was not the first to protest lynchings, conservatively estimated to number nearly five thousand between 1880 and 1930, Wells was the first to grasp its full significance in a period that saw the emergence of the New South and the anxieties that accompanied rapid industrial growth and urbanization. This period witnessed challenges to traditional gender roles, the assertiveness and economic success of the post-slavery generation of African-Americans, and the popular dissemination of "scientific" texts that posited that peoples of African descent were biologically predetermined to regress into primitivism and hypersexual behavior. Allegations that black men were raping white women allowed lynchings to be carried out with impunity. Wells, using the methods of investigative journalism, statistics on lynching published annually by the *Chicago Tribune*, and, on occasion, detective agencies, provided evidence that the charge of rape was primarily used as a pretext to lynch either defiant blacks or those, such as Thomas Moss, who challenged the economic status quo.

The most provocative aspect of Wells's campaign, however, was her insistence that many of the accusations of rape were actually consensual sexual relationships between black men and white women. After she published an editorial on May 21, 1892, reflecting this view in the *Memphis Free Speech*—a militant weekly she co-owned—white Memphians destroyed her newspaper and forced Wells into exile. From New York, she continued to write anti-lynching editorials for the *New York Age*, published by T. Thomas Fortune. These became the basis for her 1892 pamphlet, *Southern Horrors*, which was the first comprehensive analysis of lynching. It documented the fact that only about a third of black victims were actually accused of rape, much less guilty of it.

An analog to Wells's findings was the continued sexual coercion of black women by white men of all social

strata. In sum, her conclusions critiqued the congealing late-nineteenth-century ideology of white supremacy by challenging the myth of (sexually) pure white womanhood, the hypersexuality of black women and men, the integrity of the “best white men,” and the pseudoscience of social Darwinism, which was used to confirm the superiority of white civilization.

Wells’s anti-lynching discourse also challenged the conservative ideology of elite African-American leaders who believed that racial violence was spurred by lower-class whites against criminally prone blacks. These leaders believed that racism would cease with evidence of increasing black economic and social progress, rather than militant protest. *Southern Horrors*, on the other hand, called for armed self-defense, civil disobedience, and an insurgent black laboring class. Wells’s activist strategy also included appeals to progressives, both black and white, to mobilize against lynching and pass a federal anti-lynching law.

In 1893 and 1894, Wells took her campaign to the British Isles, where she was able to rally the support of prominent journalists and denominational church leaders, as well as members of Parliament, anti-imperialist organizations, and feminist groups. A number of these individuals formed the London Anti-Lynching Society, which was headed by John Douglas Sutherland Campbell, the Duke of Argyll. Their criticism of lynching practices was instrumental in making racial violence an issue in the United States that could no longer be ignored.

When Wells returned to America, she attempted to foment an interracial, nationwide movement against lynching. Anti-lynching committees were formed in numerous cities, and Wells received important endorsements from numerous organizations and religious bodies. But Wells, a polarizing figure whose views were too radical for many reformers, both white and black, failed to get the economic support to sustain an independent movement. Nevertheless, after 1892 the number of lynchings never again reached the high of 241 that was recorded that year, and her campaign can be credited for the passage of anti-lynching laws in southern states, including Georgia, Texas and South Carolina, between 1893 and 1897. Wells’s activism was also a catalyst for the formation of the National Association of Colored Women (NACW) in 1896: the first secular, nationwide organization of African-American women. Its motto, “lifting as we climb,” informed its activities, which included community betterment, suffrage, and anti-lynching work.

In 1895, Wells married Ferdinand L. Barnett, a like-minded militant lawyer in Chicago, and four children were born to the couple between 1896 and 1904. In a chapter of her autobiography, *Crusade for Justice*, Wells-Barnett wrote of her “divided duty” between motherhood and activism, but she continued to campaign

against racial violence and to establish important institutions and organizations to empower black men and women, both in Illinois and nationally. Wells-Barnett founded the Ida B. Wells Club, the first women’s club in Chicago to become a part of the NACW; the Alpha Suffrage Club, the first black women’s suffrage club in Chicago; and the Negro Fellowship League, a settlement house. In 1909 she was among the “founding forty” of the organization that later became known as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

However, Wells-Barnett’s militant strategies were more in tune with the nationalism of Marcus Garvey and the militancy of the Boston editor Monroe Trotter—both of whom she allied with—than with the NAACP. Nevertheless, she provided the model for the organization’s own belated campaign against lynching and it was the NAACP’s public lobbying effort to pass a federal anti-lynching law in 1922 that established it as the premiere civil rights organization in the country. During the mid-1920s, Wells-Barnett was instrumental in the successful campaign to mobilize black support in Chicago to establish a branch of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Maids in the city. In 1930, a year before her death, Wells-Barnett became the first black woman to run for an Illinois state senate seat. Both in theory and practice, Wells-Barnett’s campaign against lynching and activism for black empowerment were harbingers for the late twentieth-century movements against racism and sexism. She died in Chicago on March 25, 1931, at the age of sixty-eight.

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Paula J. Giddings

## WHITE, WALTER FRANCIS 1893–1955

Walter Francis White, born on July 1, 1893, in Atlanta, Georgia, was at the critical age of sixteen when the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was founded in 1909. He was positioned to play a vital role in its future. He grew up in a middle-class family; his father, George, a postman, and his mother, Madeline, a school teacher, were both so light in complexion they could pass for white. Walter himself had blue eyes and blond hair, which sometimes belied his African-American ancestry.

His family complexion offered him little comfort: It was considered "too light" by blacks and "suspiciously too dark" by whites. The family often walked rather than rode in public transportation—if they rode in the black conveyances, blacks would mistake them for white, and vice versa. But there was one major advantage for a political activist: White was the perfect person to infiltrate and investigate the atrocities of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK).

Walter White learned about the violence of racism at an early age. At thirteen, he found himself standing in front of his home with his father, with guns cocked trying to protect their property from a white mob intent on burning all the homes in black neighborhoods. This was the Atlanta race riot of 1906.

With no high schools for blacks in Atlanta at the time, Walter attended the private high school established within the campus of Atlanta University. When he graduated from Atlanta University in 1916, his first job out of college was selling life insurance for Standard Life, a major African-American company in Atlanta. He organized the first chapter of the NAACP in Atlanta and used its leverage to force the city of Atlanta to improve public facilities for African Americans. Because of the effectiveness of his efforts in Atlanta, James Weldon Johnson, the first African-American general secretary of the NAACP and author of the song "Lift Every Voice and Sing,"

secured a position for White as assistant to the organization's chief administrative officer in 1918.

White came to the NAACP with some knowledge and experience of the social situation of blacks in the Deep South. In 1919 White was sent to investigate what was known as the Elaine race riot in Phillips County, Arkansas. White published his undercover findings about the riot in the *Daily News*, the *Chicago Defender*, the *Nation*, and the NAACP's *Crisis* magazine. He went on to investigate more than forty-one lynchings, eight race riots, and dozens of KKK cross burnings, posing as a white reporter who wanted to give the South's side of the story. At one point he was even invited to join the Ku Klux Klan. One southern sheriff gave him a badge and a gun and took him along on hunts for blacks. As the NAACP executive secretary, White tried relentlessly—and unsuccessfully—to persuade congressmen to pass an anti-lynching law. Anti-lynching laws that were proposed in the House of Representatives were reported out of committee, passed by the full House, and ultimately defeated via filibusters in the Senate. Southern senators, in particular, argued that anti-lynching laws violated state's rights.

In Helena, Arkansas, while White was on his way to interview Negroes jailed for joining a sharecroppers' union, he learned that a mob planned to ambush and lynch him. The white conductor of the northbound train wondered why White (who was now desperate to get out of town) would leave and thus miss the execution of plans to lynch a Negro passing through town. This episode formed the basis for his book *Rope and Faggot: A Biography of Judge Lynch*, published in 1929. In 1926 White had published *The Fire in the Flint* and *Flight*, and later he wrote *What Caused the Detroit Riot?* (1943), *A Rising Wind* (1945), an autobiography, *A Man Called White* (1948), *Civil Rights: Fifty Years of Fighting* (1950), and *How Far the Promised Land?* (1955).

In addition to pushing for anti-lynching measures and writing books, White was involved in various initiatives throughout his tenure as head of the NAACP. He met many of the influential writers of the Harlem Renaissance and assisted in breaking down barriers for them. White also worked tirelessly to bring about civil rights legislation. When President Herbert Hoover nominated John P. Parker, who had publicly renounced voting rights for blacks, to the Supreme Court, White testified before the Senate Judicial Committee and launched a letter-writing campaign against his nomination. Parker's nomination was defeated in the Senate; Hoover, however, refused to remove Parker from consideration and consequently alienated many blacks. His action contributed to the Democrat Franklin D. Roosevelt's winning the nomination for president in 1932. White developed a strategy to attack racial discrimination at its roots when he started to fight for blacks' right to vote and to be admitted to professional



and graduate schools in state universities, and for equal pay for black teachers in public schools.

White urged President Roosevelt to extend Social Security benefits to agricultural and domestic workers and to amend the National Labor Relations Act to prohibit union discrimination. He supported A. Philip Randolph's March on Washington campaign in 1940 and 1941. He took on racial stereotypes in the entertainment industry and helped to quell race riots in Detroit and Harlem. In the last ten years of his life, White witnessed the outlawing of restrictive covenants in real estate deeds—for which the NAACP had fought for more than thirty years—and the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* case, which desegregated public schools on May 17, 1954.

His accomplishments notwithstanding, White was not without his critics. He clashed with W. E. B. Du Bois because, like other leading black intellectuals, some of whom were critical of the NAACP, he opposed his notion of "black economic self-determination," believing it was contrary to the integrationist aims of the NAACP. Other critics argued that White was too close to FDR's New Deal and was not able to parlay his support for FDR's initiatives into tangible gains for the NAACP. There were also those who believed White's autocratic leadership style caused him not to recognize other organizations and leaders as potential allies. However, White's body of work shows a man dedicated and committed to bringing all blacks fully into the mainstream of American life. Where his efforts failed, it was not because of lack of commitment to his causes but because the obstacles were insurmountable at the time. Congress never had any intention to pass a federal law against lynching, for example, despite the moral clarity of White's position.

White was the recipient of several awards and honors throughout his long tenure at the NAACP, including a Guggenheim Fellowship early in his career and the 1937 Spingarn Medal. And because of his indefatigable work against lynching, *Time* magazine named him its "man of the year" in 1938. White died of a heart attack on March 21, 1955, in New York at the age of sixty-two.

SEE ALSO *Ku Klux Klan*; *NAACP*.

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*Russell Mootry Jr.*

## WHITE CITIZENS' COUNCIL AND THE COUNCIL OF CONSERVATIVE CITIZENS

The first White Citizens' Council (officially known as the Citizens' Council or, as a group, the Citizens' Councils of America) was formed in Indianola, Mississippi, in July 1954 following the *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision that initiated school desegregation. Branches of this white supremacist organization soon formed in other states. Most active in Alabama, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Mississippi, where Robert Patterson emerged as a leading figure, Citizens' Councils were established throughout southern states, in most major U.S. cities, and in many northern states. Membership peaked at around 250,000 in 1957. Citizens' Councils often became the focal points for the massive resistance to desegregation, and organizing rallies were held to protest against university integration.

Participants claimed that they were not extremists, and they distanced themselves from groups like the Ku Klux Klan. Indeed, Councils generally pursued the maintenance of racial segregation through courts and legislatures. Active in state and local elected offices, Citizens' Council members were often perceived to be the "uptown Klan," or a white supremacist organization populated by supposedly respectable members of society (e.g., scholars, doctors, politicians) who sought measures sustaining racial segregation through legal means. A newspaper, *The Citizens' Council*, was regularly produced, containing articles that reiterated racist stereotypes and depicted African Americans as innately inferior. Contributors asserted the need for states' rights, segregated schools, and bans on interracial marriage to maintain racial integrity. By the mid-1960s, with desegregation progressing under federal authority, Citizens' Councils lost support and influence, and they were all but moribund by the 1970s.

The Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC) was founded in 1985 from the remnants of the Citizens' Councils, and many members of the earlier groups joined, most notably Robert Patterson. Headquartered in Missouri, the CCC opposes school desegregation, interracial marriage and race mixing, affirmative action, welfare programs, and immigration. It advocates states' rights and

Confederate heritage. One consistent theme in CCC publications, Web sites, and its *Citizens' Informer* newsletter is the gruesome description of interracial crime, particularly that committed by blacks against whites in the United States and elsewhere.

The CCC argues that race is a fundamental aspect of the human condition and that blacks and whites have innate differences in physical and mental abilities. These differences are supposedly irreconcilable—whites are intelligent, for example, while blacks are predisposed to violent behavior. In every instance, white supremacy is affirmed by CCC studies and affiliated scholars who use pseudo-scientific and statistical evidence to prove black inferiority. CCC leaders include Gordon Lee Baum, a former Citizens' Council organizer, and syndicated columnist Samuel Francis. Some high-ranking Republican Party members—such as Senator Trent Lott of Mississippi (1988–), Representative Robert L. Barr of Georgia (1995–2003), and Governor Kirk Fordice of Mississippi (1992–2000) had connections to the CCC. These politicians typically expressed solidarity with the organization before bad publicity forced them to apologize. Others, such as Governor Haley Barbour of Mississippi (2004–), attended CCC events but did not subsequently retract their association. In addition to its positions on race, the CCC professes patriotism; Christianity; the centrality of people of European descent to the foundation, future, and identity of the United States; opposition to international treaties and bodies such as the United Nations and North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA); and animosity toward homosexuality.

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*Euan Hague*

## WHITE RACIAL IDENTITY

White racial outlook (WRO) theories are considered some of the most influential psychological variables when studying whites' views of self and of persons of color. They offer a framework from which to understand views of race

and ethnicity in a racialized society. These theories grew from previous research on black racial identity models, and they provide ways of assessing and predicting white racial attitudes. They are important because racial information may interfere with or enhance cross-racial interactions. Further refinements in an understanding of racial attitudes can help modify these attitudes. In essence, instead of stating that a white individual is racist or not, white racial outlook theories suggest that attitudes that whites have cannot be so simply categorized, although these attitudes may have components of racism embedded within them.

These theories also enhance some of the social-psychological literature, including theories of symbolic or modern racism. The majority of whites in the United States are less likely to behave in the overtly racist ways that whites did prior to the civil rights movement, though traces of such racism may be present covertly. Rather than measure racism as a unidimensional, bipolar construct (i.e., racist or not racist), WROs can delineate nuances of racial attitudes. These WRO theories offer a means to determine whether whites understand the sociopolitical realities of race, and they help explain why a person may behave in a racist fashion in one setting but not in another. They have been examined to determine how whites cognitively and behaviorally structure racial information across a wide range of situations, such as consultation environments, counseling dyads, and multicultural competence training. This brief introduction includes two major theories of white racial outlook, their assumptions, their instruments used to measure them, and their relationships to racism.

#### THE DEVELOPMENT OF WRO THEORY

A brief introduction to the origin of WROs as an offshoot of black racial identity theory can help one to understand their development. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, William Cross Jr. and others developed stage models of black racial identity (understanding self-concept as both a black individual and as part of the black community) as a means of understanding the development blacks go through to live within a white-dominated society. This was an era in which a variety of historically oppressed groups became more vocal politically and socially, including the gay community, the American Indian community, and the black community. Pride movements, including Black Pride, were becoming prominent. From this era, more psychological research into black attitudes developed, with Cross developing his "Nigrescence" model. In this model, levels of black racial identity were presented that highlighted attitudes toward both the in-group (other black Americans) and out-groups (predominantly white Americans). The model has since

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been updated, and other prominent researchers, such as Janet Helms (1995), have presented their own models of black racial identity. Helms devised her model of black racial identity in the early 1980s, and she later formulated white racial identity models from that original black identity model.

### TYPES OF WROs

There are a few white racial outlook models but the psychological literature focuses primarily on two, the White Racial Identity (WRI) model and the White Racial Consciousness (WRC) model. The two are built on different theoretical philosophies, have different assumptions, and have different means of measuring and understanding racial attitudes. Helms's WRI model rests on the assumption that whites are aware of what being white means to them and that they move through a series of developmental ego statuses (or stages)—from being oblivious to racial issues to becoming comfortable with whiteness—while simultaneously accepting other racial groups. Whites grow up privileged in society and learn to recognize themselves as privileged, though often unconsciously. In order to protect this privilege, whites distort race-related reality, which contributes to racism. Helms indicated that in order for whites to not be racist, their two primary developmental issues are to abandon the entitlement and privileges they receive from society and adopt to a nonracist white identity. In fact, in part because of her work in this area, there has been new psychological research literature focusing on white privilege.

Essentially, whites must begin to understand that they are given benefits in society simply because they are white, while also recognizing that persons of color are not afforded those same benefits. After recognizing these benefits, they can begin to achieve a nonracist identity. Helms's white racial identity theory states that racial identity develops through a sequential process in which more mature ego differentiations occur as statuses mature. The differentiation occurs through various information processing strategies, which are used to incorporate racial information and can be either dominant or nondominant. Helms highlighted that because of the dominant-nondominant theoretical component, whites generally do not fit into only one status prior to moving into another status. In essence, when a white individual comes across racial information the ego selects the status that is dominant depending on the situation and environment.

**The White Racial Identity (WRI) Model.** The WRI comprises six statuses, with the first three (Contact, Disintegration, Reintegration) reflecting movement toward the abandonment of a racist identity, while the last

three (Pseudo-independence, Immersion/Emersion, and Autonomy) are reflective of movement and acceptance of a nonracist identity. Abandoning racist ideology begins with the Contact status, in which whites are unaware of societal or individual racism and are satisfied with the racial status quo. The Disintegration status arises because of racial anxiety and ambivalence, often resulting from an event that causes a person to question previous views of race. During this status, people must reconsider their racial viewpoints, and they can either eventually maintain the status quo or move toward greater involvement with persons of other races and racial information in general. Movement into the Reintegration status is underscored by denigrating other racial groups and idealizing one's own racial group.

Accepting a nonracist ideology begins with Pseudo-independence, which is highlighted by an intellectualized approval of other racial groups, although full acceptance is not accomplished. Those moving into the Immersion/Emersion status begin to understand the benefits and privileges that have impacted and influenced them simply for being white. At this status, some people begin to join activist groups against oppression; at the very least they begin to understand their role living in a racist society. Finally, those that attain the Autonomy status have an appreciation for other racial groups, understand the sociopolitical realities within society, but also have an appreciation for being white. Their racial worldview is more complex and they are willing to renounce racial privileges.

In order to assess WRI, the White Racial Identity Attitude Scale (WRIAS, or RIAS-W) was developed. While there appears to be some psychometric evidence validating the WRI theory, John Behrens (1997), Jane Swanson and colleagues (1994), and others have found that the WRIAS does not seem to measure the WRI model well. They argue that the instrument is merely a unidimensional, bipolar racism scale that simply measures the racist and nonracist attitudes of white Americans toward black Americans. It is still used by WRI researchers, however.

**The White Racial Consciousness (WRC) Model.** An alternative model was developed in the early 1990s by Wayne Rowe and colleagues (1994, 2002) as a reaction to the WRI model, called the White Racial Consciousness (WRC) model. Readers will notice both similarities and differences with the WRI, as both present views of "whiteness." The WRC framers believed that whites do not move through the identity developmental statuses devised by Helms, instead arguing that whites learn racial information in the same manner as other information. The theoretical and functional structure is embedded with a sociocognitive approach, is theoretically simpler, and conforms more to the racial attitude research

historically highlighted by social-psychological researchers. Essentially, the WRI discusses white identity while the WRC discusses white attitudes. The WRC focuses on the present attitude type determined through attitude formation, and it presumes that racial attitudes are learned in much the same way as other attitudes. It does not focus on the underlying psychological mechanisms that drive the attitude types.

The model is measured by the Oklahoma Racial Attitude Scale (ORAS) and includes four attitude types: Dominative, Integrative, Conflictive, and Reactive. Briefly, the Dominative attitude is reflected in ethnocentric attitudes, with individuals believing that the white race is either superior or rationalizing the oppression of groups of color. Integrative types feel comfortable with racial issues and recognize white privilege and racial oppression. Conflictive types are opposed to overt racism and discrimination yet have difficulty with programs designed to assist those who have been historically oppressed. Finally, Reactive individuals are aware of white privilege yet hold onto white guilt over past and current oppression, taking on a parental attitude toward groups of color. Thus, the Dominative and Conflictive attitude types are considered racist, whereas the Integrative and Reactive types are considered nonracist.

WRO theories have relevance toward racial issues within the therapeutic relationships, business relationships, or various trust issues within a community, among others. Researchers working in this area can explore multiple possibilities that can yield fruitful rewards. Whether at the individual level or the group level, there are many racial concerns within the United States and other countries, and more study of WROs can help individuals in politics, business, education, and therapy appreciate the racial barriers and racial assets needed to understand racial identities.

**SEE ALSO** *Aversive Racism; Symbolic and Modern Racism.*

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*Mark M. Leach*

## WHITE SETTLER SOCIETY

The term *white settler society* refers to a group of societies that sprang up as a result of the great European expansion into other regions of the globe from the late fifteenth century onward. The white settler societies established by the British, French, Portuguese, Spanish, German, and Dutch conquerors in the Americas, Africa, and Australasia all established forms of white racial dominance in the course of their development. They also provided important incubators for the development of theories and practices of racism, sometimes producing their own racial theorists and theories, as occurred in the United States. Examples of the latter would include the scientist and physical anthropologist Dr. Samuel George Morton (1799–1851) who wrote the influential book *Crania Americana* (1839), arguing that Negroes belonged to a separate species, and his disciples Josiah C. Nott and George Glidden, who championed polygenism in their book *Types of Mankind* (1854). In the middle of the nineteenth century, experiences of colonization in Australia, including attempts to "civilize" Australian Aborigines, contributed to the development of theories of "polygenism"—the belief in separate origins for different groups of people, and thus the inherent separation of human "races"—as news from the Australian colonies filtered back to racial theorists like Robert Knox at the imperial center.

White settler societies were different from other types of colonies. D. K. (David Kenneth) Fieldhouse, in his classic study *The Colonial Empires* (1965), classified the varying colonial situations found across the globe under four major categories: occupation, mixed settlement, plantation, and pure settlement. During the Age of Expansion, European colonizers exploited the more densely populated and organized societies of Africa and Southeast Asia for labor and material goods and then used them as a market for surplus European goods. In these colonies of occupation, the primary aim (and opportunity) was not to settle European populations (though this usually occurred to some extent), nor was it to impose a European political and legal framework over the territory and its indigenous populations (though, again, this happened to a lesser or greater extent). As George M. Fredrickson, the comparative historian of racism, points out, “the new European overlords could profit most handily by skimming a surplus ‘off the top’ without systematically destroying the traditional cultures, modes of production, or forms of local governance.” As a consequence these colonies “did not undergo a radical and thoroughgoing social reorganization to reflect the hegemony of a substantial and permanent white status group” (1988, p. 219). In the era of decolonization after World War II, these societies, including important examples such as India and Indonesia, threw off their colonial shackles and reinvented themselves as independent nations.

However, social reorganization, as well as the establishment of permanent white status groups, was exactly what happened in the colonies of settlement (the other three categories). Here, European colonizers primarily sought the land itself, and not indigenous labor or goods, both for exploitation and to provide space for an expansion of the European population. In societies such as South Africa and America (hybrids of the plantation and mixed settlement types), the Latin American countries (mixed settlement), the sugar islands of the West Indies (plantation), and Australia (pure settlement), the goal was to set up European-style societies in new lands, under the assumption that this represented the spread of civilization.

The term *white settler society* covers a diverse range of societies and racial formations. South Africa has a minority white population and a much larger black African population. This was an important factor in the setting up of the racist apartheid system in the second half of the twentieth century. As in other parts of southern Africa including Rhodesia (later Zimbabwe) and Kenya, these white settler societies were structured in particular ways because they formed small white enclaves administering and dominating much larger black African populations. Whites in these situations developed strict regimes of racial separation and segregation. As the twentieth century wore on they became increasingly fearful of what their long suppressed black populations might have in

store for them, should they ever achieve equality and democratic rights. They also tended to develop rigid and conservative colonial cultures, determined not to let themselves be “contaminated” by the indigenous African populations that lived alongside them, or by the environment, which was often seen as a potential source of degeneration to Europeans.

White settler societies were also shaped by the different types of terrain and people they encountered. For example, they would be influenced by the lifestyle of the original inhabitants. Confronting largely nomadic peoples in sparsely settled lands (rather than settled agriculturists), colonists in Australia and Canada developed large white-majority societies with small indigenous populations, which were supplanted and peripheral to the emerging capitalist mode of production. After World War II, however, as a result of mass immigration, these societies increasingly became ethnically diverse, and in the early twenty-first century they have significant non-white immigrant populations along with the white majority population.

The United States also supplanted indigenous populations and developed into a large white-majority society, but one with a large minority black population as a result of the slave trade, in addition to a large mixed Hispanic population as a result of the annexation of territory that formerly belonged to Mexico and both legal and illegal immigration. Like Canada and Australia, the United States is ethnically diverse, and it is often referred to as the world’s largest multicultural society.

Brazil, Argentina, and Mexico, as a result of the circumstances of their colonization—including their use of both local labor and imported slaves, as well as their adoption of Spanish and Portuguese attitudes and laws about intermarriage—developed large mixed, or *mestizo*, populations alongside their white populations. This had significant implications for their particular racial formations. Race boundaries tended to be less rigid than they were in South Africa or the United States, for example. Brazil, which had imported millions of slaves up until the nineteenth century, developed a large black African immigrant population and an elaborate racial classification system. This provided ample opportunities for racial “passing,” which allowed lighter-colored people to move up the racial hierarchy in ways less possible in the United States, with its “one-drop rule.” Here, after emancipation and the erection of Jim Crow laws, the one-drop rule meant that having even one drop of African blood classified a person as black.

As racist theories consolidated during the nineteenth century, white settler societies found a compelling justification for maintaining white rule. Many racial myths that have since been discredited found a powerful

resonance in these societies. In the white settler colonies of the British Empire, the myth of Anglo-Saxon superiority among the hierarchy of races was used to justify or explain the continuing domination of white over black in the United States, Australia, Canada, Kenya, and Rhodesia. Immigration policies aimed at keeping nonwhite peoples out of white settler societies were also established. During the gold rushes of the nineteenth century, California and some Australian colonies enacted restrictions on Chinese immigration. Australia's immigration restriction of all nonwhites, commonly known as the "White Australia" policy, lasted from the beginning of the twentieth century until the early 1970s.

It is sometimes argued that the white settler societies arising from Spanish and Portuguese colonization—such as Brazil, Argentina, and Mexico—were less concerned with race and a racial hierarchy. Rules regarding intermarriage between the "races" were either lax or absent, resulting in large mixed-race populations. Some authors, however, have questioned this view, suggesting that Brazil, Mexico, and Argentina were in fact deeply racialized societies in which an intricate color coding structured social relations, privilege, and status (see Menchaca 2001, Wolfe 2001). White racial myths were also prevalent in these societies.

White settler societies had mixed fortunes as they moved beyond explicitly racist and discriminatory social formations in the second half of the twentieth century. The nightmares that some white South Africans had regarding how those they had tortured and suppressed might exact their revenge has not played out in the post-apartheid era. Since the 1990s, however, many whites have left South Africa. At the same time, the plight of white farmers in Zimbabwe became increasingly untenable under the repressive Mugabe regime from the late 1990s onwards, also leading to whites leaving the country. The fate of such white colonial enclaves was to largely disappear or find reduced significance as the societies reverted to black majority rule.

The United States had long struggles with racial segregation during the twentieth century, and the nation still bears the scars of its turbulent racial history. However, as a majority white society, it survived and prospered (unlike Rhodesia and Kenya) in the same era that saw the collapse of scientific racism and the delegitimization of various forms of racial discrimination. Australia, which still called itself White Australia at the end of the 1960s, has been peacefully transformed into a relatively harmonious multicultural society, as has Canada. In the last decades of the twentieth century, both Canada and Australia sought accommodations with the indigenous peoples they had supplanted, granting them rights they had previously been denied. These nations also removed the last vestiges of official racial discrimination. The white settler societies of Mexico, Argentina, and Brazil

have had far more turbulent histories following decolonization, including military coups, revolutions, and economic instability.

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Anthony Moran

## WILKINS, ROY 1901–1981

The grandson of former slaves from Holly Springs, Mississippi, Roy Ottoway Wilkins was born August 30, 1901, in St. Louis, Missouri. As soon as he learned how to write, he dropped his middle name, the name of the doctor who delivered him. His mother died from tuberculosis when he was four years old; a brother and sister died from the same disease. After the death of his mother, Wilkins's father, who worked in a brick kiln, could not care for

him and his siblings. As a result, they went to live with his maternal aunt Elizabeth and uncle Sam Williams in a lower income, integrated neighborhood in St. Paul, Minnesota. He was generally spared the blatant racism often encountered by African Americans in the southern states.

After graduating from Mechanic Arts High School, Wilkins entered the University of Minnesota. He worked his way through college by taking jobs as a stockyard worker and Pullman car waiter. He also worked as a journalist and night editor with the *Minnesota Daily* and became editor of the *St. Paul Appeal*, an African American weekly newspaper. He was a member of the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). After graduating from the University of Minnesota in 1923 with a degree in sociology and a minor in journalism, Wilkins became editor of the *Kansas City Call*, another African American weekly. He married social worker Aminda "Minnie" Badeau in 1929; they had no children.

In Kansas City he first came face-to-face with racism. There he discovered that even having good manners was a crime for black men. Wilkins recounted a story of an incident when he offered his seat on a streetcar to an elderly white woman. Her response to another white passenger was that she was not so old that she would take a seat from a "nigger." Wilkins indicated that he quickly changed from a "soft shell boy to a well-armed Kansas City slicker." He began to use the pages of the *Call* to attack white racism. For example, he used the paper to wage a campaign against racist Missouri senator Henry J. Allen, who was subsequently defeated. When he moved the paper from simply generating sensational stories to bringing attention to segregation issues, circulation went from 4,000 to 20,000. This made the *Call* the second largest African American weekly in the country, after the *Chicago Defender*.

Wilkins continued to be actively involved in the local NAACP, serving as secretary of the Kansas City branch. Those activities and Wilkins's work on the newspaper exposing segregation brought him to the attention of Walter White, executive director of the NAACP. In 1931, White recruited Wilkins to serve as assistant secretary of the organization in New York.

One of Wilkins's first assignments was to investigate lynching and African American working conditions in the South. In 1932 he traveled incognito to the river camps set up along the Mississippi River to investigate the slave-labor-like conditions facing black convicts on federally controlled flood projects. His report, *Mississippi Slave Labor*, led to Congress enacting reform measures that improved the working conditions in levee labor camps. From that point forward, Wilkins was at the forefront of the NAACP's efforts at addressing lynching, fair housing,

equal employment opportunity, and integration. When W. E. B. Du Bois left the NAACP in 1934, Wilkins became editor of *The Crisis*, the official magazine of the organization. He served in that role until 1949.

After White's death in 1955, Wilkins became executive secretary of the NAACP. By this time he was known to have an excellent reputation as an articulate advocate for civil rights. One of his first actions was to assist activists in Mississippi who were facing a credit squeeze by the racist White Citizens' Council. Dr. T. R. M. Howard, a physician and local race relations activist, was the head of the Regional Council of Negro Leadership in Mound Bayou, Mississippi. He proposed to Wilkins that black businesses and organizations should move their accounts to a black-owned bank. Wilkins backed the proposal. By the end of 1955, approximately \$280,000 had been deposited in Tri-State Bank of Memphis, Tennessee. The bank then made loans to African Americans who had been turned down by white banks. The venture proved to be successful.

Wilkins's leadership coincided with the beginnings of the civil rights movement. One year after the organization's victory in the landmark 1954 Supreme Court case *Brown v. Board of Education*, Rosa Parks, a member and former secretary of the Montgomery, Alabama, branch of the NAACP, refused to yield her seat on a segregated bus to a white rider. As a result, a one-day boycott against the transit system was initiated. The boycott lasted a year and catapulted to fame Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. King, then pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, spearheaded the Montgomery movement. Shortly after the Supreme Court ruled in *Gayle v. Browder* (1956) that segregation on city buses was unconstitutional, King founded the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), an association of scores of black churches. This organization became a competitor to the NAACP, its membership consisting of groups of churchgoers, whereas NAACP membership was individual, reflecting the NAACP's legalist approach to racial issues. Wilkins had to contend with King's belief that change would occur mainly through direct community action. Wilkins continued to promote the NAACP's mission to fight segregation through legal challenges and legislation. However, he did work hand-in-hand with the SCLC on all major civil rights activities.

Wilkins participated in all the major events during the turbulent years of the 1960s. He helped to organize the 1963 March on Washington and appeared on the cover of *Time* magazine on August 30, 1963, just two days after the momentous march. He participated in the Selma to Montgomery march in 1965 and the March Against Fear in 1966. He led the NAACP in its efforts to secure support for and passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act. In his role as executive director (the title changed from secretary to director in 1964), Wilkins was

the individual who testified on behalf of the organization before Congress and consulted with presidents.

Wilkins not only directly consulted with all presidents from John F. Kennedy to Jimmy Carter but also had knowledge of the actions of presidents going back to Franklin Roosevelt. He analyzed the role that presidents played in responding to the NAACP's agenda. He felt that Roosevelt was overrated, pointing to the fact that the New Deal's social security program excluded farmers and domestics, the two areas of employment in which African Americans were most heavily represented. He gave more credit to Harry Truman, who, he felt, risked his reelection by throwing the full authority of the federal government behind a call for civil rights for all American citizens. Wilkins felt that Dwight Eisenhower was guilty of moral abdication in his tardy intervention in the Little Rock, Arkansas, Central High School desegregation case. Wilkins acknowledged that while John Kennedy improved the moral climate, he was evasive when it came to action. In his view, Lyndon Johnson was the most sincere and passionate advocate of civil rights. Richard Nixon was indifferent and set back the cause of civil rights, despite having introduced the concept of affirmative action.

As the civil rights movement gave way to the militancy of the Black Power movement, Wilkins was often criticized by black militants as leading an organization that was antiquated. Stokely Carmichael of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was especially critical of Wilkins and the NAACP. He and others saw Wilkins as a "knee-bowing supplicant" who was out of touch with the needs of the community. Wilkins saw the militants as young firebrands whose defiance in white America was "desperate lunacy." He continued to appeal to the conscience of America, stating that America was as much the land of African Americans as of any other group. He held that African Americans help build and defend the nation and had every right to participate in society on all levels. The NAACP under his leadership provided financial and legal support for community-action programs in urban areas that were sponsored by the very organizations that criticized his leadership.

In addition to his NAACP duties, Wilkins was an adviser to the War Department during World War II. He chaired the American delegation to the International Conference on Human Rights in Teheran and was president of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. For his work in civil rights Wilkins was awarded the Spingarn Medal by the NAACP in 1964, and he received the coveted Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1967 from President Johnson.

Wilkins retired from the NAACP at age seventy-six in 1977. He was succeeded by Benjamin Hooks. Wilkins died September 8, 1981, in New York. His autobiogra-

phy, *Standing Fast: The Autobiography of Roy Wilkins*, was published posthumously in 1982. In 1986, on behalf of Congress, President Ronald Reagan presented his widow, Aminda Wilkins, the Congressional Gold Medal to commemorate Wilkins's contributions to the cause of human liberty. He was also the twenty-fourth African American honored with a commemorative stamp as part of the U.S. Postal Service's Black Heritage series. The stamp was unveiled January 24, 2001, in Minneapolis.

SEE ALSO *NAACP*.

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Mamie E. Locke

## WOMANISM

One of the most destructive manifestations of racism is the erasure of the cultures and experiences of people of color and the presumption that whiteness is dominant and normative. In the United States, the experiences of black people have been the particular targets of such erasures. In the aftermath of the civil rights movement, white women activists, including some who participated in the civil rights movement, sparked a feminist movement that challenged patriarchy and generated new modes of thinking about gender and women's experience. In the words of one black feminist critique, however, "all the women are white." Consistent with American racial hierarchies, white women's experiences provided the foundation for feminist thought; the problem of racism was presumed to be subsumed within the problem of patriarchy.

#### A NEW WORD FROM ALICE WALKER

The term *womanist* was created in 1981 by novelist, poet, essayist, critic, and feminist Alice Walker. The term provided the foundations for a theory of black women's history and experience that highlighted their significant roles in community and society. Heavily appropriated by black



women scholars in religious studies, ethics, and theology, womanist became an important tool for approaching black women's perspectives and experiences from a standpoint that was self-defined and that resisted the cultural erasure that was and still is such a destructive component of American racism.

Critical of the ways in which white feminists used their own experiences to interpret black women's experiences, Walker first used the term in a review of Jean Humez's book, *Gifts of Power: The Writings of Rebecca Jackson, Black Visionary, Shaker Eldress*. Shakers built a religious movement that required its members to be celibate. On becoming a Shaker, Rebecca Cox Jackson left her husband and assumed a life of celibacy. Because Jackson traveled with a woman partner, similar to many black women missionaries and evangelists of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Humez chose to call Jackson's lifestyle "lesbian."

Walker objected to Humez's imposition of a term that was not grounded in Jackson's definition of the situation. Walker questioned "a non-black scholar's attempt to label something lesbian that the black woman in question has not" (p. 81). Within the essay, Walker laid the foundations of her definition by rejecting a term for women's culture based on an island (Lesbos) and insisting that black women, regardless of how they were erotically bound, would choose a term "consistent with black cultural values" that "affirmed connectedness to the entire community and the world, rather than separation, *regardless* of who worked and slept with whom" (pp. 82–83).

#### A CONCEPT GROUNDED IN BLACK WOMEN'S EXPERIENCE

Humez's choice of labels was an example of the ways white feminists perpetuated an intellectual colonialism. This intellectual colonialism reflected the differences in power and privilege that characterized the relationships between black and white women. The term *womanist* was Walker's attempt to provide a word, a concept, and a way of thinking that allowed black women to name and label their own experiences. For Walker, the invention of the term was an act of empowerment and resistance, thus addressing and challenging the dehumanizing erasure that is a perpetual problem in a racist society.

In 1983, Walker provided an elaborate, dictionary-style definition of the term in her collection of essays, *In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens: Womanist Prose* (pp. xi–xii). This book of essays, which included her review of *Gifts of Power*, provided a more extensive view of her understandings of the experiences and history of black women as a distinctive dimension of human experience and a powerful cultural force. Her definition can be

viewed as a philosophical overview of her work in novels, short stories, essays, and poetry.

First, Walker defines a "womanist" as a "black feminist or feminist of color." Clearly Walker includes the liberationist project of feminism in her definition. However, that liberationist project, as her definition goes on to demonstrate, should be grounded in the history and culture of the black women's experience.

Walker gives the term an etymology rooted in the African American folk term *womanish*, a term African American mothers often used to criticize their daughters' behavior. "Womanish" meant that girls were acting too old and engaging in behavior that could be sexually risky and invite attention that was harmful. Walker, however, subverts "womanish" and uses it to highlight the adult responsibilities that black girls often assumed in order to help their families and liberate their communities. Jackson lost her mother at age thirteen and helped raise her brothers and sisters along with one of her brother's children. As a civil rights worker in Mississippi Freedom Schools, Walker taught women whose childhoods ended early, limiting their educations. Walker also observed the participation of young people in civil rights demonstrations and was aware of the massive resistance of children in such places as Birmingham and Selma, Alabama. Walker describes the term "womanish" as an opposite of "girlish," subtly hinting that the pressures of accelerated development are facts of black female life not apprehended by white women's experiences. "Womanist" implied a desire to be "Responsible. In charge. *Serious*" (p. xi).

A womanist, according to Walker, loves other women and prefers women's culture, a very antipatriarchal orientation. However, womanists evince a commitment "to survival and wholeness of entire people, male *and* female." A womanist is "not a separatist, except periodically, for health" and, as a "universalist," she transcends sources of division, especially those dictated by color and class (p. xi). Walker subverts the antagonisms of class and color, often overemphasized by black nationalists, as differences among family members. A womanist also evinces a determination to act authoritatively on behalf of her community. Walker evokes very specific black women role models such as Mary Church Terrell, a clubwoman whose politics transcended color and class, and Harriet Tubman, famous for her exploits on the Underground Railroad and Civil War battlefields.

Finally, Walker offers a description of black women's culture that is at odds with some major emphases in white culture. Walker's key word is "love," and she links it to spirituality, creative expression, and political activism. Her definition includes a love of "food and roundness" that stands in stark contrast to the body images and gender norms of the dominant culture, a culture that

celebrates pathologically thin white women and socially produces eating disorders. Walker emphasizes self-love, “Loves herself, *regardless*,” a direct challenge to the self-hatred that is a consequence of racism (p. xi).

#### FROM WOMANIST TO WOMANISM

Although *womanist* has not displaced the terms *feminist* and *feminism*, the womanist idea resonated with many black women as a grounded and culturally specific tool to analyze black women’s experiences in community and society. Walker’s idea was particularly useful for black women in religious studies and theology, where the confrontation between black and white theologies, in the context of liberation theologies, was particularly vibrant and direct. In normative disciplines such as ethics, theology, and biblical studies, the idealism and values in Walker’s idea were especially helpful. Katie Geneva Cannon, author of *Black Womanist Ethics* (1988), Jacqueline Grant, author of *White Women’s Christ and Black Women’s Jesus: Feminist Christology and Womanist Response* (1989), and Renita Weems, author of *Just a Sister Away: A Womanist Vision of Women’s Relationships in the Bible* (1988), utilized Walker’s perspective to explore the relationship of African American women’s experiences to the construction of ethics, to theological and christological ideas, and to the meaning and importance of biblical stories about women. Their work laid a foundation for an explosion of womanist analysis in religious studies and elsewhere.

Scholars using womanist analysis challenged not only black male theologians to expand their analysis of gender but also pushed white female theologians to expand their analysis of race. Walker’s idea also inspired other culturally specific forms of analysis such as “Mujerista theology” among Latina theologians. In a “roundtable” among feminist scholars in 1989, Cheryl Sanders questioned the usefulness of Walker’s idea, because she gave “scant attention to the sacred.” The points and counterpoints in that roundtable emphasized the wide-ranging invitation to analysis and criticism contained in Walker’s idea.

Although bell hooks in *Talking Back: Thinking Feminist, Thinking Black* (1989) suggested that some women use the term “womanist” to avoid asserting they are “feminist,” the issue is more complex. For many black women who were self-identified as feminists, the emphases of late-twentieth-century white feminists did not match their own concerns and experiences. Feminist ethicist Barbara Andolsen offered an analysis of racism in the feminist movement. In *Daughters of Jefferson, Daughters of Bootblacks: Racism in American Feminism* (1986), she pointed to areas of disagreement between black women who identified specifically as black feminists and white feminists. She

identified work, rape, beauty, and gender separatism as sources of conflict between black and white feminists. Walker’s definition of *womanist* and her larger body of writings directly engage all of these issues.

Although Walker did not indicate a desire to create a womanist movement, the term *womanism* was a natural extension of *womanist*. Walker’s writings and ideas, however, emphasized black women’s creativity, enterprise, and community commitment, and “womanist” links these specifically to feminism. Womanism is identified as both the activism consistent with the ideals embedded in Walker’s definition and the womanist scholarly traditions that have grown up in various disciplines, especially religious studies. “Womanism is,” as Stacey Floyd Thomas (2006) points out, “revolutionary. Womanism is a paradigm shift wherein Black women no longer look to others for their liberation” (p. 1).

**SEE ALSO** *African Diaspora; Black Consciousness; Black Feminism in Brazil; Black Feminism in the United Kingdom; Black Feminism in the United States; Feminism and Race; Pan-Africanism.*

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**SEE** *Association for the Study of Negro Life and History.*

## WORKFARE AND WELFARE

Workfare in its narrowest definition is mandatory “work for benefits”—for government cash and services. In its strongest and broadest applications it is part of a larger array of means-tested benefits that are prominent in the Anglo-American democracies but most developed in the United States. The American welfare system consists of inadequate benefits and income for poor families, significant inequities in the flow of cash and services, heavy reliance on means testing, and extensive monitoring for welfare fraud, which inspires an expensive, time-consuming apparatus of investigation and surveillance—a bewildering array of programs and agencies that recipients must negotiate when they need help. Although much exaggerated, some work disincentives are part of the welfare system, especially America’s unique avoidance of national health insurance (welfare recipients who receive Medicaid targeted to the poor eventually lose coverage if they go to work). Added to inadequacy, inequity, punitiveness, and inefficiency is an unfortunate lack of fiscal and policy control. All this constitutes a welfare mess that makes the nonworking, nonaged, nondisabled poor highly visible and unpopular, easy targets for scapegoating (Wilensky 2002, ch. 10). The mobilization of fear and resentment, in turn, provokes mass backlash against “welfare” and recurrent attempts to reform public assistance under such tough-sounding slogans as “workfare” and “end welfare as we know it.” It also blocks the formation of a stable congressional coalition to fund the alternative policies most rich democracies have adopted, especially family policies and active labor-market policies.

For several centuries of modernization every generation has discovered its own undeserving poor or “dangerous classes.” Modern debates about the causes of poverty—personal moral failure or lack of opportunity—are as old as the English Poor Laws of the sixteenth century. The welfare reform bill of 1996 (“Temporary Assistance for Needy Families”) is merely one more episode in a long cycle of crackdowns on the poor followed by reforms to ease up a bit. Even the harshest of them all, the British Poor Law of 1834, was quickly followed by strong criticism. The critics noted that it did not distinguish between the nonworking poor who receive poor relief and the more deserving poor who did not; or that it undermined incentives to obey the work ethic; or that it lumped together the worthy and unworthy in a miserable poorhouse, where criminals, alcoholics, women, mothers, children, infants, the aged, and the sick were jammed together and where brutality and corruption were common. Serving later as Conservative prime minister from 1874 to 1880, Benjamin Disraeli complained that the Poor Law Reform Bill of 1834 made it “a crime to be poor”—an idea echoed by today’s liberals who are repelled by the “conservative” urge to punish the

poor for their poverty. The principles of Elizabethan poor law—direct aid for the unemployed, work (or the workhouse or almshouse, or prison) for the able bodied, and local administration that would keep welfare benefits below the lowest wage and thus provide incentives to work—persist to this day in the United States (Handler 1995, pp. 12 ff.).

This never-ending cycle is most prominent in the Anglo-American democracies, which rely most heavily on means-tested benefits targeted to the poor (Wilensky 2002, Table 8.3). The cycle occurs around a long-term upward trend toward more cash and services for the poor as modern democracies became quite rich, but there is no doubt that since the mid-1990s the United States has been in a phase of getting tough on welfare. The welfare reforms of 1996 and 2006, accenting workfare, are the latest expression of that mood.

In the intensity of political fuss about it, the welfare mess is peculiarly American, but in its broad outlines it is shared by several other countries that rely heavily on means-tested programs and have high rates of poverty (United Kingdom, Canada, Ireland, and Switzerland). The American welfare mess is perpetuated first by politicians who use welfare mothers (in the public image they are racial minorities) as convenient scapegoats who are somehow responsible for problems of racial conflict, crime, family breakup, illegitimacy, budget deficits, and moral rot; and second, by the limited political capacity to reduce poverty by other more universal means—by education, active labor-market and family policies, and fiscal policy. It will last as long as the United States maintains a high rate of poverty and inequality and succumbs to polarized politics in government.

For decades workfare advocates have marketed a misleading stereotype of an epidemic of teenage sexuality, pregnancy, and parenthood—a picture of very young, black, never-married mothers, living in an inner-city ghetto, who are permanently welfare dependent and receive generous benefits, an incentive to have many children who will perpetuate welfare dependency across generations. This picture has been widely circulated in a spate of books sponsored by neoconservative think tanks (e.g., Charles Murray’s 1984 *Losing Ground*). Research, however, has shown that welfare benefits in the United States are anything but generous; on average they have eroded while eligibility rules tightened. Neither the level nor the trend of welfare benefits has any relation to fertility rates. In fact, in size and fertility trend welfare families are like nonwelfare families. In attitudes, welfare mothers embrace the work ethic as much as the nonwelfare population. The welfare population is heterogeneous in race and ethnicity, physical and mental health, and the number and age of children. About half of welfare mothers are white, about a third are black, a fifth Hispanic.

Very few are teenagers, though most are young. Poor single mothers with enormous deficits in human capital are over-represented among welfare recipients. What welfare parents frequently pass on to their children is not welfare status but poverty and all its pathologies.

#### DOES WORKFARE WORK?

Because work-for-benefits—the core of 1996 welfare reform—has a long history and in one form or another has been evaluated systematically since the late 1970s (e.g., Friedlander and Gueron 1992, Table 4.1), it is possible to summarize what has become a consensus of the experts. By the single criterion of cutting the rolls, workfare with strong sanctions—certain time limits for all welfare benefits if work is not obtained—can be effective. For instance, if the sole concern is removing people from the rolls under a deadline, considerable success can be achieved with a week or two of orientation, followed by sanctions if any job at all is refused. A credible threat to cut off welfare will also encourage a substantial percentage of welfare recipients who already work off the books to disappear from the rolls. If at the same time the country is blessed with an economy that is booming (as it was in the 1993–1999 period), the result is a fine cost/benefit ratio for such tough workfare rules—so long as one does not follow the people who have moved from welfare to work too long or worry about how much they earn. But if the aim is to prepare the typical welfare family (a mother with young children, little education, little job experience, and other handicaps) for stable employment in the real world of work and not merely perpetuate the longstanding pattern of alternating or simultaneous low-wage temporary work and welfare, policy-makers must get serious about expensive education and training, placement, wage subsidies, job creation, counseling, child care, housing, transportation, rehabilitation of those on drugs or alcohol or who are mentally ill, and more.

Some of the most sophisticated evaluation research ever done has been focused on these programs. Using a variety of methods and research designs, mostly social experiments where a group exposed to a particular workfare program is compared to a randomly selected control group, an army of researchers has descended upon these welfare clients to assess outcomes. (See especially the reports, summaries, and critical assessments by the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation and academic researchers: Gueron and Pauly 1991; Handler and Hasenfeld 1991, chapter 5; Burghardt et al. 1992; Friedlander and Gueron 1992; Greenberg and Wiseman 1992; Bane and Ellwood 1994; Riccio, Friedlander, and Freedman 1994; Friedlander and Burtless 1995; *Cong. Rec.* 1995; Nightingale, Smith, and Haveman 1995; Harris 1996; Besharov, Germanis, and Rossi, 1997; Miller et al. 1997; Blank 2006; and Jencks 2005.)

Here is a brief summary of findings on which almost all researchers agree:

1. In implementing work-focused mandates, states show substantial variation in their degree and kind of success.
2. If researchers compare welfare recipients who are subjected to (varied) welfare-to-work mandates with control groups who are not and measure the respective earnings gains over anywhere from a few months to five years, the workfare programs on average do show modest relative earnings gains for the workfare participants.
3. Obviously, different program packages have different outcomes. Especially effective in decreasing welfare spending are short-term measures. Job clubs, a week or two of charm school (how to dress, how to show deference and enthusiasm in an interview, etc.), and a little help in job search can move many people into jobs quickly (on average raising the percentage of people who find a job by a modest five percentage points); it can also save taxpayers money. But such quick solutions do not improve job quality and job stability, nor succeed with the more disadvantaged. In varying amounts, some workfare programs add more expensive skills training, basic education, counseling, job creation, and other work supports. These appear to produce better jobs for some people and probably make a greater long-term difference in earnings. Workfare does not work on the cheap.
4. The population targeted by welfare-to-work programs has many unfavorable characteristics for steady long-term employment. Nationally and for the past twenty-five years of study, most who get jobs do not keep them. There are four major sources of this instability: (1) The job pays close to the minimum wage—and the former or current welfare recipient cannot support a family on it. (2) Jobs are dead end because most welfare recipients lack education, basic literacy and numeracy, and skills necessary for moving up. Gary Burtless (1995, pp. 77–78) found that among twenty-five-year-old respondents to the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth who had received welfare in all of the previous twelve months, 72 percent scored in the bottom quarter of the Armed Forces Qualification Test. Judith Gueron (1995, p. 5) notes that a survey of people who were targeted for the JOBS program “shows that between a quarter and half lacked prior work experience, at least a third had extremely low literacy skills, and more than a quarter said they could not participate . . . because they or their child had a health or emotional problem.” The survey excludes AFDC recipients who were not currently subject to the



*New York Workfare Program, 1995. New York has the largest workfare program in the United States. Instead of a paycheck workers receive welfare benefits. AP IMAGES.*

JOBS work mandate because of still worse handicaps. (3) There are well-known disincentives built into the system—the welfare recipients typically lose Medicaid and related benefits when they leave welfare, and their low-wage, high-turnover jobs seldom provide any or adequate benefits. (4) Labor markets turn down in an industry, area, or national slump. Workfare programs do almost nothing about (1), (2), and (4), and the resources are seldom available to do much about (3)—anything beyond limited assistance for child care and health care for a transition period only. Researchers agree that a substantial portion of the welfare population is simply unemployable without very expensive, long-term help, if then.

If one examines the characteristics of the minority who exit from welfare, stay off welfare, and hold stable jobs for as long as a few years, one can see why it is so hard to break the revolving-door pattern of welfare dependency. In these successful cases, the best evidence shows an interaction of education, marriage opportunity and stability, and stability of employment (Harris 1996; Wilson 1996; Jencks 2005; and Duncan, Huston, and Weisner 2007). Even a modest

amount of education improves the welfare mother's chances of securing stable work. Both education and work increase her chances of marrying or cohabiting with a partner who works. Education and partnering to a stable worker, in turn, improve the mother's chances to stay off welfare, gain additional education, and maintain employment. The combined income and mutual help under these unfortunately rare circumstances often moves the family above the poverty line. Such transitions from welfare to relatively stable work are rare because only a small minority of welfare recipients combine the necessary education, job opportunity, and the opportunity to marry a working partner (Harris 1996, pp. 420–423).

5. The final conclusion from the workfare evaluations is that staffing is weak for the purpose of training, job development, placement, and work support. At the root of the problems is America's lack of an active labor-market policy—for example, training and rehabilitation, placement, counseling, work-study programs, mobility incentives, wage subsidies, and job creation (Wilensky 2002, pp. 100–108, 706–707).

Almost all welfare-to-work programs in the past twenty-five years have had conflicting goals. It is misleading to declare victory when the welfare rolls have declined. Consider these obvious conflicts: The number of families on welfare can be reduced at the same time that total welfare costs increase if the reduction is achieved by providing the necessary apparatus of support. Both the costs and the rolls can be decreased by further impoverishing poor children and their parents while increasing the long-run costs of foster care, homelessness, malnutrition, family violence, crime, the criminal-justice system, and prisons (see Wilensky 2002, ch. 14, for evidence of these connections). Some women who have competitive advantages can be forced to take minimum-wage jobs without the necessary support and thereby increase child neglect. In short, the goals of reducing the rolls and cost cutting, dominant in “welfare reform” since the mid-1990s, conflict with the goals of reducing child poverty, moving welfare recipients into stable jobs with above-poverty earnings and prospects for advancement, and improving the economic base for stable family life and even marriage.

#### THE POLITICS OF MEANS-TESTED POLICIES

What explains the limited funding and impact of workfare is the politics of American “welfare” in particular and of means-tested programs in general. For understanding national differences in poverty reduction and the politics of the welfare state, Wilensky has found that a gross distinction between complex, most-visible means tests and

simple, least-visible income tests is most useful. Means testing refers to (1) noncategorical benefits targeted to the poor via a stiff income and/or assets test; (2) applied by welfare administrators with substantial discretion; (3) with a high probability of stigma. “Income-testing” is the opposite. It is categorical as a social right with copayments graded by income bracket and, because it is private and invisible, has no stigma.

Means testing is characteristic of the United States, Britain, and other fragmented and decentralized democracies (Canada, Ireland, Switzerland). In contrast are most “corporatist” democracies of continental Europe with more centralized, consensual bargaining arrangements among government, labor, management, and strong political parties, especially those with cumulative labor-left power. They avoid overreliance on means tests and instead accent universalistic social policies and simpler income tests. They implement the two policy packages that are most effective in avoiding the welfare mess—family policies and active labor-market policies targeted to everyone. They have long maintained high standards for primary and secondary schools and have paid attention to the connections between education, work, low-income housing, transportation, and other infrastructure problems. They all have national health insurance. Almost all have family policies that help all working parents to balance the demands of the labor market and parenting (e.g., child care, including universal preschool and day-care centers, before- and after-school leisure centers; short workdays for parents, parental leave, home help or long-term care for the frail elderly, pensions with flexible retirement). In other words, these countries have recognized that the long list of measures needed to move people from welfare out of poverty, and, where possible, to work, is the same as the list of policies needed to improve the lives of the nonwelfare population—the working poor and the celebrated “middle class.” The benevolent side-effect of universal social policies has been to prevent the political mobilization of the middle class white voters with high school or part-college education against the poor (see Wilensky 2002, pp. 375–378).

The alternative, aggressively pursued by the United States, is to accent stiff means tests for scores of separate, uncoordinated programs; to develop a large, expensive, intrusive apparatus of surveillance and harassment of the poor; and to make the welfare poor dramatically visible, the target of mass resentment and political scapegoating, and thereby make certain that funding for welfare reform will be meager and the maze of programs, ineffective.

#### NATIVISM AND TAX-WELFARE BACKLASH

In a systematic study of tax revolts in nineteen rich democracies, it proved impossible to separate antitax, anti-social

spending, antibureaucratic protest movements and parties from nativist, xenophobic, or racist protests; these two themes appear together in all the high-scoring countries (Wilensky 2002, pp. 373–378). When Hollywood actor Ronald Reagan swept California in the 1966 gubernatorial election, he sounded not only the familiar antitax, anti-social spending, antibureaucratic themes but at the same time baited welfare mothers. He brought the house down when he asserted that welfare recipients are on a “prepaid lifetime vacation plan.” (A careful survey experiment shows that voters hear these as code words for black welfare poor; see Gilens 1996.) In 1970, after four years in office, Governor Reagan ran and won on the same slogans: “We are fighting the big-spending politicians who advocate a welfare state, the welfare bureaucrats whose jobs depend on expanding the welfare system, and the cadres of professional poor who have adopted welfare as a way of life” (*The Wall Street Journal*, October 9, 1970). As president, Reagan repeatedly referred to mythical “welfare queens” as symbols of welfare fraud and abuse. That movement culminated in eight years of the Reagan presidency and ultimately a Republican takeover of Congress in 1994 with identical campaign themes—antitax, antispending, antibureaucracy combined with the complaint that immigrants and other poor racial and linguistic minorities were creating immense burdens of welfare and crime. Populist right politicians in the United States and abroad have sounded these themes for decades.

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The history of welfare reform in the United States since the 1960s is one of increasingly tough talk about the evils of welfare dependency or the need to “make the tough decisions” to save money combined with strident demands that states and localities put huge numbers of welfare recipients to work. The reform of 1996 cut the rolls in half by 2000. But it was not typically accompanied by the upfront money and staff to make work mandates even modestly effective in improving the lives of welfare mothers and their children. Only in a few states or urban areas with booming economies that have greatly increased spending and support services are there hints of success in both reducing poverty and expanding job opportunity for welfare recipients.

Neither welfare nor workfare can be done on the cheap. The outcome of “welfare-to-workfare” policies for those who entered the programs since 1996 is typically a move from welfare poverty to unstable working poverty. The politics of welfare reform continues to block adequate funding of support services for both workfare and welfare, although workfare has for a time reduced grand-scale scapegoating of racial minorities in congressional debate.

*This article is based, in part, on Wilensky, 2002, chapters 8, 10, 14, and 18.*

**SEE ALSO** *Education, Racial Disparities; Labor Market; Nativism; Social Welfare States; Underemployment.*

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## ZAPATISTA REBELLION

The Zapatista rebellion began on January 1, 1994, in the southern state of Chiapas, Mexico. Considered by many to be the first postmodern revolution, the Zapatista movement is a powerful example of the response capacity of indigenous peoples to racism and colonialist *indigenismo* in an era of neoliberalism and globalization. It is more than coincidence that the same day that the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) took effect between the United States of America, Canada, and Mexico, the Zapatista Army for National Liberation (*Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional*, or EZLN) emerged on the national political scene with the shout “*Ya Basta!*” (Enough!). This cry served as a reminder that Mexico would not enter into the First World through NAFTA, as the Mexican government proposed, without first paying its historical debt to the indigenous peoples of the nation.

The answer of the Mexican state to the conflict that soon raged in Chiapas was a program of genocide against the EZLN, their communities, and their supporters, as well as the instigation of a low-intensity war in the Mexican indigenous regions, located mainly in the states of Guerrero, Oaxaca, Tabasco, and Chiapas. The main obstacle to solving the conflict in Chiapas has been the lack of commitment on the part of the Mexican State and the major Mexican political parties to accept the multiculturalism of Mexico. This has been evident in their reticence to implement the San Andrés Accords, a set of agreements signed by the EZLN and the federal government in 1996.

In 2001 the Mexican Congress enacted constitutional reforms addressing indigenous rights and culture.

But because these reforms did not directly address issues important to the indigenous groups, such as autonomy and free determination, the indigenous peoples as subjects of public right, lands and territories, the use and enjoyment of natural resources, the election of municipal authorities and the right to regional association, they have been indicted by the EZLN as treason and a mockery of previous agreements. In 2005, in the Sixth Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle, the EZLN announced that it would begin a new stage in the history of the indigenous movement, in which a permanent dialogue with Mexican civil society would be sought.

## THE ROOTS OF THE REBELLION

The Zapatista rebellion must be framed historically within the long and complex process of cultural resistance of the Mayan peoples, beginning with the European invasion in the sixteenth century. The deep causes of the rebellion are multiple and complex, but their deep roots undoubtedly lie in a long history of colonialism, social exclusion, and ethnic and racial discrimination.

Nevertheless, the postmodern conflict in Chiapas is closely related to the neoliberalism adopted by Mexico in the early 1980s, which brought about a social crisis and aggravated the difficult living conditions of the indigenous peoples in Mexico. The implemented neoliberal policies bet the Mexican future on an ambitious modernization project that included the thinning of the state, with minimal state intervention, a free market, and commercial openings through the signing of NAFTA. Nevertheless, the neoliberal policies applied by the government of Carlos Salinas de Gortari (1988–1994) did not include the





**Zapatista Poster, 1992.** *The causes of the Zapatista Rebellion are rooted in a long and complex process of cultural resistance of the Mayan peoples, beginning with the European invasion in the sixteenth century.* KARIM DAHER. LIASON AGENCY.

indigenous peoples of Mexico in this modernization. This ontological blindness showed the homogenizing and exclusionary face of Mexico, and it constituted a serious mistake that had enormous political, economic, and social costs for Mexican society as a whole.

The Zapatista rebellion displayed the country's amnesia about indigenous peoples, the flaws of the neoliberal modernization project, and the weaknesses of the Mexican financial system. The Mexican stock market's dependency on offshoring (the relocation of business processes from one country to another) and foreign financial investments was revealed, and the resultant political instability migrated to other countries, causing the Mexican peso crisis and the loss of confidence of foreign investors in a number of Central and South American countries (this spread of capital flight to other nations has been dubbed the "tequila effect").

Among the causes of the Zapatista rebellion, several specialists have pointed to the drop in coffee prices in

1989, the dismissal of public policies in education, health and food, the weakness of the benefactor state (Mexico), and the signing of NAFTA in 1993. The EZLN was founded on November 17, 1983, in the Lacandon jungle of Chiapas, by older militants of various political organizations in Mexico. It was the fidelity of the EZLN to the revolutionary political ideology of the legendary Emiliano Zapata, the *campesino* leader during the Mexican Revolution (1910–1920), that led the group to anoint themselves the "Zapatistas." But the Spanish writer Manuel Vázquez Montalván points out that there was apparently little receptivity and support for the EZLN in the Mayan towns at first.

### THE "ENCOUNTER BETWEEN TWO WORLDS"

In 1992 the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population (IUSSP) sponsored a Conference on the Peopling of Americas in Veracruz, Mexico. Prior to this inquiry into the "Encounter between Two Worlds," the Mexican government considered it prudent to implement constitutional amendments with the implicit purpose of addressing the challenge of the Mexican indigenous movement. In 1991, President Salinas sent a legal initiative to the Mexican Congress, asking them to make an addition to Article 4 of the Political Constitution of Mexico. This constitutional addition, approved by the Mexican Congress in July 1991, defines Mexican nation as pluricultural and declares that Mexican law system will protect and promote indigenous peoples and cultures. The addition to Article 4 was approved by the Mexican Congress in July 1991. The government of Mexico also ratified the International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention 169 concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries, the foremost international instrument dealing specifically with the rights of indigenous peoples. ILO Convention 169 took effect in September 1991.

These constitutional reforms and agreements did not stop the impetus of the indigenous movement, which was well organized and united around the "Campaign for 500 Years of Indigenous, Afro-American, and Popular Resistance." This campaign was proposed in the "Bogota Declaration," during the continental encounter for peasants-indigenous organizations, an important meeting that took place in Bogota, Colombia in October 1989. The Mexican Council for 500 Years of Indigenous Resistance organized many demonstrations around the country. On October 12, 1992, in San Cristobal de las Casas, Chiapas, leaders of the indigenous organizations demolished the sculpture of Diego de Mazariegos, the Spanish

conqueror of Chiapas, because they considered it to be an offense against the dignity of their peoples.

The indigenous movement also declared that the reforms to Article 4 of the constitution were limited to recognizing the existence of the indigenous peoples in Mexico, but that their ethnic rights were still unrecognized (Ruiz 1999). The indigenous leaders felt that their indigenous laws were in essence reduced to mere “uses and customs,” that their religious practices were equated with “witchcraft and beliefs,” and that their *ejidos* (communal lands) were being sold off or transferred away due to the agrarian reforms. With respect to ILO Convention 169, the indigenous organizations declared their support for the ratification, though they considered the convention very limited with respect to the indigenous people’s demands. According to the indigenous organizations, ILO Convention 169 puts many “padlocks” on the recognition of their political status and on their autonomy claims within international law.

#### ZAPATISTA REBELLION

On May 27, 1993, the Mexican army, while conducting a routine military exercise in Chiapas Jungle found, by chance, *Las Calabazas*, a military advance post of the EZLN. The EZLN had built several military posts around Chiapas Jungle in strategic geographic localizations, far away from the mayor cities. These military posts stored food and guns, and operated a training camp. The government of Mexico hid this information from the public in order to avoid risking negotiations for the NAFTA agreement. Thus, the Mexican army and its military intelligence were being reinforced in Chiapas, while the government was obtaining information about the organization of the EZLN, which had been founded in 1983.

The quietly organized EZLN, composed mainly of young people from various indigenous groups, including the Tzotzil, Tzeltal, Chol, and Tojolabal, staged their first armed action at 5 a.m. on January 1, 1994. Several hundred Zapatistas, many armed only with useless “guns of wood” or machetes, took control of five municipalities in the state of Chiapas: San Cristóbal de las Casas, Altamirano, Ocosingo, Chana, and Las Margaritas. They released about 200 prisoners and took Absalon Castellanos, the former governor of Chiapas, as a hostage. They also demanded the resignation of officials of the federal and state government and that democratic elections be held. The spokesman for the rebels was a shadowy figure nicknamed Subcomandante Marcos (all of the members of the EZLN wore masks during their military actions). Since the actions of 1992, Marcos has published numerous articles and books outlining his views.

The demands of the Zapatistas were outlined in the First Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle. Not only did



*Subcomandante Marcos, leader of the Zapatista Army for National Liberation (Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional, or EZLN), 2006. Overall, nearly 20,000 indigenous people have been displaced by the conflict in Chiapas. AP IMAGES.*

they ask for indigenous peoples’ rights to be respected, they also enumerated several demands regarding work, land, housing, food, health, education, independence, freedom, democracy, justice and peace (Collier 1999, p. 156). The Mexican government, in response to what they considered a conflict originated by a “group of 200 insurgents led by foreign professionals,” launched a military campaign that lasted twelve days, during which the Mexican army recovered control of the city of San Cristobal de Las Casas and the rest of the municipalities. The fighting was fierce, however. In Ocosingo, the Mexican army killed hundreds of unarmed Zapatistas and civilians. The newspaper *La Jornada* denounced the discovery of five Zapatistas who had been murdered with their hands tied, the “disappearance” of communitarian leaders, and several attacks on journalists and members of the International Red Cross, all in violation of international law.

The Mexican army, in the subsequent months, increased their armed forces in the area to more than 17,000 soldiers, in order to encircle the region of the Lacandon jungle. The events in Chiapas grabbed attention in the national news, and many were surprised to learn that Chiapas had the worst Human Development Index in Mexico, despite producing 35 percent of the

## *Zapatista Rebellion*

electrical energy of the country, possessing large fuel deposits, and providing the national market with precious wood, meat, coffee, flowers, fruits, vegetables, and other products. In general, Chiapas was one of the richest Mexican states in natural resources, but its people were among the poorest.

### A LOW-INTENSITY CONFLICT

On January 16, 1994, just when the Zapatistas had diffused themselves into the Lacandon jungle, the Mexican government announced a general amnesty and cease-fire. President Salinas named Manuel Camacho Solis as the Commissioner for Peace and Reconciliation. The first peace dialogues took place in the Catholic diocese of San Cristóbal de las Casas, and Bishop Samuel Ruiz became a fundamental figure in this process because of the enormous respect he enjoyed as an advocate for indigenous rights. As a good-will gesture, the EZLN, with the intermediation of the International Red Cross, released Absalón Castellanos on February 17, 1994. The government released several Zapatistas in return.

The EZLN released the Second Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle on June 10, 1994. In this declaration they informed the people about the worsening of the conflict in Chiapas and called Mexicans “to a civic and peaceful effort. This was the National Democratic Convention, which was to achieve the profound changes that the nation demanded.” The EZLN emphasized that its movement members were Mexicans and not aliens, and in its demonstrations they displayed the Mexican flag with pride and sang the national anthem.

On December 1, 1994, Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León, a leader of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), became president of Mexico. The dialog between EZLN and the Mexican government with Bishop Ruiz as a negotiator was broken in July, when the EZLN rejected the government proposals. The new government launched a new military campaign in Chiapas and increased its military forces in the region. However, on December 19, 1994, the EZLN broke the military encirclement of thirty-eight independent municipalities. The new government then initiated a mass media campaign, declaring that the Zapatistas were terrorists. In addition, orders were given for the apprehension of Rafael Sebastián Guillén Vicente, who was believed to be subcommander Marcos.

The counterinsurgency effort now took the form of a permanent low-intensity conflict. Six paramilitary groups were created to help the Mexican army search for the insurgents' infrastructure and divide the EZLN from the indigenous communities. These paramilitary groups were located in strategic areas of the military encirclement, and their members were affiliated with the PRI and the Cardenista Front for the National Reconstruction (FCRN).

### THE SAN ANDRÉS ACCORDS

At the beginning of 1995, the EZLN released the Third Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle, which summoned Mexican society to form a national liberation movement and “to install a transitional government, a new constitutional body, a new constitution, and the destruction of the system of the Party-State.”

In March, the Mexican Congress approved the Law for the Dialogue, Reconciliation and Peace with Dignity in Chiapas. A cease-fire was ordered, as well as an end to military hostilities against the EZLN. Negotiations were then initiated, centered on indigenous rights and culture, democracy and justice, welfare and development, and women's rights. The meetings took place in the Municipality of San Andrés Larraínzar with the Commission for Agreement and Pacification of the Mexican Congress (COCOPA) and the National Mediation Intermediation Commission (CONAI) acting as intermediaries. The first meetings finished in September 1996. The EZLN then called for an international and national referendum, in which more than a million people participated. These developments led to the signing of the San Andrés Accords on February 16, 1996. These accords laid the groundwork for further negotiations on indigenous rights, conservation of natural resources on Native territories, political participation, and the autonomy of the indigenous communities. However, in September 1996, due to the lack of movement on these issues by the governmental delegation, the EZLN left the negotiations.

The Zapatistas, in an effort to pressure the government, organized the *Zapatour*, in which thousands of Zapatistas traveled from Chiapas to Mexico City. The purpose was to inform Mexican civil society and the international public of the human rights violations in Chiapas and the manipulation of media information. In February 2001, twenty-four ski-masked Zapatista leaders, including Subcomandante Marcos, left Chiapas, followed by a caravan of supporters. They arrived in Mexico City fifteen days later and were greeted by throngs of supporters.

The EZLN also organized the First Intercontinental Encounter for Humanity and Against Neo-liberalism, which took place in Chiapas in July 1996. Indigenous organization leaders from five continents were present, as well as diverse intellectuals, politicians, and civil society members.

In the Fourth Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle, released on January 1, 1996, the EZLN announced the creation of the Zapatista Front of National Liberation (FZLN) as their political organization. On December 22, 1997, a massacre was committed in Acteal, Chiapas, by PRI members and cardenistas. As reported by the Peace Brigades International and SIPAZ, a Web site created to monitor the conflict in Chiapas:

On Monday, December 22, an armed group of supporters of the ruling PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party) massacred 45 displaced indigenous persons who had sought refuge from earlier violence in Acteal in the county of Chenalho in the Chiapas highlands. The victims were Zapatista supporters or members of the peasant organization “the Bees” (Sociedad Civil Las Abejas, a group with politics similar to the Zapatistas but which does not support armed struggle). They were attending Mass in the Catholic church when the shooting started. . . . [T]he attackers included at least 60 heavily armed men. . . . The Mexican Red Cross reported 45 deaths, including nine men, 21 women, 14 children and one baby. Nineteen others were wounded. (Peace Brigades International 1996)

The following day, during a mass funeral, the community identified forty-three suspects and the police arrested them. In the aftermath of the massacre, President Zedillo affirmed in a national message that it was a deplorable act that undermined the unity of all Mexicans.

The Chiapas governor, Roberto Albores Guillén, was accused of giving little social and economic aid to the indigenous communities. In response, Governor Guillén proposed a law initiative on indigenous rights and culture. Meanwhile Protestant Christian groups started a defamation campaign against Samuel Ruiz. Though canon law required Ruiz to resign his position as bishop in 1999, when he turned seventy-five, he has continued to advocate for indigenous rights.

In July 1998, the EZLN published the Fifth Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle, which contained a summons to a “national consultation concerning the legal initiative on indigenous rights” of COCOPA. Moreover, they insisted that CONAI and Mexican civil society to take part in this process of consultation.

#### THE FALL OF THE PRI

The historical inability of the Mexican state to achieve a social consensus on indigenous rights only worsened the conflict in Chiapas, leading to the first electoral defeat of the PRI in the presidential elections since 1928. The EZLN stayed away from the 2000 electoral process, and they called for Mexican society to abstain from voting.

The new president, Vicente Fox of the National Action Party (PAN), had promised during his electoral campaign resolve the conflict in Chiapas in 15 minutes. EZLN demanded, before it would resume the peace process, the fulfillment of “three signals”: the San Andrés accords, the freedom of EZLN prisoners, and the closure of the seven military posts. Luis H. Alvarez was appointed head of COCOPA, and Fox sent the Senate his proposed COCOPA

Law, which recommended constitutional changes to address the demands for indigenous rights.

It was in this context that the Zapatour arrived in Mexico City, with the Zapatistas chanting the slogan “Never More a Mexico Without Us,” a clear reference to the exclusionary policies and racism of the Mexican state. Nevertheless, the Mexican Congress made numerous changes to the COCOPA initiative, which became known as the Indigenous Rights Law, essentially removing many of the elements important to the indigenous community. The EZLN indicated their complete disapproval, arguing that the changes represented a treasonous action. On September 6, 2002, the Supreme Court of Justice rejected the complaints filed by various indigenous organizations against the Congress’s actions on constitutional reform. As a result, the reforms were enacted. A possible explanation for the inability of the Mexican state to adequately address the calls for indigenous rights include the racism of the state in failing to recognize multiculturalism. It might also be related to the *Plan Puebla Panamá*, a large-scale development plan designed to promote regional integration in the nine southern states of Mexico. The plan has been criticized by indigenous groups because they feel it impels the United States, Mexico, and the Central American countries to obtain control of strategic natural resources in the Mesoamerican region. Any political and territorial autonomy of the indigenous peoples over these natural resources would therefore hinder this plan.

In the following months the conflict in Chiapas lost the attention of the public due to Zapatista silence caused by military harassment, and a governmental abandonment of this population in resistance. After a long silence, during which many political analysts speculated that Comandante Marcos had left the country, the EZLN again “took over” the city of San Cristóbal de las Casas on January 1, 2003. Following this demonstration of their continued determination and power, they left the city peacefully.

During 2004, in the Municipality of Zinacantan, the Zapatistas and members of the Democratic Revolution Party (PRD), which controls the municipality, came into conflict over access to water. Dozens of Zapatistas were hurt and 125 Zapatista families were displaced from the community of Jechvo as a consequence. Overall, nearly 20,000 indigenous people have been displaced by the conflict in Chiapas.

#### THE SIXTH DECLARATION OF THE LACANDON JUNGLE

In 2005, after a long consultation process, the EZLN distributed the Sixth Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle, in which they announced the decision of Zapatista communities to bet their future on the utopia of political participation with Mexican civil society. The EZLN decided to channel

their efforts in alliance with other social movements, particularly with Mexican “workers, *campesinos* teachers, students, employees . . . the workers of the city and the countryside.” Nevertheless, the EZLN has recently criticized certain political candidates and exhibited a loss of interest in the electoral process and a loss of confidence in Mexican civil society.

There are several possibilities for the future regarding this conflict. On one hand, it is evident that the EZLN will reinforce the “other campaign” that it launched as a new strategy based on listening in order to seek alliances with the Mexican civil society. The EZLN’s role in Mexican politics during the electoral period has been cautious, though decisive in Chiapas. On the other hand, the Mexican government has again diminished the Chiapas conflict and the indigenous people’s demands. It would not be a surprise to see new popular movements or rebellions occurring in Mexico in the near future.

SEE ALSO *Mayan Genocide in Guatemala; Violence against Indigenous People, Latin America.*

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## ZIONISM

Zionism is the political movement created to foster the establishment of a Jewish state. It is based on the idea that Jews, wherever they live, constitute a single people. It developed in Europe in the late nineteenth century against a backdrop of rising nationalism and anti-Jewish sentiment, especially in areas ruled by the czar, where the greatest number of Jews lived, but also in France, where the *Dreyfus* case revealed widespread resentment of Jews, even in a modern democracy where they were comparatively assimilated. Because it defines *Jew* not by religious observance, language, place of birth, or culture, but by descent, Zionism is an ideology of race.

To many early Zionists, the location of the future Jewish state was of no importance; among the areas contemplated were Argentina and Uganda. The first World Zionist Congress, organized by Theodore Herzl and held in Basel, Switzerland, in 1897, set its sights on Palestine in order to draw upon the religious tradition that holds that with the coming of the Messiah, Jews will be reunited there and the kingdom of God will be accomplished for the whole of humankind.

### MODERN PALESTINE

In 1868 there were 13,000 Jews in Palestine, out of an estimated population of 400,000; the majority were religious pilgrims supported by charity from overseas. In 1882 the Frenchman Baron Edmond de Rothschild, combining philanthropy and investment, began to support Jewish settlers from eastern Europe who were brought to Palestine to build a plantation system along the model the French had set up in Algeria. By 1895 the number of Jews had grown to 50,000; they spoke Yiddish, Arabic, Persian, Georgian, and other languages. Hebrew was a liturgical language, spoken in daily life by no one. As late as 1907, Jews made up only 80,000 out of a population of 700,000.

In 1917, Lord Balfour, the British foreign minister, seeking support for Britain’s efforts in World War I, issued a declaration expressing sympathy with efforts to establish a Jewish homeland in Palestine, then under British rule. He also vowed that such a homeland would not harm the interests of the Arab majority. The Zionists seized upon this statement, interpreting it to mean support for a Jewish state. At the time of the Balfour Declaration, Jews constituted less than 10 percent of the population and owned 2.5 percent of the land in Palestine.

The problem of building a Jewish society amid an overwhelmingly non-Jewish majority came to be known as the “conquest of land and labor.” The Zionists formed a corporation, known as the Jewish National Fund (JNF), which acquired land in the name of the Jewish people. They leased this land only to Jews, who were not allowed to sublet it. Leases from the JNF specifically prohibited the employment of non-Jewish labor on JNF plots. In some cases, when land was bought from absentee landlords, the Arab peasants who resided on and worked the land were expelled. The effort to establish a Jewish monopoly extended to industry, and the Zionists formed an institution, the Histadrut, to organize Jewish workers and exclude Arabs from competing with them in the labor market.

Despite these policies, and the encouragement of the British government, in the thirty years following the Balfour Declaration the majority of the world’s Jews showed no interest in settling in Palestine. In the years between 1920 and 1932, only 118,000 Jews moved to Palestine, less than 1 percent of world Jewry. Even after the rise of Hitler, Jews in Europe did not choose Palestine. Out of 2.5 million Jews who fled Europe between 1935 and 1943, scarcely 8.5 percent, about 200,000 persons, went to Palestine. Almost two million went to the Soviet Union, 182,000 to the United States, and 67,000 to Britain—in spite of strict quotas on admissions in the latter two countries.

U.S. and British limitations on the number of Jews admitted coincided with Zionist policy, as enunciated by David Ben-Gurion, the first prime minister of Israel: “If I knew that it would be possible to save all the children in Germany by bringing them over to England, and only half by transporting them to Eretz Yisrael [the Land of Israel], then I would opt for the second alternative. For we must weigh not only the life of these children, but also the history of the People of Israel” (Brenner 1983, pp. 149–150). The policy of attaching more importance to the establishment of Israel than to the survival of the Jews (which was consistent with the Zionist rejection of assimilation) led the Zionists to collaborate with the Nazis (with whom they shared the belief that Jews were a racial community based on blood) in promoting Jewish emigration to Palestine.

### THE BIRTH OF ISRAEL

The triumph of Zionism was made possible by the millions left homeless in Europe at the end of World War II, the continued restrictions on immigration to the United States and Britain, and the sympathy Jews had won as victims of Nazi persecution. After Britain announced its intention in 1947 to relinquish its control over Palestine, the United Nations voted to divide Pales-



*Jewish Landownership in Palestine, 1947.*

tine into Arab and Jewish states—awarding the Jewish state 54 percent of the territory, notwithstanding the fact that Jews owned no more than 7 percent of the land. Although 75,000 Jews had moved to Israel between 1945 and 1948, Jews still were a minority in the country. Even before the proclamation of the State of Israel, the Zionists had begun driving out Arab residents. The attack on the Palestine village of Deir Yassin in April 1948, in which Zionist paramilitary forces under the command of the future prime minister Menachem Begin massacred more than 250 Palestinian civilians, thereby sending a message to others that they should depart, is the best-known example of how this population transfer was brought about. Some fled bombing attacks from British planes directly aiding the Israelis. In the war that ensued, the Zionist forces, trained and equipped by Britain and with additional arms from other countries, were easily able to defeat the outnumbered and outgunned forces of Jordan, Egypt and four other Arab states, whose rulers had already accepted the partition of Palestine.

The war ended with the Zionists in control of 80 percent of Palestine; more than 750,000 Arabs were driven from their homes. Some went to neighboring countries; others became refugees in their own country. These people and their descendants make up the Palestinian refugee problem—one

fourth of the total number of refugees in the world. Although the United Nations has repeatedly demanded they be allowed to return, the Israeli government has refused.

The founding of the State of Israel meant the destruction by the Zionists of nearly 400 Arab villages. In a famous speech before students at the Israeli Institute of Technology in Haifa in 1969, Moshe Dayan, the Israeli defense minister from 1967 through 1974, stated:

Jewish villages were built in place of Arab villages. You do not even know the names of these Arab villages, and I do not blame you because geography books no longer exist. Not only do the books not exist, the Arab villages are not there either. Nahal arose in the place of Mahlul; Kibbutz Gvat in the place of Jibta; Kibbutz Sarid in the place of Huneifis; and Kebar Yehusha in the place of Tal al-Shuman. There is not a single place built in this country that did not have a former Arab population (Davis 1987, p. 108).

The first census of the state of Israel, conducted in 1949, counted 650,000 Jews and 150,000 Arabs. The legal foundation for a *racial* state was laid down in two laws passed the following year. The first, the Law of Return, permitted any Jew, from anywhere in the world, the right to immigrate to Israel and acquire citizenship. The second was the Absentee Property Law, which confiscated the property of Arabs no longer residing on the land over which they held title. Arab refugees living inside Israel were termed “present absentees” and prohibited from returning to their property. Those who attempted to do so were termed “infiltrators,” and some were shot in the attempt. Confiscated lands have since become Israel Lands, leased only to Jews and accounting for the vast majority of new Jewish settlements.

The state of Israel does not belong, even in theory, to those who reside on its territory, but has been held by Israeli courts to be the “sovereign state of the Jewish people,” wherever they may exist. Consistent with this self-conception, the state has never defined its borders or even declared the existence of an Israeli nationality.

#### JEWISH PRIVILEGES IN ISRAEL

Under Israeli law, anyone born of a Jewish mother is Jewish, unless such a person converts to another religion. The rationale for this departure from the Judaic code is that such persons weaken Jewish national identity because of their tendency to intermarry. At the same time, the State of Israel, eager to increase the numbers of loyal residents, has extended the Right of Return to persons who lack a Jewish mother but have an affiliation with Jewish identity by marriage or inheritance through the male line. Such persons are registered as “under consideration.” In addition, a

few individuals have gained Jewish status by converting to Judaism and having their conversion officially approved.

*Jew* in Israel is an assigned identity. Among the privileges attached to it, in addition to immigration and land acquisition, are citizenship, housing preferences, education and employment opportunities, political participation, and preferred treatment within the justice system.

**Citizenship.** Jews who immigrate to Israel become citizens automatically. Arabs seeking citizenship must meet a series of requirements, with final discretion resting with the minister of the interior. This applies also to Arabs born in what is now Israel but who resided elsewhere for any period of time. Arab noncitizens who marry citizens receive only residency status, not citizenship. As one scholar has stated, “citizenship is almost never granted to non-Jews” (Adalah 1998, pp. 24–28).

**Housing.** The government of Israel openly discriminates in housing. The Supreme Court has ruled that an Arab seeking to buy a home in a Jewish district could legally be barred from doing so on the grounds that the apartments were intended to help Jews overcome the effects of discrimination under British rule. Rates for government-subsidized mortgages are at least one-third lower for Jews than for non-Jews. The authorities restrict the development of Arab towns by denying them expansion permits, while permits are granted to Jewish towns with smaller populations. Building licenses are routinely denied to Arabs, and obstacles are placed in the way of Arabs when they seek to build homes. Of 429 localities designated as National Priority A Areas under the National Planning and Building Law, only four are Arab. As a result, Arabs have been forced into overcrowded areas in mixed cities and into unrecognized towns lacking such basic services as running water, sewers, and electricity. Residents of these areas live under constant threat of being evicted and having their homes demolished.

**Education and Family Policy.** The country operates what is essentially a segregated school system. Significant gaps exist between Jewish and Arab schools at every level from early childhood to higher education. The Ministry of Education exercises control over the curriculum for Arab schools and secular Jewish schools, while granting autonomy to Jewish religious schools. The curriculum, even in Arab schools, stresses Jewish history and culture and ignores the history and culture of the indigenous Palestinians. Because Arabs do not serve in the armed forces, they are not eligible for financial benefits, including scholarships, loans, and child allowances available to those who serve. The Supreme Court has ruled, however, that paying subsidies to Jewish students who study in religious schools and are exempt from military

service, while denying them to Arab students who do not serve, is not discriminatory.

**Employment.** The Histadrut was born as a combination labor union and cooperative society for Jewish workers. For many years it was the dominant institution in Israeli society and served as the mass base for the governing Labour Party. In recent years, as the Israeli economy has evolved, the Histadrut has faded in importance, but its legacy remains, as Jewish workers dominate the advanced sectors of the economy and Arab workers constitute a low caste. Further, Arab workers are increasingly being displaced by Thais and Filipinos, partly in response to the growth of the Palestinian resistance.

**Political Participation.** No party that denies the existence of Israel as a Jewish state is permitted to contest elections. It is against the law even to display symbols and sing anthems of anti-Zionist groups. Furthermore, the major parties have made it clear that no governing coalition can depend on the support of the Arab community (which makes up 20% of the population), and no important decision relating to the future of the Jewish state can be taken without a Jewish majority in parliament. Thus, the non-Jewish minority is prevented not merely from seeking to overturn its second-class status through parliamentary means, but even from throwing its weight on the scale when Jewish opinion is divided.

**The Justice System.** The state does not provide comparative information on sentencing of Jews and Arabs convicted of criminal offenses, but an examination of court records shows great disparities in sentencing as well as indictments. Israeli courts, up to the Supreme Court, have consistently ruled that discrimination between Arabs and Jews is legitimate given the founding of Israel as a state for Jews. In one representative case, a Jewish settler was convicted of shooting an Arab child. The judge sentenced him to a suspended jail term of six months plus community service. In response to critics, the judge declared, "It is wrong to demand in the name of equality, equal bearing and equal sentences to two offenders who have different nationalities who break the laws of the State. The sentence that deters the one and his audience, does not deter the other and his community" (Adalah 1998, pp. 17–21).

The types of discrimination noted above apply within the so-called "Green Line"—the area of the Israeli state as set up in 1948. In 1967, Israel occupied East Jerusalem, the West Bank of the Jordan River, the Sinai Peninsula, and the Gaza Strip, restoring the territorial integrity of Palestine, which had been an administrative unit for centuries, first under Ottoman and later under



***Palestinians Walk Past Israel's Controversial Separation Barrier in Jerusalem, 2007.** In 2002 the Israeli government, citing the need to maintain internal security, began building a thirty-foot-high concrete-and-barbed-wire Separation Barrier throughout historic Palestine. AP IMAGES.*

British rule, except for the two decades after 1948. After 1967 the system of military administration first established in 1948, which had been partially lifted within Israel in 1966, was imposed on the remainder of Palestine, and the area was opened for Jewish settlement, with state subsidies for settlers.

In the early twentieth century there are 500,000 Jews residing in the West Bank. They live in fortified towns surrounded by soldiers, are served by their own services and utilities, and are connected by a network of roads for Jews only. Arab cities and towns are isolated from each other by hundreds of checkpoints and motorways on which Arabs are forbidden to travel. In 2002, the Israeli government, citing the need to maintain internal security, began building a thirty-foot-high concrete-and-barbed-wire structure snaking through historic Palestine. Although the barrier was, in theory, to follow the Green Line (except for East Jerusalem, which was officially annexed to Israel), it became an opportunity for new Jewish expansion. In 2003, the military commander of the West Bank signed an order declaring all land between the Wall and the Green Line closed to all but Israeli citizens.



DEMOCRACY IN ISRAEL

Since the founding of the State of Israel, its defenders have had difficulty reconciling the reality of a Jewish state with a vision of democracy. Some have dealt with the matter by rejecting democracy as a goal for non-Jews. Among this number is Ariel Sharon, who became prime minister in 2001; Sharon stated, "Our grandparents did not come here to build a democratic state. They came to build a Jewish state." Others have denied any contradiction, insisting on both the Jewish and democratic character of the state. For these people, the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza has posed new ideological problems: If the Arabs living within the State of Israel, comprising one-fifth of the population of Israel, can be said to be second-class citizens, the 3.5 million Arabs residing in the territories occupied after 1967 must be regarded as stateless people with no representation or legal rights whatever. Under pressure from internal critics and international opinion, the Zionist authorities have accepted the principle of a separate state on some part of historic Palestine. The problem, then, has become how to maximize the area to become part of the Jewish state while minimizing the numbers of indigenous Palestinians within it. To this end, Zionist authorities have continued to expand the Jewish settlements (to strengthen their claims to additional land in anticipation of a settlement) while evicting indigenous Palestinians, destroying villages, and making life difficult for those who remain.

Zionist authorities have since withdrawn from Gaza, a six-by-twenty-eight mile strip of land that is home to 1.4 million indigenous Palestinians, mostly refugees from 1948 or 1967 and their descendants. They have removed 7,500 Jewish settlers (1.7 percent of the total number of settlers in the territories occupied by Israel after 1967), but have left the area surrounded by barbed-wire electric fences and guard towers. All traffic and commerce into and out of Gaza are controlled by Israel, as are the airspace and water resources. There are even plans for an offshore fence to provide Israel with full control of its coastal boundary.

Meanwhile, the expulsion of Palestinians from the West Bank continues without interruption. It appears that the dream of one of the principal architects of the Jewish state is close to being realized: As Joseph Weitz, former chairman of the Israel Land Authority, stated, "Among ourselves it must be clear that there is no place in our country for both peoples together. The only solution is Eretz Israel, or at least the western half of Eretz Israel, without Arabs, and there is no other way but to transfer the Arabs from here to the neighboring countries, transfer all of them, not one village or tribe should remain."

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Noel Ignatiev

ZOOT SUIT RIOTS

The "Zoot Suit Riots" occurred in Los Angeles from roughly June 3 to June 13, 1943. Although there were few reported serious injuries and property damage was minimal relative to other major twentieth-century civil disturbances, this event represents an especially violent episode in the history of race and racism in the United States.

During the Zoot Suit Riots, white servicemen, some of whom were accompanied by civilians, attacked "zooters," or youths wearing zoot suits. In particular, they targeted zoot-clad Mexican Americans, who were sometimes known as *pachucos* and *pachucas*. For at least ten days, servicemen from across Southern California, and some from as far away as Las Vegas, Nevada, poured into Los Angeles and roamed the streets of downtown, Chinatown, Chavez Ravine, East Los Angeles, and Watts in search of their prey. In some instances, they stopped and boarded streetcars, burst into movie houses and private homes, and set upon people of color regardless of

their attire. When they apprehended zooters, they sometimes sheared their hair and stripped them of their distinctive clothing. All the while, the police turned a blind eye to the rampaging servicemen but arrested zooters.

By 1943 the zoot suit had become a symbol of youthful rebellion, working-class style, racial difference, and even un-Americanism. With its excessive use of fabric, the masculine version of the zoot suit—which usually consisted of a long coat, billowing trousers that tapered at the ankle, a long watch chain that sometimes extended from the waist to the calves, a pair of thick-soled shoes, and in some instances, a broad-brimmed hat—represented an affront to wartime rationing measures. Female zooters often wore dark lipstick, a skirt that exposed the knees, and either a V-neck or cardigan sweater or a long coat similar to that of their male counterparts. Some wore the masculine version of the zoot suit. In addition, both female and male zooters wore their hair in a distinctive style. Many female zooters used foam inserts known as “rats” to lift their hair into a high bouffant, while their male counterparts often combed their hair in a pompadour on top and a ducktail in back. With his relatively long hair and flamboyant costume, the black or brown male zooter appeared to be the antithesis of the clean-cut and uniformed white serviceman. Female zooters, meanwhile, especially those who cross-dressed, defied conventional standards of feminine beauty and decency.

During World War II, the zoot look peaked in popularity in the United States among working-class youths of various races and ethnicities, many of whom were jazz and jitterbug aficionados. As they entered the wartime consumer-wage economy, these young men and women flaunted their new-found spending power on the street and in places of leisure, such as ballrooms, movie houses, and billiard halls. Across the Atlantic, French youths known as *les zazous* adopted a look similar to that of American zooters, and after World War II a variation of the zoot suit spread to youths in Britain.

Despite its widespread popularity, the zoot suit came to be associated in Los Angeles with racial minorities, especially Mexican Americans. Law enforcement and the mainstream press branded Mexican-American zooters juvenile delinquents in the wake of what became known as the Sleepy Lagoon incident. This event took place the night of August 1, 1942, and involved an alleged gang fight and murder at a swimming hole in Los Angeles. During the Grand Jury hearing that followed, Captain Edward Duran Ayres of the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department argued that by virtue of their Aztec blood, Mexican Americans were intrinsically more violent than, and therefore biologically inferior to, white Americans. Ironically, as the United States combated Nazi eugenics and anti-Semitism abroad, the Ayres report blatantly espoused biological racism on the home front. Further-



**Servicemen During the Zoot Suit Riots.** During the Zoot Suit Riots in 1943, white servicemen attacked youths wearing zoot suits in Los Angeles. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

more, it equated Mexicans with “Orientals” and, by extension, the Japanese enemy. Like Japanese Americans, Mexican Americans exceeded the putative black-white binary of American racial identity. Bilingual and bicultural, many of these racial and cultural hybrids embodied an alien ambiguity during a period of heightened jingoism, xenophobia, and paranoia.

During the Sleepy Lagoon investigation and trial, Los Angeles's dominant newspapers fomented anti-Mexican hysteria by publishing stories about violent, marijuana-addicted, sexually depraved, zoot-clad Mexican-American youths. In doing so, they rendered the zoot suit a hallmark of Mexican-American juvenile delinquency and sexual pathology. Angeleno newspapers continued to publish sensationalist stories about predatory *pachucos* and loose *pachucas* in the days and weeks prior to the Zoot Suit Riots. On the eve of the outbreak of violence, they reported that *pachucos* harassed and raped women, notably sailors' wives and girlfriends.

The Zoot Suit Riots were the culmination of a series of altercations between *pachucos*, *pachucas*, and servicemen, many of whom were stationed in neighborhoods with high concentrations of Mexican Americans. As a contest over public space, the riots revealed a latent anxiety concerning Mexican Americans' place on city streets and in the nation. Prior to World War II, Mexicans in the United States were a primarily immigrant, poor, rural, and relatively invisible population. However, the exigencies of war pulled them

## Zoot Suit Riots

and their American-born children into a stratified urban proletariat. In their showy ensembles, second-generation *pachucas* and *pachucos* were especially conspicuous. Moreover, the riots expressed anxiety regarding the fluidity of gender and sexuality. As servicemen “depantsed” male zooters and cut their hair, they forced their victims to conform to a narrow definition of heterosexual and American manhood.

The Zoot Suit Riots ended after the Navy barred sailors from Los Angeles. Although city officials adamantly denied that the riots were racist, members of the committee convened by Governor Earl Warren to investigate the event maintained that “race prejudice” had been a factor. Across the United States, violence continued to erupt in urban centers with relatively high concentrations of African Americans, such as Detroit, New York, and Philadelphia, during the summer of 1943.

Within Chicano studies, the Zoot Suit Riots continue to receive considerable attention. Scholars, artists, and activists have looked to the riots as a turning point in Mexican-American history, and to the *pachuco* as an icon of Chicano resistance and style.

**SEE ALSO** *Chicano Movement; Mexicans.*

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*Catherine S. Ramírez*

## Annotated Filmography

Compiled by Antoinette Jackson, Ph.D., University of South Florida. **Note from author:** In addition to consulting with numerous friends and colleagues and perusing my own library of sources (as well as the Internet), I found the following sources very informative: *California Newsreel*, which produces and distributes cutting edge, social justice films that inspire, educate, and engage audiences (founded in 1968, *California Newsreel* is the oldest nonprofit, social issue documentary film center in the country); *First Run/Icarus Films*; *The Black Film Center and Archive*, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana; the *Journal of Chicano Studies*; the 1998 *Aztlán Film Institute's* list of top 100 films; *Third World Newsreel*; *Women Make Movies*, a multi-cultural, multiracial, nonprofit media arts organization that facilitates the production, promotion, distribution, and exhibition of independent films and videotapes by and about women; and the *Independent Television Service (ITVS)*, which brings to local, national, and international audiences high-quality, content-rich programs created by a diverse body of independent producers. *ITVS* programs take creative risks, explore complex issues, and express points of view seldom seen on commercial or public television. *ITVS* programming reflects voices and visions of underrepresented communities and addresses the needs of underserved audiences, particularly minorities and children.

### FEATURE AND SHORT FILMS

**Adangaman** (French and Bambara). 2000. Directed by Roger Gnoam M'bala. Abyssa Film. M'bala's film provides an African perspective of the seventeenth-century slave trade.

**Avalon**. 1990. Directed by Barry Levinson. Baltimore Pictures. An autobiographical story of a family of eastern European Jewish immigrants to the United States who settle in Baltimore, Maryland, at the beginning of the twentieth century. *Avalon* explores themes of assimilation, modernity, and the change faced by an immigrant family in America.

**BabaKiueria**. 1986. Directed by Don Featherstone. A satirical made-for-TV film made by the Australian Aboriginal community to commemorate the bicentennial of British rule. The 29-minute film is in fact a role-reversal study, presenting a fictional past in which indigenous Australians invade *BabaKiueria*, a land of stereotypical European Australians.

**Bamboozled**. 2000. Directed by Spike Lee. In this satire of the TV industry, a failing network hits the ratings jackpot by marketing an old-time black minstrel show, complete with reconstructed racist stereotypes.

**The Battle of Algiers** (French, Italian, English, and Arabic). 1967. Directed by Gillo Pontecorvo. Casbah Films. The story of the Algerian struggle to gain independence from French colonialism.

**The Birth of a Nation**. 1915. Directed by D. W. Griffith. David W. Griffith Corporation. A Civil War and Reconstruction era drama and an enormously popular film in its day, this controversial classic dramatizes the racial beliefs and fears of whites in America following the Civil War through the racist portrayals of stereotypes and caricatures of blacks (primarily played by white actors in blackface), framed against a backdrop of "white heroes" (i.e., the Ku Klux Klan).

**Black and White in Color** (*Noirs et blancs en couleur*). 1976. Directed by Jean-Jacques Annaud. France 3 Cinéma. A clever satire, this French film looks at World War I imperialism, the impact of colonialism, and the ideology of racial superiority through an array of characters stationed at an African trading post run by French colonials. It won an Academy Award for Best Foreign Picture.

**Blood of the Condor** (Quechua and Spanish). 1969. Directed by Jorge Sanjinés. Ukamau Group. The classic film *Blood of the Condor* (*Yawar mallku*) is set in Bolivia and focuses on actual events that occurred in a Quechua community in 1968. People who appear to be U.S. Peace Corps volunteers establish a medical and birth-control clinic in which women are sterilized without their knowledge or consent. Violence ensues, and viewers are taken from the highlands and the exploration of race relations within the village to urban La Paz, where the treatment of indigenous people seeking help is explored.

**La Boca del Lobo.** (*The Lion's Den*). 1988. Directed by Francisco J. Lombardi. Inca Film. Based on true incidents that took place in the mountain town of Chuspi, Peru, between 1980 and 1983, the film examines a violent struggle between the Peruvian military and the Shining Path guerrillas. A Quechua community in highland Peru is caught in the middle of the violence, graphically illustrating the conflation of "Indian" and "subversive" and the relationship between gender and racism. In Spanish.

**The Brother from Another Planet.** 1984. Directed by John Sayles. Anarchist's Convention Films. Sayles's satire literalizes race by presenting "the brother" as an alien who looks very much like a black man and has landed in Harlem, New York.

**Brother to Brother.** 2004. Directed by Rodney Evans. Miasma Films. This drama about famous faces from the Harlem Renaissance (e.g., Langston Hughes, Zora Neale Hurston) provides an inspiring story about racial politics and sexuality in twentieth-century urban America. The film won a Special Jury Prize at the Sundance Film Festival.

**Chronicle of the Years of Embers** (*Chronique des années de braise*). 1975. Directed by Mohamed Lakhdar-Hamina. Algeria's struggle for independence from French colonial rule is the subject of this Arabic-language film. The story follows a peasant's migration from his drought-stricken village to his eventual participation with the Algerian resistance movement, just prior to the outbreak of the Algerian War of Independence. The film won the prestigious Palme d'Or at Cannes in 1975.

**The Colored Museum.** 1991. Directed by Andrew Carl Wilk and George C. Wolfe. Public Broadcasting Service (PBS). A critical satire that addresses the impact of slavery on America from the perspective of African Americans impacted by the baggage, burden, and struggles that the legacy of slavery has brought to bear on issues of identity.

**Crash.** 2005. Directed by Paul Haggis. Bull's Eye Entertainment. Several stories interweave during two days in Los Angeles, as a collection of interrelated

characters experience the impact of race and racial stereotypes on day-to-day relationships and encounters, sometimes with tragic results. The film won the Academy Award for Best Picture.

**Cry Freedom.** 1987. Directed by Richard Attenborough. Marble Arch Productions. Set in the late 1970s during the apartheid era in South Africa, *Cry Freedom* is based on the true story of newspaper editor David Woods's investigation into the death of nationalist leader Steve Biko, who was murdered while in police custody.

**The Crying Game.** 1992. Directed by Neil Jordan. British Screen Productions. Provides a look into colonial and postcolonial British subjectivity, including smart intersections with race, class, sexuality, and gender.

**Daughters of the Dust.** 1991. Directed by Julie Dash. American Playhouse. An excellent film that honors African ancestry and spirituality in America by telling the story of the Gullah people of the Sea Islands off the South Carolina and Georgia coast. Gullah culture is explored by focusing on one family's history and experiences.

**A Day Without a Mexican.** 2004. Directed by Sergio Arau. Eye on the Ball Films. A satirical look at what would happen if all the Latinos suddenly disappeared from California.

**Days of Glory** (*Indigènes*). French and Arabic. 2006. Directed by Richid Bouchareb. Tessalit Productions. During World War II, four North African men enlist in the French army to liberate that country from Nazi oppression and fight French discrimination.

**Do the Right Thing.** 1989. Directed by Spike Lee. 40 Acres & A Mule Filmworks. On a hot day in the predominantly black Bedford-Stuyvesant neighborhood of Brooklyn, New York, an eruption of racial tensions is prompted by a chain of interrelated events.

**Driving Miss Daisy.** 1989. Directed by Bruce Beresford. Majestic Films International. When an elderly Jewish widow living in Atlanta in the 1950s finds she can no longer drive, her son hires a black driver. Although she is highly resistant at first, the two slowly become friends. The film chronicles nearly twenty years of racial history in the U.S. South through their life experiences of traveling together. Based on Alfred Uhry's Pulitzer Prize-winning play, the film won the Academy Award for Best Picture.

**The End of Violence** (English and Spanish). 1997. Directed by Wim Wenders. Ciby Pictures. When a wealthy director is forced to go into hiding, his life becomes enmeshed with the lives of the workers he encounters and lives with for a time. The film deals

- with issues of race, class, and the invisibility of Mexican workers.
- Final Solution.** 2001. Directed by Cristóbal Krusen. Integrity Media. Based on the life of the Afrikaner racist named Gerrit Wolfaardt, *Final Solution* deals with the final days of apartheid in South Africa. The film has a religious message of redemption and a story line that appeals to a broad audience.
- Forgiveness.** 2004. Directed by Ian Gabriel. Giant Films. A complex film on the theme of truth and reconciliation. A former South African policeman seeks forgiveness from the family of an ANC activist that he tortured and killed.
- Gandhi.** 1982. Directed by Richard Attenborough. Carolina Bank. A chronicle of the life of Mohandas “Mahatma” Gandhi, from his beginnings as a South African–educated lawyer through his historic, galvanizing struggle to free India from British colonial rule.
- God’s Stepchildren.** 1938. Written, produced, and directed by Oscar Micheaux. Micheaux Film Corporation. A look at issues of racial passing and other intraracial power dynamics.
- Having Our Say: The Delany Sisters’ First 100 Years.** 1999. Directed by Lynne Littman. Columbia TriStar Television. A made-for-TV movie based on the true story of Sadie and Bessie Delany, who lived well beyond the age of 100 after having built successful careers at a time when most women—and most African Americans—were being denied opportunities in the United States due to segregation, racism, and sexism.
- Hotel Rwanda** (English and French). 2004. Directed by Terry George. Kigali Releasing Limited. A tragic accounting of the Rwanda genocide, which claimed an estimated 800,000 lives. The film tells the story of one man’s courage in the face of ethnic violence when two arbitrarily defined ethnic groups, the Tutsis and Hutus, are pitted against one another.
- Hush-a-Bye Baby.** 1990. Directed by Margo Harkin. Channel 4 Television Corporation (Great Britain). The tale of a fifteen-year-old girl in Northern Ireland who discovers she is pregnant after her boyfriend is locked up in a British prison.
- I Am Joaquin** (English and Spanish). 1969. Directed by Luis Valdez. A graphic presentation of one of the most influential poems of the Chicano movement, this 20-minute film is a first-person narrative of independence that exposes viewers to leading figures and major events in Mexican and Chicano history.
- Illusions.** 1982. Written and directed by Julie Dash. Dash’s short film explores the illusions perpetuated by the Hollywood studio system in terms of stereotypes of race, gender, and class. The story revolves around two women who pass for white in the film industry in the 1940s.
- Imitation of Life.** 1934. Directed by John M. Stahl. Universal. A tragic look into the social realities of race in America, focusing on the story of a mother and daughter engaged in the politics of “passing for white” and the toll it takes on their relationship. Nominated for three Academy Awards. The film was remade in 1959, when it was directed by Douglas Sirk.
- Inch’Allah dimanche** (French and Arabic). 2001. Directed by Yamina Benguigui. ARP Sélection. In the aftermath of World War II, France attempted to replenish its weakened work force by recruiting men from North Africa. In the mid-1970s, the French government relaxed its immigration policy to allow the families of the Algerian men to join them. This film is a moving story of Zouina, a woman who leaves her homeland with her three children to join her husband in France, where he’s been living for the past ten years. It underscores the sense of isolation and vulnerability that the immigrant family experienced upon their arrival at a time when racial integration was virtually nonexistent.
- Jungle Fever.** 1991. Directed by Spike Lee. 40 Acres & A Mule Filmworks. A successful married African American architect begins an interracial romance with an Italian American woman who is hired as a temporary secretary by his firm. The lovers come under intense pressure from family and friends as a result of their relationship. The term *jungle fever* is used in the film to refer to the sexual attraction between two different races.
- Killer of Sheep.** 1977. Directed by Charles Burnett. An award-winning film shot in the Los Angeles neighborhood of Watts in the 1970s. It is a richly descriptive black-and-white art film about the lives of poor black people in America that reaches beyond stereotypical profiles.
- Lagaan: Once Upon a Time in India.** 2001. Directed by Ashutosh Gowariker. An examination of race and imperialism in colonial India. Set in the latter half of the nineteenth century, “Lagaan” looks at the adversities and injustice perpetrated by the British upon the innocent peasants who face extraordinary circumstances with fortitude and dignity.
- Living in Paradise** (*Vivre au paradis*). 1998. Directed by Bourlem Guerdjou. 3B Productions. Set in France in 1961–1962, this film depicts the conditions of life of Algerian immigrant workers in France during the last days of French colonial rule in Algeria. In French and Arabic.

**Lone Star.** 1996. Directed by John Sayles. Castle Rock. In the Texas border town of Frontera, people of differing ethnicities face difficult social problems as they grapple with questions of race, ethnicity, history, identity, economic and political power, education, and the future of the town. The plot is set in motion by the discovery of the remains of the town's former sheriff.

**The Long Walk Home.** 1990. Directed by Richard Pearce. New Vision Pictures. A dramatization of the events in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1955–1956, when blacks boycotted public transportation. It highlights the friendship, courage, and determination of two women (a maid and her employer) facing racial tensions in the American South.

**The Lunch Date.** 1989. Directed by Adam Davidson. In a cafe, a white woman walks away from her table to get silverware. When she returns, she sees a black man eating her lunch. What ensues in this classic short tells a simple but powerful story about race, racial stereotyping, and wrong assumptions.

**Malcolm X.** 1992. Directed by Spike Lee. 40 Acres & A Mule Filmworks. Award-winning biography of Malcolm X, documenting the numerous transformations the famous African American leader went through during his life. Beginning with his birth as Malcolm Little, the son of a minister killed by the Ku Klux Klan, the film explores his life as a gangster, his religious conversion to the Nation of Islam, and his pilgrimage to the city of Mecca. Malcolm's struggle to overcome the impact and challenges of racism in America, on both a personal and public leadership level, is explored.

**Men With Guns.** 1997. Directed by John Sayles. Anarchist's Convention Films. A retired physician seeks to learn the result of a health-care project in the provinces of a Spanish-speaking country where indigenous peoples live with the challenges of improper medical care. Issues of race, place, and class are examined through the life-and-death struggle between government and guerrilla forces.

**Mississippi Masala.** 1991. Directed by Mira Nair. Black River Productions. An Indian family, after being expelled from Uganda when Idi Amin takes power, moves to Mississippi, where an Indian daughter falls in love with a black man. Tensions erupt as everyone deals with issues of race, ethnicity, and the power of love.

**Monster's Ball.** 2001. Directed by Marc Forster. Lee Daniels Entertainment; Lionsgate Films. An inter-generational look at the toil racism, racist thinking, and hatred have on one family and those they encounter. An embittered prison guard, Hank, lives with his aging racist father and his own twenty-something son. Hank's interracial affair with the widow of an inmate he helped

prepare for death in the electric chair forces him to reevaluate how deeply prison work and his father's hatred have affected his life.

**Mother India** (Hindi). 1957. Directed by Mehboob Khan. Mehboob Productions; British Film Institute. One of the first great epics of Indian cinema, *Mother India* has had a profound influence in Bollywood and beyond. The film is an epic drama of human struggle, including gendered dialogues on colonialism and nationalism in the early twentieth century.

**My Family** (*Mi Familia*). 1995. Directed by Gregory Nava. American Playhouse. A story about three generations of a Mexican American family that emigrated from Mexico to Los Angeles beginning in the 1930s. The family members face challenges of ethnic bigotry, assimilation, acculturation, and past family problems.

**El Norte** 1983. Directed by Gregory Nava. American Playhouse. This epic film tells the story of a Guatemalan brother and sister who fled persecution at home and journeyed north with dreams of finding a new home in the United States. They are treated as illegal aliens in a country whose economy functions on the cheap labor that they provide. *El Norte* explores the conflicting experiences, including racial and ethnic challenges, faced by people trying to achieve the "American Dream."

**Once Upon a Time When We Were Colored.** 1995. Directed by Tim Reid. BET Pictures. The lives and day-to-day experiences of an African American family are examined from the perspective of a young male member of a family growing up in the U.S. South during the period of racial segregation.

**Pièces d'Identités** (*Pieces of Identity*). French and Wolof. 1998. Produced and directed by Mweze Ngangura. Films Sud; California Newsreel. On the surface this is the timeless story of an old king, his beautiful daughter, and the Prince Charming who rescues them. At the same time, it raises the troubling issues of identity facing people of African descent in the diaspora during the late twentieth century. The film shows both the daily indignities Africans face at the hands of racist police and ordinary citizens as well as decent white citizens who help the king along his journey.

**Please Don't Bury Me Alive** (English and Spanish). 1976. Produced and directed by Efraín Gutiérrez. An important example of regional filmmaking, this bicultural and bilingual narrative expanded the way that films are made. It profiles barrio life in South Texas while dramatizing the challenges facing a young Chicano in the spring of 1972 during the Chicano movement. The film is described as being as significant to paradigm development as "race movies" were for black audiences from the 1920s to the 1940s.

- Pride.** 2007. Directed by Sunu Gonera. Lionsgate Films. Based on true events, the film, set in 1973, tells the story of Jim Ellis, a college-educated African American who lands a job with the Philadelphia Department of Parks and Recreation. Driven by his love of competitive swimming, he proceeds to restore the abandoned recreational pool hall in the poor Philadelphia neighborhood where he works to restore its former level of beauty and functionality. Jim fights city officials, who mark the facility for demolition, and racism within and outside the community to recruit and transform a motley team of novices into capable swimmers in time for the upcoming state championships.
- Quilombo.** 1986. Directed by Carlos Diegues. CDK; Embrafilme; Société des Etablissements L. Gaumont. Palmares is a seventeenth-century quilombo, a settlement of escaped slaves in northeast Brazil. In 1650, plantation slaves revolt and head for the mountains, where they find others led by the aged seer Acotirene. She anoints one of them, who becomes Ganga Zumba, a legendary king. For years, his warriors hold off Portuguese raiders.
- Rabbit-Proof Fence.** 2002. Directed by Phillip Noyce. Australian Film Commission. A tale of Aboriginal defiance in the face of racism and racist practices in Australia in the 1930s, told through the lives of three young girls.
- A Raisin in the Sun.** 1961. Directed by Daniel Petrie. This adaptation of Lorraine Hansberry's award-winning and highly acclaimed play examines African American life in the 1950s. It profiles the life of a black family in a Chicago South Side tenement, particularly their hopes of escaping the bigoted and oppressive environment in which they live.
- Real Women Have Curves.** 2002. Directed by Patricia Cardoso. HBO Independent Productions. Ana, a first generation Mexican American teenager on the verge of becoming a woman, lives in the predominately Latino community of East Los Angeles. Freshly graduated from high school, she receives a full scholarship to Columbia University and is torn between her mainstream ambitions and her cultural heritage. The film highlights issues of race, place, and ethnic identity in America.
- Roots.** 1977. Directed by Marvin J. Chomsky, John Erman, David Greene, and Gilbert Moses. David L. Wolper Productions. The famous TV miniseries is a saga of African American life based on the writer Alex Haley's family history. The story begins with the abduction of Kunta Kinte from his African village. He is then sold into slavery and taken to America. Throughout the series, notable events in U.S. history, such as the Revolutionary and Civil Wars, slave uprisings, and emancipation, serve as a background to the life experiences of Kunte Kinte's family.
- Rosewood.** 1997. Directed by John Singleton. New Deal Productions. The film depicts the horrific attack of a racist lynch mob on an African American community in the 1920s, when a black town in Florida was burned to the ground.
- Ruby Bridges.** 1998. Directed by Euzhan Palcy. Marian Rees Associates. The true story of Ruby Bridges, a six-year-old African American girl who helped to integrate the all-white schools of New Orleans in 1960.
- Sankofa.** 1993. Written, directed, and produced by Haile Gerima. Channel Four Films (U.K.). The legacy of slavery is revisited in the present by a black woman's visit to a slave castle as a tourist and model on a film shoot in Ghana, West Africa. This movie by the Ethiopian-born Gerima offers a powerful look at the brutality and cruelty of slavery in America and the role Africans in America played in working together to fight the conditions imposed upon them.
- Schindler's List.** 1993. Directed by Steven Spielberg. Amblin Entertainment; Universal Pictures. Spielberg's film is based on the true story of a Czech businessman, Oskar Schindler, who used Jewish labor to start a factory in Nazi-occupied Poland. As World War II progresses, and the fate of Jews under Hitler's regime becomes more and more clear, Schindler's motivations switch from profit to sympathy and he is able to save over 1,100 Jews from death in the gas chambers.
- School Daze.** 1988. Directed by Spike Lee. 40 Acres & A Mule Filmworks. A comedic look at black college life. Two groups clash over the Greek fraternity system and issues of self-identity and self-esteem.
- Seguin.** 1979. Directed by Jesús Salvador Treviño. KCET Los Angeles. A PBS American Playhouse drama that was broadcast nationally, this film tells the controversial story of Juan Seguin, who fought on the side of the Anglo-Americans against Mexican General Santa Ana at the battle of the Alamo. Seguin is portrayed as a hero of the revolution in Texas who later becomes a victim of racial and cultural prejudice.
- Smoke Signals.** 1998. Directed by Chris Eyre. Based on characters in Sherman Alexie's short story collection, *The Lone Ranger and Tonto Fistfight in Heaven*, the film tells the story of Victor Joseph and Thomas Builds-the-Fire, who live on an Indian reservation in Idaho. When Victor's father dies in Arizona, the two young men set out to retrieve his ashes and belongings. Along the way they do some soul searching regarding their identity as "Indians" in America.



**Sunshine State.** 2002. Directed by John Sayles. Anarchist's Convention Films. Explores the implications of corporations buying property in a Florida beach town. Race, gender, and class are major factors in the tensions that arise as local residents confront corporate real estate developers in an effort to preserve the rich history and heritage of the community.

**To Kill a Mockingbird.** 1962. Directed by Robert Mulligan. Brentwood Pictures. An award-winning film based on Harper Lee's Pulitzer Prize-winning book of 1960. Atticus Finch, a lawyer in a racially divided Alabama town in the 1930s, agrees to defend a young black man who is accused of raping a white woman.

**Tsotsi** (Zulu, Xhosa, Afrikaans, English). 2005. Directed by Gavin Hood. UK Film & TV Production Company PLC. Based on a novel by the South African writer Athol Fugard, *Tsotsi* is an extremely violent yet poignant look at one boy's life as a thug in a township in South Africa. It tells the story of a tiny fraction of township life in South Africa, contrasting the boy's life with that of an upper-middle-class family in South Africa.

**Watermelon Woman.** 1996. Directed by Cheryl Dunye. Dancing Girl; First Run Features. An exploration of cinematic representations of black women that refute racist stereotypes. The film provides a fresh, contemporary, and challenging look at issues of racism, sexism, gender, and sexuality by following the story of one woman's quest to trace the life and history of a fictional 1930s black woman film star. It won awards at the Berlin International Film Festival, the Cretiel International Festival of Women's Cinema, the New York International Lesbian and Gay Film Festival, and the Torino International Gay and Lesbian Film Festival, among others.

**West Side Story.** 1961. Directed by Jerome Robbins and Robert Wise. Mirisch Corporation; United Artists. An adaptation of the classic romantic tragedy *Romeo and Juliet*. The feuding families are transformed into two warring New York City gangs in the 1950s: the white Jets, led by Riff, and the Puerto Rican Sharks, led by Bernardo. Racial and ethnic tension escalates to a point where neither can coexist with any form of understanding, and violence ensues. Then Riff's best friend (and former Jet) Tony and Bernardo's younger sister Maria meet at a dance and fall in love, with tragic consequences. Like the Broadway musical on which it is based, the movie asks whether love can overcome racial and ethnic stereotypes.

#### DOCUMENTARIES

**A. Philip Randolph: For Jobs and Freedom.** 1996. Directed by Dante James. WETA Washington D.C. James's film takes viewers on a tour of twentieth-

century civil rights and labor history in the United States as it chronicles Randolph's efforts to build a more equitable society. Randolph believed that economic rights were the key to advancing civil rights. In response to the race riots of 1919, Randolph helped form the National Association for the Promotion of Labor Unionism among Negroes, and he was asked to help them organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. In 1963 Randolph participated in the March on Washington and introduced Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. at the rally that ended the march.

**Afro-Punk: The "Rock n Roll Nigger" Experience.** 2003. Directed by James Spooner. *Afro-Punk* explores racial identity within the punk scene and the experience of being a minority inside a minority community.

**The Agronomist.** 2003. Directed by Jonathan Demme. Clinica Extetico. An examination of the inspiring life and tragic death of the pioneering Haitian radio journalist and human-rights activist Jean Dominique.

**American Red and Black: Stories of Afro-Native Identity.** 2006. Directed by Alicia Woods. Native Voices. This 39-minute documentary follows a self-identified African American as she researches and reflects on her Native American heritage. Topics such as the relationship between art and ethnic identity and racism within communities of color are explored through discussions with Afro-Natives from around the United States.

**Ancestors in the Americas: Coolies, Sailors, Settlers.** 1996. Directed by Loni Ding. CET Productions. TV documentary. The untold story of how Asians (e.g., Filipinos, Chinese, Asian Indians) first arrived in the Americas. Film crosses centuries and oceans from the sixteenth-century Manila-Acapulco trade to the Opium Wars and nineteenth-century plantation coolie labor in South America and the Caribbean. Loni Ding's documentary looks at the enormous contributions made by Asian peoples in the development of North and South America, contributions that go beyond the stereotypical notions that the Asians were only laborers, launderers, and owners of exotic restaurants.

**At the River I Stand.** 1993. Directed by David Appleby, Allison Graham, and Steven Ross. California Newsreel. A documentary recounting the two months leading to Martin Luther King Jr.'s death in 1968, focusing on the 65-day strike of 1,300 Memphis sanitation workers. Issues of race, class, economic disparities, and civil rights in America are underscored.

**Baadasssss Cinema.** 2002. Directed by Isaac Julien. Independent Film Channel (IFC). An exploration of the "blaxploitation" genre, with film excerpts and interviews. This documentary is a good introduction to

- white-black relationships in the United States in the late 1960s.
- Beah: A Black Woman Speaks.** 2003. Directed by Lisa Gay Hamilton. Clinica Estetico. In 1999, the actress Lisa Gay Hamilton sat down with the activist, poet, and fellow actress Beah Richards for a series of frank, thought-provoking conversations. The resulting documentary film presents the hard-earned wisdom of a remarkable artist and activist who has confronted the challenges of race, class, gender, growing-up, and living in America. The film also explores the deep and tender relationship that developed between the two women. *Beah* won the Documentary Jury Prize at the 2003 American Film Institute (AFI) International Film Festival.
- Beat of Distant Hearts: The Art of Revolution in Western Sahara** (English and Arabic). 1999. Directed by Danielle Smith. Dakkuma Productions. *Beat of Distant Hearts* tells the story of the Saharawis, a formerly nomadic people who have been under Spanish colonial rule for ninety years. They were forced to flee their homeland when Morocco was invaded in 1975, but they have sought to keep their culture alive while carrying on their fight to gain the independence of Western Sahara, the last colony in Africa. The film explores their collective experience of exile, loss, and war, offering insights into how the work of poets, singers, and painters has played a role in the struggle for freedom by colonized people.
- bell hooks: Cultural Criticism and Transformation.** 1997. Directed by Sut Jhally. Media Education Foundation. This two-part video of a lecture by the writer and activist bell hooks challenges how people look at and interpret the various and varying forms and processes of representation of themselves and others as encountered in everyday life. The lecture is illustrated with clips from films and music videos.
- Bethlehem Diary.** 2001. Directed by Antonia Caccia. First Run Icarus Films. Bethlehem Diary was filmed during Christmas in Bethlehem in the year 2000. The town was expecting five million visitors to celebrate the end of the millennium, but the streets are deserted, the hotels shut, the shops empty. The Israeli army has closed off Bethlehem since the second Intifada began the previous September. The film looks at two middle-class Palestinian families and a human rights lawyer during this tumultuous period. It shows their struggles to live under curfew and closure, with their every move monitored by the Israeli army.
- Beyond Freedom: The South African Journey.** 2006. Directed by Jacquie Trowell. Big World Cinema. This short documentary creatively utilizes animation to profile a cross-section of South Africans talking about their struggles to modernize or just plain survive in their post-apartheid nation.
- Black and Gold: The Latin King and Queen Nation.** 2000. Directed by Richard Rowley and Jacqui Soohen. Big Noise Films. In 1994 the Latin Kings, a powerful street gang in New York City, became the Latin King and Queen Nation. This film documents the emergence of an important political voice as the group, which claims to have abandoned its criminal past, dedicates itself to working toward change in the community and in America.
- Black Indians: An American Story** 2000. Directed by Chip Richie. Rich-Heape Films. A documentary film that presents the rarely told story of the relationship between Native Americans and African Americans. It profiles how the histories of these two groups are intertwined and examines the challenges facing them at the beginning of the twenty-first century. This story literally begins with the birth of America, in the presence of the mixed-race Boston Massacre martyr Crispus Attucks, and it includes the tragic aspects of the nineteenth century, including through the Seminole Wars and the expulsion of the Cherokee nation on the infamous Trail of Tears.
- Black Is, Black Ain't.** 1994. Directed by Marlon Riggs. Independent Television Service (ITVS). An upfront examination of racism, sexism, and homophobia within the black community. The film challenges African Americans to define what is black, black enough, or too black.
- The Black Press: Soldiers without Swords.** 1998. Directed and produced by Stanley Nelson. California Newsreel. The first documentary to provide an in-depth examination of the history and contributions of African American newspapers, which have existed in almost every major U.S. city since the early 1800s.
- Black Russians** (English). 2001. Directed by Kara Lynch. Third World Newsreel. A look at the lives of contemporary Afro-Russians in Soviet Russia. The interplay of two ideological currents that shaped the twentieth-century world—race and communism—is explored.
- Black Women in Brazil** (*Mulheres Negras*). 1986. Directed by Silvana Afram. Women Make Movies. This film exposes viewers to a critical examination of the racially segregated caste system of Brazil, as seen from the perspective of black women in Brazil coping with the system through their music and religion.
- Blind Spot: Hitler's Secretary** (German). 2002. Directed by André Heller and Othmar Schmiderer. Dor Film Productions. In 1942, at the height of World War II,

Adolf Hitler hired the 22-year-old Traudl Junge as his private secretary. As the Nazi regime teetered on the brink of destruction, Junge became a firsthand witness to Hitler's plunge into delusion, apathy, and depression. After more than a half-century of silence, in this documentary film, Junge sheds new light on the private life of Adolf Hitler, underscoring the horror of racist policies and practices in Germany and throughout eastern Europe.

**The Borinqueneers.** 2007. Produced and directed by Noemi Figueroa Soulet. El Pozo Productions; Public Broadcasting Service. This PBS documentary tells the story of the Puerto Rican 65th Infantry Regiment, the only all-Hispanic unit in the history of the U.S. Army.

**The Boys of Baraka.** 1995. Directed by Heidi Ewing and Rachel Grady. Loki Films. A documentary about the lives of four boys who are transported from a crime-ridden Baltimore, Maryland, neighborhood to a boarding school in Kenya. Issues of race, place, and economic status are profiled and explored through the daily activities of these boys.

**Brother Outsider: The Life of Bayard Rustin.** 2003. Directed by Nancy Kates and Bennett Singer. California Newsreel. Rustin was there at most of the important events of the civil rights movement, but always in the background. This film examines why this was so in this vivid drama about one of the most enigmatic figures in twentieth-century American history. Rustin was one of the first "Freedom Riders," an adviser to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and A. Philip Randolph, and an organizer of the 1963 March on Washington. Intelligent, gregarious, and charismatic, Rustin was denied his rightful place in the limelight primarily because he was gay.

**Brothers and Others.** 2002. Directed by Nicolas Rossier. Baraka Productions. A documentary on the impact of the September 11th tragedy on Muslims and Arabs living in America. The film follows a number of immigrants and American families as they struggle in the heightened climate of hate, FBI and INS investigations, and economic hardships that erupted in America following the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon.

**Chasing Daybreak.** 2006. Directed by Justin Leroy. MAVIN Foundation. Five self-identified mixed-raced individuals take a road trip across America, intent on engaging people in discussions on the social realities of race and racism. The film raises questions about the role of a mixed-race movement and the eradication of racism in America.

**Chicano! History of the Mexican-American Civil Rights Movement.** 1996. Series produced by Hector Galán. NLCC Educational Media and Galán Productions. A four-part documentary series dealing with Mexican

American struggles to achieve equality and full rights as citizens of the United States. It address issues concerning land, labor, education, and political empowerment that took place between 1965 and 1975, a pivotal period of the Mexican American civil rights movement.

**Chicana.** 1979. Directed by Sylvia Morales. Women Make Movies. The history of Chicana and Mexican women from pre-Columbian times to the present is chronicled in this 23-minute film. Women's role in Aztec society, their participation in the 1810 struggle for Mexican independence, their contributions to the 1910 Mexican revolution, and their leadership and activism in contemporary civil rights causes are all given attention.

**The Chicano Collection.** 2005. Directed by Tamara Hernandez. Produced to accompany "The Chicano Collection," an exhibition of Hispanic art, the film describes the personal journeys and viewpoints of the twenty-six featured artists and their struggle for acceptance by American art museums.

**Chinatown.** 1997. Directed by Felicia Lowe. PBS/KQED. Although it focuses on one neighborhood, this documentary is in many ways the story of all Chinese in America. For decades, San Francisco's Chinatown was the largest community of Chinese outside Asia, and yet it was a neighborhood that was forced to be independent, even isolated, from the rest of society. Its residents were barred from even the basic rights of citizenship. Even so, Chinatown's residents have managed to create a thriving community that is the second most popular destination for visitors to San Francisco (after the Golden Gate Bridge).

**Chisholm '72: Unbought & Unbossed.** 2004. Directed by Shola Lynch. Realside Productions. Shirley Chisholm's 1972 bid for the Democratic presidential nomination is chronicled in this film. Chisholm was the first black woman to run for president of the United States, and the politics of race, gender, class, and differential access to wealth and power in the United States are underscored in this film, which was nominated for the Grand Jury Prize at the Sundance Film Festival.

**The Civil War.** 1990. Directed by Ken Burns. American Documentaries, Inc.; Florentine Films; WETA Washington. This groundbreaking miniseries traces the course of the U.S. Civil War from the abolitionist movement through all the major battles to the death of President Abraham Lincoln and the beginnings of Reconstruction. A very vivid profile of American culture and of its bloodiest confrontations over issues of race, power, and place.

- Classified People** (French). 1987. Directed by Yolanda Zauberman. Obsession. By detailing the nature of racial classification and segregation in South Africa, *Classified People* provides a penetrating look at the arbitrary mechanics of apartheid.
- Color Adjustment.** 1992. Directed by Marlon Riggs. California Newsreel. An examination of the racist images perpetuated by the film industry, *Color Adjustment* provides an analysis of the evolution of television's earlier, unflattering portrayal of blacks from 1948 until 1988.
- Color of Fear.** 1994. Directed by Lee Mun Wah. StirFry Seminars. A small group of men from different ethnic groups come together to discuss issues of racism prevalent in American society.
- Color of Fear 2: Walking Each Other Home.** 1998. Directed by Lee Mun Wah. StirFry Seminars. In this sequel to *The Color of Fear*, a small group of men from different ethnic groups come together to talk about racism in American society. The film explores in greater depth the relationships among the men, as well as answering the question, "What can whites do to end racism?"
- The Color of Honor.** 1989. Directed by Loni Ding. Center for Educational Telecommunications (CET). Portrays the complex variety of responses of Japanese American men during World War II. While reviled and interned in their home country for their ethnic heritage, they were also confronted with the rise of fascism abroad. Some wanted to prove they were loyal Americans and fought bravely in the highly decorated Japanese American 442nd Regimental Combat Unit, which liberated European towns, while some felt they could not in good conscience serve in the U.S. Armed Forces as long as their families were "interned" in violation of the Constitution they were supposed to defend.
- The Color of Olives** (Arabic). 2006. Directed by Carolina Rivas; produced by Daoud Sarhandi. Arab Film Distribution. A chronicle of the life of a Palestinian family who live surrounded by the infamous West Bank Wall. Their daily lives are dominated by electrified fences, locks, and a constant swarm of armed soldiers. As their dramas unfold, one glimpses their constant struggles and the small, endearing details that sustain them: including olive trees, two small donkeys, and their many friendships. The film contemplates the effects of racial segregation, the meaning of borders, and the absurdity of war.
- Community Voices: Exploring Cross-Cultural Care Through Cancer.** 2001. Directed by Jeannie Greene and Kim Newell. Harvard Center for Cancer Prevention. An examination of how issues of race, class, and culture impact health, health-care delivery, and access to health care. The film asks how people can work together to provide high-quality care to diverse individuals and communities.
- The Cry of Reason.** 1987. Directed by Robert Bilheimer. Tracks the personal and social odyssey of the Reverend Beyers Naude as he moves from being a member of the Afrikaner secret society that invented apartheid to becoming a student of anti-apartheid activist Steve Biko. Naude commits himself to the liberation of South Africa's black population.
- Cuban Roots/Bronx Stories.** 2000. Directed by Pam Sporn. Third World Newsreel. An intimate portrayal of a black Cuban immigrant family living in the Bronx. Three siblings recount their family's reasons for leaving Cuba, yet they grow to appreciate some aspects of the revolution through their exploration of the radical black and Latino movements of the 1960s and 1970s in the United States.
- Desire.** 2005. Directed by Julie Gustafson. Women Make Movies. A diverse group of young women in New Orleans—two teenagers from the Desire housing projects, a single mother from the working-class suburb of Belle Chasse across the river, and two girls from the most prestigious private high school in New Orleans—made short films about their own desires for this documentary study of race and class. The intimate dramas of their changing lives are portrayed, as is the coming of age of the filmmaker, who is forced to rethink her role in the production of the film.
- Divided We Fall: Americans in the Aftermath** (English and Punjabi). 2006. Directed by Sharat Raju. New Moon Productions. Valarie Kaur, a college student, drove across America in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, trying to discover stories that did not make the evening news. The resulting film documents hate crimes against Sikhs, Muslims, and others, and it examines how Americans react to the perceived "Other" in times of war.
- The End of the Nightstick: Confronting Police Brutality in Chicago.** 1993. Produced and directed by Peter Kuttner, Cyni Moran, and Eric Scholl. First Run/Icarus Films. Investigates and documents institutional racism, brutality, and cover-ups in Chicago's police department.
- The Essential Blue-Eyed.** 1999. Produced and directed by Bertram Verhaag. California Newsreel. Documents the experiments of the teacher and activist Jane Elliott, as she divides a multiracial group of Midwesterners on the basis of eye color and then subjects the blue-eyed members to a regime of humiliation and contempt.

In just a few hours into the experiment, a noticeable difference between the two groups appears. In particular, the blue-eyed members are clearly disoriented and unsure of themselves. Elliott's method is based on her belief that people can best be motivated to fight discrimination by experiencing it themselves, if only for a few hours in a controlled environment.

**Ethnic Notions.** 1986. Directed by Marlon Riggs. California Newsreel. An Emmy-winning documentary, *Ethnic Notions* traces the evolution of racial consciousness in America. It critically examines deep-rooted stereotypes in American history and dramatizes the impact that these ideas and imagery have had in terms of fueling antiblack prejudice.

**The Eyes of the Rainbow.** 1997. Directed by Gloria Rolando. A documentary by the independent video group Imágenes del Caribe, this film depicts the life of Assata Shakur, the Black Panther and Black Liberation Army leader who escaped from prison and was given political asylum in Cuba.

**Eyes on the Prize.** 1987. Directed by Henry Hampton. Blackside and the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS). This award-winning 14-hour television series covers all of the major events of the civil rights movement in the United States from 1954 to 1985.

**Farm: Life Inside Angola Prison.** 1998. Directed by Liz Garbus, Wilbert Rideau, and Jonathan Stack. Gabriel Films. A profile of life among inmates at Louisiana State Penitentiary, one of America's largest maximum security prisons. The film won numerous awards, including the Grand Jury Prize at the Sundance Film Festival.

**Farmingville.** 2004. Directed by Catherine Tambini and Carlos Sandoval. The story of the hate-based attempted murder of two Mexican day laborers in Farmingville, New York. Issues of racism, fear, and violence in an American community are explored.

**February One: The Story of the Greensboro Four.** 2003. Produced by Rebecca Ceresse, with Steven Channing serving as executive producer. Video Dialog. A documentary about the day that four college freshmen changed the course of American history. The film tells the story of the 1960 Greensboro lunch counter sit-ins that revitalized the civil rights movement.

**500 Dunam on the Moon** (Arabic, French, and Hebrew). 2002. Directed by Rachel Leah Jones. RLJ Productions. The movie tells the story of Ayn Hawd, a Palestinian village that was converted into a Jewish artists' colony in 1953 with the help of Romanian artist Marcel Janco. The village, which was renamed Ein-Hod, had been destroyed during the 1948 war.

**Forget Baghdad: Jews and Arabs—The Iraqi Connection** (Arabic, English, and Hebrew). 2002. Directed by Samir Naqqash. Dschoint Ventschr Film-produktion AG. The forgotten story of four Baghdadi-Jews, all former members of the Iraqi Communist Party, who were forced to emigrate at Israel's founding. The four elderly protagonists were influenced in their youth by the internationalism of the Iraqi Communist Party, but in the early 1950s their Jewish identity put them at odds with rising Arab nationalism. The divided identities and confusion of these four men's lives tell a much larger tale of global, political, and cultural disorder. Winner of the 2002 Locarno Jury Prize.

**4 Little Girls.** 1997. Directed by Spike Lee. HBO Films. A historical documentary about the 1963 bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama. The film underscores the tragic result of race hatred in an American context.

**Frantz Fanon: Black Skin, White Mask.** 1996. Directed by Isaac Julien. Normal Films. A film biography that explores the life of Frantz Fanon, the preeminent theorist of anticolonial movements. Fanon's two major works, *Black Skin, White Masks* and *The Wretched of the Earth*, are pioneering studies of the psychological impact of racism on both the colonized and the colonizer.

**Freedom Bags.** 1990. Directed by Stanley Nelson. Abena Productions. The story of African American women who migrated from the rural South during the first three decades of the twentieth century. Trying to escape the racism and poverty of the post-Civil War South, they headed north, but because of their limited education, most could find jobs only as domestics.

**Freedom on My Mind.** 1994. Directed by Connie Field and Marilyn Mulford. Tara Releasing. This story about the Mississippi freedom movement in the early 1960s looks at how a small group of young activists changed history. The film was an Academy Award nominee for Best Documentary Feature, and it won the best documentary prize from both the American Historical Association and the Organization of American Historians.

**From One Blood: The Story of Gerrit Wolfaardt.** 2003. Directed by Cristóbal Krusen. Mix Holdings. A documentary about the life of Afrikaner Gerrit Wolfaardt and his transformation from a life of hate, in which he devised a plan to rid South Africa of "The Black Danger" during apartheid, to one of redemption, in which he preaches a message of racial reconciliation to audiences in South Africa and the United States. The film includes scenes from *Final Solution* (also profiled here), a feature film based on his life.

- From Swastika to Jim Crow.** 2000. Directed by Lori Cheatle and Martin D. Taub. Pacific Street Films. The period in American history from the 1930s to the rise of the civil rights and Black Power movements serves as the background to this previously untold story of the many German Jewish professors who, having been expelled from their homeland by the Nazis, found new lives and careers at all-black colleges and universities in the South.
- Generations of Resistance.** 1980. Directed by Peter Davis. Sveriges Radio. The history of black resistance to white rule in South Africa is chronicled, from its origins in the Bambata Rebellion of 1906 through the founding of the African National Congress to the ultimate abolition of apartheid.
- Half of Anything.** 2006. Directed by Jonathan S. Tomhave. Native Voices. Four interview subjects (Christina Entrekina, Deborah Bassett, John Trudell, and Sherman Alexie) share insights about American Indian identity in this 24-minute film.
- Hands on the Verdict: The 1992 Los Angeles Uprising.** 1992. Directed by Elizabeth Canner and Julia Meltzer. Los Angeles Video Activists. This short film probes the issues of racism, economic disparity, and police brutality surrounding the civil unrest that took place after the verdict in the Rodney King case. It opens with a collage of rough footage of the Rodney King beating, the 1992 Los Angeles riots, and the 1965 Watts riot.
- The Hero** (*O Herói*). Portuguese. 2005. Directed by Zézé Gamboa; Produced by Fernando Vendrell. David & Golias. The story of Angola, a nation torn apart by forty years of uninterrupted anticolonial and civil warfare, as it tries to reconstruct itself. The story is told from the perspective of the lives of a veteran who has lost his leg, a prostitute who has lost a child, and an orphaned boy. It takes place in the city of Luanda, which is trying to absorb the millions of people displaced by civil strife and global economic change. Winner of Grand Prize at the World Dramatic Competition during the 2005 Sundance Film Festival.
- Hoop Dreams.** 1994. Directed by Steve James. KTCA Minneapolis. Two African American students in Chicago have dreams of becoming professional basketball players and are recruited by a predominantly white high school with an outstanding basketball program. This chronicle of their experiences raises issues about race, class, economic divisions, educational opportunities, and values in American society.
- Ida B. Wells: A Passion for Justice.** 1989. Produced and directed by William Greaves. California Newsreel. The life and times of Ida B. Wells-Barnett are examined in this 53-minute film. Wells was an African American journalist, activist, and suffragist who fought against the plague of lynching in the post-Reconstruction period.
- If You Only Understood** (Spanish). 1998. Written and directed by Rolando Diaz. A Cuban film director's search for an actress to star in his new musical comedy exposes issues of racism and other conflicts in the Cuban society. (Spanish title: *Si me comprendieras*.)
- In Search of History: The Night Tulsa Burned.** 1999. Weller-Grossman Productions; The History Channel. A section of Tulsa, Oklahoma, known as Greenwood, was dubbed the "Black Wall Street" in 1920, but this upper-middle-class neighborhood was destroyed in 1921 by the worst racial uprising in the history of America. This film chronicles the complete destruction of Greenwood by an angry mob of white men.
- In the White Man's Image.** 1991. Directed by Christine Lesiak. Public Broadcasting Service ("American Experience" series). A chronicle of the efforts of Captain Richard Pratt to transform Native Americans into members of the mainstream white culture. Pratt began the Carlisle School for Indians in 1879, and it lasted into the late 1930s.
- The Inner Tour** (English, Arabic and Hebrew). 2001. Directed by Ra'anan Alexandrowicz. Zeitgeist Films. A documentary about a diverse group of Palestinians living in the West Bank. Through a quirk in the law, they are allowed to become tourists and visit their homeland for the first time since the occupation. They take a three-day bus tour in 2000 across the "Green Line" and go inside the heart of Israel. One of the men uses a map of Palestine to refresh his memory of where the Arab villages were in 1948 that have been replaced by Jewish settlements. *The Inner Tour* shows how differently both sides view the same thing, as one side calls the land Israel while the other calls it Palestine.
- International Sweethearts of Rhythm.** 1986. Produced and directed by Greta Schiller and Andrea Weiss. Jezebel Productions. This 30-minute film looks at issues of race and racism in America through the story of a multiracial all-women jazz band of the 1940s.
- The Intolerable Burden.** 2002. Directed by Chea Prince. Public Domain, Inc.; Center for the Study of Southern Culture. In Drew, Mississippi, in 1965, the sharecroppers Matthew and Mae Bertha Carter are committed to obtaining a quality education for their children. The film examines the conditions of segregation prior to 1965, the hardships the family faced during desegregation, and the massive white resistance to a plan to provide equality in education.
- Iraq in Fragments** (Kurdish and Arabic). 2006. Directed by James Longley. Daylight Factory. Ethnic tensions and issues of identity in Iraq are explored in Longley's

- film. The three principal groups in Iraq—Sunnis, Shiites, and Kurds—are profiled in this examination of the divisive forces that are tearing the country apart. Young Mohammed, a Sunni, works at an auto shop and drifts in and out of school; The Shiite leader Moqtada al-Sadr ruthlessly enforces Islamic Law in the country's southern region; and a family of Kurdish farmers struggles to survive.
- James Baldwin: The Price of the Ticket.** 1990. Directed by Karen Thorsen. Nobody Knows Productions; California Newsreel. James Baldwin (1924–1987) was a major twentieth-century American author, a civil rights activist, and a critical voice calling on Americans, black and white, to confront racism as a shared tragedy. Baldwin was black, gifted, and gay, which gave him a unique insight into American culture. The film chronicles his formative years and explores his retreats in Paris, the South of France, Istanbul, and Switzerland—places where Baldwin was able to write away from the racial tensions of America.
- Japanese American Women: A Sense of Place.** 1992. Directed by Rosanna Yamagiwa Alfano and Leita Hagemann. Women Make Movies. The stereotype of the polite, docile, exotic Asian woman is shattered in this 28-minute documentary, in which a dozen women speak about their experiences as part of the “model minority.” The film explores the ambivalent feelings the women have toward both Japan and the United States.
- Jazz.** 2001. Directed by Ken Burns. British Broadcasting Corporation; Florentine Films; WETA Washington. This PBS film series explores the history of the major American musical form. It tracks its development in African American culture, its rise to prominence with its golden age of popularity spanning from the 1920s to the mid-1940s, and its popular decline and the rise of vital new subgenres.
- Jefferson's Blood.** 2000. Produced and directed by Thomas Lennon. WGBH Boston; Frontline. This PBS documentary examines the life of Thomas Jefferson and follows the descendants of Jefferson and his enslaved African mistress, Sally Hemings, as they undergo DNA testing, search out their family history, and try to sort out their place along America's blurred color line.
- John Henrik Clarke: A Great and Mighty Walk.** 1996. Directed by St. Clair Bourne. Black Dot Media. Documentary about the black scholar and activist John Henrik Clarke (1915–1998), who discusses representations of African and African-descendent people throughout history, using newsreel footage to highlight his views.
- July '64.** 2006. Directed by Carvin Eison. ImageWordSound; WXXI-TV. The night of Friday, July 24th, 1964, started off normally enough in Rochester, New York, but by the next morning the way that race relations in the North were looked at would never be the same again. *July '64* examines the underlying causes of the Rochester riots and the urban unrest that swept through black communities in America that summer and in the years that followed.
- Last Chance for Eden.** 2002. Directed by Lee Mun Wah. StirFry Seminars. This two-part documentary is about a small group of men and women who get together to have an open conversation about racism and sexism and its impact on their lives, especially with respect to the workplace.
- Last Grave at Dimbaza.** 1974. Directed by Chris Curling and Pasco Macfarlane. First Run/Icarus Films. A rare exposé of everyday life in South Africa during the period of apartheid. Filmed throughout South Africa, including the black townships and desolate bantustans, this film portrays the stark contrasts between living and working conditions for the majority populace of 18 million blacks and the 4 million whites who rule over them.
- The Lemon Grove Incident.** 1985. Directed by Frank Christopher. KPBS Television; California Council for the Humanities; Corporation for Public Broadcasting. This film focuses on one of the earliest cases of desegregation in U.S. history. It profiles the response of the Mexican American community in Lemon Grove, California, to a 1930 school board attempt to create a segregated school for Mexican Americans.
- Life and Debt.** 2001. Produced and directed by Stephanie Black. Tuff Gong Pictures. The stories of individual Jamaicans, whose strategies for survival and day-to-day existence are determined by the United States and other foreign economic agendas, are the subject of *Life and Debt*. Issues of race, place, class, and nationality are examined through a look into the complexity of international lending, structural adjustment policies, and free trade. The film utilizes excerpts from the writer Jamaica Kincaid's “A Small Place” (1987).
- The Life and Times of Sara Baartman.** 1998. Directed by Zola Maseko. First Run/Icarus Films. This documentary tells the story of a Khoi Khoi woman who was taken from South Africa, labeled the “Hottentot Venus,” and exhibited as a freak across Britain.
- A Litany for Survival: The Life and Work of Audre Lorde.** 1995 Directed by Ada Gay Griffin and Michelle Parkerson. Independent Television Service. The film provides an examination of race, gender, class, sexism,

- and sexuality in America through a profile of the African American poet Audre Lorde.
- Living in America: A Hundred Years of Ybor City.** 1987. Directed by Gayla Jamison. The multicultural community of Ybor City, in Tampa, Florida, was founded in the 1880s when Cuban, Spanish, and Italian immigrants arrived to work in the area's thriving cigar factories. In this film, older residents reminisce about their vibrant ethnic enclaves, especially the lively social clubs that provided not only entertainment but medical care for their members. The film also highlights how life for black Cubans differed in terms of experiences and memories in Ybor.
- Long Night's Journey into Day** (English and Afrikaans). 2000. Directed by Deborah Hoffmann and Frances Reid. Reid-Hoffman Productions. Four stories of apartheid in South Africa are examined in the context of the post-apartheid Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The film asks if there can be forgiveness when the truth is finally known.
- Looking for Langston.** 1988. Directed by Isaac Julien. British Film Institute. A poetic look at high-society gay black men during the Harlem Renaissance in America. Issues of race, class, and sexuality are highlighted in this film meditation on the work and life of the poet Langston Hughes.
- Lost Boys of Sudan** (English, Arabic, Dinka, and Swahili). 2003. Directed by Megan Mylan and Jon Shenk. Actual Films. A comment on the myth of the American dream, the film follows the incredible journey that two teenage Sudanese refugees make from their African homeland to America. They confront extreme cultural differences, including issues of race, place, class, and ethnicity in American society. Winner of a 2004 Independent Spirit Award.
- Lumumba.** (French and Lingala). 2000. Directed by Raoul Peck. Canal+; Zeitgeist Films. This film tells the true story of the rise to power and brutal assassination of Patrice Lumumba, the formerly vilified and later esteemed leader of the independent Congo. It examines racism, colonialism, and the fight for political and economic power and control in Africa.
- The Maids!** 1985. Directed by Muriel Jackson. Women Make Movies. A short documentary film that looks at the division of labor from a race, gender, and class perspective through an exploration of the history of African American women's labor in domestic service.
- Maids and Madams.** 1986. Directed by Mira Hamermesh. Shot in South Africa, this powerful yet historic documentary examines complex relationships between black household workers and white employers during the apartheid era.
- Mama, I'm Crying.** 1987. Directed by Betty Wolpert and Joyce Seroke. The story of two women, one black, the other white, who grew up at the same time in South Africa and return home and grapple with the reason some blacks no longer think that nonviolence is the way to fight apartheid. Their differing perspectives on life make it seem as if they were brought up in two different countries.
- Mandela.** 1996. Directed by Angus Gibson and Jo Menell. Clinico Estetico; Island Pictures. A full-length documentary looking at the life of Nelson Mandela and his fight to end apartheid in his homeland of South Africa. Filmed during the seven months leading up to the historic 1994 presidential election in South Africa, the film features exclusive interviews and narration from Mandela himself.
- Master Race.** 1997. Directed by Jonathan Lewis. WGBH Boston; British Broadcasting Corporation. Part of the documentary TV film series "People's Century," the film chronicles the rise of Nazism in Germany and the persecution of those identified as being black, Jewish, Gypsy, or homosexual in Germany from the 1930s onward. The story is told through accounts of both those that were and were not part of the Final Solution instituted by Hitler as a strategy for creating and maintaining his vision of a master race.
- Mayan Voices: American Lives.** 1994. Directed by Olivia Carrescia. First Run/Icarus Films. Set in Indiantown, Florida, *Mayan Voices* profiles the lives and experiences of Mayan families (from Guatemala) in the United States and the impact of these new immigrants on a predominantly white community.
- Mighty Times: The Legacy of Rosa Parks.** 2002. Directed by Robert Houston. Tell the Truth Pictures. This Academy Award-nominated short revisits this familiar historical event of December 1, 1955, when Rosa Parks's act of defiance in refusing to give up her seat on a bus to a white person sparked the Montgomery Bus Boycott, while it also finds new stories that introduce new heroes of the civil rights era.
- Mirrors of Privilege: Making White Visible.** 2006. Produced and directed by Shakti Butler. World Trust Educational Services. Features the experiences of white women and men who have worked to gain insight into what it means to challenge notions of racism and white supremacy in the United States.
- Mirrors of the Heart: Race and Identity.** 1993. Produced and Directed by Lourdes Portillo. WGBH Boston. Part 4 of a 10-part PBS series examining the shifting social, political, and economic forces at work in South America, Central America, and the Caribbean. The film explores issues of race and ethnicity from the



- perspective of identity and social standing in Bolivia, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic.
- Mississippi Triangle.** 1984. Directed by Christine Choy, Worth Long, and Allan Siegel. Third World Newsreel. Explores the triracial configuration of black, white, and Chinese in the Mississippi Delta.
- Mother Ireland.** 1998. Directed by Anne Crilly. Derry Film and Video Collective. Leading Irish feminists trace the images of women in Irish history (e.g., “Mother Ireland,” “The Old Woman”) and their impact on women’s lives. Particular focus is placed on aspirations for freedom, the revolutionary struggles for independence from England, and the movements for unification of the country.
- Motherland: A Genetic Journey.** 2003. Directed by Archie Baron. Takeaway Media Productions; British Broadcasting Corporation. A documentary on genetic testing and the meaning of genes, race, identity, and geography. Three black individuals reconnect with the precise population groups from which their ancestors were separated by slavery.
- Mumia Abu-Jamal: A Case for Reasonable Doubt?** 1997. Directed by John Edginton. Otmoor Productions. A documentary film about Mumia Abu-Jamal, a black nationalist and journalist in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, who was convicted in 1982 of killing a Philadelphia police officer and sentenced to death. His trial was marked by controversial prosecution and defense tactics and charges of racism.
- New Orleans.** 2007. Directed by Stephen Ives. Insignia Films Production; American Experience; Louisiana Public Broadcasting. A portrait of one of America’s most distinctive cities, a small French settlement surrounded by water that ultimately would become the home of America’s biggest party, Mardi Gras, and its most original art form, jazz. The site of explosive struggles with both integration and segregation, New Orleans has been a proving ground for national ideas about race, class, and equality in America.
- New Orleans Black Indians: A Case Study in the Arts.** 1983. Insight Media. This documentary, part of the “Faces of Culture” film series, explores the Black Indian tribes of New Orleans as they carry out a century-old tradition of participation in the pre-Lenten Mardi Gras celebration.
- Paris is Burning.** 1991. Directed by Jennie Livingston. Off White Productions. An exploration of race, class, and gender in America, the film chronicles the ball culture of New York City and the poor, African American, and Latino gay and transgendered communities involved in it.
- Paul Robeson: Here I Stand.** 1999. Directed by St. Clair Bourne. Part of the “American Masters” television series, the film includes archival film footage (speeches, Broadway and musical concert performances) of the athlete, singer, scholar, and political activist Paul Robeson.
- A Place of Rage.** 1991. Directed by Pratibha Palmer. Women Make Movies. Prominent black women (such as June Jordan, Angela Davis, Alice Walker, and Trinh T. Minh-Ha) discuss issues of race and racial discrimination in American culture, including the impact of racial discrimination on American society. The film also includes historical footage of the 1960s civil rights movement.
- Postville: When Cultures Collide.** 2001. Iowa Public Television. When Hasidic Jews from New York establish a kosher slaughterhouse in predominantly Lutheran Postville, issues of diversity surface in the rural Iowa town. Eventually, more Jews, then Hispanics and eastern Europeans, make Postville their home. The film is an excellent study of racial, ethnic, cultural, and religious diversity, as profiled through the experiences of one small heterogeneous population.
- A Question of Color.** 1993. Directed by Kathe Sandler. Independent Television Service. This documentary confronts a subject considered taboo by many African Americans, namely the disturbing feelings many people harbor about themselves and their appearance. Sandler examines the often subconscious world of “color consciousness,” a caste-like system based on how closely skin color, hair texture, and facial features conform to a European ideal.
- Race: The Floating Signifier.** 1997. Directed by Sut Jally. Media Education Fund. The film features the Jamaica-born sociologist and racial theorist Stuart Hall, who argues against the biological interpretation of racial difference and asks the viewer to consider the cultural processes by which visual differences in appearance are ascribed specific classifications that are considered natural.
- Race: The Power of an Illusion.** 2003. California Newsreel. A film series (three hour-long episodes) that questions the very idea of race as a biological fact, suggesting instead that a belief in race is a false paradigm, while acknowledging that race still matters. It illustrates that just because race does not exist in biology does not mean it is not a social reality that shapes life chances and opportunities.
- Race Is the Place.** 2005. Produced and directed by Raymond Telles and Rick Tejada-Flores. Paradigm Productions; KERA TV Dallas-Fort Worth; Independent Television Service. A visual and verbal critique on race in

- America from a wide variety of artists, poets, rappers, performance artists and stand-up comics. The film combines racially charged clips from old movies with interviews and performances. ITVS Community hosted a national broadcast of *Race Is the Place* on the “Independent Lens” series on November 22, 2005.
- The Return of Sarah Baartman.** 2003. Produced and directed by Zola Maseko. First Run/Icarus Films. Looks at the tragic impact of racism and imperialism by chronicling the return of the remains of Sara Baartman, a black woman who had been exhibited as a freak in the early nineteenth-century Europe. Her remains were returned to South Africa from France, where they had been kept at the Museum of Man. Sara’s repatriation involved years of lobbying by people in South Africa.
- The Rise and Fall of Jim Crow.** 2002. Series produced by Richard Wormser. WNET New York. This four-part film series offers a comprehensive look at race relations in America between the Civil War and the civil rights movement. It documents a brutal era in American history, marked by the growing refusal of many southern states to grant slaves freed in the Civil War equal rights with whites. Winner of the 2003 Peabody Award and the 2003 IDA Achievement Award.
- The Road to Brown.** 1990. Directed by William Elwood and Mykola Kulish. California Newsreel. Focuses on segregation and the brilliant legal campaigning against it that helped launched the civil rights movement in America. It is also a moving tribute to Charles Hamilton Houston, an avid and highly effective opponent of Jim Crow.
- A Seat at the Table: Struggling for American Indian Religious Freedom.** 2004. Directed by Gary Rhine. Kifaru Productions. Rhine’s film consists of eight segments, each one dealing with an important obstacle to American Indian religious freedom. The film includes commentary from Native leaders, as well as sequences shot in threatened Indian sacred sites and scenes from the Third Parliament of the World’s Religions in Cape Town, South Africa.
- Shake Hands with the Devil: The Journey of Roméo Dallaire.** 2005. Directed by Peter Raymont. White Pine Pictures (Canada). Over 800,000 men, women, and children were massacred in the small African country of Rwanda. The victims were mainly Tutsis, murdered by their Hutu neighbors. The UN peacekeeping mission was headed by the Canadian general Roméo Dallaire, who had only a handful of soldiers and was ordered not to use force to protect Rwandans from the mass slaughter. This documentary film is based on Dallaire’s best-selling book, and it follows Dallaire as he comes to grips with the events that came to haunt him, including his struggles with top UN officials, expedient Belgian policymakers, and Clinton administration officials who ignored his pleas for reinforcements.
- Shalom Y’all.** 2003. Directed by Brian Bain. National Center for Jewish Film. This documentary chronicles Jewish life in the American South. It is a record of the travels of the filmmaker Brian Bain, a third generation Jew from New Orleans, who sets out on a 4,200-mile road trip through the American South in a vintage Cadillac.
- Shattering the Silences: The Case for Minority Faculty.** 1997. Directed by Stanley Nelson. California Newsreel. This film tells the stories of four pioneering scholars—an African American, a Latino, a Native American, and an Asian American—at predominantly white universities. It shows in concrete terms how a diverse faculty enriches and expands traditional disciplines and contributes to a more inclusive campus.
- Skin Deep: Building Diverse Campus Communities.** 1995. Directed by Francis Reid. Iris Films. The eye-opening journey of a diverse group of college students as they confront each other’s racial prejudices.
- Strange Fruit.** 2002. Produced and directed by Joel Katz. Oniera Films. An exploration of the history and legacy of the Billie Holiday classic “Strange Fruit.” The song’s evolution tells a dramatic story of America’s past, using one of the most influential protest songs ever written as its epicenter. The saga brings viewers face to face with the terror of lynching as it spotlights the courage and heroism of those who fought for racial justice, even though doing so meant risking ostracism or even death.
- Still Black, at Yale.** 2004. Produced by Monique Walton and Andia Winslow. Examines issues of race and racism at universities in America with a specific focus on critiquing what it means to be black at an Ivy League school. The filmmakers were inspired by the 1974 student-made documentary *Black at Yale*.
- Stolen Ground.** 1993. Directed by Lee Mun Wah. StirFry Seminars. Six Asian American men come together to talk about their struggles against racism in America. They also address the myth of the “model minority” and the pressures of blending into the American culture.
- Struggles in Steel: A Story of African-American Steelworkers.** 1996. Directed by Tony Buba and Raymond Henderson. Braddock Films; California Newsreel. The story of the African American struggle for equality in the U.S. steel industry, based in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. In a series of interviews intermixed with archival footage and stills, the film shows how these workers faced and overcame discrimination that came

- from white workers, the big steel companies, and even from their own unions.
- Sun, Moon & Feather.** 1989. Directed by Bob Rosen and Jane Zipp. A short musical comedy and documentary about three Native American sisters growing up in Brooklyn during the 1930s and 1940s.
- Tales from Arab Detroit.** 1995. Directed by Joan Mandell. Issues of race, place, and identity in America are underscored in this documentary on the Arab community in Detroit. The film concentrates primarily on the Muslim experience.
- A Time for Burning.** 1967. Directed by Bill Jersey and Barbara Connell. Quest Productions. Reverend William Youngdahl's move from an integrated Lutheran church in New Jersey to an all-white congregation in Omaha, Nebraska, in 1965 is the subject of this film. It uncovers quiet acts of racism and issues of institutionalized racism in America.
- Todos Santos: The Survivors.** 1989. Directed by Olivia Carrescia. First Run/Icarus Films. The film focuses on postwar Guatemala and the colonization projects of the highlands. It examines the civil war of the 1980s, as well as the subsequent establishment of civil patrols, giving a general portrait of racism in the country.
- Tongues Untied.** 1989. Directed by Marlon Riggs. CAC Productions; MTR Productions; Frameline. Riggs examines the black gay experience and looks at issues of racism and homophobia in America.
- Transitions: Destruction of a Mother Tongue.** 1991. Produced and directed by Darrell Kip and Joe Fisher. Native Voices Public Television Workshop. Explores the relationship between language, thought, and culture. The film chronicles the disappearance of the Blackfeet tribal language during the period from 1890 to 1990 and analyzes the impact of the loss of culture and language on Native communities.
- Trouble Behind.** 1990. Produced and directed by Robbie Henson. California Newsreel. Henson's film examines the disturbingly common occurrence of racism in America today. The origins of today's racism are sought by looking into the history of a seemingly typical small town—Corbin, Kentucky, the home of Kentucky Fried Chicken.
- Twelve Disciples of Mandela** (Afrikaans and English). 2006. Directed by Thomas Allen Harris. Chimpanzee Productions. A look into the organizational and psychological dynamics of liberation movements in general, and of the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa in particular. A concise overview of the ANC's struggle for an end to apartheid is set against the background of the pan-African movement, the rise of black nationalism in the United States, and the dream of a shared identity among all people of the African descent.
- Two Towns of Jasper.** 2002. Directed by Whitney Dow and Marco Williams. Independent Television Service; Two-Tone Productions. A feature-length documentary about the 1998 racially motivated murder of James Byrd Jr. in Jasper, Texas.
- Unchained Memories: Readings from the Slave Narratives.** 2003. Directed by Ed Bell. HBO. Selections from the extensive Federal Writers' Project Slave Narrative Collection are read by various actors, interspersed with archival photographs, music, films and period images.
- Unforgivable Blackness: The Rise and Fall of Jack Johnson.** 2004. Directed by Ken Burns. Florentine Films; WETA Washington. In this film Burns tells the story of Jack Johnson, the first African American heavyweight boxing champion of the world, whose dominance over his white opponents spurred furious debates and race riots in the early twentieth century.
- W. E. B. Du Bois: A Biography in Four Voices.** 1996. Directed by Louis J. Massiah. Scribe Video Center; California Newsreel. A portrait of an important African American sociologist, W. E. B. Du Bois, who grew up in America during the period of segregation. He went on to study at Harvard and wrote about the challenges black people faced inhabiting and navigating within spaces dominated by white cultural norms. The film demonstrates Du Bois's broad internationalist perspective and underscores why his thoughts about the future of race in America were considered ahead of his time.
- Wall.** 2004. Directed by Simone Bitton. Lifesize Entertainment. A cinematic meditation on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, in which the filmmaker blurs the lines of hatred by asserting her double identity as both Jew and Arab. Bitton conducts interviews with those on both sides of the wall being built around the West Bank by Israel.
- Watermarks.** 2004. Directed by Yaron Zilberman. HBO. *Watermarks* is the story of the champion women swimmers of the legendary Jewish sports club, Hakoah Vienna. Hakoah ("The Strength") was founded in 1909 in response to the notorious Aryan Paragraph, which forbade Austrian sports clubs from accepting Jewish athletes. In 1938 the Nazis shut down the club, but the swimmers all managed to flee the country before the war. Sixty-five years later, Zilberman met the members of the swimming team and arranged for them to have a reunion in their old swimming pool in Vienna.

**The Way Home: Race, Gender, and Class in America.**

1998. Produced and directed by Shakti Butler. Over the course of eight months, sixty-four women from a cross-section of cultures (indigenous, African American, Arab, Asian, European American, Jewish, and Latina) and racial identifications share their experience of racism in America. The candid conversations in this documentary film are enriched by an abundance of photographs, dance, and music.

**What's Race Got to Do With It? Social Disparities and Student Success.**

2006. Written, produced, and directed by Jean Cheng. California Newsreel. This documentary film goes beyond identity politics, celebratory history, and interpersonal relations to consider social disparities and their impact on student success in today's post-civil rights world.

**When the Levees Broke: A Requiem in Four Acts.**

2007. Directed by Spike Lee. 40 Acres & A Mule Filmworks, in collaboration with HBO. A heart-rending portrait of New Orleans in the wake of the destruction of Hurricane Katrina, Lee's film tells the personal stories of those who endured this harrowing ordeal and survived to tell the tale of misery, despair and triumph. Issues of race, class, and place in America are illustrated via the stories people tell about this tragic experience.

**Without Reservations: Notes on Racism in Montana.**

1995. Native Voices Public Television. Racism against Native Americans is viewed through the eyes of an Indian teacher, a Native American man working in the police department, and an interracial couple.

**Women of Islam: Veiling and Seclusion.**

2004. Directed by Farheen Umar. While traveling through Pakistan, Iran, Turkey, and the United States, Farheen Umar talks with Muslim women and challenges the assumptions about the practice of wearing veils. This documentary explores the origins of certain stereotypes and confronts misconceptions about the tradition of covering in Muslim society.

**Yo Soy Chicano** (Spanish).

1972. Directed by Jesús Salvador Treviño. One of the first nationally broadcast documentaries profiling Mexican American history, from the time of the Spanish Conquest through the early 1970s, when critical Chicano social issues and struggles came to the fore.

**Young Soul Rebels.**

1991. Directed by Isaac Julien. British Film Institute. Issues of race, gender, sexuality, and nationality are explored in this profile of a black gay British male in London in 1977.

## *List of Primary Sources*

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- Declaration of Sanctions against South Africa by the U.S. Congress*
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- Report on Rwanda from Amnesty International*
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- "Darfur: A 'Plan B' to Stop Genocide?"*

## TEARS OF THE INDIANS

SOURCE *Public Domain.*

INTRODUCTION *The Spanish conquistadors were not known for their kind treatment of the natives they found in the Americas. Bartolome De Las Casas was a missionary priest who first went to Cuba in 1502 where his military services were rewarded with an Encomienda, or an estate complete with his own serfs—Native Cubans, or “Indians.” In 1513 he was ordained a priest—claimed to be the first ordination in the Americas. The following year he renounced any claim he had over his serfs and began a series of voyages back and forth to Spain to seek out settlers who would come to Cuba to establish towns where Spaniard and Indian could live in harmony, as equals. He stirred up controversy with his Brief Report on the Destruction of the Indians (also known as Tears of the Indians) a passionate, and what some thought to be an exaggerated, report of Spanish atrocities against the natives. In 1523 he retreated from his public life into a Dominican monastery as a friar, but emerged again in Spain in 1540. At that time, he helped get laws passed that prohibited slavery among the natives of the Americas and help preserve their rights. He returned to Spain in 1547 where he would live out his life until his death in 1566. He spent those last years speaking and writing on behalf of the natives.*

### OF THE ISLAND OF CUBA.

In the year 1511, they went over into the Island of *Cuba*, which extends as far in length as it is from *Valladolid* to *Rome*, in which there were many fair Provinces, inhabited with an infinite number of people, where the humanity and clemency of the *Spaniards* was not only as little as it had been in other places, but their cruelty and rage much greater. In this Island many things were done worthy of observation. A certain Lord of great power among them by name *Hathvey*, who had fled over to *Cuba*, that he might avoid either death or perpetual captivity, hearing by some of the *Indians* that the *Spaniards* were also come into this Island, having assembled the *Indians* together, he began as followeth:

*Countrymen and Friends, you are not ignorant of the rumour by which we understand that the Spaniards are come among us, neither am I now to tell you how they have used the inhabitants of Hapti (so they call Hispaniola, in the Indian language) you know it by a sad experience: nor can we hope to finde them more merciful then they did. Then quoth he, Countrymen do you know the Errand*

*which brings them hither? To whom they replied, that was unknown to them, yet they further replied, that they were well assured of the cruel nature of the Spaniard. Then quoth he, Ile tell ye the cause of their coming. They do worship some covetous and unsatisfied Deity, and to content the greedy worship of that Celestial Power, they require many things from us, using all their endeavour to murther and enslave us. Which having said, taking up a little Chest filled with Gold, he proceeded in these words: Behold here the God of the Spaniards; and therefore if you think fitting, let us daunce and sing before this their God, Perhaps we may thereby appease his rage, and he will then command the Spaniards to let us alone: Who with an unanimous shout cryed out all, Well said, well said; and so they went to dauncing round this box, not ceasing till they had sufficiently wearied themselves. Then the Lord Hathvey going on with his speech, quoth he, If we do keep this God till he be taken from us, we shall be surely slain, and therefore I think it expedient for us to cast it into the River; so his counsell being followed, the Chest was cast into the River.*

When the *Spaniards* had landed in this Island, this Noble man that had sufficient Tryal of their manner, avoided them as much as he could, still flying from them and defending himself by force of armes upon all occasions. But at length being taken, for no other reason, but because he fled from those that sought his life, and defended himself that he might not be tormented to death, he was by the *Spaniards* burnt alive. While he was tyed to the stake, there came to him a Monk of the Order of St. *Francis*, who began to talk to him of God and of the Articles of our Faith, telling him, that the small respite which the Executioner gave him was sufficient for him to make sure his salvation if he believed. Upon which words after *Hathvey* had a little while paus'd, he asked the Monk if the door of heaven was open to the *Spaniards*, who answering, *Yes to the good Spaniards*. Then replied the other, *Let me go to Hell that I may not come where they are.*

It happened once that the Citizens of a very fair City distant about twelve miles from the place where we were, came forth of the City to do us honour, and to submit themselves to the King of *Castile*, but they being returned home, the Governour of the *Spaniards* about the middle of the night as they were sleeping in their bed, and least suspecting any such thing, sent a company who came suddenly upon them, and set fire upon their houses, burning up both men, women and children, here some they murdered, others whom they spared, they tormented to make them tell where they had hid their Gold, after which they made them their slaves, having first marked them in the body: and immediately as soon as the fire was spent, they ran to finde out the Gold. At that time the

*Spaniards* got above ten hundred thousand Crowns of Gold, out of which the King, scarce had three hundred thousand sent him; there were slain in this place eight hundred thousand people; and those other Tyrants that came afterwards, emptied the Island of those that remained.

Among all the notorious enormities committed by the foresaid Governour, there is one not to be omitted: a certain noble *Indian* presenting him, perhaps more for fear than love, a present of above nine thousand Crowns, the *Spaniards* not content with this, tied him to a stake, and stretching out his Legs, put fire to them, requiring a greater sum of Gold, who not able to endure the torment sent home for three thousand more; notwithstanding the *Spaniards* with a fresh rage began to torment him again, but seeing that he was able to give them no more, they kept him so long over the fire till his marrow dropt from the soles of his feet, whereof he died. These were the torments wherewith they murdered not only the common People, but the Peers and Lords of those Nations.

Sometimes it would happen, that a Band of *Spaniards* ranging abroad would light upon a mountain where the *Indians* were fled for protection from their cruelty, where they immediately fell upon the *Indians*, killing the Men, and taking the Women and Virgins captive; & when a great company of the *Indians* pursued them with weapons for the recovery of their Wives and Children, they resolving not to let go their prey, when the *Indians* came near them, immediately with the points of their swords ran the poor Women and Children through the bodies. Upon which the wretched *Indians* beating their breasts for grief would now and then burst forth in these words, *O perverse men, O cruel Spaniards, What will ye kill helpless women?*

There was the house of a Noble man distant from *Panama* above 15 miles; he was by name called *Paris*, and he was very wealthy in Gold; to him the *Spaniards* came, and by him they were entertained like Brothers, he giving to the Captain, as a present, fifteen thousand Crowns; who by that perceiving that he must of necessity have a very great treasure, feigned a departure, but about the middle of the night returning, again entred the City, set it on fire, sacrificing the poor people to the flames. Hence they took away about fifty or sixty thousand Crowns. The Noble man escaping, gathered together what force he could and made after the *Spaniards*, who were gone away with no lesse than a hundred and forty thousand Crowns of his own Treasure; when he had overtaken them, he fell upon them, and having slain above fifty of the *Spaniards*, he recovered his Gold again. The rest saved themselves by flight. But not long after the *Spaniards* returned with greater force upon the Noble man and having routed him, made slaves of all his people.

## TECUMSEH'S CONFRONTATION OF INDIANA GOVERNOR WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON IN AUGUST, 1810

SOURCE *Tecumseh, in a conversation with Governor W. H. Harrison in 1810, in I Have Spoken: American History Through the Voices of the Indians. Edited by Virginia Irving Armstrong. Swallow Press Inc., 1971. Copyright © 1971. Reproduced by permission.*

INTRODUCTION *Born around 1768, just a few years before Americans declared their independence from the British, Shawnee Indian chief Tecumseh learned to be a warrior at an early age. He treasured his native land of Ohio and what would become the state of Indiana. He loved the valleys of the Ohio, Allegheny, and Monongahela Rivers. As a young man he fought alongside the British in the Revolutionary War against the Americans. He mistrusted the Americans and despised their bid to take more and more land away from his tribe and other native tribes. He believed that the land belonged to all tribes. He was angry that the treaties individual tribes were making with the white people were not only a bid to steal their land but undermined what he believed should be a union of all Native Americans. When Harrison defeated him at Tippecanoe and more lands escaped into the hands of the Americans, Tecumseh would never forget or forgive them. He died during the War of 1812 at the Battle of Thames (near Detroit) fighting for the British.*

Houses are built for you to hold councils in; Indians hold theirs in the open air. I am a Shawnee. My forefathers were warriors. Their son is a warrior. From them I take my only existence. From my tribe I take nothing. I have made myself what I am. And I would that I could make the red people as great as the conceptions of my own mind, when I think of the Great Spirit that rules over us all. . . . I would not then come to Governor Harrison to ask him to tear up the treaty. But I would say to him, "Brother, you have the liberty to return to your own country."

You wish to prevent the Indians from doing as we wish them, to unite and let them consider their lands as the common property of the whole. You take the tribes aside and advise them not to come into this measure. . . . You want by your distinctions of Indian tribes, in allotting to each a particular, to make them war with each other. You never see an Indian endeavor to make the white people do this. You are continually driving the red

people, when at last you will drive them onto the great lake, where they can neither stand nor work.

Since my residence at Tippecanoe, we have endeavored to level all distinctions, to destroy village chiefs, by whom all mischiefs are done. It is they who sell the land to the Americans. Brother, this land that was sold, and the goods that was given for it, was only done by a few. . . . In the future we are prepared to punish those who propose to sell land to the Americans. If you continue to purchase them, it will make war among the different tribes, and, at last I do not know what will be the consequences among the white people. Brother, I wish you would take pity on the red people and do as I have requested. If you will not give up the land and do cross the boundary of our present settlement, it will be very hard, and produce great trouble between us.

The way, the only way to stop this evil is for the red men to unite in claiming a common and equal right in the land, as it was at first, and should be now—for it was never divided, but belongs to all. No tribe has the right to sell, even to each other, much less to strangers. . . . Sell a country! Why not sell the air, the great sea, as well as the earth? Did not the Great Spirit make them all for the use of his children?

How can we have confidence in the white people?

When Jesus Christ came upon the earth you killed Him and nailed him to the cross. You thought he was dead, and you were mistaken. You have Shakers among you and you laugh and make light of their worship.

Everything I have told you is the truth. The Great Spirit has inspired me.

## “AMERICAN SLAVERY AS IT IS”

SOURCE *Public Domain.*

INTRODUCTION *In 1839 Theodore D. Weld of New York, an ardent abolitionist, and The American Anti-Slavery Society wanted to stir up sentiments around the United States against what they considered the inhumane act of slavery. The group had been founded in Philadelphia in 1833 following the violent 1831 rebellion led by a slave named Nat Turner. That coupled with other slave uprisings and the policies of President Andrew Jackson, which southerners believed a threat to their way of life, created increasing anxiety among slaveholders. Though there were about 200 slave uprisings between 1776 and 1860, the year before the start of the Civil War, the Turner rebellion had been the one that brought fear into the lives of the*

*southern slaveholders. With the bloody violence still fresh, the anti-abolitionist movement was pressed into arguing not simply the illegality of slavery. They wanted to appeal to people regarding the horrid conditions under which slaves were forced to live—from the unending brutal labor forced on them to the poor quality of life and sustenance they were known to endure. By personalizing the nature of the cause, just as a prosecutor might address a jury, this and other similar writings served to stir up widespread emotion. For those in the North, anti-slavery sentiment only grew. For those in the South, defending their way of life as slaveholders rose to a fevered pitch. Another 22 years would pass before the Civil War would begin. This “trial” places the burden on the readers to reach the only conclusion the abolitionists thought they could reach.*

READER, YOU are empaneled as a juror to try a plain case and bring in an honest verdict. The question at issue is not one of law, but of act—“What is the actual condition of slaves in the United States?”

A plainer case never went to jury. Look at it. TWENTY SEVEN HUNDRED THOUSAND PERSONS in this country, men, women, and children, are in SLAVERY. Is slavery, as a condition for human beings, good, bad, or indifferent?

We submit the question without argument. You have common sense, and conscience, and a human heart—pronounce upon it. You have a wife, or a husband, a child, a father, a mother, a brother or a sister—make the case your own, make it theirs, and bring in your verdict.

The case of Human Rights against Slavery has been adjudicated in the court of conscience times innumerable. The same verdict has always been rendered—“Guilty;” the same sentence has always been pronounced “Let it be accursed;” and human nature, with her million echoes, has rung it round the world in every language under heaven. “Let it be accursed. . . .”

As slaveholders and their apologists are volunteer witnesses in their own cause, and are flooding the world with testimony that their slaves are kindly treated; that they are well fed, well clothed, well housed, well lodged, moderately worked, and bountifully provided with all things needful for their comfort, we propose—first, to disprove their assertions by the testimony of a multitude of impartial witnesses, and then to put slaveholders themselves through a course of cross-questioning which will draw their condemnation out of their own mouths.

We will prove that the slaves in the United States are treated with barbarous inhumanity; that they are overworked, underfed, wretchedly clad and lodged, and have insufficient sleep; that they are often made to wear round their necks iron collars armed with prongs, to drag heavy chains and weights at their feet while working in the



## Dred Scott v. Sandford (excerpts)

field, and to wear yokes and bells, and iron horns; that they are often kept confined in the stocks day and night for weeks together, made to wear gags in their mouths for hours or days, have some of their front teeth torn out or broken off, that they may be easily detected when they run away; that they are frequently flogged with terrible severity, have red pepper rubbed into their lacerated flesh, and hot brine, spirits of turpentine etc., poured over the gashes to increase the torture; that they are often stripped naked, their backs and limbs cut with knives, bruised and mangled by scores and hundreds of blows with the paddle, and terribly torn by the claws of cats, drawn over them by their tormentors; that they are often hunted with blood-hounds and shot down like beasts, or torn in pieces by dogs; that they are often suspended by the arms and whipped and beaten till they faint, and when revived by restoratives, beaten again till they faint, and sometimes till they die; that their ears are often cut off, their eyes knocked out, their bones broken, their flesh branded with red hot irons; that they are maimed, mutilated and burned to death, over slow fires. All these things, and more, and worse, we shall *prove* . . .

We shall show, not merely that such deeds are committed, but that they are frequent; not done in corners, but before the sun; not in one of the slave states, but in all of them; not perpetrated by brutal overseers and drivers merely, but by magistrates, by legislators, by professors of religion, by preachers of the gospel, by governors of states, by “gentlemen of property and standing,” and by delicate females moving in the “highest circles of society.”

We know, full well, the outcry that will be made by multitudes, at these declarations; the multiform cavils, the flat denials, the charges of “exaggeration” and “falsehood” so often bandied, the sneers of affected contempt at the credulity that can believe such things, and the rage and imprecations against those who give them currency. We know, too, the threadbare sophistries by which slaveholders and their apologists seek to evade such testimony. If they admit that such deeds are committed, they tell us that they are exceedingly rare, and therefore furnish no grounds for judging of the general treatment of slaves; that occasionally a brutal wretch in the *free* states barbarously butchers his wife, but that no one thinks of inferring from that, the general treatment of wives at the North and West.

They tell us, also, that the slaveholders of the South are proverbially hospitable, kind, and generous, and it is incredible that they can perpetrate such enormities upon human beings; further, that it is absurd to suppose that they would thus injure their own property, that self-interest would prompt them to treat their slaves with kindness, as none but fools and madmen wantonly destroy their own property; further, that Northern visi-

tors at the South come back testifying to the kind treatment of the slaves, and that slaves themselves corroborate such representations. All these pleas, and scores of others, are build in every corner of the free States; and who that hath eyes to see, has not sickened at the blindness that saw not, at the palsy of heart that felt not, or at the cowardice and sycophancy that dared not expose such shallow fallacies. We are not to be turned from our purpose by such vapid babblings. In their appropriate places, we proposed to consider these objections and various others, and to show their emptiness and folly.

## DRED SCOTT V. SANDFORD (EXCERPTS)

SOURCE *Public Domain*.

INTRODUCTION *Supreme Court Justice Roger Brooke Taney led his Court to a decision in 1856 that would become a final impetus in the movement toward the Civil War. Dred Scott was the slave of an Army surgeon, John Emerson, who had moved from Missouri, a slave state, to Illinois, a free state. Scott also moved with his owner into the Wisconsin Territory where slavery was prohibited by the Missouri Compromise. Three years after Emerson's death in 1843, Scott sued his widow for his freedom. His argument was that since he had lived in a free state and a free territory, he should be a free man. A Missouri state circuit court agreed with him. The Missouri Supreme Court reversed that decision. Because Scott was now the property of John F.A. Sandford of New York and did not live in Missouri, his lawyers successfully transferred the case to federal court. Both the lower federal court and the U.S. Supreme Court in an appeal decided against Scott's case. Not only did the decision deny that any African American could claim U.S. citizenship. It declared an act of Congress unconstitutional for only the second time in history. In 1868 when Congress adopted the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution extending citizenship to former slaves, the Dred Scott decision was overturned.*

In 1835, Dred Scott, born a slave in Virginia, became the property of John Emerson, an Army doctor, in the slave state of Missouri. From there, he was taken into the free state of Illinois and later to the free territory of Minnesota.

In 1847, Scott instituted suit in the circuit court of the St. Louis County, Missouri, arguing that he should be given his freedom by virtue of his having resided on free soil. After nine years, his case was certified to the

United States Supreme Court, where five of the nine justices, were Southerners.

In delivering his opinion, Chief Justice Roger Brooke Taney declared that, by virtue of both the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, African Americans could not be regarded as citizens of the United States. Moreover, the Court could not deprive slaveholders of their right to take slaves into any part of the Union, North or South. In effect, therefore, the Missouri Compromise, as well as other antislavery legislation, was declared to be unconstitutional.

Under the terms of the Missouri Compromise, Missouri was allowed to join the Union with a slave population of almost 10,000; Maine was admitted as a free state. However, the compromise also prohibited the expansion of slavery into any part of the Louisiana Territory north of Latitude 36 degrees, 30 minutes N. It was here, into Illinois and the territory of Wisconsin, that Dred Scott's master brought him, and in 1846 Scott sued his master for his freedom.

After numerous delays, trials, and retrials, the case reached the United States Supreme Court in 1856. Hearing this case, the Court was not only faced with the question as to whether Scott was a free man, as a result of his sojourn in a free territory, but it also had to consider whether Congress had the authority under the Constitution to outlaw slavery in the territories. Although, each of the nine justices delivered a separate opinion, the opinion of Chief Justice Roger Brook Taney has been generally accepted as the Court's ruling on the matter.

The question is simply this: Can a negro, whose ancestors were imported into this country and sold as slaves, become a member of the political community formed and brought into existence by the constitution of the United States, and as such become entitled to all the rights, and privileges, and immunities, guaranteed by that instrument to the citizen?...

The words "people of the United States" and "citizens" are synonymous terms, and mean the same thing. They both describe the political body who, according to our republican institutions, form the sovereignty, and who hold the power and conduct the government through their representatives. They are what we familiarly call the "sovereign people," and every citizen is one of this people, and a constituent member of this sovereignty. The question before us is, whether the class of persons described in the plea in abatement compose a portion of this people, and are constituent members of this sovereignty? We think they are not, and that they are not included, and were not intended to be included, under the word "citizens" in the constitution, and can therefore claim

none of the rights and privileges which that instrument provides for and secures to citizens of the United States. On the contrary, they were at that time considered as a subordinate and inferior class of beings, who had been subjugated by the dominant race, and, whether emancipated or not, yet remained subject to their authority, and had no rights or privileges. . . .

It is not the province of the court to decide upon the justice or injustice, the policy or impolicy, of these laws. The decision of that question belonged to the political or law-making power; to those who formed the sovereignty and framed the constitution. The duty of the court is, to interpret the instrument they have framed, with the best lights we can obtain on the subject, and to administer it as we find it, according to its true intent and meaning when it was adopted.

In discussing this question, we must not confound the rights of citizenship which a State may confer within its own limits, and the rights of citizenship as member of the Union. It does not by any means follow, because he has all the rights and privileges of a citizen of a State, that he must be a citizen of the United States. He may have all of the rights and privileges of the citizen of a State, and yet not be entitled to the rights and privileges of a citizen in any other State. For, previous to the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, every State had the undoubted right to confer on whomsoever it pleased the character of citizen, and to endow him with all its rights. But this character of course was confined to the boundaries of the State, and gave him no rights or privileges in other States beyond those secured to him by the laws of nations and the comity of States. Nor have the several States surrendered the power of conferring these rights and privileges by adopting the constitution of United States. . . .

It is very clear, therefore, that no State can, by any act or law of its own, passed since the adoption of the constitution, introduce a new member into the political community created by the constitution of the United States. It cannot make him a member of this community by making him a member of its own. And for the same reason it cannot introduce any person, or description of persons, who were not intended to be embraced in this new political family, which the constitution brought into existence, but were intended to be excluded from it.

The question then arises, whether the provisions of the constitution, in relation to the personal rights and privileges to which the citizen of a State should be entitled, embraced the negro African race, at that time in this country, or who might afterwards be imported, who had then or should afterwards be made free in any State; and to put it in the power of a single State to make him a citizen of the United States, and endue him

**Dred Scott v. Sandford** (*excerpts*)

with the full rights of citizenship in every other State without consent? Does the constitution of the United States act upon him whenever he shall be made free under the laws of a State, and raised there to the rank of a citizen, and immediately clothe him with all the privileges of a citizen in every other State, and in its own courts?

The court thinks the affirmative of these propositions cannot be maintained. And if it cannot, the plaintiff in error could not be a citizen of the State of Missouri, within the meaning of the constitution of the United States, and, consequently, was not entitled to sue in its courts.

It is true, every person, and every class and description of persons, who were at the time of the adoption of the constitution recognized as citizens in the several States, became also citizens of this new political body; but none other; it was formed by them, and for them and their posterity, but for no one else. And the personal rights and privileges guaranteed to citizens of this new sovereignty were intended to embrace those only who were then members of the several State communities, or who should afterwards by birthright or otherwise become members, according to the provisions of the constitution and the principles on which it was founded. . . .

In the opinion of the court, the legislation and histories of the times, and the language used in the declaration of independence, show, that neither the class of persons who had been imported as slaves, nor their descendants, whether they had become free or not, were then acknowledged as a part of the people, nor intended to be included in the general words used in that memorable instrument. . . .

. . . The government of the United States had no right to interfere for any other purpose but that protecting the rights of the owner, leaving it altogether with the several States to deal with this race, whether emancipated or not, as each State may think justice, humanity, and the interests and safety of society, require. . . .

The act of Congress, upon which the plaintiff relies, declares that slavery and involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, shall be forever prohibited in all that part of the territory ceded by France, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude and not included within the limits of Missouri. And the difficulty which meets us at the threshold of this part of the inquiry is whether Congress was authorized to pass this law under any of the powers granted to it by the Constitution; for, if the authority is not given by that instrument, it is the duty of this Court to declare it void and inoperative and incapable of conferring freedom upon anyone who is held as a slave under the laws of any one of the states. . . .

We do not mean . . . to question the power of Congress in this respect. The power to expand the territory of the United States by the admission of new states is plainly given; and in the construction of this power by all the departments of the government, it has been held to authorize the acquisition of territory, not fit for admission at the time, but to be admitted as soon as its population and situation would entitle it to admission. It is acquired to become a state and not to be held as a colony and governed by Congress with absolute Authority; and, as the propriety of admitting a new state is committed to the sound discretion of Congress, the power to acquire territory for that purpose, to be held by the United States until it is in a suitable condition to become a state upon an equal footing with the other states, must rest upon the same discretional. . . .

But the power of Congress over the person or property of a citizen can never be a mere discretionary power under our Constitution and form of government. The powers of the government and the rights and privileges of the citizen are regulated and plainly defined by the Constitution itself. . . .

These powers, and others, in relation to rights of person, which it is not necessary here to enumerate, are, in express and positive terms, denied to the general government; and the rights of private property have been guarded with equal care. Thus the rights of property are united with the rights of person and placed on the same ground by the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution, which provides that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, and property without due process of law. And an act of Congress which deprives a citizen of the United States of his liberty of property, without due process of law, merely because he came himself or brought his property into a particular territory of the United States, and who had committed no offense against the law, could hardly be dignified with the name of due process of law. . . .

It seems, however, to be supposed that there is a difference between property in a slave and other property and that different rules may be applied to it in expounding Constitution of the United States. And the laws and usages of nations, and the writings of eminent jurists upon the relation of master and slave and their mutual rights and duties, and the powers which governments may exercise over it, have been dwelt upon in the argument.

But, in considering the question before us, it must be borne in mind that there is no law of nations standing between the people of the United States and their government and interfering with their relation to each other. The powers of the government and the rights of the citizen under it are positive and practical regulations plainly written down. The people of the United States

have delegated to it certain enumerated powers and forbidden it to exercise others. It has no power over the person or property of a citizen but what the citizens of the United States have granted. And no laws or usages of other nations, or reasoning of statesmen or jurists upon the relations of master and slave, can enlarge the powers of the government or take from the citizens the rights they have reserved. And if the Constitution recognizes the right of property of the master in a slave, and makes no distinction between that description of property and other property owned by a citizen, no tribunal, acting under the authority of the United States, whether it be legislative, executive, or judicial, has a right to draw such a distinction or deny to it the benefit of the provisions and guaranties which have been provided for the protection of private property against the encroachments of the government.

Now, as we have already said in an earlier part of this opinion, upon a different point, the right of property in a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution. The right to traffic in it, like an ordinary article of merchandise and property, was guaranteed to the citizens of the United States, in every state that might desire it, for twenty years. And the government in express terms is pledged to protect it in all future time if the slave escapes from his owner. That is done in plain words—too plain to be misunderstood. And no word can be found in the Constitution which gives Congress a greater power over slave property or which entitles property of that kind to less protection than property of any other description. The only power conferred is the power coupled with the duty of guarding and protecting the owner in his rights.

Upon these considerations it is the opinion of the court that the act of Congress which prohibited a citizen from holding and owning property of this kind in the territory of the United States north of the line therein mentioned is not warranted by the Constitution and is therefore void; and that neither Dred Scott himself, nor any of his family, were made free by being carried into this territory; even if they had been carried there by the owner with the intention of becoming a permanent resident. . . .

## BLACK CODES OF MISSISSIPPI

SOURCE *Public Domain.*

INTRODUCTION *Following emancipation, and particularly after the end of the Civil War, many states, particularly those in the South, wanted to*

*impose restrictions on the activities of the freed slaves. Many white people were uncomfortable with the new role of African Americans. They did not want them to find a place at the same social level as whites. Thus they created "codes" such as these imposed in Mississippi. What seemed to be recognition of these freed slaves' civil rights were in fact a way to achieve the goal of keeping African Americans socially and economically disadvantaged. The vagrancy laws were especially harsh. These were designed to make it easy to fine or arrest those African Americans who might not be used to their new lives or be gainfully employed—something that was not easy to achieve in the post-Civil War South, where feelings against freed slaves tended toward animosity.*

### AN ACT TO CONFER CIVIL RIGHTS ON FREEDMEN, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES

Section 1. All freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes may sue and be sued, implead and be impleaded, in all the courts of law and equity of this State, and may acquire personal property, and chuses in action, by descent or purchase, and may dispose of the same in the same manner and to the same extent that white persons may: Provided, That the provisions of this section shall not be so construed as to allow any freedman, free negro or mulatto to rent or lease any lands or tenements except in incorporated cities or towns, in which places the corporate authorities shall control the same.

Section 2. All freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes may intermarry with each other, in the same manner and under the same regulations that are provided by law for white persons: Provided, that the clerk of probate shall keep separate records of the same.

Section 3. All freedmen, free negroes or mulattoes who do now and have herebefore lived and cohabited together as husband and wife shall be taken and held in law as legally married, and the issue shall be taken and held as legitimate for all purposes; and it shall not be lawful for any freedman, free negro or mulatto to intermarry with any white person; nor for any person to intermarry with any freedman, free negro or mulatto; and any person who shall so intermarry shall be deemed guilty of felony, and on conviction thereof shall be confined in the State penitentiary for life; and those shall be deemed freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes who are of pure negro blood, and those descended from a negro to the third generation, inclusive, though one ancestor in each generation may have been a white person.

Section 4. In addition to cases in which freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes are now by law competent witnesses, freedmen, free negroes or mulattoes shall be

competent in civil cases, when a party or parties to the suit, either plaintiff or plaintiffs, defendant or defendants; also in cases where freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes is or are either plaintiff or plaintiffs, defendant or defendants. They shall also be competent witnesses in all criminal prosecutions where the crime charged is alleged to have been committed by a white person upon or against the person or property of a freedman, free negro or mulatto: Provided, that in all cases said witnesses shall be examined in open court, on the stand; except, however, they may be examined before the grand jury, and shall in all cases be subject to the rules and tests of the common law as to competency and credibility.

Section 5. Every freedman, free negro and mulatto shall, on the second Monday of January, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-six, and annually thereafter, have a lawful home or employment, and shall have written evidence thereof as follows, to wit: if living in any incorporated city, town, or village, a license from the mayor thereof; and if living outside of an incorporated city, town, or village, from the member of the board of police of his beat, authorizing him or her to do irregular and job work; or a written contract, as provided in Section 6 in this act; which license may be revoked for cause at any time by the authority granting the same.

Section 6. All contracts for labor made with freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes for a longer period than one month shall be in writing, and a duplicate, attested and read to said freedman, free negro or mulatto by a beat, city or county officer, or two disinterested white persons of the county in which the labor is to be performed, of which each party shall have one: and said contracts shall be taken and held as entire contracts, and if the laborer shall quit the service of the employer before the expiration of his term of service, without good cause, he shall forfeit his wages for that year up to the time of quitting.

Section 7. Every civil officer shall, and every person may, arrest and carry back to his or her legal employer any freedman, free negro, or mulatto who shall have quit the service of his or her employer before the expiration of his or her term of service without good cause; and said officer and person shall be entitled to receive for arresting and carrying back every deserting employee aforesaid the sum of five dollars, and ten cents per mile from the place of arrest to the place of delivery; and the same shall be paid by the employer, and held as a set off for so much against the wages of said deserting employee: Provided, that said arrested party, after being so returned, may appeal to the justice of the peace or member of the board of police of the county, who, on notice to the alleged employer, shall try summarily whether said appellant is legally employed by the alleged

employer, and has good cause to quit said employer. Either party shall have the right of appeal to the county court, pending which the alleged deserter shall be remanded to the alleged employer or otherwise disposed of, as shall be right and just; and the decision of the county court shall be final.

Section 8. Upon affidavit made by the employer of any freedman, free negro or mulatto, or other credible person, before any justice of the peace or member of the board of police, that any freedman, free negro or mulatto legally employed by said employer has illegally deserted said employment, such justice of the peace or member of the board of police issue his warrant or warrants, returnable before himself or other such officer, to any sheriff, constable or special deputy, commanding him to arrest said deserter, and return him or her to said employer, and the like proceedings shall be had as provided in the preceding section; and it shall be lawful for any officer to whom such warrant shall be directed to execute said warrant in any county in this State; and that said warrant may be transmitted without endorsement to any like officer of another county, to be executed and returned as aforesaid; and the said employer shall pay the costs of said warrants and arrest and return, which shall be set off for so much against the wages of said deserter.

Section 9. If any person shall persuade or attempt to persuade, entice, or cause any freedman, free negro or mulatto to desert from the legal employment of any person before the expiration of his or her term of service, or shall knowingly employ any such deserting freedman, free negro or mulatto, or shall knowingly give or sell to any such deserting freedman, free negro or mulatto, any food, raiment, or other thing, he or she shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and, upon conviction, shall be fined not less than twenty-five dollars and not more than two hundred dollars and costs; and if the said fine and costs shall not be immediately paid, the court shall sentence said convict to not exceeding two months imprisonment in the county jail, and he or she shall moreover be liable to the party injured in damages: Provided, if any person shall, or shall attempt to, persuade, entice, or cause any freedman, free negro or mulatto to desert from any legal employment of any person, with the view to employ said freedman, free negro or mulatto without the limits of this State, such costs; and if said fine and costs shall not be immediately paid, the court shall sentence said convict to not exceeding six months imprisonment in the county jail.

Section 10. It shall be lawful for any freedman, free negro, or mulatto, to charge any white person, freedman, free negro or mulatto by affidavit, with any criminal offense against his or her person or property, and upon such affidavit the proper process shall be issued and

executed as if said affidavit was made by a white person, and it shall be lawful for any freedman, free negro, or mulatto, in any action, suit or controversy pending, or about to be instituted in any court of law equity in this State, to make all needful and lawful affidavits as shall be necessary for the institution, prosecution or defense of such suit or controversy.

Section 11. The penal laws of this state, in all cases not otherwise specially provided for, shall apply and extend to all freedman, free negroes and mulattoes. . . .

**AN ACT TO REGULATE  
THE RELATION OF MASTER  
AND APPRENTICE, AS RELATES  
TO FREEDMEN, FREE NEGROES,  
AND MULATTOES**

Section 1. It shall be the duty of all sheriffs, justices of the peace, and other civil officers of the several counties in this State, to report to the probate courts of their respective counties semiannually, at the January and July terms of said courts, all freedmen, free negroes, and mulattoes, under the age of eighteen, in their respective counties, beats, or districts, who are orphans, or whose parent or parents have not the means or who refuse to provide for and support said minors; and thereupon it shall be the duty of said probate court to order the clerk of said court to apprentice said minors to some competent and suitable person on such terms as the court may direct, having a particular care to the interest of said minor: Provided, that the former owner of said minors shall have the preference when, in the opinion of the court, he or she shall be a suitable person for that purpose.

Section 2. The said court shall be fully satisfied that the person or persons to whom said minor shall be apprenticed shall be a suitable person to have the charge and care of said minor, and fully to protect the interest of said minor. The said court shall require the said master or mistress to execute bond and security, payable to the State of Mississippi, conditioned that he or she shall furnish said minor with sufficient food and clothing; to treat said minor humanely; furnish medical attention in case of sickness; teach, or cause to be taught, him or her to read and write, if under fifteen years old, and will conform to any law that may be hereafter passed for the regulation of the duties and relation of master and apprentice: Provided, that said apprentice shall be bound by indenture, in case of males, until they are twenty-one years old, and in case of females until they are eighteen years old.

Section 3. In the management and control of said apprentices, said master or mistress shall have the power to inflict such moderate corporeal chastisement as a father or guardian is allowed to infliction on his or her

child or ward at common law: Provided, that in no case shall cruel or inhuman punishment be inflicted.

Section 4. If any apprentice shall leave the employment of his or her master or mistress, without his or her consent, said master or mistress may pursue and recapture said apprentice, and bring him or her before any justice of the peace of the county, whose duty it shall be to remand said apprentice to the service of his or her master or mistress; and in the event of a refusal on the part of said apprentice so to return, then said justice shall commit said apprentice to the jail of said county, on failure to give bond, to the next term of the county court; and it shall be the duty of said court at the first term thereafter to investigate said case, and if the court shall be of opinion that said apprentice left the employment of his or her master or mistress without good cause, to order him or her to be punished, as provided for the punishment of hired freedmen, as may be from time to time provided for by law for desertion, until he or she shall agree to return to the service of his or her master or mistress: Provided, that the court may grant continuances as in other cases: And provided further, that if the court shall believe that said apprentice had good cause to quit his said master or mistress, the court shall discharge said apprentice from said indenture, and also enter a judgment against the master or mistress for not more than one hundred dollars, for the use and benefit of said apprentice, to be collected on execution as in other cases.

Section 5. If any person entice away any apprentice from his or her master or mistress, or shall knowingly employ an apprentice, or furnish him or her food or clothing without the written consent of his or her master or mistress, or shall sell or give said apprentice spirits without such consent, said person so offending shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall, upon conviction there of before the county court, be punished as provided for the punishment of persons enticing from their employer hired freedmen, free negroes or mulattoes.

Section 6. It shall be the duty of all civil officers of their respective counties to report any minors within their respective counties to said probate court who are subject to be apprenticed under the provisions of this act, from time to time as the facts may come to their knowledge, and it shall be the duty of said court from time to time as said minors shall be reported to them, or otherwise come to their knowledge, to apprentice said minors as hereinbefore provided.

Section 9. It shall be lawful for any freedman, free negro, or mulatto, having a minor child or children, to apprentice the said minor child or children, as provided for by this act.

Section 10. In all cases where the age of the freedman, free negro, or mulatto cannot be ascertained by

record testimony, the judge of the county court shall fix the age. . . .

**AN ACT TO AMEND THE VAGRANT LAWS OF THE STATE**

Section 1. All rogues and vagabonds, idle and dissipated persons, beggars, jugglers, or persons practicing unlawful games or plays, runaways, common drunkards, common night-walkers, pilferers, lewd, wanton, or lascivious persons, in speech or behavior, common railers and brawlers, persons who neglect their calling or employment, mispend what they earn, or do not provide for the support of themselves or their families, or dependents, and all other idle and disorderly persons, including all who neglect all lawful business, habitually mispend their time by frequenting houses of ill-fame, gaming-houses, or tippling shops, shall be deemed and considered vagrants, under the provisions of this act, and upon conviction thereof shall be fined not exceeding one hundred dollars, with all accruing costs, and be imprisoned, at the discretion of the court, not exceeding ten days.

Section 2. All freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes in this State, over the age of eighteen years, found on the second Monday in January, 1866, or thereafter, with no lawful employment or business, or found unlawfully assembling themselves together, either in the day or night time, and all white persons assembling themselves with freedmen, free negroes or mulattoes, or usually associating with freedmen, free negroes or mulattoes, on terms of equality, or living in adultery or fornication with a freed woman, freed negro or mulatto, shall be deemed vagrants, and on conviction thereof shall be fined in a sum not exceeding, in the case of a freedman, free negro or mulatto, fifty dollars, and a white man two hundred dollars, and imprisonment at the discretion of the court, the free negro not exceeding ten days, and the white man not exceeding six months.

Section 3. All justices of the peace, mayors, and aldermen of incorporated towns, counties, and cities of the several counties in this State shall have jurisdiction to try all questions of vagrancy in their respective towns, counties, and cities, and it is hereby made their duty, whenever they shall ascertain that any person or persons in their respective towns, and counties and cities are violating any of the provisions of this act, to have said party or parties arrested, and brought before them, and immediately investigate said charge, and, on conviction, punish said party or parties, as provided for herein. And it is hereby made the duty of all sheriffs, constables, town constables, and all such like officers, and city marshals, to report to some officer having jurisdiction all violations of any of the provisions of this act, and in case any officer shall fail or neglect any duty herein it shall be the duty of the county court to fine said officer,

upon conviction, not exceeding one hundred dollars, to be paid into the county treasury for county purposes.

Section 4. Keepers of gaming houses, houses of prostitution, prostitutes, public or private, and all persons who derive their chief support in the employments that militate against good morals, or against law, shall be deemed and held to be vagrants.

Section 5. All fines and forfeitures collected by the provisions of this act shall be paid into the county treasury for general county purposes, and in case of any freedman, free negro or mulatto shall fail for five days after the imposition of any or forfeiture upon him or her for violation of any of the provisions of this act to pay the same, that it shall be, and is hereby, made the duty of the sheriff of the proper county to hire out said freedman, free negro or mulatto, to any person who will, for the shortest period of service, pay said fine and forfeiture and all costs: Provided, a preference shall be given to the employer, if there be one, in which case the employer shall be entitled to deduct and retain the amount so paid from the wages of such freedman, free negro or mulatto, then due or to become due; and in case freedman, free negro or mulatto cannot hire out, he or she may be dealt with as a pauper.

Section 6. The same duties and liabilities existing among white persons of this State shall attach to freedmen, free negroes or mulattoes, to support their indigent families and all colored paupers; and that in order to secure a support for such indigent freedmen, free negroes, or mulattoes, it shall be lawful, and is hereby made the duty of the county police of each county in this State, to levy a poll or capitation tax on each and every freedman, free negro, or mulatto, between the ages of eighteen and sixty years, not to exceed the sum of one dollar annually to each person so taxed, which tax, when collected, shall be paid into the county treasurer's hands, and constitute a fund to be called the Freedman's Pauper Fund, which shall be applied by the commissioners of the poor for the maintenance of the poor of the freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes of this State, under such regulations as may be established by the boards of county police in the respective counties of this State.

Section 7. If any freedman, free negro, or mulatto shall fail or refuse to pay any tax levied according to the provisions of the sixth section of this act, it shall be *prima facie* evidence of vagrancy, and it shall be the duty of the sheriff to arrest such freedman, free negro, or mulatto, or such person refusing or neglecting to pay such tax, and proceed at once to hire for the shortest time such delinquent taxpayer to any one who will pay the said tax, with accruing costs, giving preference to the employer, if there be one.

Section 8. Any person feeling himself or herself aggrieved by judgment of any justice of the peace, mayor,

or alderman in cases arising under this act, may within five days appeal to the next term of the county court of the proper county, upon giving bond and security in a sum not less than twenty-five dollars nor more than one hundred and fifty dollars, conditioned to appear and prosecute said appeal, and abide by the judgment of the county court; and said appeal shall be tried *de novo* in the county court, and the decision of the said court shall be final. . . .

## GERONIMO'S DEFENSE OF HIMSELF AND HIS ACTIONS TO U.S. ARMY GENERAL GEORGE CROOK IN 1886

SOURCE *Vanderwerth, W. C. From Indian Oratory: Famous Speeches by Noted Indian Chieftains, University of Oklahoma Press, 1971. Copyright © 1971 University of Oklahoma Press. Reproduced by permission.*

INTRODUCTION *Geronimo was born in 1829, near the headwaters of New Mexico's Gila River. The United States was a young nation whose western territories were still being settled. In the Apache homeland of the Chiricahua mountain range in what is now southwestern Arizona, the Native Americans were still engaged in a centuries' long struggle with the Spanish who had been there since the 1500s. By Geronimo's time, white settlers were also beginning to encroach upon his people's land. In 1858, Mexicans killed his mother, wife, and children. His pain and anger then led him into a series of raids against white settlers in the region. Geronimo then retreated peacefully into a reservation in Arizona. It was not until the U.S. government attempted to force the Chiricahua Apaches to move to a reservation in New Mexico that Geronimo's refusal took him into a ten-year guerrilla war against both the Mexicans and the Americans. More often than not, even after several captures he would head back into the safe hideout of the mountains with his followers, continually eluding capture. In 1886 he was finally cornered by U.S. troops and threatened with a move to a Florida reservation if the Apache raids did not stop. He delivered this defense to U.S. Army General George Crook when he met and realized that surrender might be the only option. Some thought this was his own version of the truth rather than the remarks of an innocent man. Regardless of the debate over the objectiveness of his point of view,, his speech worked.*

*He lived out his life in peace, long enough to attend the presidential inauguration ceremonies of Theodore Roosevelt in 1905. He died in 1909 and is buried at Ft. Sill, Oklahoma.*

I want to talk first of the causes which led me to leave the reservation. I was living quietly and contented, doing and thinking of no harm, while at the Sierra Blanca. I don't know what harm I did to those three men, Chato, Mickey Free, and Lieutenant Davis. I was living peaceably and satisfied when people began to speak bad of me. I should be glad to know who started those stories. I was living peaceably with my family, having plenty to eat, sleeping well, taking care of my people, and perfectly contented. I don't know where those bad stories first came from. There we were doing well and my people well. I was behaving well. I hadn't killed a horse or man, American or Indian. I don't know what was the matter with the people in charge of us. They knew this to be so, and yet they said I was a bad man and the worst man there; but what harm had I done? I was living peaceably and well, but I did not leave on my own accord. Had I left it would have been right to blame me; but as it is, blame those men who started this talk about me.

Some time before I left an Indian named Wodiskay had a talk with me. He said, "They are going to arrest you," but I paid no attention to him, knowing that I had done no wrong; and the wife of Mangus, Huera, told me that they were going to seize me and put me and Mangus in the guardhouse, and I learned from the American and Apache soldiers, from Chato, and Mickey Free, that the Americans were going to arrest me and hang me, and so I left.

I would like to know now who it was that gave the order to arrest me and hang me. I was living peaceably there with my family under the shade of the trees, doing just what General Crook had told me I must do and trying to follow his advice. I want to know now who it was ordered me to be arrested. I was praying to the light and to the darkness, to God and to the sun, to let me live quietly with my family. I don't know what the reason was that people should speak badly of me. I don't want to be blamed. The fault was not mine. Blame those three men. With them is the fault, and find out who it was that began that bad talk about me.

I have several times asked for peace, but trouble has come from the agents and interpreters. I don't want what has passed to happen again. Now, I am going to tell you something else. The Earth-Mother is listening to me and I hope that all may be so arranged that from now on there shall be no trouble and that we shall always have peace. Whenever we see you coming to where we are, we think it is God—you must come always with God. From



this on I do not want that anything shall be told you about me even in joke. Whenever I have broken out, it was always been on account of bad talk. From this on I hope that people will tell me nothing but the truth. From this on I want to do what is right and nothing else and I do not want you to believe any bad papers about me. I want the papers sent you to tell the truth about me, because I want to do what is right. Very often there are stories put in the newspapers that I am to be hanged. I don't want that any more. When a man tries to do right, such stories ought not to be put in the newspapers.

I don't know what the reason was that people should speak badly of me. . . . From this on I want to do what is right and nothing else. . . . There are very few of my men left now. They have done some bad things but I want them all rubbed out now and let us never speak of them again. There are very few of us left. We think of our relations, brothers, brothers-in-law, father-in-law, etc., over on the reservation, and from this on we want to live at peace just as they are doing, and to behave as they are behaving. Sometimes a man does something and men are sent out to bring in his head. I don't want such things to happen to us. I don't want that we should be killing each other.

What is the matter that you don't speak to me? It would be better if you would speak to me and look with a pleasant face. It would make better feeling. I would be glad if you did. I'd be better satisfied if you would talk to me once in a while. Why don't you look at me and smile at me? I am the same man; I have the same feet, legs, and hands, and the sun looks down on me a complete man. I want you to look and smile at me.

I have not forgotten what you told me, although a long time has passed. I keep it in my memory. I am a complete man. Nothing has gone from my body. From here on I want to live at peace. Don't believe any bad talk you hear about me. The agents and the interpreter hear that somebody has done wrong, and they blame it all on me. Don't believe what they say. I don't want any of this bad talk in the future. I don't want those men who talked this way about me to be my agents any more. I want good men to be my agents and interpreters; people who will talk right. I want this peace to be legal and good. Whenever I meet you I talk good to you, and you to me, and peace is soon established; but when you go to the reservation you put agents and interpreters over us who do bad things. Perhaps they don't mind what you tell them, because I do not believe you would tell them to do bad things to us. In the future we don't want these bad men to be allowed near where we are to live. We don't want any more of that kind of bad talk. I don't want any man who will talk bad about me, and tell lies, to be there, because I am going to try and live well and peaceably. I want to have a good man put over me.

While living I want to live well. I know I have to die sometime, but even if the heavens were to fall on me, I want to do what is right. I think I am a good man, but in the papers all over the world they say I am a bad man; but it is a bad thing to say so about me. I never do wrong without a cause. Every day I am thinking, how am I to talk to you to make you believe what I say; and, I think, too, that you are thinking of what you are to say to me. There is one God looking down on us all. We are all children of the one God. God is listening to me. The sun, the darkness, the winds, are all listening to what we now say.

To prove to you that I am telling you the truth, remember I sent you word that I would come from a place far away to speak to you here, and you see us now. Some have come on horseback and some on foot. If I were thinking bad, or if I had done bad, I would never have come here. If it has been my fault, would I have come so far to talk to you? I have told you all that has happened. I also had feared that I should never see Ka-e-te-na again, but here he is, and I want the past to be buried. I am glad to see Ka-e-te-na. I was afraid I should never see him again. That was one reason, too, why I left. I wish that Ka-e-te-na would be returned to us to live with his family. I now believe what I was told. Now I believe that all told me is true, because I see Ka-e-te-na again. I am glad to see him again, as I was told I should. We are all glad. My body feels good because I see Ka-e-te-na, and my breathing is good. Now I can eat well, drink well, sleep well, and be glad. I can go everywhere with good feeling. Now, what I want is peace in good faith. Both you and I think well and think alike.

Well, we have talked enough and set here long enough. I may have forgotten something, but if I remember it, I will tell you of it tonight, or tomorrow, or some other time. I have finished for today, but I'll have something more to say bye and bye.

## BOOKER T. WASHINGTON'S "ATLANTA COMPROMISE" SPEECH

SOURCE *Public Domain.*

INTRODUCTION *Born into slavery and deprived of an education until after the Emancipation Proclamation, when he and his family were freed, Booker T. Washington understood the value of education. He would eventually rise to great prominence as an educator and play a key role in the founding of the*

*Tuskegee Institute. Known for his genteel manner and criticized by many for being too accommodating, Washington still secretly funded anti-segregationist groups. In this speech, delivered at the Atlanta Exposition in 1895, Washington recognized that the early years of freedom for his people were a struggle without all of the chances the white Americans had at their disposal for climbing up out of poverty. He told the people that day that it would be in the South where these freed slaves should find their best opportunity and that the leaders in the South should recognize the remarkable resource of willing workers they had right in front of them. When the movie The Birth of a Nation opened in 1915, he spoke out with many others who protested the stereotype of the African American that the movie portrayed. He died just a few months later.*

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Board of Directors and Citizens:

One-third of the population of the South is of the Negro race. No enterprise seeking the material, civil, or moral welfare of this section can disregard this element of our population and reach the highest success. I but convey to you, Mr. President and Directors, the sentiment of the masses of my race when I say that in no way have the value and manhood of the American Negro been more fittingly and generously recognized than by the managers of this magnificent Exposition at every stage of its progress. It is a recognition that will do more to cement the friendship of the two races than any occurrence since the dawn of our freedom.

Not only this, but the opportunity here afforded will awaken among us a new era of industrial progress. Ignorant and inexperienced, it is not strange that in the first years of our new life we began at the top instead of at the bottom; that a seat in Congress or the State Legislature was more sought than real estate or industrial skill; that the political convention or stump speaking had more attractions than starting a dairy farm or truck garden.

A ship lost at sea for many days suddenly sighted a friendly vessel. From the mast of the unfortunate vessel was seen a signal: "Water, water; we die of thirst!" The answer from the friendly vessel at once came back: "Cast down your bucket where you are." A second time the signal, "Water, water; send us water!" ran up from the distressed vessel, and was answered: "Cast down your bucket where you are." And a third and fourth signal for water was answered: "Cast down your bucket where you are." The captain of the distressed vessel, at last heeding the injunction, cast down his bucket, and it came up full of fresh, sparkling water from the mouth of the Amazon River. To those of my race who depend

on bettering their condition in a foreign land, or who underestimate the importance of cultivating friendly relations with the Southern white man, who is their next door neighbor, I would say: "Cast down your bucket where you are"—cast it down in making friends in every manly way of the people of all races by whom we are surrounded.

Cast it down in agriculture, mechanics, in commerce, in domestic service, and in the professions. And in this connection it is well to bear in mind that whatever other sins the South may be called to bear, when it comes to business, pure and simple, it is in the South that the Negro is given a man's chance in the commercial world, and in nothing is this Exposition more eloquent than in emphasizing this chance. Our greatest danger is, that in the great leap from slavery to freedom we may overlook the fact that the masses of us are to live by the productions of our hands, and fail to keep in mind that we shall prosper in proportion as we learn to dignify and glorify common labor, and put brains and skill into the common occupations of life; shall prosper in proportion as we learn to draw the line between the superficial and the substantial, the ornamental gewgaws of life and the useful. No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem. It is at the bottom of life we must begin, and not at the top. Nor should we permit our grievances to overshadow our opportunities.

To those of the white race who look to the incoming of those of foreign birth and strange tongue and habits for the prosperity of the South, were I permitted, I would repeat what I say to my own race, "Cast down your bucket where you are." Cast it down among the 8,000,000 Negroes whose habits you know, whose fidelity and love you have tested in days when to have proved treacherous meant the ruin of your firesides. Cast down your bucket among those people who have, without strikes and labor wars, tilled your fields, cleared your forests, builded your railroads and cities, and brought forth treasures from the bowels of the earth, and helped make possible this magnificent representation of the progress of the South. Casting down your bucket among my people, helping and encouraging them as you are doing on these grounds, and, with education of head, hand and heart, you will find that they will buy your surplus land, make blossom the waste place in your fields, and run your factories. While doing this, you can be sure in the future, as in the past, that you and your families will be surrounded by the most patient, faithful, law-abiding, and unresentful people that the world has seen. As we have proved our loyalty to you in the past, in nursing your children, watching by the sick bed of your mothers and fathers, and often following them with tear-dimmed eyes to their graves, so in the future, in our

**Plessy v. Ferguson (excerpts)**

humble way, we shall stand by you with a devotion that no foreigner can approach, ready to lay down our lives, if need be, in defense of yours, interlacing our industrial, commercial, civil, and religious life with yours in a way that shall make the interests of both races one. In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress.

There is no defense or security for any of us except in the highest intelligence and development of all. If anywhere there are efforts tending to curtail the fullest growth of the Negro, let these efforts be turned into stimulating, encouraging, and making him the most useful and intelligent citizen. Effort or means so invested will pay a thousand percent interest. These efforts will be twice blessed—'blessing him that gives and him that takes.'

There is no escape through law of man or God from the inevitable:

"The laws of changeless justice bind  
Oppressor with oppressed;  
And close as sin and suffering joined  
We march to fate abreast."

Nearly sixteen millions of hands will aid you in pulling the load upwards, or they will pull against you the load downwards. We shall constitute one-third and more of the ignorance and crime of the South, or one-third its intelligence and progress; we shall contribute one-third to the business and industrial prosperity of the South, or we shall prove a veritable body of death, stagnating, depressing, retarding every effort to advance the body politic.

Gentlemen of the Exposition, as we present to you humble effort at an exhibition of our progress, you must not expect over much. Starting thirty years ago with ownership here and there in a few quilts and pumpkins and chickens (gathered from miscellaneous sources), remember the path that has led from these to the invention and production of agricultural implements, buggies, steam engines, newspapers, books, statuary, carving, paintings, the management of drug stores and banks, has not been trodden without contact with thorns and thistles. While we take pride in what we exhibit as a result of our independent efforts, we do not for a moment forget that our part in this exhibition would fall far short of your expectations but for the constant help that has come to our educational life, not only from the Southern States, but especially from Northern philanthropists, who have made their gifts a constant stream of blessing and encouragement.

The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremist folly,

and that progress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing. No race that has anything to contribute to the markets of the world is long in any degree ostracized. It is important and right that all privileges of the law be ours, but it is vastly more important that we be prepared for the exercise of those privileges. The opportunity to earn a dollar in a factory just now is worth infinitely more than the opportunity to spend a dollar in an opera house.

In conclusion, may I repeat that nothing in thirty years has given us more hope and encouragement, and drawn us so near to you of the white race, as this opportunity offered by the Exposition; and here bending, as it were, over the altar that represents the results of the struggle of your race and mine, both starting practically empty-handed three decades ago, I pledge that, in your effort to work out the great and intricate problem which God has laid at the doors of the South, you shall have at all time the patient, sympathetic help of my race; only let this be constantly in mind that, while from representations in these buildings of the product of field, of forest, of mine, of factory, letters, and art, much good will come, yet far above and beyond material benefits will be that higher good, that let us pray God will come, in a blotting out of sectional differences and racial animosities and suspicions, in a determination to administer absolute justice, in a willing obedience among all classes to the mandates of law. This, coupled with our material prosperity, will bring into our beloved South a new heaven and a new earth.

**PLESSY V. FERGUSON  
(EXCERPTS)**

SOURCE *Public Domain.*

INTRODUCTION *In 1878 the Supreme Court had ruled in Hall v. DeCuir that states could not outlaw segregation in transportation modes such as streetcars or railroads. In 1896, after an African American man named Homer Adolph Plessy was arrested for refusing to ride in the "colored" railroad coach while traveling from New Orleans to Covington, Louisiana, he challenged the arrest. Once again, "separate but equal" was claimed to be the law of the land when Justice Billings Brown ruled that it was a reasonable use of state power, and that in this case, the Fourteenth Amendment providing for equal protection was not meant to abolish social or racial distinctions to the point of forcing a mingling together of the races. Until*

*1954 and the ruling of Brown v. Board of Education racial discrimination would continue to find legal support in the highest court of the United States.*

Justice Brown delivered the opinion of the Court.

This case turns upon the constitutionality of an act of the General Assembly of the state of Louisiana, passed in 1890, providing for separate railway carriages for the white and colored races. . . .

The constitutionality of this act is attacked upon the ground that it conflicts both with the Thirteenth Amendment of the Constitution, abolishing slavery, and the Fourteenth Amendment, which prohibits certain restrictive legislation on the part of the states.

1. That it does not conflict with the Thirteenth Amendment, which abolished slavery and involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, is too clear for argument. Slavery implies involuntary servitude—a state of bondage; the ownership of mankind as a chattel, or at least the control of the labor and services of one man for the benefit of another, and absence of a legal right to the disposal of his own person, property, and services. . . .

A statute which implies merely a legal distinction between the white and colored races—a distinction which is founded in the color of the two races, and which must always exist so long as white men are distinguished from the other race by color—has no tendency to destroy the legal equality of the two races, or reestablish a state of involuntary servitude. Indeed, we do not understand that the Thirteenth Amendment is strenuously relied upon by the plaintiff in error in this connection.

2. By the Fourteenth Amendment, all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are made citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside; and the states are forbidden from making or enforcing any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, or shall deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, or deny to any person within their jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. . . .

The object of the amendment was undoubtedly to enforce the absolute equality of the two races before the law, but in the nature of things it could not have been intended to abolish distinctions based upon color, or to enforce social, as distinguished from political, equality, or a commingling of the two races upon terms unsatisfactory to either. Laws permitting, and even requiring, their separation in places where they are liable to be brought into contact do not necessarily imply the inferiority of either race to the other, and have been generally, if not universally, recognized as within the competency of the

state legislatures in the exercise of their police power. The most common instance of this is connected with the establishment of separate schools for white and colored children, which has been held to be a valid exercise of the legislative power even by courts of states where the political rights of the colored race have been longest and most earnestly enforced. . . .

So far, then, as a conflict with the Fourteenth Amendment is concerned, the case reduces itself to the question whether the statute of Louisiana is a reasonable regulation, and with respect to this there must necessarily be a large discretion on the part of the legislature. In determining the question of reasonableness it is at liberty to act with reference to the established usages, customs, and traditions of the people, and with a view to the promotion of their comfort, and the preservation of the public peace and good order. Gauged by this standard, we cannot say that a law which authorizes or even requires the separation of the two races in public conveyances is unreasonable or more obnoxious to the Fourteenth Amendment than the acts of Congress requiring separate schools for colored children in the District of Columbia, the constitutionality of which does not seem to have been questioned, or the corresponding acts of state legislatures.

We consider the underlying fallacy of the plaintiff's argument to consist in the assumption that the enforced separation of the two races stamps the colored race with a badge of inferiority. If this be so, it is not by reason of anything found in the act, but solely the colored race chooses to put that construction upon it. The argument necessarily assumes that if, as has been more than once the case, and is not unlikely to be so again, the colored race should become the dominant power in the state legislature, and should enact a law in precisely similar terms, it would thereby relegate the white race to an inferior position. We imagine that the white race, at least, would not acquiesce in this assumption. The argument also assumes that social prejudices may be overcome by legislation and that equal rights cannot be secured to the Negro except by an enforced commingling of the two races. We cannot accept this proposition. If the two races are to meet upon terms of social equality, it must be the result of natural affinities, a mutual appreciation of each other's merits, and a voluntary consent of individuals. . . . Legislation is powerless to eradicate racial instincts or to abolish distinctions based upon physical differences, and the attempt to do so can only result in accentuating the difficulties of the present situation. If the civil and political rights of both races be equal, one cannot be inferior to the other civilly or politically. If one race be inferior to the other socially, the Constitution of the United States cannot put them upon the same plane.

**Plessy v. Ferguson** (*excerpts*)

It is true that the question of the proportion of colored blood necessary to constitute a colored person, as distinguished from a white person, is one upon which there is a difference of opinion in the different states, some holding that any visible admixture of black blood stamps the person as belonging to the colored race . . . others that it depends upon the preponderance of blood . . . and still others that the pre-dominance of white blood must only be in the proportion of three-fourths. . . . But these are questions to be determined under the laws of each state and are not properly put in issue in this case. Under the allegations of his petition it may undoubtedly become a question of importance whether, under the laws of Louisiana, the petitioner belongs to the white or colored race.

The judgment of the court below is therefore, *Affirmed*.

In respect of civil rights, common to all citizens, the Constitution of the United States does not, I think, permit any public authority to know the race of those entitled to be protected in the enjoyment of such rights. Every true man has pride of race, and under appropriate circumstances with the rights of others, his equals before the law, are not to be affected, it is his privilege to express such pride and to take such action based upon it as to him seems proper. But I deny that any legislative body or judicial tribunal may have regard to the race of citizens when the civil rights of those citizens are involved. Indeed, such legislation, as that here in question, is inconsistent not only with that equality of rights which pertains to citizenship, national and state, but with the personal liberty enjoyed by everyone within the United States.

The Thirteenth Amendment does not permit the withholding or the deprivation of any right necessarily inhering in freedom. It not only struck down the institution of slavery as previously existing in the United States, but it prevents the imposition of any burdens or disabilities that constitute badges of slavery or servitude. It decreed universal civil freedom in this country. This Court has so adjudged. But that amendment having been found inadequate to the protection of the rights of those who had been in slavery, it was followed by the Fourteenth Amendment, which added greatly to the dignity and glory of the American citizenship, and to the security of personal liberty, by declaring that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside," and that "no state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor

deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." These two amendments, if enforced according to their true intent and meaning, will protect all the civil rights that pertain to freedom and citizenship. Finally, and to the end that no citizen should be denied, on account of his race, the privilege of participating in the political control of his country, it was declared by the Fifteenth Amendment that "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

These notable additions to the fundamental law were welcomed by the friends of liberty throughout the world. They removed the race line from our governmental systems.

It was said in argument that the statute of Louisiana does not discriminate against either race but prescribes a rule applicable alike to white and colored citizens. But this argument does not meet the difficulty. Everyone knows that the statute in question had its origin in the purpose, not so much to exclude white persons from railroad cars occupied by blacks, as to exclude colored people from coaches occupied by or assigned to white persons. Railroad corporations of Louisiana did not make discrimination among whites in the matter of accommodation for travelers. The thing to accomplish was, under the guise of giving equal accommodation for whites and blacks, to compel the latter to keep to themselves while traveling in railroad passenger coaches. No one would be wanting in candor as to assert the contrary. The fundamental objections, therefore, to the statute is that it interferes with the personal freedom of citizens. If a white man and a black man choose to occupy the same public conveyance on a public highway, it is their right to do so, and no government, proceeding alone on grounds of race, can prevent it without infringing the personal liberty of each.

It is one thing for railroad carriers to furnish, or to be required by law to furnish, equal accommodations for all whom they are under a legal duty to carry. It is quite another thing for government to forbid citizens of the white and black races from traveling in the same public conveyance, and to punish officers of railroad companies for permitting persons of the two races to occupy the same passenger coach. If a state can prescribe, as a rule of civil conduct, that whites and blacks shall not travel as passengers in the same railroad coach, why may it not so regulate the use of the streets of its cities and towns as to compel white citizens to keep on one side of a street and black citizens to keep on the other? Why may it not, upon like grounds, punish whites and blacks who ride together in streetcars or in open vehicles on a public road or street? Why may it not require sheriffs to assign whites

to one side of a courtroom and blacks to other? And why may it not also prohibit the commingling of the two races in the galleries of legislative halls or in public assemblages convened for the consideration of the political questions of the day? Further, if this statute of Louisiana is consistent with the personal liberty of citizens, why may not the state require the separation in railroad coaches of native and naturalized citizens of the United States, or of Protestants and Roman Catholics?

The answer given as the argument to these questions was that regulations of the kind they suggest would be unreasonable and could not, therefore, stand before the law. Is it meant that the determination of questions of legislative power depends upon the inquiry whether the statute whose validity is questioned is, in the judgment of the courts, a reasonable one, taking all the circumstances into consideration? A statute may be unreasonable merely because a sound public forbade its enactment. But I do not understand that the courts have anything to do with the policy or expediency of legislation. The white race deems itself to be the dominant race in this country. And so it is, in prestige, in achievements, in education, in wealth, and in power. So, I doubt not, it will continue to be for all time, if it remains true to its great heritage and holds fast to the principles of constitutional liberty. But in view of the Constitution, in the eye of the law, there is in this country no superior, dominant, ruling class of citizens. There is no caste here. Our Constitution is color-blind and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens. In respect of civil rights all citizens are equal before the law. The humblest is the peer of the most powerful. The law regards man as a man and takes no account of his surroundings or of his color when his civil rights, as guaranteed by the supreme law of the land, are involved. It is, therefore, to be regretted that this high tribunal, the final expositor of the fundamental law of the land, has reached the conclusion that it is competent for a state to regulate the enjoyment by citizens of their civil rights solely upon the basis of race. . . .

The sure guarantee of the peace and security of each is the clear, distinct, unconditional recognition by our governments, national and state, of every right that inheres in civil freedom, and of the equality before the law of all citizens of the United States without regard to race. State enactments, regulating the enjoyment of civil rights, upon the basis of race, and cunningly devised legitimate results of the war, under the pretense of recognizing equality of rights, can have no other result than to render permanent peace impossible, and to keep alive a conflict of races, the continuance of which must do harm to all concerned. . . .

The arbitrary separation of citizens, on the basis of race, while they are on a public highway, is a badge of

servitude wholly inconsistent with the civil freedom and the equality before the law established by the Constitution. It cannot be justified upon any legal grounds.

If evils will result from the commingling of the two races upon public highways established for the benefit of all, they will be infinitely less than those that will surely come from state legislation regulating the enjoyment of civil rights upon the basis of race. We boast of the freedom enjoyed by our people above all other peoples. But it is difficult to reconcile that boast with a state of the law which, practically, puts the brand of servitude and degradation upon a large class of our fellow-citizens, our equals before the law. The thin disguise of “equal” accommodations for passengers in railroad coaches will not mislead anyone, nor atone of the wrong this day done. . . .

I am of opinion that the statute of Louisiana is inconsistent with the personal liberty of citizens, white and black, in that state, and hostile to both the spirit and letter of the Constitution of the United States. If laws of like character should be enacted in the several states of the Union, the effect would be in the highest degree mischievous. Slavery, as an institution tolerated by law, would, it is true, have disappeared from our country, but there would remain a power in the states, by sinister legislation, to interfere with the full enjoyment of the blessings of freedom; to regulate civil rights, common to all citizens, upon the basis of race, and to place in a condition of legal inferiority a large body of American citizens, now constituting a part of the political community called the People of the United States, for whom, and by whom through representatives, our government is administered. Such a system is inconsistent with the guarantee given by the Constitution to each state of a republican form of government, and may be stricken down by congressional action, constitutional or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.

For the reasons stated, I am constrained to withhold my assent from the opinion and judgment of the majority. . . .

## “LYNCH LAW IN AMERICA” (EXCERPT)

SOURCE *Public Domain.*

INTRODUCTION *In 1900 America, lynching seemed to be the law of the land, rather than the “national crime” as Ida B. Wells-Burnett announced in this article she published for a national audience. Because of legalized*

*“Lynch Law in America” (excerpt)*

*discrimination and segregation, violence toward African Americans seemed to flourish. Any number of excuses were made when groups of angry white men took it upon themselves to lynch an African American. One of them was a common claim of violence against white women—an accusation which was seldom met with any solid proof. As Wells-Burnett pointed out, the bulk of the crimes did not match the claims that were made as it was, let alone the number of those that were falsified. This woman, who became known as the most influential black female activist in the country, even petitioned President William McKinley in 1898 after an African American postmaster in South Carolina was lynched. As she also noted, lynching was not only a crime of the South. Lynchings were going on all over the country, and she provided statistics to back up her claims. The terrible reality was that in 1900, these crimes against African Americans would only begin to get worse before the struggle for civil rights was successful.*

Our country’s national crime is *lynching*. It is not the creature of an hour, the sudden outburst of uncontrolled fury, or the unspeakable brutality of an insane mob. It represents the cool, calculating deliberation of intelligent people who openly avow that there is an “unwritten law” that justifies them in putting human beings to death without complaint under oath, without trial by jury, without opportunity to make defense, and without right of appeal. . . .

. . . These advocates of the “unwritten law” boldly avowed their purpose to intimidate, suppress, and nullify the negro’s right to vote. In support of its plans the Ku-Klux Klans, the “red-shirt” and similar organizations proceeded to beat, exile, and kill negroes until the purpose of their organization was accomplished and the supremacy of the “unwritten law” was effected. Thus lynchings began in the South, rapidly spreading into the various States until the national law was nullified and the reign of the “unwritten law” was supreme. Men were taken from their homes by “red-shirt” bands and stripped, beaten, and exiled; others were assassinated when their political prominence made them obnoxious to their political opponents; while the Ku-Klux barbarism of election days, reveling in the butchery of thousands of colored voters, furnished records in Congressional investigations that are a disgrace to civilization.

The alleged menace of universal suffrage having been avoided by the absolute suppression of the negro vote, the spirit of mob murder should have been satisfied and the butchery of negroes should have ceased. But men, women, and children were the victims of murder by individuals and murder by mobs, just as they had been when killed at the demands of the “unwritten law” to

prevent “negro domination.” Negroes were killed for disputing over terms of contracts with their employers. If a few barns were burned some colored man was killed to stop it. If a colored man resented the imposition of a white man and the two came to blows, the colored man had to die, either at the hands of the white man then and there or later at the hands of a mob that speedily gathered. If he showed a spirit of courageous manhood he was hanged for his pains, and the killing was justified by the declaration that he was a “saucy nigger.” Colored women have been murdered because they refused to tell the mobs where relatives could be found for “lynching bees.” Boys of fourteen years have been lynched by white representatives of American civilization. In fact, for all kinds of offenses—and, for no offenses—from murders to misdemeanors, men and women are put to death without judge or jury; so that, although the political excuse was no longer necessary, the wholesale murder of human beings went on just the same. A new name was given to the killings and a new excuse was invented for so doing.

Again the aid of the “unwritten law” is invoked, and again it comes to the rescue. During the last ten years a new statute has been added to the “unwritten law.” This statute proclaims that for certain crimes or alleged crimes no negro shall be allowed a trial; that no white woman shall be compelled to charge an assault under oath or to submit any such charge to the investigation of a court of law. The result is that many men have been out to death whose innocence was afterward established; and to-day, under this reign of the “unwritten law,” no colored man, no matter what his reputation, is safe from lynching if a white woman, no matter what her standing or motive, cares to charge him with insult or assault.

It is considered a sufficient excuse and reasonable justification to put a prisoner to death under this “unwritten law” for the frequently repeated charge that these lynching horrors are necessary to prevent crimes against women. The sentiment of the country has been appealed to, in describing the isolated condition of white families in thickly populated negro districts; and the charge is made that these homes are in as great danger as if they were surrounded by wild beasts. And the world has accepted this theory without let or hindrance. In many cases there has been open expression that the fate meted out to the victim was only what he deserved. In many other instances there has been a silence that says more forcibly than words can proclaim it that it is right and proper that a human being should be seized by a mob and burned to death upon the unsworn and the uncorroborated charge of his accuser. No matter that our laws presume every man innocent until he is proved guilty; no matter that it leaves a certain class of individuals completely at the mercy of another class; no matter that it encourages those criminally disposed to blacken

their faces and commit any crime in the calendar so long as they can throw suspicion on some negro, as is frequently done, and then lead a mob to take his life; no matter that mobs make a farce of the law and a mockery of justice; no matter that hundreds of boys are being hardened in crime and schooled in vice by the repetition of such scenes before their eyes—if a white woman declares herself insulted or assaulted, some life must pay the penalty, with all the horrors of the Spanish Inquisition and all the barbarism of the Middle Ages. The world looks on and says it is well.

Not only are two hundred men and women put to death annually, on the average, in this country by mobs, but these lives are taken with the greatest publicity. In many instances the leading citizens aid and abet by their presence when they do not participate, and the leading journals inflame the public mind to the lynching point with scare-head articles and offers of rewards. Whenever a burning is advertised to take place, the railroads run excursions, photographs are taken, and the same jubilee is indulged in that characterized the public hangings of one hundred years ago. There is, however, this difference: in those old days the multitude that stood by was permitted only to guff or jeer. The nineteenth century lynching mob cuts off ears, toes, and fingers, strips off flesh, and distributes portions of the body as souvenirs among the crowd. If the leaders of the mob are so minded, coal-oil is poured over the body and the victim is then roasted to death. This has been done in Texarkana and Paris, Tex., in Bardswell, Ky., and in Newman, Ga. In Paris the officers of the law delivered the prisoner to the mob. The mayor gave the school children a holiday and the railroads ran excursion trains so that the people might see a human being burned to death. In Texarkana, the year before, men and boys amused themselves by cutting off strips of flesh and thrusting knives into their helpless victim. At Newman, Ga., of the present year, the mob tried every conceivable torture to compel the victim to cry out and confess, before they set fire to the faggots that burned him. But their trouble was all in vain—he never uttered a cry, and they could not make him confess.

This condition of affairs were brutal enough and horrible enough if it were true that lynchings occurred only because of the commission of crimes against women—as is constantly declared by ministers, editors, lawyers, teachers, statesmen, and even by women themselves. It has been to the interest of those who did the lynching to blacken the good name of the helpless and defenseless victims of their hate. For this reason they publish at every possible opportunity this excuse for lynching, hoping thereby not only to palliate their own crime but at the same time to prove the negro a moral monster and unworthy of the respect and sympathy of the civilized world. But this alleged reason adds to the

deliberate injustice of the mob’s work. Instead of lynchings being caused by assaults upon women, the statistics show that not one-third of the victims of lynchings are even charged with such crimes. The *Chicago Tribune*, which publishes annually lynching statistics, is authority for the following:

In 1892, when lynching reached high-water mark, there were 241 persons lynched. . . .

Of this number, 160 were of negro descent. Four of them were lynched in New York, Ohio, and Kansas; the remainder were murdered in the South. Five of this number were females. The charges for which they were lynched cover a wide range. They are as follows:

Rape .....	46
Murder .....	58
Rioting .....	3
Race Prejudice .....	6
No cause given .....	4
Incendiarism .....	6
Robbery .....	6
Assault and battery .....	1
Attempted rape .....	11
Suspected robbery .....	4
Larceny .....	1
Self-defense .....	1
Insulting women .....	2
Desperadoes .....	6
Fraud .....	1
Attempted murder .....	2
No offense stated, boy and girl .....	2

In the case of the boy and girl above referred to, their father, named Hastings, was accused of the murder of a white man. His fourteen-year-old daughter and sixteen-year-old son were hanged and their bodies filled with bullets; then the father was also lynched. This occurred in November, 1892, at Jonesville, La.

Indeed, the record for the last twenty years shows exactly the same or a smaller proportion who have been charged with this horrible crime. Quite a number of the one-third alleged cases of assault that have been personally investigated by the writer have shown that there was no foundation in fact for the charges; yet the claim is not made that there were no real culprits among them. The negro has been too long associated with the white man not to have copied his vices as well as his virtues. But the negro resents and utterly repudiates the efforts to blacken his good name by asserting that assaults upon women are peculiar to his race. The negro has suffered far more from the commission of this crime against the women of his race by white men than the white race has ever suffered



## “Unity of the Human Race”

through *his* crimes. Very scant notice is taken of the matter when this is the condition of affairs. What becomes a crime deserving capital punishment when the tables are turned is a matter of small moment when the negro woman is the accusing party.

But since the world has accepted this false and unjust statement, and the burden of proof has been placed upon the negro to vindicate his race, he is taking steps to do so. The Anti-Lynching Bureau of the National Afro-American Council is arranging to have every lynching investigated and publish the facts to the world, as has been done in the case of Sam Hose, who was burned alive last April at Newman, Ga. The detective's report showed that Hose killed Cranford, his employer, in self-defense, and that, while a mob was organizing to hunt Hose to punish him for killing a white man, not till twenty-four hours after the murder was the charge of rape, embellished with psychological and physical impossibilities, circulated. That gave an impetus to the hunt, and the *Atlanta Constitution's* reward of \$500 keyed the mob to the necessary burning and roasting pitch. Of five hundred newspaper clippings of that horrible affair, nine-tenths of them assumed Hose's guilt—simply because his murderers said so, and because it is the fashion to believe the negro peculiarly addicted to this species of crime. All the negro asks is justice—a fair and impartial trial in the courts of the country. That given, he will abide the result.

But this question affects the entire American nation, and from several points of view: First, on the ground of consistency. Our watchword has been “the land of the free and the home of the brave.” Brave men do not gather by thousands to torture and murder a single individual, so gagged and bound he cannot make even feeble resistance or defense. Neither do brave men or women stand by and see such things done without compunction of conscience, nor read of them without protest. Our nation has been active and outspoken in its endeavors to right the wrongs of the Armenian Christian, the Russian Jew, the Irish Home Ruler, the native women of India, the Siberian exile, and the Cuban patriot. Surely it should be the nation's duty to correct its own evils!

Second, on the ground of economy. To those who fail to be convinced from any other point of view touching this momentous question, a consideration of the economic phase might not be amiss. It is generally known that mobs in Louisiana, Colorado, Wyoming, and other States have lynched subjects of other countries. When their different governments demanded satisfaction, our country was forced to confess her inability to protect said subjects in the several States because of our State-rights doctrines, or in turn demand punishment of the lynchers. This confession, while humiliating in the extreme, was not satisfactory; and, while the United

States cannot protect, she can pay. This she has done, and it is certain will have to do again in the case of the recent lynching of Italians in Louisiana. The United States already has paid in indemnities for lynching nearly a half million dollars. . . .

Third, for the honor of Anglo-Saxon civilization. No scoffer at our boasted American civilization could say anything more harsh of it than does the American white man himself who says he is unable to protect the honor of his women without resort to such brutal, inhuman, and degrading exhibitions as characterize “lynching bees.” The cannibals of the South Sea Islands roast human beings alive to satisfy hunger. The red Indian of the Western plains tied his prisoner to the stake, tortured him, and danced in fiendish glee while his victim writhed in the flames. His savage, untutored mind suggested no better way than that of wreaking vengeance upon those who had wronged him. These people knew nothing about Christianity and did not profess to follow its teachings; but such primary laws as they had they lived up to. No nation, savage or civilized, save only the United States of America, has confessed its inability to protect its women save by hanging, shooting, and burning alleged offenders.

Finally, for love of country. No American travels abroad without blushing for shame for his country on this subject. And whatever the excuse that passes current in the United States, it avails nothing abroad. With all the powers of government in control; with all laws made by white men, administered by white judges, jurors, prosecuting attorneys, and sheriffs; with every office of the executive department filled by white men—no excuse can be offered for exchanging the orderly administration of justice for barbarous lynchings and “unwritten laws.” Our country should be placed speedily above the plane of confessing herself a failure at self-government. This cannot be until Americans of every section, of broadest patriotism and best and wisest citizenship, not only see the defect in our country's armor but take the necessary steps to remedy it.

## “UNITY OF THE HUMAN RACE”

SOURCE *Public Domain.*

INTRODUCTION *This 1902 article, written by J.W.*

*Sanders for the African Methodist Episcopal Church Review, and other articles like this were crucial to spreading the word to African Americans on key social and religious issues. The church itself had been founded in 1787 by a group of African American Methodists*

*who were protesting racial segregation. During the Reconstruction period following the Civil War, from 1865 to 1867, this group's political involvement helped elect more than fifty church members to public office in the state legislatures of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, and other states. By the time Sanders addressed the key issue of racial division, unrest among African Americans was reaching another level. Frustration over segregation and discrimination based on racism grew as prejudice and acts of violence against them increased. His argument was that a concept of unity among all people was at the heart of redemption for all—socially, politically, and morally.*

One might at first thought say, “What does it matter if a Chinaman disclaims any genetic connection with a Malay? or, if perchance, a Caucasian denies having any racial connection whatever with the Negro, as is often done?” It matters much every way. In the first place, we observe there are two forces playing ceaselessly on the hearts of the children. One, an internal force, we will call inspiration the second, the external power of friendly environment. Now, the proper conception of the truth of the “oneness of man” leads to the encouragement of peoples who are down, by causing the exercise of the brotherly instincts of the dominant race: the improper conception leads to the paralysis of every aspiration of the lower races to rise from a state of inferiority. It means either that I am to be recognized as a man and brother, and thus be offered every inducement and encouragement to scale the heights, or that by all the strength of a dominant race I am to be held in subjection and made subservient to those who rule.

Now, if you will for a moment consider, you will readily discover that the full acceptance of the “unity of man” does not obtain among the vanguard of the nations whose potent influence dominates the earth.

There are nine millions of Afro-Americans in this country, and they are popularly considered inferior to others in mental, moral and spiritual power. And this inferiority is not looked upon as an accident of birth, or as resulting, from a lack of opportunities, but is viewed as the unchangeable status of a race under the ban of God's displeasure. Nor should there arise in the souls of the sons of Ham thoughts and longings never so lofty, is it to be considered for a moment that the dark-skinned child of fate—who was to fair-skinned Israel, “but a hewer of wood and drawer of water”—should ever aspire, even after the year of jubilee, to purify himself and walk into the congregation and take his seat with others. They say God has set barriers in nature with a “Thus far shalt thou come, but no farther.”

So that no Negro need expect to develop that culture, refinement, Christian grace and elegance necessary

to exact from the proud Caucasian a hearty reception to places of honor. We are to inquire whether the color of a man's skin and the texture of his hair, which are the two chief marks of difference in a physiological sense, are the results of climatic influences, or are they indicative of a different order of being? I have heard it preached that Negroes have no brain to speak of, could only learn enough to serve their masters. They had no souls; Christ did not die for them; it was nonsense to talk of the stocky mothers with dark skins and thick lips having any racial connection with the white race. Dr. John Miley has given us the benefit of exhaustive research. He says, at some length. “Let us compare notes along two general lines. First—Physical; Second—Mental; and if we find that the differences along these lines are only superficial, and the result of environment or circumstances, then the objections raised against the doctrine of the unity of man will fall to the ground.” This is largely a question of science, says he, or, at least, we must go to science for a knowledge of the facts. The unity of the human race is a question of the unity of species. Definitions setting forth the idea of species greatly differ, but the following will cover the idea we wish to convey approximately—“Species is a collection of individuals more or less resembling each other, which may be regarded as having descended from a single pair by an uninterrupted and natural succession of families.” Herein is found two fundamental facts: First—Resemblance; Second—Genetic connection. The idea of genetic connection is the deeper idea.

There are wide variations, particularly in size, form and color. We are to inquire, whether these variations are consistent with a common parentage. While some hold four or five, up to sixty, different origins of the human family, the weight of scientific authority is for a unity of origin. This question of species is common to the manifold forms of vegetable and animal life. Fixation of racial types is no disproof of unity. There are numerous instances of physiological change as a result of new conditions. Let us cite a few: 200 years ago the Irish were driven from Armagh and the South of Down, and have become prognathous like the Australians. The Yankees are descendants of the English, and yet they have a type of their own. Certain tribes of Indians have permanently changed the shapes of their heads by bandaging them in infancy. The Jews are confessedly of one origin, and yet we have the Polish Jews who are light-haired, and the dark Jew of the Nile Valley. Again, the Portuguese, who settled in East India in the sixteenth century, are now as dark as the Hindus themselves. Also we find that Africans become lighter as they go up the Aluvial River banks to higher ground; and, on the contrary, the coast tribes, who drive out the Negroes of the interior and take their

territory, end by becoming Negroes themselves. Hence, we argue that there is a oneness of races in physical characteristics. The distinctions are superficial and the result of local influences. The human body is one in chemical elements, one in anatomical structure, one in physiological construction, one in pathological susceptibilities, one in psychological endowment. Of course, you could set in wide contrast the barbaric Negro against the Christian Caucasian, but lo and behold! there are differences almost as great even among the same Caucasian race. But that is understood to be only accidental, or superficial. There are the same sensibilities, with their marvelous adjustments to manifold relations of mind in all; the same moral and religious nature. While it may sink to barbarism and idolatry in the white man, it may rise to the highest moral and Christian life in the Mongolian and the Negro. Here is a vast law of nature, that like shall produce like. Throughout the different orders of created beings this great law holds good; and nature sets bars in the way of the infraction of this law, both in animal and vegetable life. The law of hybridity contravenes when sacrilegious hands are laid on this law to disturb its orderly workings, so that strict sterility is seen when an attempt is made to bring together different species, as in the case of the horse and the mule. [Genesis] "And God said let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit tree yielding fruit after his kind whose seed is in itself upon the earth, and it was so." Now, if science speaks to me in her many toned and yet harmonious voices that in all essential physical points all races of men are one, if the voice of psychology tells me that all men, in mental endowments, are one, and if the voice of revelation tells me that there is no respect of persons with God, I have but to buckle on my armor and move up the line, in spite of all powers that oppose. But I have not introduced a witness in this case, which, perhaps, is the most convincing of all, for it is found in the chambers of one's own soul. It is that of consciousness. A voice within speaks to each man upon whom the light of God's truth has shone and tells him that the same God who circled the heavens upon which to sit, has made each man—all men—to work out for himself a glorious destiny; and this voice is so convincing that, though a dozen kings should meet a peasant and should decry the noble aspirations swelling his breast methinks the humble man would smile at the usurpers and would turn from them feeling that in true dignity and inherent worth he was on a par with the mightiest potentate beneath the sun. I must understand, however, if I am to achieve any noble results in life, it must be through earnest personal efforts. We must work, work, work as a race, and we shall gradually rise in the scale of being.

"The planets at their Maker's will  
Move onward in their cars,

For Nature's wheel is never still:  
Progressive as the stars,  
The moments fly on lightning's wing:  
And life's uncertainty, too—  
We've none to waste on foolish things,  
There's work enough to do."

## PROTOCOLS OF THE ELDERS OF ZION

SOURCE *Segel, Benjamin W. From "Appendix: The First Protocol," in A Lie and a Libel: The History of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion. Edited and translated by Richard S. Levy. University of Nebraska Press, 1995. Copyright © 1926 by Welt-Krieg, Welt-Revolution, Welt-Verschwörung, Welt-Oberregierung. Translation copyright © 1995 by the University of Nebraska Press. All rights reserved. Reproduced by permission of the University of Nebraska Press.*

INTRODUCTION *The author of this text would have had people believe that Russian Jewish elders got together in a secret meeting in the late 1880s and produced these Protocols. They were the outline of how the Jews would take over the world—or at least how they would come into power to control the media and finance. Published in 1903 these principles were used to help spur on anti-Semitic sentiment and fuel all of the unfounded fears that the Jewish people were out to exploit and manipulate non-Jews. They would satisfy their own greed for wealth and power ultimately by playing on the greed and weaknesses of others. Some believe that this document was written by a Russian-French journalist named Matvei Golovinski in the 1890s. No one has ever found the irrefutable answer to the question. Refutations of the Protocols emerged early, though a series of articles in the the Times of London in 1921 offered the best case for fraud. Much of the document was shown to be plagiarized from a piece known as The Dialogue in Hell Between Machiavelli and Montesquieu that was a satire and was not meant to foster anti-Semitism. Despite the widespread knowledge that it was a fraud, it was circulated by those opposed to the Russian Revolution in 1905—believed to be circulated by the czar's army as a tool against the Jews. After 1920 it gained popularity in Germany with the rise of Nazism.*

### THE FIRST PROTOCOL

I have framed the basic principles of our league, in general and in particular, without regard to scientific

considerations. I describe our doctrines and our system as it appears to us and to non-Jews.

I assert that men with evil motives outnumber those with good character. In the administration of the state, therefore, more can be achieved by force and unscrupulousness than by scientific discussions. Every man strives for power; every individual wants to be master of his own decisions and deeds; each would be master of himself (a dictator), if only he could. This striving after power is so strong that there is scarcely a man who would not be ready to sacrifice the common good for his own personal advantage.

What instincts rule over the beasts of prey that feed upon the blood of men? What have been their actions and desires through all time? Since the rise of human society, beasts of prey in human form have seized raw, blind force for themselves. From this I conclude that *force* alone is the determining factor, no matter that it be veiled and disguised. Thus it follows that the basic law of existence rests wholly on the idea: Right is based on force, on strength.

#### The Idea of Freedom—Freethinking

Civil freedom is an idea, a concept, but not a fact. This idea transforms itself as soon as the power of a nation is suppressed and strangled, as soon as a party striving after dominance seeks to force its will upon the countermovement. This task becomes essentially easier when the opponent is himself contaminated with a false concept of “freedom” and yields his power on account of this incorrect notion. On this is based the victory of our doctrine: when the reins slide along the ground and leadership is lacking, the accomplished licentiousness ends quickly, for a new hand draws in the reins. A new domination steps into the place of the old, which was robbed of its power by freethinking.

#### Gold, Faith in God, Self-government

In our day, when the genuine freethinkers govern the state, the power of gold is the sole determining factor. There was a time when faith in God governed. The concept of freedom was still without system. No one understood how to exploit it for his purposes. No nation can exist for even the shortest time when it does not create a *rational* self-government, without which it sinks into licentiousness. From this moment there enters inner divisiveness, issuing in economic battles in the wake of which governments fall; gradually mob rule takes the rudder.

#### Domination of Money

A government finding itself under the influence of internal upheavals, or one that is at the mercy of external

enemies because of the disordered conditions in its own land, must be undoubtedly consigned to oblivion. Then it is in our power. The dominance of money, over which we alone dispose, extends a straw to the government that it must grasp for good or ill if it wants to keep from sinking helplessly into the abyss.

To those freethinkers who believe such considerations to be immoral, I say: every realm has two enemies. If it is allowable to employ immoral methods in the struggle against the external enemy, for example, concealment of intentions or a sudden attack, attacking at night or with overwhelming superiority of forces, can one say it is morally impermissible to use such methods against the worst [internal] enemy, the destroyer of social harmony and economic well-being?

#### The Masses and Lawlessness

Can a man of sound and logical intelligence hope to rule the masses of a nation successfully if he merely employs rational principles and logical arguments when the possibility of contradiction exists in the people? Would an even half-way intelligent people be thereby easier to govern? If such a man relied exclusively on minor measures—on old customs, traditions, sentiments, and emotional dogmas, the masses would divide and reject such a government. For the masses have no sense for rational exhortation. Every action of the masses depends upon an accidental or artificially constructed majority. Ignorant of the artifices of statecraft, they are carried along into foolish decisions, and thus the seed of lawlessness is planted within the state.

#### Statecraft and the Moral Law

Statecraft and the moral law have not the slightest to do with one another. A ruler who wants to rule by the moral law understands nothing about statecraft and is never for a moment secure upon his throne. He who would rule must labor with slyness, cunning, evil, hypocrisy. High moral character—openness, honor, honesty—these are the reefs of statecraft upon which the best will founder because the enemy makes use of different and truly more effective measures. Let these character traits be the hallmarks and principles of non-Jewish realms. We can never under any condition labor with such wrong-headed principles.

Our right lies in strength. “Strength” is a limited expression, not a universally valid concept. The word in itself never signifies more than: “Give me what I want so that it may be clear and self-evident to all the world that I am stronger than you.”

Where does right begin? Where does it end? In a state where power is badly managed and laws and governors are rendered impersonal by freethinking [civil] rights, I shall create a new right. [I shall] demolish all

## Protocols of the Elders of Zion

institutions according to the right of the stronger, lay hands upon the law, transform all governing bodies, and become master of them. The power of these rights shall voluntarily transfer to us—because of freethinking.

### The Invulnerability of Jewish Freemasonry

While at present all the powers have begun to totter, ours will be more invulnerable than any of the others because it will be invisible. Thus it shall remain unshakable until that time when it has become so empowered that no act of violence can repress it.

Out of the transitory calamities that we must now cause, there will emerge the benefaction of an unshakable government that shall reestablish the regulated development of national existence, undisturbed by freethinking. The results justify the means. Thus we shall direct our plans less by attention to the good and moral than by the necessary and useful.

Before us lies a plan, the lines of which are drawn according to the rules of war. We cannot deviate from it without endangering the labor of many centuries.

### The Masses Are Blind

To achieve the goal of common efforts, we must learn to grasp the worthlessness, inconstancy, and vacillation of the masses. We must realize their incapacity to understand the questions of state life and their own welfare. We must comprehend that the great masses of the people are blind and wholly without understanding and that they willy-nilly stagger from right to left, backward and forward. A blind man cannot lead the blind without leading them into the abyss. Consequently, even the “inquisitive” and creative among the masses can never perform as leaders in governing the states. Even when they supposedly possess some intelligence, they are still not fit to act as trailblazers and leaders of the masses. They will attain to no other goal than the ruin of the entire people.

Only a personality educated to self-mastery from youth can recognize and act upon the great tendencies and principles of statecraft.

### Party Strife

A people that delivers itself to the upstarts from out of the masses destroys its own structure by party battles, by the struggle for the leading positions of power, by the hunting after honors and dignities, and by the disorders and movements arising from all this. Is it possible that the masses can judge without prejudice, peacefully and matter-of-factly, that they can guide the destiny of the land without regard to purely personal interests? Can they defend the realm against external foes? That is senseless, for to distribute governance of the state among so many personalities, so many heads from out of the

masses, will sacrifice its unity and it will become non-viable and powerless.

Only under the leadership of a self-controlled personality can the state be directed in full clarity and good order; only thus can the whole body politic labor in peace. From this it follows that the most appropriate form of the state for a country is found when the direction lies in the hands of a single responsible personality. Without unqualified power, no state system can thrive upon a moral basis. This basis cannot rest upon the masses but rather on the competent leader, be he who he may. The masses consist of barbarians who bring their coarseness and barbarity to bear at every opportunity. As soon as the masses seize power for themselves, they fall into lawlessness, the highest degree of barbarity.

### Alcohol, Humanism, Vice

Observe the drunkards, befogged by alcohol. They believe themselves to possess the right to unlimited pleasure, which they confuse with the concept of freedom. From that idea we take leave for all time. The non-Jewish peoples are befogged with alcohol; their youths are infatuated with humanism and premature vices. To these they have been led by our agents, administrators, teachers, servants, governesses to the rich, educational institutions, and so forth, as well as by our women in pleasure resorts and public houses. Among these I also count the so-called society ladies, who willfully ape the example of vice and ostentation.

### Principles of the Jewish Freemason Lodges

Our slogan is *Power and Artifice!* Power alone wrests the victory in questions of state, that is, when it is in the possession of personalities who have something to say in the state. Force forms the basis, but cunning and fraud work as the means to power for such governments as are not willing to lay their crowns at the feet of the representatives of a new power. These are the only means to the goal that hovers before us. Therefore, we must not shrink from bribery, fraud, or treason if they serve for the attainment of our plans. In statecraft we must be clever enough not to shrink from uncanny methods, if power and subjection be achieved thereby.

### Terror

Our realm, which is founded on the paths of peaceful conquest, will replace the terrors of war with less visible but all the more effective punishments. It must institute a reign of terror in order to compel blind, unconditional obedience. Stern, pitiless, and ruthless measures are the best props of state power. Not alone for advantage but above all in the name of duty and for the sake of victory, we must hold firmly to the employment of force and cunning. . . . It is not only in the scientific evaluation of

means, but above all in their ruthless and merciless application that our predominance, our superiority, shall be secured. It shall suffice to know that we are merciless and that we understand how to compel obedience.

### **Liberty, Equality, Fraternity**

Already in antiquity we allowed the call for Liberty, Equality, Fraternity to echo from the ranks of the peoples. Since that time, these words have been endlessly repeated in the most varied disturbances and upheavals. Sometimes the intentions have been honorable, to bring actual well-being and true freedom of the personality to the world; sometimes it has just been to satisfy the vanity of the masses. Not even the intelligent and clever non-Jews have recognized the inner contradictions in these words. They have not said that there can be no equality, no freedom in nature. All of nature rests upon the inequality of forces, characteristics, peculiarities. Nature is subject to eternal laws. It is clear that the masses are a blind force, and the chosen upstarts are as blind as the masses themselves. The initiated, even if he is a fool, can govern, while the uninitiated, even when he is high-minded, can understand nothing about statecraft. All these things are forgotten by the non-Jews.

### **Principle of Princely Government**

[On the non-Jews] depended the principle of princely government. The father bequeathed his knowledge of statecraft to the son, so that it was known only to members of the dynasty and none could betray the secrets to the peoples ruled over. In time the sense of the true content of statecraft was lost in the transmission, and this contributed to the success of our cause.

### **Abolishing the Privileges of the Non-Jewish Nobility**

In all the corners of the world, with the help of our secret societies, the slogan Liberty, Equality, Fraternity led gigantic crowds to our ranks and carried our banners to victory. Those words were the worms that gnawed at the welfare of non-Jews, everywhere undermining peace, calm, community, common values, and thereby destroying the foundation of their domination. Gentlemen, you see the consequences that have served the triumph of our cause. *They gave us the possibility of playing out the highest trump: the annihilation of noble privilege, or, better said, the actual system of non-Jewish noble dominance, which has been the only means of defense of the non-Jewish peoples and states against us.*

### **The New Nobility**

On the ruins of the old blood and family nobility we have set the nobility of our educated and at its tip, the money nobility. The standard of this new nobility lies in

wealth, which depends upon us, and in the teachings disseminated by our secret associations.

### **Calculating Human Weaknesses**

Our triumph was made all the easier in that we could exploit people useful to us by working on the most impressionable side of human intelligence: with consideration to money, greed, and the insatiable desire for gain. If we seize upon the right moment, all the extraordinarily numerous human weaknesses are suited to paralyze the powers of decision making. Those who best understand how to exploit human weaknesses are thus enabled to enslave the wills of men.

The concept of freedom made it possible to convince the masses that the government was nothing more than the deputies for those who possessed the land, that is, the people. The people therefore felt competent to change [governments] as one would change gloves.

Changes in the parliament delivered it into our power. It is elected or not, at our discretion.

## **THE PLATFORM OF THE NIAGARA MOVEMENT**

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INTRODUCTION *Not all African Americans were as willing to compromise on the issue of race relations as was Booker T. Washington—the person many considered a traitor to his race, even if he did eventually become more militant. In 1904, one group of African Americans got together behind closed doors at Carnegie Hall in New York to develop the Committee of Twelve for the Advancement of the interest of the Negro Race, but it soon fell apart due to the conflicts among themselves. The next year W. E. B. Du Bois and William M. Trotter brought together another group that included Frederick L. McGhee and C.E. Bentley, and 59 well-known business men. They gathered in western New York. Then 29 of them went to the Canadian side of Niagara Falls and joined together in what they would call the Niagara Movement. Because of Washington's opposition and the support he had from so many African Americans, this organization did not last long. By 1910, Du Bois turned his energies to the new organization, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). The platform of the Niagara Movement was an expression of the frustration and anger of African Americans who wanted to end Jim Crow and other acts of discrimination and inequality.*

**“THE PLATFORM OF THE NIAGARA MOVEMENT”**

The second annual meeting of the so-called Niagara Movement was held recently at Harper's Ferry. This is a movement of negroes for negro rights. It represents the more political and the more assertive spirit in the negro race, under the leadership of Dr. Du Bois, as the Tuskegee Movement under the leadership of Dr. Washington represents the more industrial and the more pacific spirit. It is probably not unjust to say that something of the quality of the Niagara Movement is indicated by the fact that its leaders chose this year Harper's Ferry for its place of assemblage, and in its closing utterance the assembly declared, "Here, on the scene of John Brown's Martyrdom, we reconsecrate ourselves, our honor, our property, to the final emancipation of the race which John Brown died to make free." Its adopted platform comprises five principles: (1) The right to vote: "We want full manhood suffrage, and we want it now, henceforth, and forever." (2) Condemnation of all race discrimination in public accommodations: "Separation in railway and street cars, based simply on race and color, is un-American, undemocratic, and silly." (3) Freedom of social intercourse: "We claim the right of freemen to walk, talk, and be with them that wish to be with us. No man has a right to choose another man's friends, and to attempt to do so is an impudent interference with the most fundamental human privilege." (4) Equality in the enforcement of laws: "Justice even for criminals and outlaws;" "Congress to take charge of Congressional elections;" "the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments enforced." (5) "The National Government to step in and wipe out illiteracy in the South;" an undying hostility to "any proposal to educate black boys and girls simply as servants and underlings, or simply for the use of other people."

**“THE PLATFORM OF THE OUTLOOK”**

We can best state our views respecting these demands by putting with them what appear to us to be the just and reasonable bases for the settlement of the so-called race issue. Those bases we should state somewhat as follows: (1) Manhood suffrage, provided the manhood comes first and the suffrage afterwards. The ballot is not a natural right, like the right to the protection of person and property; it is a prerogative to be given only to those, black or white, who have furnished some evidence that they possess the intellectual and moral qualifications to use the ballot for the benefit of the community. But it should be based on personal qualifications, not on race or color. (2) It is better for both races that they have their separate schools and separate churches. It is no more an injustice to the black race than to the white race to

provide separate cars for them, if the accommodations are equally good for both races. (3) Social fellowship cannot be restrained by law, neither can it be claimed as a right. In general, the way to secure social recognition is not to demand it. (4) The demand for the equality of law enforcement is wholly just. The demand for Congressional charge of Congressional elections is wholly unnecessary. Congress has already charge of Congressional elections. It has the right to reject any Representative on evidence that his election has been accomplished by corruption, fraud, violence, or threatening of any description, and it ought to exercise this right far more vigorously than it has been accustomed to do. (5) We want the National Government to "wipe out illiteracy in the South," and we protest against any "proposal to educate black boys and girls simply as servants and underlings;" but we also affirm as a truth of universal applicability that the end of all education should be to fit the pupil for the work which it is probable he will have to do, for the service which he will probably have to render. We add the demand for the open door of industrial opportunity to all men, black and white, and insistence upon the principle that every man shall fit himself, as his first duty to the community, to render the best service of which, taking account of his training and his inheritance, he is capable. On the whole, we think the Niagara Movement would be more useful if it demanded more of the negro race and put less emphasis on its demands for the negro race.

**“THE NEGRO PROBLEM: BOOKER WASHINGTON'S PLATFORM”**

In The Outlook of last week we gave a summary of the platform adopted at the second annual meeting of the so-called Niagara Movement held at Harper's Ferry under the special leadership of Dr. Du Bois. It is instructive to compare with this platform the address by Dr. Booker Washington before the meeting of the National Negro Business League, of which he is President, held last week at Atlanta, Georgia. This address may fairly be regarded as embodying the platform of this League; and just as the Niagara Movement stands for the more political and assertive spirit in the negro race, so the National Business League, as represented in Dr. Washington's address, stands for the industrial and pacific spirit. Dr. Washington expressed this tersely when he said, "Let constructive progress be the dominant note among us in every section of America: an inch of progress is worth more than a yard of faultfinding." He declared that "while the world may pity a crying, whining race, it seldom respects it." As to the progress actually made, he pointed out that in Georgia alone the negroes own \$20,000,000 worth of taxable property, and that in the

whole country, at a conservative estimate, the negro is now paying taxes upon over \$300,000,000 worth of property, while in the Southern States negroes are conducting thirty-three banks. In fact, Dr. Washington believes that there is practically no section of the South where encouragement cannot be found for the negro farmer, mechanic, merchant, and even banker, with reasonable opportunity for prosperity, and he reaffirms his formerly expressed opinion that the Southern States offer the best permanent abode for the negro. He would welcome immigration, for he believes that healthy competition is much needed in the South, and that the salvation of his race is to be found "not in our ability to keep another race out of the territory, but in our learning to get as much out of the soil, out of our occupations or business, as any other race can get out of theirs." Dr. Washington spoke strongly and plainly as to crime on the part of the negro; he admitted the seriousness of the problem, did not hesitate to say that the large number of crimes committed by members of his race was deplorable, but challenged his hearers to show instances of crime committed by graduates of the educational institutions, or, with rare exceptions, by negroes who own their homes, are taxpayers, have regular occupation, and have received education. From these facts he argued that "ignorance will always mean crime, and crime will mean an unwieldy burden fastened about the neck of the South." The crime of lynching was equally denounced. Dr. Washington said: "Let us bear in mind that every man, white or black, who takes the law into his hands to lynch or burn or shoot human beings supposed to be or guilty of crime is insulting the executive, judicial, and lawmaking bodies of the State in which he resides. Lawlessness in one direction will inevitably lead to lawlessness in other directions. This is the experience of the whole civilized world." The trend and force of Dr. Washington's address might almost be summed up in this sentence: "The more I study our conditions and needs, the more I am convinced that there is no surer road by which we can reach civic, moral, educational, and religious development than by laying the foundation in the ownership and cultivation of the soil, the saving of money, commercial growth, and the skillful and conscientious performance of any duty with which we are intrusted." Comparing this utterance with the platform quoted last week, it will be seen that they are not antagonistic, but that they differ in spirit. One makes demands for the negroes, the other lays its demands upon the negro; one emphasizes his rights, the other his duties; one complains of the wrongs the white inflicts upon the negro, the other asks for co-operation between the white and the negro. We see far more hope for the negro in the spirit of the Business Men's League than in that of the Niagara Movement.

## STATEMENT OF MR. WILLIAM JOSEPH SIMMONS, OF ATLANTA, GEORGIA

SOURCE *Public Domain.*

INTRODUCTION *The original Ku Klux Klan was born in the South during the humiliating period of Reconstruction following defeat in the South's bid to secede. It was first created as a social club in Tennessee in 1865 but quickly became an organization that set out to intimidate patrolling Union soldiers and newly freed African Americans who might intend to act as free men with the same rights as white men. Already by 1871, the U.S. Congress grew concerned about their activities and held hearings that led to passage of anti-Klan legislation. President Ulysses S. Grant even dispatched troops to the areas where Klan activity was rampant. These measures were apparently successful and the original organization faded into distant memory. In 1915, with increasingly tense social, political, and cultural relations, and with the premiere of D.W. Griffith's movie The Birth of a Nation, and its cultural stereotypes, a new Ku Klux Klan arose. A Georgia veteran of the Spanish-American War named William Joseph Simmons, known as the "Colonel," though only a self-proclaimed one, gained inspiration at the movie's Atlanta premiere. He decided the time was right to begin another Klan movement. This time the group not only targeted African Americans but other groups such as Catholics, Jews, and other recent immigrants. Once again, as in 1871, Congress took notice and held hearings to determine what dangers this new Klan posed. Simmons' testimony offers insight to the organization.*

My name is William Joseph Simmons, residing in Atlanta, Ga. They call me "Colonel," largely out of respect. Every lawyer in Georgia is called "Colonel," so they thought that I was as good as a lawyer, so they call me that. However, since that matter has been called into question. I am a veteran of the Spanish-American War. I am a past commander of my Spanish-American war veterans' post. I am a past national aid-de-camp of the Spanish-American War Veterans' Association and also a past provisional division commander. I was at one time the senior colonel in command of five regiments and colonel of my own regiment of the uniform rank of the Woodmen of the World, and I was known as "Colonel." I have used that title on certain literature of the klan for the reason that there are three other "W.J. Simmonses" in Atlanta, and for some time our mail got confused. It is merely a designation. They accord it to me as an honor and I appreciated it, but at no time and in no place have I



*Statement of Mr. William Joseph Simmons, of Atlanta, Georgia*

arrogated to myself the fact that I was a colonel of the Army. I served there, but I was under a colonel and I found out how the colonels do. . . .

Twenty years ago I received the inspiration to establish a fraternal, patriotic, secret order for the purpose of memorializing the great heroes of our national history, inculcating and teaching practical fraternity among men, to teach and encourage a fervent, practical patriotism toward our country, and to destroy from the hearts of men the Mason and Dixon line and build thereupon a great American solidarity and a distinctive national conscience which our country sorely stands in need of.

At that time I was a mere young man and knew that my youth and immature thought would not permit me to successfully launch the movement, so I kept my own counsel all through 15 subsequent years, working, thinking, and preparing my head and heart for the task of creating this institution for the interest of our common country and for the promotion of real brotherhood among men. To this work and to this end I dedicated my life and all my energies, after being thoroughly convinced that there was a place for such a fraternal order and that the order could and would fill that place.

It was in the month of October, 1915, that I decided to launch the movement. . . .

Through the dark hours of struggle and bitter sacrifice incident to the launching of this movement, for over nine long months I had an average of one meal a day. I have fought a good fight. I have truly kept the faith, and God permitting me, Mr. Chairman, I shall finish my course, with love toward all, with malice toward none. I shall pursue the right as God shall give me a vision of the right.

If the Knights of the Ku-Klux Klan has been a lawless organization, as has been charged, it would not have shown the remarkable growth it has, for in the klan is as fine a body of representative citizens as there is in the United States. In each community where there is a klan will be found members from the lending citizens, men who stand at the forefront in their cities. These men would not stand for lawlessness.

It has been charged that the klan is a gigantic swindle, run solely to enrich a few of the inside ring. I, as the executive head of the klan, have received during the past six years altogether approximately \$12,000, an average of \$2,000 per year. I can not be in any wise accurate in these figures, because I have not run it up, but I may state just here that for two or three years I received not a penny, only what I could get out and do myself. I have also a home, purchased by klan members, but not by the klan, but by voluntary subscriptions of 25 cents and 50 cents and a dollar. This home is not completely paid for, and I

knew nothing of this until it was given to me as a complete surprise as a birthday remembrance on the 6th day of last May by members of the klan from every section of the country.

And I may add just here, from what has been presented for my information regarding the home in which I now reside, that property is in the hands of a board of trustees who are looking after it; and they told me, "When we get the home paid for then the deed will be made to you; but we do not want you to bother with that until it is all paid for." A board of trustees is handling that home.

The secretary, treasurer, and other officials of the klan receive salaries lower than they would receive from business institutions for their ability and for the work that each of them does. I introduce here, marked "Exhibit B," the pay roll and salaries paid and the expenses of the klan.

If the klan was seeking to enrich a few insiders the money would go into our pockets. Instead, we are spending the surplus money of the klan in the education of young men and women who are the very foundation of the Nation. . . .

The charge has been made that the klan takes the law into its own hands; that it terrorizes private citizens in many communities by lawless acts against person and property. These charges are untrue. I state, Mr. Chairman, that klans can not take action on anything outside of their lodge rooms or ceremonial duties unless they have an order, so to speak, written and signed by myself. That is a law in the klan to keep anyone within our membership from doing things—in other words, holding them in control—that contravene the law. Before God and this honorable committee, I have never authorized nor signed any kind of instructions that could in any way be construed as a violation of the law or to be carried out in violation of the law of my country.

There have been only a few instances where lawless acts have been alleged against individual members of the klan. You will notice I say "alleged," and there is a possibility that if individual members of the klan have committed acts of lawlessness that those same men were members of other fraternal orders, and should the other fraternal orders be condemned? No. In these instances the charter in that community was revoked or suspended, although the acts of the individual members were not the acts of the klan as a body and were condemned by all those disbanded klan members. The charter was revoked or suspended, as we have no room in our organization for those who take the law into their own hands, because to do so violates a most solemn oath. Individual members of other organizations have committed and been charged

with outrages and crimes, but that does not condemn the whole order, as an order, of lawlessness. . . .

The klan does not countenance nor will it tolerate any lawless acts by its members. Instead we teach respect for the law, love of country, and a closer fellowship of service. I here introduce, marked Exhibit G, and will read later, the ritual, oath, and other secret books and works of the klan. In the oath attention is called to the section where all klan members swear to uphold and respect the law of the United States, the State, county, and city where the members live. No man who would break his solemn oath by taking the law into his own hands is worthy of membership in any organization or worthy to be a citizen of our glorious country.

The charge has also been made that the klan as an organization gives an opportunity for evil-minded persons to threaten others, to satisfy their private grudges, and to commit outrages, using the klan as a cloak. This charge is absurd on its face when an examination of the records for the past 10 years will show that there were as many of these so-called outrages committed before the klan was organized as since its organization. . . .

I noticed some time ago that the klan was charged with outrages, or, rather, an outrage against a Negro in Arkansas, and I state to you as an honorable man that that particular outrage occurred in Arkansas 18 months before we had one member in Arkansas.

It has been charged that this organization incites to riot. Can that charge be substantiated? No; because no man can place his finger on any spot on the map of the United States in which a klan has been organized and well established where there has ever been a riot, racial or otherwise, and in every town where riots have occurred there is no klan there or was not there at the time of the riots.

The charge has also been made that the klan is organized for the purpose of assisting the enforcement of the law. Nothing to substantiate this charge has been produced, and there is no room in the United States for any organization organized for any such purpose. The law is supreme, and if we were organized for any such absurd purpose the klan would not have lived a year and could not have grown as it has.

The charge is made that we are organized to preach and teach religious intolerance, and especially that we are anti-Roman Catholic, anti-Jew, and anti-Negro. The conduct of the klan proves this absolutely untrue. Many alleged outrages have been attributed to the klan, but none of these were against Roman Catholics, Jews, and Negroes per se, and none were committed by the klan. It is indeed strange that if we organized to persecute the Roman Catholics, Jews, and Negroes that nothing has been done against them. In the United States the ques-

tion is not and should never be whether a citizen is a Protestant, a Roman Catholic, a Jew, or a Negro, but whether he is a loyal American.

Since the fight against the klan we have been offered and urged to use, by those who are anti-Roman Catholic and not members of the klan, possibly the greatest existing mass of data and material against the Roman Catholics and Knights of Columbus. In this material, so we are told, there are affidavits and other personal testimony attributing to the Roman Catholics and Knights of Columbus in American more outrages and crimes than the klan has ever been charged with. Included in these charges against the Roman Catholics and Knights of Columbus are murder, whipping, tar and feathers, and crimes of all natures.

If the klan was anti-Roman Catholic we would have certainly used the material offered us, but the offer was received, although those making it are anxious that this evidence be presented to Congress. If the klan is to secure members on an anti-Roman Catholic, anti-Jew, and anti-Negro appeal, we do not want such members, and have never secured them in this way. Discussions involving any man's religious beliefs are never allowed in a meeting of the klan. If it ever occurs and the fact is made known to the proper officials of the klan, those who indulge in it, even the presiding officers who permit it, are rigidly penalized.

## CORRESPONDENCE REGARDING THE TUSKEGEE SYPHILIS EXPERIMENT

SOURCE *Journal of Chronic Disease*, v. 26, 1973. Copyright © 1973 Elsevier Inc. Reproduced with permission from Elsevier. <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/journal/00219681>.

INTRODUCTION *When this experiment was begun in the early 1930s, African American males were recruited from Macon County, Alabama, because that county had the highest rate of untreated syphilis in a multi-county area that was being studied by the United States Public Health Service. Penicillin was not yet available. Doctors at the time noted that these men with syphilis might seek treatment in the primary stage of the disease but did not return until they were in stage three of the disease when symptoms were apparent. The racial stereotype was that African American males were genetically*

### *Regulation for the Elimination of the Jews*

*endowed with a greater sex drive than males of other races. And because of the high rates of the disease, the scientific community held the widespread belief that the disease was different in African Americans and treatment was not effective. When the experiment was exposed in the early 1970s, outrage prevailed among the public. Once penicillin was available after World War II, the Tuskegee subjects did not receive it when it was known that it was effective in treating the disease. Hugh S. Cumming, a doctor from Virginia, and later a part of the Public Health Service was ultimately responsible for this study going forward. Both racism and the refusal to admit a mistaken hypothesis—likely due to that racism—compromised the health and cost the lives of many African Americans.*

*“This text has been suppressed  
due to author restrictions”*

### **REGULATION FOR THE ELIMINATION OF THE JEWS FROM THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF GERMANY, NOVEMBER 12, 1938**

*SOURCE* *Regulation for the Elimination of the Jews from the Economic Life of Germany (1938): Goring, Hermann. From “Regulation for the Elimination of the Jews from the Economic Life of Germany, November 12, 1938,”*

in Documents on the Holocaust. Edited by Yitzhak Arad, Israel Gutman, and Abraham Margalio. Ktav Publishers House, 1982, in association with Yad Vashem. Reproduced by permission of Yad Vashem.

INTRODUCTION *Only three days before the issuance of this regulation one of the most horrific events of Nazi terror occurred: On November 9, 1938, a night that would come to be known as Kristallnacht, or more commonly in English as, “Night of Broken Glass,” brought widespread rioting throughout Germany against the Jewish communities. A Jewish student named Herschel Grynszpan living in Paris had asked and received an audience by a diplomat at the German embassy there. The diplomat was Ernst vom Rath. When he came in to receive Grynszpan, the student shot him, and vom Rath died two days later. Grynszpan was angered by the knowledge that the Nazis had ordered the expulsion of the approximately 18,000 Polish Jews from Germany, on October 27, his family among them—even though his father had lived in Hanover since 1911. These Jews had been taken back to the Poland in railway cattle cars and were forced to exist in appalling conditions, according to a postcard Grynszpan’s father had sent to him. This incident was used as the justification for the riots against the Jews, the removal of the economic capabilities of the German Jews, and eventually, their elimination from life there altogether.*

On the basis of the regulation for the implementation of the Four Year Plan of October 18, 1936 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 887), the following is decreed:

§ 1

1) From January 1, 1939, Jews (§ 5 of the First Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law of November 14, 1935, *Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 1333) are forbidden to operate retail stores, mail-order houses, or sales agencies, or to carry on a trade [craft] independently.

2) They are further forbidden, from the same day on, to offer for sale goods or services, to advertise these, or to accept orders at markets of all sorts, fairs or exhibitions.

3) Jewish trade enterprises (Third Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law of June 14, 1938—*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 627) which violate this decree will be closed by police.

§ 2

1) From January 1, 1939, a Jew can no longer be the head of an enterprise within the meaning of the Law of

January 20, 1934, for the Regulation of National Work (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 45).

2) Where a Jew is employed in an executive position in a commercial enterprise he may be given notice to leave in six weeks. At the expiration of the term of the notice all claims of the employee based on his contract, especially those concerning pension and compensation rights, become invalid.

§ 3

1) A Jew cannot be a member of a cooperative.

2) The membership of Jews in cooperatives expires on December 31, 1938. No special notice is required.

§ 4

The Reich Minister of Economy, in coordination with the ministers concerned, is empowered to publish regulations for the implementation of this decree. He may permit exceptions under the Law if these are required as the result of the transfer of a Jewish enterprise to non-Jewish ownership, for the liquidation of a Jewish enterprise or, in special cases, to ensure essential supplies.

Berlin, November 12, 1938

*Plenipotentiary for the Four Year Plan*

GÖRING

*Field Marshal General*

## “CONCENTRATION CAMP: U.S. STYLE”

SOURCE *Public Domain.*

INTRODUCTION *Designated as a measure for national security, President Franklin Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 on February 19, 1942, about two months following the Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor. Over the next several months, more than 110,000 people of Japanese ancestry, many of them American citizens or native-born Americans were removed from their homes by force and relocated to camps further inland, from the western mountain states to Arkansas. By June of 1942 these Japanese Americans were being housed in camps where conditions were less than adequate and sometimes squalid. Ted Nakashima, who wrote this article for The New Republic on June 15, 1942, alerted all of America to the plight of these loyal American citizens.*

Unfortunately in this land of liberty, I was born of Japanese parents; born in Seattle of a mother and father who have been in this country since 1901. Fine parents,

who brought up their children in the best American way of life. My mother served with the Volunteer Red Cross Service in the last war my father, an editor, has spoken and written Americanism for forty years.

Our family is almost typical of the other unfortunates here at the camp. The oldest son, a licensed architect, was educated at the University of Washington, has a master's degree from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and is a scholarship graduate of the American School of Fine Arts in Fontainebleau, France. He is now in camp in Oregon with his wife and three-months-old child. He had just completed designing a much needed defense housing project at Vancouver, Washington.

The second son is an M.D. He served his internship in a New York hospital, is married and has two fine sons. The folks banked on him, because he was the smartest of us three boys. The army took him a month after he opened his office. He is now a lieutenant in the Medical Corps, somewhere in the South.

I am the third son, the dumbest of the lot, but still smart enough to hold down a job as an architectural draftsman. I have just finished building a new home and had lived in it three weeks. My desk was just cleared of work done for the Army Engineers, another stack of 391 defense houses was waiting (a rush job), when the order came to pack up and leave for this resettlement center called “Camp Harmony.”

Mary, the only girl in the family, and her year-old son, “Butch,” are with our parents—interned in the stables of the Livestock Exposition Buildings in-Portland.

Now that you can picture our thoroughly American background, let me describe our new home.

The resettlement center is actually a penitentiary—armed guards in towers with spotlights and deadly tommy guns, fifteen feet of barbed-wire fences, everyone confined to quarters at nine, lights out at ten o'clock. The guards are ordered to shoot anyone who approaches within twenty feet of the fences. No one is allowed to take the two-block-long hike to the latrines after nine, under any circumstances.

The apartments, as the army calls them, are two-block-long stables, with windows on one side. Floors are shiplaps on two-by-fours laid directly on the mud, which is everywhere. The stalls are about eighteen by twenty-one feet; some contain families of six or seven persons. Partitions are seven feet high, leaving a four-foot opening above. The rooms aren't too bad, almost fit to live in for a short while.

The food and sanitation problems are the worst. We have had absolutely no fresh meat, vegetables or butter since we came here. Mealtime queues extend for blocks; standing in a rainswept line, feet in the mud, waiting for

the scant portions of canned wieners and boiled potatoes, hash for breakfast or canned wieners and beans for dinner. Milk only for the kids. Coffee or tea dosed with saltpeter and stale bread are the adults' staples. Dirty, unwiped dishes, greasy silver, a starchy diet, no butter, no milk, bawling kids, mud, wet mud that stinks when it dries, no vegetables—a sad thing for the people who raised them in such abundance. Memories of a crisp head of lettuce with our special olive oil, vinegar, garlic and cheese dressing.

Today one of the surface sewage-disposal pipes broke and the sewage flowed down the streets. Kids play in the water. Shower baths without hot water. Stinking mud and slops everywhere.

Can this be the same America we left a few weeks ago?

As I write, I can remember our little bathroom—light coral walls. My wife painting them, and the spilled paint in her hair. The open towel shelving and the pretty shower curtains which we put up the day before we left. How sanitary and clean we left it for the airlines pilot and his young wife who are now enjoying the fruits of our labor.

It all seems so futile, struggling, trying to live our old lives under this useless, regimented life. The senselessness of all the inactive manpower. Electricians, plumbers, draftsmen, mechanics, carpenters, painters, farmers—every trade—men who are able and willing to do all they can to lick the Axis. Thousands of men and women in these camps, energetic, quick, alert, eager for hard, constructive work, waiting for the army to do something for us, an army that won't give us butter.

I can't take it! I have 391 defense houses to be drawn. I left a fine American home which we built with our own hands. I left a life, highballs with our American friends on week-ends, a carpenter, laundry-truck driver, architect, airlines pilot—good friends, friends who would swear by us. I don't have enough of that Japanese heritage “*gaman*”—a code of silent suffering and ability to stand pain.

Oddly enough I still have a bit of faith in army promises of good treatment and Mrs. Roosevelt's pledge of a future worthy of good American citizens. I'm banking another \$67 of income tax on the future. Sometimes I want to spend the money I have set aside for income tax on a bit of butter or ice cream or something good that I might have smuggled through the gates, but I can't do it when I think that every dollar I can put into “the fight to lick the Japs,” the sooner I will be home again. I must forget my stomach.

What really hurts most is the constant reference to us evacuees as “Japs.” “Japs” are the guys we are fighting. We're on this side and we want to help.

## EXECUTIVE ORDER 9981—ESTABLISHING THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUALITY OF TREATMENT AND OPPORTUNITY IN THE ARMED SERVICES

SOURCE *Public Domain.*

INTRODUCTION *Though African Americans had fought in every battle since before the start of the American Revolution, into the Civil War, the Spanish-American War, and both World Wars, they were not considered equal to whites in their military service to the country. The valor of African Americans in World War II was not recognized with the Medal of Honor for actions during the war for 51 years when the first African American was finally so honored. President Harry Truman believed such discrimination among courageous military veterans was not tolerable. In 1948 his order established equal treatment and opportunity in the military and mandated that no one in the military should be discriminated against because of race. He lost the entire southern wing of the Democratic Party when they left the convention and nominated J. Strom Thurmond, then governor of South Carolina, as their candidate for president. Executive Order 9981 ended segregation in the armed forces and created a new working cooperation between the U.S. Department of Justice and the NAACP as the struggle for civil rights moved further into the courts of the nation.*

WHEREAS it is essential that there be maintained in the armed services of the United States the highest standards of democracy, with equality of treatment and opportunity for all those who serve in our country's defense:

NOW, THEREFORE, by virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States, by the Constitution and the statutes of the United States, and as Commander in Chief of the armed services, it is hereby ordered as follows:

1. It is hereby declared to be the policy of the President that there shall be equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed services without regard to race, color, religion or national origin. This policy shall be put into effect as rapidly as possible, having due regard to the time required to effectuate any necessary changes without impairing efficiency or morale.

2. There shall be created in the National Military Establishment an advisory committee to be known as the President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services, which shall be composed of seven members to be designated by the President.

3. The Committee is authorized on behalf of the President to examine into the rules, proced[ed]ures and practices of the armed services in order to determine in what respect such rules, procedures and practices may be altered or improved with a view to carrying out the policy of this order. The Committee shall confer and advise with the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of the Army, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Secretary of the Air Force, and shall make such recommendations to the President and to said Secretaries as in the judgment of the Committee will effectuate the policy hereof.

4. All executive departments and agencies of the Federal Government are authorized and directed to cooperate with the Committee in its work, and to furnish the Committee such information or the services of such persons as the Committee may require in the performance of its duties.

5. When requested by the Committee to do so, persons in the armed services or in any of the executive departments and agencies of the Federal Government shall testify before the Committee and shall make available for the use of the Committee such documents and other information as the Committee may require.

6. The Committee shall continue to exist until such time as the President shall terminate its existence by Executive order.

## UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, DECEMBER 10, 1948

SOURCE *Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948): "Universal Declaration of Human Rights," in General Assembly of the United Nations, Resolution 217 A (III), December 10, 1948. Copyright © 1948 United Nations. The United Nations is the author of the original material. Reproduced by permission*

INTRODUCTION *In the wake of the atrocities of World War II, many prominent leaders throughout the world saw the need to outline the basic principles of human rights. The United Nations was in its infancy. The reality that six million Jews had died during Adolf*

*Universal Declaration of Human Rights, December 10, 1948*

*Hitler's Holocaust was a horror that would never fade. More than one million of them were children not yet teenagers. The rights of these Jewish people were systematically stripped away through careful planning. When all was in place, it led to extermination. Others suffered indignation as well, and the people behind the declaration wanted to ensure that it did not happen again—or if it did, that there would be recourse. Among those who were instrumental in its drafting were Eleanor Roosevelt, widow of the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt; René Cassin of France; Charles Malik of Lebanon; Dr. P.C. Chang of China; and, Director of the United Nations' Human Rights Division, John Humphrey.*

**PREAMBLE**

WHEREAS recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

WHEREAS disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,

WHEREAS it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,

WHEREAS it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations,

WHEREAS the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

WHEREAS Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in co-operation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

WHEREAS a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge,

NOW, THEREFORE,

The General Assembly

Proclaims this Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration con-

stantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

**ARTICLE 1.**

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

**ARTICLE 2.**

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the county or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

**ARTICLE 3.**

Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

**ARTICLE 4.**

No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

**ARTICLE 5.**

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

**ARTICLE 6.**

Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

**ARTICLE 7.**

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

**ARTICLE 8.**

Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

**ARTICLE 9.**

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention, or exile.

**ARTICLE 10.**

Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

**ARTICLE 11.**

1. Everyone charged with a penal offense has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defense.

2. No one shall be held guilty of any penal offense on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offense, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offense was committed.

**ARTICLE 12.**

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence nor to attacks upon his honor and reputation.

Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

**ARTICLE 13.**

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.

2. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

**ARTICLE 14.**

1. Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.

2. This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

**ARTICLE 15.**

1. Everyone has the right to a nationality.

2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

**ARTICLE 16.**

1. Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry

and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

2. Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.

3. The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the state.

**ARTICLE 17.**

1. Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

**ARTICLE 18.**

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

**ARTICLE 19.**

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

**ARTICLE 20.**

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

2. No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

**ARTICLE 21.**

1. Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

2. Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.

3. The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

**ARTICLE 22.**

Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international cooperation and in accordance



**Brown v. Board of Education (excerpt)**

with the organization and resources of each state, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

**ARTICLE 23.**

1. Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favorable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

2. Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.

3. Everyone who works has the right to just and favorable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.

4. Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

**ARTICLE 24.**

Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

**ARTICLE 25.**

1. Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

2. Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

**ARTICLE 26.**

1. Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

2. Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

3. Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

**ARTICLE 27.**

1. Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

2. Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary, or artistic production of which he is the author.

**ARTICLE 28.**

Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

**ARTICLE 29.**

1. Everyone has duties to the community, in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

2. In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.

3. These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

**ARTICLE 30.**

Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any state, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

***BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION (EXCERPT)***

SOURCE *Public Domain.*

INTRODUCTION *Segregation and discrimination did not end for African Americans with the Thirteenth Amendment to free the slaves. Nor did it end with the Fourteenth or Fifteenth Amendments that guaranteed due process and equal protection, as well as the right to vote despite the color of one's skin. Laws known as "Jim Crow" created a legal segregation that did not provide equality for African Americans, only more ways to keep them subjugated. Schooling was especially unequal as inadequate schools for African Americans were inferior. Many southern states had no college facilities*

that allowed African Americans to attend at all. In 1954, nearly a century following the Civil War, an African American elementary school student named Linda Brown, living in Topeka, Kansas, would change the direction of American education when she applied to attend the all-white public school that was closer to her home than the African American public school she was expected to attend. When she was denied admission under the auspices of Kansas state law allowing "separate but equal" facilities, she and her parents took the Board of Education to court—with the help of their NAACP attorney and future U.S. Supreme Court Justice, Thurgood Marshall.

Mr. Chief Justice Warren delivered the opinion of the Court.

These cases come to us from the States of Kansas, South Carolina, Virginia, and Delaware. They are premised on different facts and different local conditions, but a common legal question justifies their consideration together in this consolidated opinion.

In each of the cases, minors of the Negro race, through their legal representatives, seek the aid of the courts in obtaining admission to the public schools of their community on a nonsegregated basis. In each instance, they had been denied admission to schools attended by white children under laws requiring or permitting segregation according to race. This segregation was alleged to deprive the plaintiffs of the equal protection of the laws under the Fourteenth Amendment. In each of the cases other than the Delaware case, a three-judge federal district court denied relief to the plaintiffs on the so-called "separate but equal" doctrine announced by this Court in *Plessy v. Ferguson*...

The plaintiffs contend that segregated public schools are not "equal" and cannot be made "equal," and that hence they are deprived of the equal protection of the laws. Because of the obvious importance of the question presented, the Court took jurisdiction. Argument was heard in the 1952 Term, and reargument was heard this Term on certain questions propounded by the Court.

Reargument was largely devoted to the circumstances surrounding the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868. It covered exhaustively consideration of the Amendment in Congress, ratification by the states, then existing practices in racial segregation, and the views of proponents and opponents of the Amendment. This discussion and our own investigation convince us that, although these sources cast some light, it is not enough to resolve the problem with which we are faced. At best, they are inconclusive. The most avid proponents of the post-War Amendments undoubtedly intended them to remove all legal distinctions among "all persons born or naturalized in the United States." Their

opponents, just as certainly, were antagonistic to both the letter and the spirit of the Amendments and wished them to have the most limited effect. What others in Congress and the state legislatures had in mind cannot be determined with any degree of certainty.

An additional reason for the inconclusive nature of the Amendment's history, with respect to segregated schools, is the status of public education at that time. In the South, the movement toward free common schools, supported by general taxation, had not yet taken hold. Education of white children was largely in the hands of private groups. Education of Negroes was almost nonexistent, and practically all of the race were illiterate. In fact, any education of Negroes was forbidden by law in some states. Today, in contrast, many Negroes have achieved outstanding success in the arts and sciences as well as in the business and professional world. It is true that public school education at the time of the Amendment had advanced further in the North, but the effect of the Amendment on Northern States was generally ignored in the congressional debates. Even in the North, the conditions of public education did not approximate those existing today. The curriculum was usually rudimentary; ungraded schools were common in rural areas; the school term was but three months a year in many states; and compulsory school attendance was virtually unknown. As a consequence, it is not surprising that there should be so little in the history of the Fourteenth Amendment relating to its intended effect on public education.

In the first cases in this Court construing the Fourteenth Amendment, decided shortly after its adoption, the Court interpreted it as proscribing all state-imposed discriminations against the Negro race. The doctrine of "separate but equal" did not make its appearance in this Court until 1896 in the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, supra, involving not education but transportation. American courts have since labored with the doctrine for over half a century. In this Court, there have been six cases involving the "separate but equal" doctrine in the field of public education. In *Cumming v. County Board of Education*... and *Gong Lum v. Rice*... the validity of the doctrine itself was not challenged. In more recent cases, all on the graduate school level, inequality was found in that specific benefits enjoyed by white students were denied to Negro students of the same educational qualifications. *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada*...; *Sipuel v. Oklahoma*...; *Sweatt v. Painter*...; *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents*... In none of these cases was it necessary to re-examine the doctrine to grant relief to the Negro plaintiff. And in *Sweatt v. Painter*, supra, the Court expressly reserved decision on the question whether *Plessy v. Ferguson* should be held inapplicable to public education.

**Brown v. Board of Education (excerpt)**

In the instant cases, that question is directly presented. Here, unlike *Sweatt v. Painter*, there are findings below that the Negro and white schools involved have been equalized, or are being equalized, with respect to buildings, curricula, qualifications and salaries of teachers, and other “tangible” factors. [In the Kansas case, the court below found substantial equality as to all such factors. In the South Carolina case, the court below found that the defendants were proceeding “promptly and in good faith to comply with the court’s decree.” In the Virginia case, the court below noted that the equalization program was already “afoot and progressing”; since then, we have been advised, in the Virginia Attorney General’s brief on reargument, that the program has now been completed. In the Delaware case, the court below similarly noted that the state’s equalization program was well under way. Our decision, therefore, cannot turn on merely a comparison of these tangible factors in the Negro and white schools involved in each of the cases. We must look instead to the effect of segregation itself on public education.

In approaching this problem, we cannot turn the clock back to 1868 when the Amendment was adopted, or even to 1896 when *Plessy v. Ferguson* was written. We must consider public education in the light of its full development and its present place in American life throughout the Nation. Only in this way can it be determined if segregation in public schools deprives these plaintiffs of the equal protection of the laws.

Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society. It is required in the performance of our most basic public responsibilities, even service in the armed forces. It is the very foundation of good citizenship. Today it is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment. In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.

We come then to the question presented: Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other “tangible” factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does.

In *Sweatt v. Painter*, supra, in finding that a segregated law school for Negroes could not provide them

equal educational opportunities, this Court relied in large part on “those qualities which are incapable of objective measurement but which make for greatness in a law school.” In *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents*, supra, the Court, in requiring that a Negro admitted to a white graduate school be treated like all other students, again resorted to intangible considerations: “. . . his ability to study, to engage in discussions and exchange views with other students, and, in general, to learn his profession.” Such considerations apply with added force to children in grade and high schools. To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone. The effect of this separation on their educational opportunities was well stated by a finding in the Kansas case by a court which nevertheless felt compelled to rule against the Negro plaintiffs: Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law; for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to [retard] the educational and mental development of negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racial[ly] integrated school system. [A similar finding was made in the Delaware case: “I conclude from the testimony that in our Delaware society, State-imposed segregation in education itself results in the Negro children, as a class, receiving educational opportunities which are substantially inferior to those available to white children otherwise similarly situated.”]

Whatever may have been the extent of psychological knowledge at the time of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, this finding is amply supported by modern authority. Any language in *Plessy v. Ferguson* contrary to this finding is rejected.

We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of “separate but equal” has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. This disposition makes unnecessary any discussion whether such segregation also violates the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Because these are class actions, because of the wide applicability of this decision, and because of the great variety of local conditions, the formulation of decrees in these cases presents problems of considerable complexity.

On reargument, the consideration of appropriate relief was necessarily subordinated to the primary question—the constitutionality of segregation in public education. We have now announced that such segregation is a denial of the equal protection of the laws. In order that we may have the full assistance of the parties in formulating decrees, the cases will be restored to the docket, and the parties are requested to present further argument on Questions 4 and 5 previously propounded by the Court for the reargument this Term. The Attorney General of the United States is again invited to participate. The Attorneys General of the states requiring or permitting segregation in public education will also be permitted to appear as amici curiae upon request to do so by September 15, 1954, and submission of briefs by October 1, 1954.

It is so ordered.

## THE LONG SHADOW OF LITTLE ROCK: A MEMOIR (EXCERPT)

SOURCE *Public Domain*.

INTRODUCTION *Even three years after the sweeping decision of Brown v. Board of Education, many people throughout the country were not willing to accept it, least of all in the South. Daisy Bates was an African American woman, born in Arkansas, who in 1952 had become president of the Arkansas branch of the NAACP. Her role as an advocate for the nine students who chose to challenge the system in 1957 and enter the all-white Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, gained her a place in history. In this account, she recalls one of those young people, Evelyn Eckford, who had walked into the school alone. Without a phone at home, Eckford had not known that the others were meeting several blocks ahead to walk into school together. Her face and name entered into everyone's home across the United States. How she handled the scary mob and public attention that awaited her that September morning remains a remarkable story.*

Elizabeth, whose dignity and control in the face of jeering mobsters had been filmed by television cameras and recorded in pictures flashed to newspapers over the world, had overnight become a national heroine. During the next few days' newspaper reporters besieged her home, wanting to talk to her. The first day that her parents agreed she might come out of seclusion, she came to my house where the reporters awaited her. Elizabeth was very quiet, speaking only when spoken to. I took her to my bedroom to talk before I let the

reporters see her. I asked how she felt now. Suddenly all her pent-up emotion flared.

"Why am I here?" she said, turning blazing eyes on me. "Why are you so interested in my welfare now? You didn't care enough to notify me of the change of plans—"

I walked over and reached out to her. Before she turned her back on me, I saw tears gathering in her eyes. My heart was breaking for this young girl who stood there trying to stifle her sobs. How could I explain that frantic early morning when at three o'clock my mind had gone on strike?

In the ensuing weeks Elizabeth took part in all the activities of the nine—press conferences, attendance at court, studying with professors at nearby Philander Smith College. She was present, that is, but never really a part of things. The hurt had been too deep.

On the two nights she stayed at my home I was awakened by the screams in her sleep, as she relived in her dreams the terrifying mob scenes at Central. The only times Elizabeth showed real excitement were when Thurgood Marshall met the children and explained the meaning of what had happened in court. As he talked, she would listen raptly, a faint smile on her face. It was obvious he was her hero.

Little by little Elizabeth came out of her shell. Up to now she had never talked about what happened to her at Central. Once when we were alone in the downstairs recreation room of my house, I asked her simply, "Elizabeth, do you think you can talk about it now?"

She remained quiet for a long time. Then she began to speak.

"You remember the day before we were to go in, we met Superintendent Blossom at the school board office. He told us what the mob might say and do but he never told us we wouldn't have any protection. He told our parents not to come because he wouldn't be able to protect the children if they did.

"That night I was so excited I couldn't sleep. The next morning I was about the first one up. While I was pressing my black and white dress—I had made it to wear on the first day of school—my little brother turned on the TV set. They started telling about a large crowd gathered at the school. The man on TV said he wondered if we were going to show up that morning. Mother called from the kitchen, where she was fixing breakfast, 'Turn that TV off!' She was so upset and worried. I wanted to comfort her, so I said, 'Mother, don't worry.'

"Dad was walking back and forth, from room to room, with a sad expression. He was chewing on his pipe and he had a cigar in his hand, but he didn't light either one. It would have been funny, only he was so nervous.

*The 1963 Inaugural Address of Governor George C. Wallace (excerpt)*

“Before I left home Mother called us into the living-room. She said we should have a word of prayer. Then I caught the bus and got off a block from the school. I saw a large crowd of people standing across the street from the soldiers guarding Central. As I walked on, the crowd suddenly got very quiet. Superintendent Blossom had told us to enter by the front door. I looked at all the people and thought, ‘Maybe I will be safer if I walk down the block to the front entrance behind the guards.’

“At the corner I tried to pass through the long line of guards around the school so as to enter the grounds behind them. One of the guards pointed across the street. So I pointed in the same direction and asked whether he meant for me to cross the street and walk down. He nodded ‘yes.’ So, I walked across the street conscious of the crowd that stood there, but they moved away from me.

“For a moment all I could hear was the shuffling of their feet. Then someone shouted, ‘Here she comes, get ready!’ I moved away from the crowd on the sidewalk and into the street. If the mob came at me I could then cross back over so the guards could protect me.

“The crowd moved in closer and then began to follow me, calling me names. I still wasn’t afraid. Just a little bit nervous. Then my knees started to shake all of a sudden and I wondered whether I could make it to the center entrance a block away. It was the longest block I ever walked in my whole life.

“Even so, I still wasn’t too scared because all the time I kept thinking that the guards would protect me.

“When I got right in front of the school, I went up to a guard again. But this time he just looked straight ahead and didn’t move to let me pass him. I didn’t know what to do. Then I looked and saw that the path leading to the front entrance was a little further ahead. So I walked until I was right in front of the path to the front door.

“I stood looking at the school—it looked so big! Just then the guards let some white students go through.

“The crowd was quiet. I guess they were waiting to see what was going to happen. When I was able to steady my knees, I walked up to the guard who had let the white students in. He too didn’t move. When I tried to squeeze past him, he raised his bayonet and then the other guards closed in and they raised their bayonets.

“They glared at me with a mean look and I was very frightened and didn’t know what to do. I turned around and the crowd came toward me.

“They moved closer and closer. Somebody started yelling, ‘Lynch her! Lynch her!’

“I tried to see a friendly face somewhere in the mob—someone who maybe would help. I looked into

the face of an old woman and it seemed a kind face, but when I looked at her again, she spat on me.

“They came closer, shouting, ‘No nigger bitch is going to get in our school. Get out of here!’

“I turned back to the guards but their faces told me I wouldn’t get help from them. Then I looked down the block and saw a bench at the bus stop. I thought, ‘If I can only get there I will be safe.’ I don’t know why the bench seemed a safe place to me, but I started walking toward it. I tried to close my mind to what they were shouting, and kept saying to myself, ‘If I can only make it to the bench I will be safe.’

“When I finally got there, I don’t think I could have gone another step. I sat down and the mob crowded up and began shouting all over again. Someone hollered, ‘Drag her over to this tree! Let’s take care of the nigger.’ Just then a white man sat down beside me, put his arm around me and patted my shoulder. He raised my chin and said, ‘Don’t let them see you cry.’

“Then, a white lady—she was very nice—she came over to me on the bench. She spoke to me but I don’t remember now what she said. She put me on the bus and sat next to me. She asked me my name and tried to talk to me but I don’t think I answered. I can’t remember much about the bus ride, but the next thing I remember I was standing in front of the School for the Blind, where Mother works.

“I thought, ‘Maybe she isn’t here. But she has to be here!’ So I ran upstairs, and I think some teachers tried to talk to me, but I kept running until I reached Mother’s classroom.

“Mother was standing at the window with her head bowed, but she must have sensed I was there because she turned around. She looked as if she had been crying, and I wanted to tell her I was all right. But I couldn’t speak. She put her arms around me and I cried.”

## THE 1963 INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF GOVERNOR GEORGE C. WALLACE (EXCERPT)

SOURCE *Public Domain.*

INTRODUCTION *As a respected circuit judge in Alabama, George Wallace—with a fairly liberal record on the issue of race relations—entered the 1958 gubernatorial race. Declining to use the staunch segregationist tactics of his opponent who enjoyed the endorsement of the Ku Klux Klan, he was soundly defeated. When he ran*

*again for that seat and was elected in 1962, he was true to his vow never to be defeated that way again. His platform of racial segregation defied federal pressure to integrate public facilities. He was determined that it was a states' right issue. With that stand, he became a national symbol of what the South represented in the minds and hearts of the Southerners who supported him. His inaugural address in January of 1963 further fueled the flames of his notoriety. Many nightly news reports on the problems of the struggle for civil rights included an angry and self-righteous George Wallace, as he defined the opposition for federal civil rights legislation. His stance led him to run for the presidency in 1968 and again in 1972, when an attempted assassination left him paralyzed.*

This is the day of my Inauguration as Governor of the State of Alabama. And on this day I feel a deep obligation to renew my pledges, my covenants with you ... the people of this great state.

General Robert E. Lee said that "duty" is the sublimest word on the English language and I have come, increasingly, to realize what he meant. I SHALL do my duty to you, God helping ... to every man, to every woman ... yes, to every child in this state. I shall fulfill my duty toward honesty and economy in our State government so that no man shall have a part of his livelihood cheated and no child shall have a bit of his future stolen away.

I have said to you that I would eliminate the liquor agents in this state and that the money saved would be returned to our citizens ... I am happy to report to you that I am now filling orders for several hundred one-way tickets and stamped on them are these words ... "for liquor agents ... destination: ... out of Alabama." I am happy to report to you that the big-wheeling cocktail-party boys have gotten the word that their free whiskey and boat rides are over ... that the farmer in the field, the worker in the factory, the businessman in his office, the housewife in her home, have decided that the money can be better spent to help our children's education and our older citizens ... and they have put a man in office to see that it is done. It shall be done. Let me say one more time. ... no more liquor drinking in your governor's mansion.

I shall fulfill my duty in working hard to bring industry into our state, not only by maintaining an honest, sober and free-enterprise climate of government in which industry can have confidence ... but in going out and getting it ... so that our people can have industrial jobs in Alabama and provide a better life for their children.

I shall not forget my duty to our senior citizens ... so that their lives can be lived in dignity and enrichment of

the golden years, nor to our sick, both mental and physical ... and they will know we have not forsaken them. I want the farmer to feel confident that in this State government he has a partner who will work with him in raising his income and increasing his markets. And I want the laboring man to know he has a friend who is sincerely striving to better his field of endeavor.

I want to assure every child that this State government is not afraid to invest in their future through education, so that they will not be handicapped on every threshold of their lives.

Today I have stood, where once Jefferson Davis stood, and took an oath to my people. It is very appropriate then that from this Cradle of the Confederacy, this very Heart of the Great Anglo-Saxon Southland, that today we sound the drum for freedom as have our generations of forebears before us done, time and time again through history. Let us rise to the call of freedom-loving blood that is in us and send our answer to the tyranny that clanks its chains upon the South. In the name of the greatest people that have ever trod this earth, I draw the line in the dust and toss the gauntlet before the feet of tyranny ... and I say ... segregation today ... segregation tomorrow ... segregation forever.

The Washington, D.C. school riot report is disgusting and revealing. We will not sacrifice our children to any such type school system—and you can write that down. The federal troops in Mississippi could be better used guarding the safety of the citizens of Washington, D.C., where it is even unsafe to walk or go to a ballgame—and that is the nation's capitol. I was safer in a B-29 bomber over Japan during the war in an air raid, than the people of Washington are walking to the White House neighborhood. A closer example is Atlanta. The city officials fawn for political reasons over school integration and THEN build barricades to stop residential integration—what hypocrisy!

Let us send this message back to Washington by our representatives who are with us today ... that from this day we are standing up, and the heel of tyranny does not fit the neck of an upright man ... that we intend to take the offensive and carry our fight for freedom across the nation, wielding the balance of power we know we possess in the Southland ... that WE, not the insipid bloc of voters of some sections ... will determine in the next election who shall sit in the White House of these United States ... That from this day, from this hour ... from this minute ... we give the word of a race of honor that we will tolerate their boot in our face no longer ... and let those certain judges put *that* in their opium pipes of power and smoke it for what it is worth.

Hear me, Southerners! You sons and daughters who have moved north and west throughout this nation. ...

*Civil Rights Act of 1964 (excerpts)*

we call on you from your native soil to join with us in national support and vote . . . and we know . . . wherever you are . . . away from the hearths of the Southland . . . that you will respond, for though you may live in the farthest reaches of this vast country . . . your heart has never left Dixieland.

And you native sons and daughters of old New England's rock-ribbed patriotism . . . and you sturdy natives of the great Mid-West . . . and you descendants of the far West flaming spirit of pioneer freedom . . . we invite you to come and be with us . . . for you are of the Southern spirit . . . and the Southern philosophy . . . you are Southerners too and brothers with us in our fight.

## CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964 (EXCERPTS)

SOURCE *Public Domain.*

INTRODUCTION *Quiet acts of civil disobedience in the 1950s gave way to huge—sometimes violent—demonstrations and vocal protest that erupted by the early 1960s mostly throughout the southern United States. African Americans were joined in their struggle by Americans of other races to launch what was to be a final attack on the legalized discrimination that occurred especially in the South in every area from voting rights, to employment, to education, to access to public facilities—everything from restrooms, to lunch counters, to buses. The national nightly news broadcasts carried stories of arrests, boycotts, and even murder of civil rights movement workers. In the summer of 1963, the March on Washington drew thousands of people and culminated in Martin Luther King Jr.'s now famous speech "I Have a Dream." It was in this climate that President John F. Kennedy first initiated the Civil Rights Act that same year. By July 2, 1964 when President Lyndon B. Johnson signed it into law, it contained eleven different titles covering all aspects of what every American could expect as a right. It also served as the mandate from which the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission was created.*

### TITLE I—VOTING RIGHTS

Sec. 101. Section 2004 of the Revised Statutes (42 U.S.C. 1971) . . . is further amended as follows: . . .

. . . "No Person acting under color of law shall—"

"(A) In determining whether any individual is qualified under State law or laws to vote in any Federal

election, apply any standard, practice, or procedure different from the standards, practices, or procedures applied under such law or laws to other individuals within the same county, parish, or similar political subdivision who have been found by State officials to be qualified to vote;"

"(B) deny the right of any individual to vote in any Federal election because of an error or omission on any record or paper relating to any application, registration, or other act requisite to voting, if such error or omission is not material in determining whether such individual is qualified under State law to vote in such election; or"

"(C) employ any literacy test as a qualification for voting in any Federal election unless (i) such test is administered to each individual and is conducted wholly in writing, and (ii) a certified copy of the test and of the answers given by the individual is furnished to him within twenty-five days of the submission of his request made within the period of time during which records and papers are required to be retained and preserved pursuant to title III of the Civil Rights Act of 1960 (42 U.S.C. 1974–74e; 74 Stat. 88). . . ."

Sec. 201. (a) All persons shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the goods, services, facilities, privileges, advantages, and accommodations of any place of public accommodation, as defined in this section, without discrimination or segregation on the ground of race, color, religion, or national origin.

(b) Each of the following establishments which serves the public is a place of public accommodation within the meaning of this title if its operations affect commerce, or if discrimination or segregation by it is supported by State action:

- (1) any inn, hotel, motel, or other establishment which provides lodging to transient guests, other than an establishment located within a building which contains not more than five rooms for rent or hire and which is actually occupied by the proprietor of such establishment as his residence;
- (2) any restaurant, cafeteria, lunchroom, lunch counter, soda fountain, or other facility principally engaged in selling food for consumption on the premises, including, but not limited to, any such facility located on the premises of any retail establishment; or any gasoline station;
- (3) any motion picture house, theater, concert hall, sports arena, stadium or other place of exhibition or entertainment; and

- (4) any establishment (A)(i) which is physically located within the premises of any establishment otherwise covered by this subsection, or (ii) within the premises of which is physically located any such covered establishment, and (B) which holds itself out as serving patrons of such covered establishment. . . .

(e) The provisions of this title shall not apply to a private club or other establishment not in fact open to the public, except to the extent that the facilities of such establishment are made available to the customers or patrons of an establishment within the scope of subsection (b).

Sec. 206. (a) Whenever the Attorney General has reasonable cause to believe that any person or group of persons is engaged in a pattern or practice of resistance to the full enjoyment of any of the rights secured by this title, and that the pattern or practice is of such a nature and is intended to deny the full exercise of the rights herein described, the Attorney General may bring a civil action in the appropriate district court of the United States. . . .

#### **TITLE IV—DESEGREGATION OF PUBLIC EDUCATION**

Sec. 407. (a) Whenever the Attorney General receives a complaint in writing—

- (1) signed by a parent or group of parents to the effect that his or their minor children, as members of a class of persons similarly situated, are being deprived by a school board of the equal protection of the laws, or
- (2) signed by an individual, or his parent, to the effect that he has been denied admission to or not permitted to continue in attendance at a public college by reason of race, color, religion, or national origin and the Attorney General believes the complaint is meritorious and certifies that the signer or signers of such complaint are unable, in his judgment, to initiate and maintain appropriate legal proceedings for relief and that the institution of an action will materially further the orderly achievement of desegregation in public education, the Attorney General is authorized, after giving notice of such complaint to the appropriate school board or college authority and after certifying that he is satisfied that such board or authority has had a reasonable time to adjust the conditions alleged in such complaint, to institute for or in the name of the United States a civil action in any appropriate district

court of the United States against such parties and for such relief as may be appropriate. . . .

#### **TITLE VI—NONDISCRIMINATION IN FEDERALLY-ASSISTED PROGRAMS**

Sec. 601. No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance. . . .

#### **TITLE VII—EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY**

Sec. 703. (a) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for an employer—

- (1) to fail or refuse to hire or to discharge any individual, or otherwise to discriminate against any individual with respect to his compensation, terms, conditions, or privileges of employment, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin; or

- (2) to limit, segregate, or classify his employees in any way which would deprive or tend to deprive any individual of employment opportunities or otherwise adversely affect his status as an employee, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

(b) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for an employment agency to fail or refuse to refer for employment, or otherwise to discriminate against, any individual because of his race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, or to classify or refer for employment any individual on the basis of his race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

(c) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for a labor organization—

- (1) to exclude or to expel from its membership, or otherwise to discriminate against, any individual because of his race, color, religion, sex, or national origin;

- (2) to limit, segregate, or classify its membership, or to classify or fail or refuse to refer for employment any individual, in any way which would deprive or tend to deprive any individual of employment opportunities, or would limit such employment opportunities or otherwise adversely affect his status as an employee or as an applicant for employment, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin; or



### *Malcolm X's "The Ballot or the Bullet" Speech*

(3) to cause or attempt to cause an employer to discriminate against an individual in violation of this section.

(d) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for any employer, labor organization, or joint labor-management committee controlling apprenticeship or other training or retraining, including on-the-job training programs to discriminate against any individual because of his race, color, religion, sex, or national origin in admission to, or employment in, any program established to provide apprenticeship or other training.

(e) Notwithstanding any other provision of this title, (1) it shall not be an unlawful employment practice for an employer to hire and employ employees, for an employment agency to classify, or refer for employment any individual, for a labor organization to classify its membership or to classify or refer for employment any individual, or for an employer, labor organization, or joint labor-management committee controlling apprenticeship or other training or retraining programs to admit or employ any individual in any such program, on the basis of his religion, sex, or national origin in those certain instances where religion, sex, or national origin is a bona fide occupational qualification reasonably necessary to the normal operation of that particular business or enterprise. . . .

Sec. 705. (1) There is hereby created a Commission to be known as the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, which shall be composed of five members, not more than three of whom shall be members of the same political party, who shall be appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. . . .

*American community. When Earl Little was run over by a streetcar, many determined it was no accident—instead, that it was likely a murder by the Black Legion, a hate organization targeting African Americans. Malcolm told his favorite teacher in junior high that he wanted to be a lawyer. He was told that it was an unrealistic goal for someone of his race. He knew violence and crime and spent time in prison, where he converted and became a Muslim with the Nation of Islam. He would eventually change his name to reflect his dissatisfaction with having the name of a man who had once owned his family. This exchange in Cleveland in 1964 occurred just about a year before he was assassinated. He expressed his anger at the oppression he believed white people imposed on his race, explaining that he is not “anti-white” but anti-exploitation. He warned that in the political year of 1964, there was the vote, or the possibility that the country could explode in the violence of that exploitation and oppression. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was enacted that summer. And cities around the country began to explode in violence for several summers to come.*

*“This text has been suppressed  
due to author restrictions”*

## **MALCOLM X'S “THE BALLOT OR THE BULLET” SPEECH**

SOURCE *Breitman, George (ed.), From Malcolm X Speaks: Selected Speeches and Statements. Copyright 1965, 1989 by Betty Shabazz and Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.*

INTRODUCTION *Malcolm X was born Malcolm Little into a hard life that knew little good of white people. His father, Earl Little, became a member of the United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) and would eventually be identified as a chief in the movement. As a young child Malcolm's family home in Lansing, Michigan was burned down, probably due to backlash against his father's increasing activity in the African*

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## MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.’S “THE AMERICAN DREAM”

SOURCE King, Martin Luther, Jr. “The American Dream,” [http://www.stanford.edu/group/King/sermons/65704\\_The\\_American\\_Dream.html](http://www.stanford.edu/group/King/sermons/65704_The_American_Dream.html). Copyright 1963 Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., copyright renewed 1991 by Coretta Scott King. Reproduced by arrangement with the Estate of Martin Luther King, Jr., c/o Writers House as agent for the proprietor New York, NY.

INTRODUCTION *It was a year after the passage of the Civil Rights Act that the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. addressed his congregation in Atlanta. The day was July 4, 1965—the perfect day to talk about rights and equality. On that particular day as he was heading to the airport in Washington, D.C., to fly to Atlanta, his aide, Andrew Young, pointed out that it was an interesting coincidence that they should be passing by the Jefferson Memorial on Independence Day. Dr. King had forgotten that it was the holiday. It was then that he decided he would preach in that spirit of the founding fathers and talk more about what he saw as the ongoing task for African Americans, and a struggle that was not yet ended even if the legal battles had. The Jewish philosopher Martin Buber had just died, and he offered inspiration to Dr. King, too. He reminded people why segregation was wrong—that segregation “substitutes an ‘I-It’ relationship for the ‘I-Thou’ relationship and relegates persons to the status of things.” King recaptured some of the power of his 1963*

*“I Have a Dream” speech by repeating his own version of what an “American Dream” should be.*

I planned to use for the textual basis for our thinking together that passage from the prologue of the book of Job where Satan is pictured as asking God, “Does Job serve thee for nought?” And I’d like to ask you to allow me to hold that sermon [“*Why Serve God?*”] in abeyance and preach it the next time I am in the pulpit in order to share with you some other ideas. This morning I was riding to the airport in Washington, D.C., and on the way to the airport the limousine passed by the Jefferson monument, and Reverend Andrew Young, my executive assistant, said to me, “It’s quite coincidental that we would be passing by the Jefferson Monument on Independence Day.” You can get so busy in life that you forget holidays and other days, and it had slipped my mind altogether that today was the Fourth of July. And I said to him, “It is coincidental and quite significant, and I think when I get to Atlanta and go to my pulpit, I will try to preach a sermon in the spirit of the founding fathers of our nation and in the spirit of the Declaration of Independence.” And so this morning I would like to use as a subject from which to preach: “The American Dream.” (*Yes, sir*)

It wouldn’t take us long to discover the substance of that dream. It is found in those majestic words of the Declaration of Independence, words lifted to cosmic proportions: “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by God, Creator, with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness.” This is a dream. It’s a great dream.

The first saying we notice in this dream is an amazing universalism. It doesn’t say “some men,” it says “all men.” It doesn’t say “all white men,” it says “all men,” which includes black men. It does not say “all Gentiles,” it says “all men,” which includes Jews. It doesn’t say “all Protestants,” it says “all men,” which includes Catholics. (*Yes, sir*) It doesn’t even say “all theists and believers,” it says “all men,” which includes humanists and agnostics.

Then that dream goes on to say another thing that ultimately distinguishes our nation and our form of government from any totalitarian system in the world. It says that each of us has certain basic rights that are neither derived from or conferred by the state. In order to discover where they came from, it is necessary to move back behind the dim mist of eternity. They are God-given, gifts from His hands. Never before in the history of the world has a sociopolitical document expressed in such profound, eloquent, and unequivocal language the dignity and the worth of human personality. The American dream reminds us, and we should think about

it anew on this Independence Day, that every man is an heir of the legacy of dignity and worth.

Now ever since the founding fathers of our nation dreamed this dream in all of its magnificence—to use a big word that the psychiatrists use—America has been something of a schizophrenic personality, tragically divided against herself. On the one hand we have proudly professed the great principles of democracy, but on the other hand we have sadly practiced the very opposite of those principles.

But now more than ever before, America is challenged to realize its dream, for the shape of the world today does not permit our nation the luxury of an anemic democracy. And the price that America must pay for the continued oppression of the Negro and other minority groups is the price of its own destruction. (*Yes it is*) For the hour is late. And the clock of destiny is ticking out. We must act now before it is too late.

And so it is marvelous and great that we do have a dream, that we have a nation with a dream; and to forever challenge us; to forever give us a sense of urgency; to forever stand in the midst of the "isness" of our terrible injustices; to remind us of the "oughtness" of our noble capacity for justice and love and brotherhood.

This morning I would like to deal with some of the challenges that we face today in our nation as a result of the American dream. First, I want to reiterate the fact that we are challenged more than ever before to respect the dignity and the worth of all human personality. We are challenged to really believe that all men are created equal. And don't misunderstand that. It does not mean that all men are created equal in terms of native endowment, in terms of intellectual capacity—it doesn't mean that. There are certain bright stars in the human firmament in every field. (*Yes, sir*) It doesn't mean that every musician is equal to a Beethoven or Handel, a Verdi or a Mozart. It doesn't mean that every physicist is equal to an Einstein. It does not mean that every literary figure in history is equal to Aeschylus and Euripides, Shakespeare and Chaucer. (*Make it plain*) It does not mean that every philosopher is equal to Plato, Aristotle, Immanuel Kant, and Friedrich Hegel. It doesn't mean that. There are individuals who do excel and rise to the heights of genius in their areas and in their fields. What it does mean is that all men are equal in intrinsic worth. (*Yes*)

You see, the founding fathers were really influenced by the Bible. The whole concept of the imago dei, as it is expressed in Latin, the "image of God," is the idea that all men have something within them that God injected. Not that they have substantial unity with God, but that every man has a capacity to have fellowship with God. And this gives him a uniqueness, it gives him worth, it gives him dignity. And we must never forget this as a

nation: there are no gradations in the image of God. Every man from a treble white to a bass black is significant on God's keyboard, precisely because every man is made in the image of God. One day we will learn that. (*Yes*) We will know one day that God made us to live together as brothers and to respect the dignity and worth of every man.

This is why we must fight segregation with all of our nonviolent might. (*Yes, sir; Make it plain*) Segregation is not only inconvenient—that isn't what makes it wrong. Segregation is not only sociologically untenable—that isn't what makes it wrong. Segregation is not only politically and economically unsound—that is not what makes it wrong. Ultimately, segregation is morally wrong and sinful. To use the words of a great Jewish philosopher that died a few days ago, Martin Buber, "It's wrong because it substitutes an 'I-It' relationship for the 'I-Thou' relationship and relegates persons to the status of things." That's it. (*Yes, sir*) . . .

And I tell you this morning, my friends, the reason we got to solve this problem here in America: Because God somehow called America to do a special job for mankind and the world. (*Yes, sir; Make it plain*) Never before in the history of the world have so many racial groups and so many national backgrounds assembled together in one nation. And somehow if we can't solve the problem in America the world can't solve the problem, because America is the world in miniature and the world is America writ large. And God set us out with all of the opportunities. (*Make it plain*) He set us between two great oceans; (*Yes, sir*) made it possible for us to live with some of the great natural resources of the world. And there he gave us through the minds of our forefathers a great creed: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men (*Yes, sir*) are created equal." . . .

I submit to you when I took off on that plane this morning, I saw men go out there in their overalls. (*Yes, sir, Every time*) I saw them working on things here and there, and saw some more going out there to put the breakfast on there so that we could eat on our way to Atlanta. (*Make it plain*) And I said to myself that these people who constitute the ground crew are just as significant as the pilot, because this plane couldn't move if you didn't have the ground crew. (*Amen*) I submit to you that in Hugh Spaulding or Grady Hospital, (*Preach it*) the woman or the man who goes in there to sweep the floor is just as significant as the doctor, (*Yes*) because if he doesn't get that dust off the floor germs will begin to circulate. And those same germs can do injury and harm to the human being. I submit to you this morning (*Yes*) that there is dignity in all work (*Have mercy*) when we learn to pay people decent wages. Whoever cooks in your house, whoever sweeps the floor in your house is just as

significant as anybody who lives in that house. (*Amen*) And everybody that we call a maid is serving God in a significant way. (*Preach it*) And I love the maids, I love the people who have been ignored, and I want to see them get the kind of wages that they need. And their job is no longer a menial job, (*No, sir*) for you come to see its worth and its dignity.

Are we really taking this thing seriously? "All men are created equal." (*Amen*) And that means that every man who lives in a slum today (*Preach it*) is just as significant as John D., Nelson, or any other Rockefeller. Every man who lives in the slum is just as significant as Henry Ford. All men are created equal, and they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, rights that can't be separated from you. [clap] Go down and tell them, (*No*) "You may take my life, but you can't take my right to life. You may take liberty from me, but you can't take my right to liberty. You may take from me the desire, you may take from me the propensity to pursue happiness, but you can't take from me my right to pursue happiness." (*Yes*) "We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights and among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness." (*Yes, sir*) . . .

And I would like to say to you this morning what I've tried to say all over this nation, what I believe firmly: that in seeking to make the dream a reality we must use and adopt a proper method. I'm more convinced than ever before that nonviolence is the way. I'm more convinced than ever before that violence is impractical as well as immoral . . . We can stand up before our most violent opponent and say: We will match your capacity to inflict suffering by our capacity to endure suffering. We will meet your physical force with soul force. (*Make it plain*) Do to us what you will and we will still love you. We cannot in all good conscience obey your unjust laws, because noncooperation with evil is as much a moral obligation as is cooperation with good and so throw us in jail. (*Make it plain*) We will go in those jails and transform them from dungeons of shame to havens of freedom and human dignity. Send your hooded perpetrators of violence into our communities after midnight hours and drag us out on some wayside road and beat us and leave us half-dead, and as difficult as it is, we will still love you. (*Amen*) Somehow go around the country and use your propaganda agents to make it appear that we are not fit culturally, morally, or otherwise for integration, and we will still love you. (*Yes*) Threaten our children and bomb our homes, and as difficult as it is, we will still love you. (*Yeah*) . . .

We have a great dream. (*Great dream*) It started way back in 1776, and God grant that America will be true to her dream.

About two years ago now, I stood with many of you who stood there in person and all of you who were there in spirit before the Lincoln Monument in Washington. (*Yes*) As I came to the end of my speech there, I tried to tell the nation about a dream I had. I must confess to you this morning that since that sweltering August afternoon in 1963, my dream has often turned into a nightmare; (*Lord*) I've seen it shattered. . . . I've seen my dream shattered as I've walked the streets of Chicago (*Make it plain*) and seen Negroes, young men and women, with a sense of utter hopelessness because they can't find any jobs. And they see life as a long and desolate corridor with no exit signs. And not only Negroes at this point. I've seen my dream shattered because I've been through Appalachia, and I've seen my white brothers along with Negroes living in poverty. (*Yeah*) And I'm concerned about white poverty as much as I'm concerned about Negro poverty. (*Make it plain*)

So yes, the dream has been shattered, (*Amen*) and I have had my nightmarish experiences, but I tell you this morning once more that I haven't lost the faith. (*No, sir*) I still have a dream (*A dream, Yes, sir*) that one day all of God's children will have food and clothing and material well-being for their bodies, culture and education for their minds, and freedom for their spirits. (*Yes*)

I still have a dream this morning: (*Yes*) one day all of God's black children will be respected like his white children.

I still have a dream this morning (*Yes*) that one day the lion and the lamb will lie down together, and every man will sit under his own vine and fig tree and none shall be afraid.

I still have a dream this morning that one day all men everywhere will recognize that out of one blood God made all men to dwell upon the face of the earth.

I still have a dream this morning (*Yes, sir*) that one day every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill will be made low; the rough places will be made plain, and the crooked places straight; and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together.

I still have a dream this morning (*Amen*) that truth will reign supreme and all of God's children will respect the dignity and worth of human personality. And when this day comes the morning stars will sing together (*Yes*) and the sons of God will shout for joy.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men (*All right*) are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, (*Yes, sir*) that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness."

We open the doors of the church now. If someone needs to accept Christ, (*Yes, sir*) this is a marvelous

opportunity, a great moment to make a decision. And as we sing together, we bid you come at this time by Christian experience, baptism, watch care. But come at this moment, become a part of this great Christian fellowship and accept Christ (*Yes, sir*) as your personal savior.

## “BLACK POWER—ITS RELEVANCE TO THE WEST INDIES”

SOURCE *Rodney, Walter. From The Groundings with My Brothers. Copyright © 1969. Reprinted by permission of Bogle L'Ouverture Publishers Ltd.*

INTRODUCTION *Walter Rodney was a Guyanese historian who had received his Ph.D. from the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London in 1966, the time of the rise of the political movement of Black Power, not only in the United States but throughout the world. The islands of the West Indies ended the practice of slavery nearly thirty years before the start of the U.S. Civil War; but as with its American counterparts, the legacy of slavery lingered on long after freedom. One hundred years later, just before the start of World War II, the black people of the West Indies revolted. Still under British rule, the living conditions for the poor black people were horrendous. Over twenty years after that, with conditions for black people still suffering, Rodney fueled the flames of unrest with his speeches against white imperialism. After he was expelled, rioting ensued in Kingston and the university closed temporarily. These are some of his words that helped enflame a movement.*

About a fortnight ago I had the opportunity of speaking on Black Power to an audience on this campus. At that time, the consciousness among students as far as the racial question is concerned had been heightened by several incidents on the world scene—notably, the hangings in Rhodesia and the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King. Indeed, it has been heightened to such an extent that some individuals have started to organize a Black Power movement. My presence here attests to my full sympathy with their objectives.

The topic on this occasion is no longer just “Black Power” but “Black Power and You.” Black Power can be seen as a movement and an ideology springing from the reality of oppression of black peoples by whites within the imperialist world as a whole. Now we need to be specific in defining the West Indian scene and our own particular roles in the society. You and I have to decide whether we

want to think black or to *remain* as a dirty version of white. (I shall indicate the full significance of this later.)

Recently there was a public statement in *Scope* where Black Power was referred to as “Black supremacy.” This may have been a genuine error or a deliberate falsification. Black Power is a call to black peoples to throw off white domination and resume the handling of their own destinies. It means that blacks would enjoy power commensurate with their numbers in the world and in particular localities. Whenever an oppressed black man shouts for equality he is called a racist. This was said of Marcus Garvey in his day. Imagine that! We are so inferior that if we demand equality of opportunity and power that is outrageously racist! Black people who speak up for their rights must beware of this device of false accusations. Is it intended to place you on the defensive and if possible embarrass you into silence. How can we be both oppressed and embarrassed? Is it that our major concern is not to hurt the feelings of the oppressor? Black people must now take the offensive—if it is anyone who should suffer embarrassment it is the whites. Did black people roast six million Jews? Who exterminated millions of indigenous inhabitants in the Americas and Australia? Who enslaved countless millions of Africans? The white capitalist cannibal has always fed on the world's black peoples. White capitalist imperialist society is profoundly and unmistakably racist.

The West Indies have always been a part of white capitalist society. We have been the most oppressed section because we were a slave society and the legacy of slavery still rests heavily upon the West Indian black man. I will briefly point to five highlights of our social development: (1) the development of racialism under slavery; (2) emancipation; (3) Indian indentured labour; (4) the year 1865 in Jamaica; (5) the year 1938 in the West Indies.

### SLAVERY

As C.L.R. James, Eric Williams and other W.I. scholars have pointed out, slavery in the West Indies started as an economic phenomenon rather than a racial one. But it rapidly became racist as all white labour was withdrawn from the fields, leaving black to be identified with slave labour and white to be linked with property and domination. Out of this situation where blacks had an inferior status in practice, there grew social and scientific theories relating to the supposed inherent inferiority of the black man, who was considered as having been created to bring water and hew wood for the white man. This theory then served to rationalise white exploitation of blacks all over Africa and Asia. The West Indies and the American South share the dubious distinction of being the breeding ground for world racialism. Even the blacks became convinced of



their own inferiority, though fortunately we are capable of the most intense expressions when we recognise that we have been duped by the white men. Black power recognises both the reality of the black oppression and self-negation as well as the potential for revolt.

#### EMANCIPATION

By the end of the 18th century, Britain had got most of what it wanted from black labour in the West Indies. Slavery and the slave trade had made Britain strong and now stood in the way of new developments, so it was time to abandon those systems. The Slave Trade and Slavery were thus ended; but Britain had to consider how to squeeze what little remained in the territories and *how to maintain the local whites in power*. They therefore decided to give the planters £20 million compensation and to guarantee their black labour supplies for the next six years through a system called apprenticeship. In that period, white society consolidated its position to ensure that slave relations should persist in our society. The Rastafari Brethren have always insisted that the black people were promised £20 million at emancipation. In reality, by any normal standards of justice, we black people should have got the £20 million compensation money. We were the ones who had been abused and wronged, hunted in Africa and brutalised on the plantations. In Europe, when serfdom was abolished, the serfs usually inherited the land as compensation and by right. In the West Indies, the exploiters were compensated because they could no longer exploit us in the same way as before. White property was of greater value than black humanity. It still is—white property is of greater value than black humanity in the British West Indies today, especially here in Jamaica.

#### INDIAN INDENTURED LABOUR

Britain and the white West Indians had to maintain the plantation system in order to keep whites supreme. When Africans started leaving the plantations to set up as independent peasants they threatened the plantation structure and therefore Indians were imported under the indenture arrangements. That was possible because white power controlled most of the world and could move non-white peoples around as they wished. It was from British-controlled India that the indentured labour was obtained. It was the impact of British commercial, military and political policies that was destroying the life and culture of 19th century India and forcing people to flee to other parts of the world to earn bread. Look where Indians fled—to the West Indies! The West Indies is a place black people want to leave, not to come to. One must therefore appreciate the pressure of white power on India which gave rise to migration to the West Indies. Indians were

brought here solely in the interest of white society—at the expense of Africans already in the West Indies and often against their own best interests, for Indians perceived indentured labour to be a form of slavery and it was eventually terminated through the pressure of Indian opinion in the homeland. The West Indies has made a unique contribution to the history of suffering in the world, and Indians have provided part of that contribution since indentures were first introduced. This is another aspect of the historical situation which is still with us.

#### 1865

In that year Britain found a way of perpetuating White Power in the West Indies after ruthlessly crushing the revolt of our black brothers led by Paul Bogle. The British Government took away the Constitution of Jamaica and placed the island under the complete control of the Colonial Office, a manoeuvre that was racially motivated. The Jamaican legislature was then largely in the hands of the local whites with a mulatto minority, but if the gradual changes continued the mulattoes would have taken control—and the blacks were next in line. Consequently, the British Government put a stop to the process of the gradual takeover of political power by blacks. When we look at the British Empire in the 19th century, we see a clear difference between white colonies and black colonies. In the white colonies like Canada and Australia the British were giving white people their freedom and self-rule. In the black colonies of the West Indies, Africa and Asia, the British were busy taking away the political freedom of the inhabitants. Actually, on the constitutional level, Britain had already displayed its racialism in the West Indies in the early 19th century when it refused to give mulattoes the power of Government in Trinidad, although they were the majority of free citizens. In 1865 in Jamaica it was not the first nor the last time on which Britain made it clear that its white “kith and kin” would be supported to hold dominion over blacks.

#### 1938

Slavery ended in various islands of the West Indies between 1834 and 1838. Exactly 100 years later (between 1934–38) the black people in the West Indies revolted against the hypocritical freedom of the society. The British were very surprised—they had long forgotten all about the blacks in the British West Indies and they sent a Royal Commission to find out what it was all about. The report of the conditions was so shocking that the British government did not release it until after the war, because they wanted black colonials to fight the white man’s battles. By the time the war ended it was clear in the West Indies and throughout Asia and Africa that some concessions would have to be made to black peoples. In general, the problem as seen by white imperialists

was to give enough power to certain groups in colonial society to keep the whole society from exploding and to maintain the essentials of the imperialist structure. In the British West Indies, they had to take into account the question of military strategy because we lie under the belly of the world's imperialist giant, the U.S.A. Besides, there was the new and vital mineral bauxite, which had to be protected. The British solution was to pull out wherever possible and leave the imperial government in the hands of the U.S.A., while the local government was given to a white, brown and black petty-bourgeoisie who were culturally the creations of white capitalist society and who therefore support the white imperialist system because they gain personally and because they have been brainwashed into aiding the oppression of black people.

Black Power in the West Indies means three closely related things: (i) the break with imperialism which is historically white racist; (ii) the assumption of power by the black masses in the islands; (iii) the cultural reconstruction of the society in the image of the blacks.

I shall anticipate certain questions on who are the blacks in the West Indies since they are in fact questions which have been posed to me elsewhere. I maintain that it is the white world which has defined who are blacks—if you are not white then you are black. However, it is obvious that the West Indian situation is complicated by factors such as the variety of racial types and racial mixtures and by the process of class formation. We have, therefore, to note not simply what the white world says but also how individuals perceive each other. Nevertheless, we can talk of the mass of the West Indian population as being black—either African or Indian. There seems to have been some doubts on the last point, and some fear that Black Power is aimed against the Indian. This would be a flagrant denial of both the historical experience of the West Indies and the reality of the contemporary scene.

When the Indian was brought to the West Indies, he met the same racial contempt which whites applied to Africans. The Indian, too, was reduced to a single stereotype—the coolie or labourer. He too was a hewer of wood and a bringer of water. I spoke earlier of the revolt of the blacks in the West Indies in 1938. That revolt involved Africans in Jamaica, Africans and Indians in Trinidad and Guyana. The uprisings in Guyana were actually led by Indian sugar workers. Today, some Indians (like some Africans) have joined the white power structure in terms of economic activity and culture; but the underlying reality is that poverty resides among Africans and Indians in the West Indies and that power is denied them. Black Power in the West Indies, therefore, refers primarily to people who are recognisably African or Indian.

The Chinese, on the other hand, are a former labouring group who have now become bastions of white West Indian social structure. The Chinese of the People's Republic of China have long broken with and are fighting against white imperialism, but *our* Chinese have nothing to do with that movement. They are to be identified with Chiang-Kai-Shek and not Chairman Mao Tse-tung. They are to be put in the same bracket as the lackeys of capitalism and imperialism who are to be found in Hong Kong and Taiwan. Whatever the circumstances in which the Chinese came to the West Indies, they soon became (as a group) members of the exploiting class. They will have either to relinquish or be deprived of that function before they can be re-integrated into a West Indian society where the black man walks in dignity.

The same applies to the mulattoes, another group about whom I have been questioned. The West Indian brown man is characterised by ambiguity and ambivalence. He has in the past identified with the black masses when it suited his interests, and at the present time some browns are in the forefront of the movement towards black consciousness; but the vast majority have fallen to the bribes of white imperialism, often outdoing the whites in their hatred and oppression of blacks. Garvey wrote of the Jamaican mulattoes—“I was openly hated and persecuted by some of these coloured men of the island who did not want to be classified as Negroes but as white.” Naturally, conscious West Indian blacks like Garvey have in turn expressed their dislike for the browns, but there is nothing in the West Indian experience which suggests that browns are unacceptable when they choose to identify with blacks. The post-1938 developments in fact showed exactly the opposite. It seems to me, therefore, that it is not for the Black Power movement to determine the position of the browns, reds and so-called West Indian whites—the movement can only keep the door open and leave it to those groups to make their choice.

Black Power is not racially intolerant. It is the hope of the black man that he should have power over his own destinies. This is not incompatible with a multiracial society where each individual counts equally. Because the moment that power is equitably distributed among several ethnic groups then the very relevance of making the distinction between groups will be lost. What we must object to is the current image of a multi-racial society living in harmony—that is a myth designed to justify the exploitation suffered by the blackest of our population, at the hands of the lighter-skinned groups. Let us look at the figures for the racial composition of the Jamaican population. Of every 100 Jamaicans,

76.8% are visibly African  
0.8% European  
1.1% Indian

*“Black Power—Its Relevance to the West Indies”*

- 0.6% Chinese
- 91% have African blood
- 0.1% Syrian
- 14.6% Afro-European
- 5.4% other mixtures

This is a black society where Africans preponderate. Apart from the mulatto mixture all other groups are numerically insignificant and yet the society seeks to give them equal weight and indeed more weight than the Africans. If we went to Britain we could easily find non-white groups in the above proportions—Africans and West Indians, Indians and Pakistanis, Turks, Arabs and other Easterners—but Britain is not called a multi-racial society. When we go to Britain we don't expect to take over all of the British real estate business, all their cinemas and most of their commerce as the European, Chinese and Syrian have done here. All we ask for there is some work and shelter, and we can't even get that. Black Power must proclaim that Jamaica is a black society—we should fly Garvey's Black Star banner and we will treat all other groups in the society on that understanding—they can have *the basic right of all individuals* but *no privileges to exploit Africans* as has been the pattern during slavery and ever since.

The present government knows that Jamaica is a black man's country. That is why Garvey has been made a national hero, for they are trying to deceive black people into thinking that the government is with them. The government of Jamaica recognises black power—it is afraid of the potential wrath of Jamaica's black and largely African population. It is that same fear which forced them to declare mourning when black men are murdered in Rhodesia, and when Martin Luther King was murdered in the U.S.A. But the black people don't need to be told that Garvey is a national hero—they know that. Nor do they need to be told to mourn when blacks are murdered by White Power, because they mourn every day right here in Jamaica where white power keeps them ignorant, unemployed, ill-clothed and ill-fed. They will stop mourning when things change—and that means a revolution, for the first essential is to break the chains which bind us to white imperialists, and that is a very revolutionary step. Cuba is the only country in the West Indies and in this hemisphere which has broken with white power. That is why Stokely Carmichael can visit Cuba but he can't visit Trinidad or Jamaica. That is why Stokely can call Fidel “one of the blackest men in the Americas” and that is why our leaders in contrast qualify as “white.”

Here I'm not just playing with words—I'm extending the definition of Black Power by indicating the nature of its opposite, “White Power,” and I'm providing a practical

illustration of what Black Power means in one particular West Indian community where it had already occurred. White power is the power of whites over blacks without any participation of the blacks. White power rules the imperialist world as a whole. In Cuba the blacks and mulattoes numbered 1,585,073 out of a population of 5,829,029 in 1953—i.e., about one quarter of the population. Like Jamaica's black people today, they were the poorest and most depressed people on the island. Lighter-skinned Cubans held local power, while real power was in the hands of the U.S. imperialists. Black Cubans fought alongside white Cuban workers and peasants because they were all oppressed. Major Juan Almeida, one of the outstanding leaders of Cuba today, was one of the original guerillas in the Sierra Maestra, and he is black. Black Cubans today enjoy political, economic and social rights and opportunities of exactly the same kind as white Cubans. They too bear arms in the Cuban Militia as an expression of their basic rights. In other words, White Power in Cuba is ended. The majority of the white population naturally predominates numerically in most spheres of activity but they do not hold dominion over blacks without regard to the latter's interests. The blacks have achieved power commensurate with their own numbers by their heroic self-efforts during the days of slavery, in fighting against the Spanish and in fighting against imperialism. Having achieved their rights they can in fact afford to forget the category “black” and think simply as Cuban citizens, as Socialist equals and as men. In Jamaica, where blacks are far greater in numbers and have no whites alongside them as oppressed workers and peasants, it will be the black people who alone can bear the brunt of revolutionary fighting.

Trotsky once wrote that Revolution is the carnival of the masses. When we have that carnival in the West Indies, are people like us here at the university going to join the bacchanal?

Let us have a look at our present position. Most of us who have studied at the U.W.I. are discernibly black, and yet we are undeniably part of the white imperialist system. A few are actively pro-imperialist. They have no confidence in anything that is not white—they talk nonsense about black people being lazy—the same nonsense which was said about the Jamaican black man after emancipation, although he went to Panama and performed the giant task of building the Panama Canal—the same nonsense which is said about W.I. unemployed today, and yet they proceed to England to run the whole transport system. Most of us do not go to quite the same extremes in denigrating ourselves and our black brothers, but we say nothing against the system, and that means that we are acquiescing in the exploitation of our brethren. One of the ways that the situation has persisted especially in recent times is that it has given a few

individuals like you and ... [me] ... a vision of personal progress measured in terms of front lawn and the latest model of a huge American car. This has recruited us into their ranks and deprived the black masses of articulate leadership. That is why at the outset I stressed that our choice was to *remain* as part of the white system or to break with it. There is no other alternative.

Black Power in the W.I. must aim at transforming the Black intelligentsia into the servants of the black masses. Black Power, within the university and without must aim at overcoming white cultural imperialism. Whites have dominated us both physically and mentally. This fact is brought out in virtually any serious sociological study of the region—the brainwashing process has been so stupendous that it has convinced so many black men of their inferiority. I will simply draw a few illustrations to remind you of this fact which blacks like us at Mona prefer to forget.

The adult black in our West Indian society is fully conditioned to thinking white, because that is the training we are given from childhood. The little black girl plays with a white doll, identifying with it as she combs its flaxen hair. Asked to sketch the figure of a man or woman, the black schoolboy instinctively produces a white man or a white woman. This is not surprising, since until recently the illustrations in our textbooks were all figures of Europeans. The few changes which have taken place have barely scratched the surface of the problem. West Indians of every colour still aspire to European standards of dress and beauty. The language which is used by black people in describing ourselves shows how we despise our African appearance. “Good hair” means European hair, “good nose” means a straight nose, “good complexion” means a light complexion. Everybody recognises how incongruous and ridiculous such terms are, but we continue to use them and to express our support of the assumption that white Europeans have the monopoly of beauty, and that black is the incarnation of ugliness. That is why Black Power advocates find it necessary to assert that **BLACK IS BEAUTIFUL**.

The most profound revelation of the sickness of our society on the question of race is our respect for all the white symbols of the Christian religion. God the Father is white, God the Son is white, and presumably God the Holy Ghost is white also. The disciples and saints are white, all the Cherubim, Seraphim and angels are white—except Lucifer, of course, who was black, being the embodiment of evil. When one calls upon black people to reject these things, this is not an attack on the teachings of Christ or the ideals of Christianity. What we have to ask is “Why should Christianity come to us all wrapped up in white?” The white race constitute about 20 per cent of the world’s population, and yet non-white peoples are supposed to accept that all who inhabit the

heavens are white. There are 650 million Chinese, so why shouldn’t God and most of the angels be Chinese? The truth is that there is absolutely no reason why different racial groups should not provide themselves with their own religious symbols. A picture of Christ could be red, white or black, depending upon the people who are involved. When Africans adopt the European concept that purity and goodness must be painted white and all that is evil and damned is to be painted black then we are flagrantly self-insulting.

Through the manipulation of this media of education and communication, white people have produced black people who administer the system and perpetuate the white values—“white-hearted black men,” as they are called by conscious elements. This is as true of the Indians as it is true of the Africans in our West Indian society. Indeed, the basic explanation of the tragedy of African/Indian confrontation in Guyana and Trinidad is the fact that both groups are held captive by the European way of seeing things. When an African abuses an Indian he repeats all that the white men said about Indian indentured “coolies”; and in turn the Indian has borrowed from the whites the stereotype of the “lazy nigger” to apply to the African beside him. It is as though no black man can see another black man except by looking through a white person. It is time we started seeing through our own eyes. The road to Black Power here in the West Indies and everywhere else must begin with a revaluation of ourselves as blacks and with a redefinition of the world from our own standpoint.

## LUSAKA MANIFESTO, 1969

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INTRODUCTION *The struggle went on for years. On March 21, 1960, in Sharpeville, in the Union of South Africa, police shot into a peaceful demonstration that was held against pass laws for Africans as a part of apartheid regulations. Sixty-nine men, women, and children were killed and about 200 were wounded. Four days later, 29 African and Asian representatives at the United Nations called for an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider this situation. By the summer, boycotts of South African goods were implemented in countries all over the world, and labor groups refused to service South African cargo ships. Nine years later, in April of 1969, the Fifth Summit Conference of East and Central African States in Lusaka adopted a Manifesto on Southern Africa, and*

*the UN General Assembly—with resolution 2505—welcomed the Lusaka Manifesto on Southern Africa and called it to the attention of nations around the world. This determination of human equality would be one of only many steps in the fight to end apartheid.*

1. When the purpose and the basis of State's international policies are misunderstood, there is introduced into the world a new and unnecessary disharmony. Disagreements, conflicts of interest, or different assessments of human priorities, which already provoke and excess of tension in the world, and disastrously divide mankind at a time when united action is necessary to control modern technology and put it to the service of man. it is for this reason, that discovering world misapprehension of our attitudes and purposes in relation to Southern Africa, we the leaders of East and Central African States meeting at Lusaka, 16th April. 1969, have agreed to issue this Manifesto.

2. By this Manifesto we wish to make clear, beyond all shadow of doubt, our acceptance of the belief that all men are equal, and have equal rights to human dignity and respect, regardless of colour, race, religion, or sex. We believe that all men have the right and the duty to participate, as equal members of the society, in their own government. We do not accept that any individual or group has any right to govern any other group of sane adults, without their consent, and we affirm that only the people of a society, acting together as equals, can determine what is, for them, a good society and a good social, economic, or political organization.

3. On the basis of these beliefs we do not accept that any one group within a society has the right to rule any society without the continuing consent of all the citizens. We recognize that at any one time there will be, within every society, failures in the implementation of these ideals. We recognize that for the sake of human affairs, there may be transitional arrangements while a transformation from group inequalities to individual equality is being effected. but we affirm that without an acceptance of these ideals-without a commitment to these principles of human equality and self-determination-there can be no basis for peace and justice in the world.

4. None of us would claim that within our own States we have achieved the perfect social, economic, and political organization which would ensure a reasonable standard of living for all our people and establish individual security against avoidable hardship or miscarriage of justice. On the contrary, we acknowledge that within our own States the struggle towards human brotherhood and unchallenged human dignity is only the beginning. It is on the basis of our commitment to human equality and human dignity, not on the bases of achieved perfection, that we take our stand of hostility

towards the colonialism and racial discrimination which is being practised in Southern Africa. It is on the basis of their commitment to these universal principles that we appeal to other members of the human race for support.

5. If the commitment to these principles existed among the States holding power in Southern Africa, any disagreements we might have about the implementation, or about isolated acts of policy, would be matters affecting only our individual relationships with the States concerned. If these commitments existed, our States would not be justified in the expressed and active hostility towards the regimes of Southern Africa such as we have proclaimed and continue to propagate.

6. The truth is, however, that in Mozambique, Angola, Rhodesia, South-West Africa, and the Republic of South Africa, there is an open and continued denial of the principles of human equality and national self-determination. This is not a matter of failure in the implementation of accepted human principles. The effective Administrations in all these territories are not struggling towards these difficult goals. They are fighting the principles; they are deliberately organizing their societies so as to try to destroy the hold of these principles in the minds of men. It is for this reason that we believe the rest of the world must be interested. For the principle of human equality, and all that flows from it, is either universal or it does not exist. the dignity of all men is destroyed when the manhood of any human being is denied.

7. Our objectives in Southern Africa stem from our principle of human equality. We are not hostile to the Administrations of these States because they are manned and controlled by white people. We are hostile to them because they are systems of minority control which exists as a result of, and in the pursuance of, doctrines of human inequality. What we are working for is the right of self-determination for the people of those territories. We are working for a rule in those countries which is based on the will of all people, and an acceptance of the equality of every citizen.

8. Our stand towards Southern Africa thus involves a rejection of racialism, not a reversal of the existing racial domination. We believe that all the peoples who have made their homes in the countries of Southern Africa are Africans, regardless of the colour of their skins: and we would oppose a racist majority government which adopted a philosophy of deliberate and permanent discrimination between its citizens on the grounds of racial origin. we are not talking racialism when we reject the colonialism and apartheid policies now operating in those areas; we are demanding an opportunity for all of the people in these States, working together as equal individual citizens to work out for themselves the institutions and systems of government under which they

will, by general consent, live together and work together to build a harmonious society.

9. As an aftermath of the present policies, it is likely that different groups within these societies will be self-conscious and fearful. The initial political and economic organizations may well take account of these fears, and this group self-consciousness. But how this is to be done must be a matter exclusively for the peoples of the country concerned, working together. No other nation will have the right to interfere in such affairs. All that the rest of the world has a right to demand is just what we are now asserting—that the arrangements within any State which wishes to be accepted into the community of nations must be based on acceptance of the principles of human dignity and equality.

10. To talk of the liberation of Africa is to say two things: First, that the peoples in the territories still under colonial rule shall be free to determine for themselves their own institutions of self-government. Secondly, that the individuals in Southern Africa shall be freed from an environment poisoned by the propaganda of racialism, and given an opportunity to be men—not white men, brown men, yellow men, or black men.

11. Thus the liberation of Africa for which we have been struggling does not mean a reversed racialism. Nor is it an aspect of African Imperialism. As far as we are concerned the present boundaries of what will be free and independent African States. There is no question of our seeking or accepting any alterations to our own boundaries at the expense of these future free African nations.

12. On the objective of liberation thus defined, we can neither surrender nor compromise. We have always preferred and we still prefer, to achieve it without physical violence. We would prefer to negotiate rather than destroy, to talk rather than to kill. We do not advocate violence; we advocate an end to the violence against human dignity which is now being perpetrated by the oppressors of Africa. If peaceful progress to emancipation were possible, or if changed circumstances were to make it possible in the future, we would urge our brothers in the resistance movements to use peaceful methods of struggle even at the cost of some compromise on the timing of change. But while peaceful progress is blocked by actions of those at present in power in the States of Southern Africa, we have no choice but to give to the peoples of those territories all the support of which we are capable in their struggle against their oppressors. This is why the signatory states participate in the movement for the liberation of Africa, under the aegis of the Organization of African Unity. However, the obstacle to change is not the same in all the countries of Southern Africa, and it follows therefore, that the possi-

bility of continuing the struggle through peaceful means varies from one country to another.

13. In *Mozambique* and *Angola*, and in so-called *Portuguese Guinea*, the basic problem is not racialism but a pretence that Portugal exists in Africa. Portugal is situated in Europe; the fact is that it is a dictatorship is a matter for the Portuguese to settle. But no decree of the Portuguese dictator, nor legislation passed by any Parliament in Portugal, can make Africa part of Europe. The only thing which could convert a part of Africa into a constituent unit in a union which also includes a European State would be the freely expressed will of the people of that part of Africa. There is no such popular will in the Portuguese colonies. On the contrary, in the absence of any opportunity to negotiate a road to freedom, the peoples of all three territories have taken up arms against the colonial power. They have done this despite the heavy odds against them, and despite the great suffering they know to be involved.

14. Portugal, as a European State, has naturally its own allies in the context of ideological conflict between West and East. However, in our context, the effect of this is that Portugal is enabled to use her resources to pursue the most heinous war and degradation of man in Africa. The present Manifesto must, therefore, lay bare the fact that the inhuman commitment of Portugal in Africa and her ruthless subjugation of the people of Mozambique, Angola and the so-called Portuguese Guinea, is not only irrelevant to the ideological conflict of power-politics, but it is also diametrically opposed to the politics, the philosophies and the doctrines practised by her Allies in the conduct of their own affairs at home. The peoples of Mozambique, Angola, and Portuguese Guinea are not interested in Communism or Capitalism; they are interested in their freedom. They are demanding an acceptance of the principles of independence on the basis of majority rule, and for many years they called for discussions on this issue. Only when their demand for talks was continually ignored did they begin to fight. Even now, if Portugal should change her policy and accept the principle of self-determination, we would urge the Liberation Movements to desist from their armed struggle and to co-operate in the mechanics of a peaceful transfer of power from Portugal to the peoples of the African territories.

15. The fact that many Portuguese citizens have immigrated to these African countries does not affect this issue. Future immigration policy will be a matter for the independent Governments when these are established. In the meantime we would urge the Liberation Movements to reiterate their statements that all those Portuguese people who have made their homes in Mozambique, Angola, or Portuguese Guinea, and who are willing to give their future loyalty to those States will be accepted as citizens. And an independent Mozambique, Angola, or

Portuguese Guinea may choose to be as friendly with Portugal as Brazil is. That would be the free choice of a free people.

16. In *Rhodesia* the situation is different in so far as the metropolitan power has acknowledged the colonial status of the territory. Unfortunately, however, it has failed to take adequate measures to reassert its authority against the minority which has seized power with the declared intention of maintaining white domination. The matter cannot rest there. Rhodesia, like the rest of Africa, must be free, and its independence must be on the basis of majority rule. If the colonial power is unwilling or unable to effect such a transfer of power to the people, then the people themselves will have no alternative but to capture it as and when they can. And Africa has no alternative but to support them. The question which remains in Rhodesia is therefore whether Britain will reassert her authority in Rhodesia and then negotiate the peaceful progress to majority rule before independence. In do far as Britain is willing to make this second commitment, Africa will co-operate in her attempts to reassert her authority. This is the method of progress which we would prefer; it would involve less suffering for all the people of Rhodesia, both black and white. But until there is some firm evidence that Britain accepts the principle of independence on the basis of majority rule and is prepared to take whatever steps are necessary to make it a reality, then Africa has no choice but to support the struggle for the people's freedom by whatever means are open.

17. Just as a settlement of the Rhodesian problem with a minimum of violence is a British responsibility, so a settlement in *South West Africa* with a minimum of violence is a United Nations responsibility. By every canon of international law, and by every precedent, South West Africa should by now have been a sovereign, independent State with a Government based on majority rule. South West Africa was a German colony until 1919, just as Tanganyika, Rwanda and Burundi, Togoland, and Cameroon were German colonies.

It was a matter of European politics that when the Mandatory System was established after Germany had been defeated, the administration of South West Africa was given to the white minority Government of South Africa, while the other ex-German colonies in Africa were put into the hands of the British, Belgian, or French Governments. After the Second World War every mandated territory except South West Africa was converted into a Trustee Territory and has subsequently gained independence. South Africa, on the other hand, has persistently refused to honour even the international obligation it accepted in 1919, and has increasingly to South West Africa the inhuman doctrines and organization of apartheid.

18. The United Nations General Assembly has ruled against this action and in 1966 terminated the Mandate under which South Africa had a legal basis for its occupation and domination of South West Africa. The General Assembly declared that the territory is now the direct responsibility of the United Nations and set up an *ad hoc* Committee to recommend practical means by which South West Africa would be administered, and the people enabled to exercise self-determination and to achieve independence.

19. Nothing could be clearer than this decision—which no permanent member of the Security Council voted against. Yet, since that time no effective measures have been taken to enforce it. South West Africa remains in the clutches of the most ruthless minority government in Africa. Its people continue to be oppressed and those who advocate even peaceful progress to independence continue to be persecuted. The world has an obligation to use its strength to enforce the decision which all the countries co-operated in making. If they do this there is hope that the change can be effected without great violence. If they fail, then sooner or later the people of South West Africa will take the law into their own hands. The people have been patient beyond belief, but one day their patience will be exhausted. Africa, at least, will be unable to deny their call for help.

20. *The Republic of South Africa* is itself an independent Sovereign State and a member of the United Nations. It is more highly developed and richer than any other nation in Africa. On every legal basis its internal affairs are a matter exclusively for the people of South Africa. Yet the purpose of the law is people and we assert that the actions of the South African Government are such that the rest of the world has a responsibility to take some action in defence of humanity.

21. There is one thing about South African oppression which distinguishes it from other oppressive regimes. The *apartheid* policy adopted by its Government, and supported to a greater or lesser extent by almost all its white citizens, is based on a rejection of man's humanity. A position of privilege or the experience of oppression in the South African society depends on the one thing which it is beyond the power of any man to change. It depends upon a man's colour, his parentage, and his ancestors. If you are black you cannot escape this categorization; nor can you escape it if you are white. If you are a black millionaire and a brilliant political scientist, you are still subject to the pass laws and still excluded from political activity. If you are white, even protests against the system and an attempt to reject segregation, will lead you only to the segregation and the comparative comfort of a white jail. beliefs,

abilities, and behavior are all irrelevant to man's status; everything depends on race. Manhood is irrelevant. The whole system of government and society in South Africa is based on the denial of human equality. And the system is maintained by a ruthless denial of the human rights of the majority of the population and thus, inevitably of all.

22. These things are known and are regularly condemned in the Councils of the United Nations and elsewhere. But it appears that to many countries international law takes precedent over humanity; therefore no action follows the words. Yet even if international law is held to exclude active assistance to the South African opponents of apartheid, it does not demand that the comfort and support of human and commercial intercourse should be given to a government which rejects the manhood of most of humanity South Africa should be excluded from the United Nations Agencies, and even from the United Nations itself. It should be ostracized by the world community. It should be isolated from world trade patterns and left to be self-sufficient if it can be. The South African Government cannot be allowed both to reject the very concept of mankind's unity, and to benefit by the strength given through friendly international relations. And certainly Africa cannot acquiesce in the maintenance of the present policies against people of African descent.

23. The signatories of this Manifesto assert that the validity of the principles of human equality and dignity extend to the Republic of South Africa just as they extend to the colonial territories of Southern Africa. Before a basis for peaceful development can be established in this continent, these principles must be acknowledged by every nation, and in every State there must be a deliberate attempt to implement them.

24. We re-affirm our commitment to these principles of human equality and human dignity, and to the doctrines of self-determination and non-racialism. We shall work for their extension within our own nations and throughout the continent of Africa.

## DECLARATION OF SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA BY THE U.S. CONGRESS

SOURCE *Public Domain.*

INTRODUCTION *After years of battle in the U.S. Congress and decades of debate over whether or not the United*

*States should issue sanctions against South Africa for their apartheid policy, in 1986 the fighting was over. African American leaders had been calling for sanctions since the late 1940s when the policies were put into place. The Council on African Affairs began as early as 1946 to organize famine relief campaigns, legal defense funds, sit-ins, and demonstrations at South African embassies, and even petitioned the United Nations. Until 1986 when the United States finally joined in the campaign to end apartheid through these sanctions and up until 1994 when democracy for all people was realized in free elections, many United States citizens petitioned, demonstrated, and pleaded that the government take a stand. African Americans continued to charge that the United States was reluctant because its own policies for so long legalized racism.*

### TITLE I — POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES WITH RESPECT TO ENDING APARTHEID

#### Policy Toward the Government of South Africa

Sec. 101. (a) United States policy toward the Government of South Africa shall be designed to bring about reforms in that system of government that will lead to the establishment of a nonracial democracy.

(b) The United States will work toward this goal by encouraging the Government of South Africa to —

(1) repeal the present state of emergency and respect the principle of equal justice under law for citizens of all races

(2) release Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki, Walter Sisulu black trade union leaders, and all political prisoners;

(3) permit the free exercise by South Africans of all races of the right to form political parties, express political opinions, and otherwise participate in the political process;

(4) establish a timetable for the elimination of apartheid laws

(5) negotiate with representatives of all racial groups in South Africa the future political system in South Africa, and

(6) end military and paramilitary activities aimed at neighboring states.

(c) The United States will encourage the actions set forth in subsection (b) through economic, political, and diplomatic measures as set forth in this Act. The United States will adjust its actions toward the Government of South Africa to reflect the progress or lack of progress



## *Declaration of Sanctions against South Africa by the U.S. Congress*

made by the Government of South Africa in meeting the goal set forth in subsection (a).

### **Policy Toward the African National Congress, etc.**

Sec 102. (a) United States policy toward the African National Congress, the Pan African Congress, and their affiliates shall be designed to bring about a suspension of violence that will lead to the start of negotiations designed to bring about a nonracial and genuine democracy in South Africa.

(b) The United States shall work toward this goal by encouraging the African National Congress and the Pan African Congress, and their affiliates, to —

(1) suspend terrorist activities so that negotiations with the Government of South Africa and other groups representing black South Africans will be possible;

(2) make known their commitment to a free and democratic post-apartheid South Africa —

(3) agree to enter into negotiations with the South African Government and other groups representing black South Africans for the peaceful solution of the problems of South Africa —

(4) reexamine their ties to the South African Communist Party.

(c) The United States will encourage the actions set forth in subsection (b) through political and diplomatic measures. The United States will adjust its actions toward the Government of South Africa not only to reflect progress or lack of progress made by the Government of South Africa in meeting the goal set forth in subsection 101(a) but also to reflect progress or lack of progress made by the ANC and other organizations in meeting the goal set forth in subsection (a) of this section.

### **Policy Toward the Victims of Apartheid**

Sec 103. (a) The United States policy toward the victims of apartheid is to use economic, political, diplomatic, and other effective means to achieve the removal of the root cause of their victimization, which is the apartheid system. In anticipation of the removal of the system of apartheid and as a further means of challenging that system, it is the policy of the United States to assist these victims of apartheid as individuals and through organizations to overcome the handicaps imposed on them by the system of apartheid and to help prepare them for their rightful roles as full participants in the political, social, economic, and intellectual life of their country in the post-apartheid South Africa envisioned by this Act.

(b) The United States will work toward the purposes of subsection (a) by —

(1) providing assistance to South African victims of apartheid without discrimination by race, color, sex,

religious belief, or political orientation, to take advantage of educational opportunities in South Africa and in the United States to prepare for leadership positions in a post-apartheid South Africa;

(2) assisting victims of apartheid;

(3) aiding individuals or groups in South Africa whose goals are to aid victims of apartheid or foster nonviolent legal or political challenges to the apartheid laws;

(4) furnishing direct financial assistance to those whose nonviolent activities had led to their arrest or detention by the South African authorities and (B) to the families of those killed by terrorist acts such as “necklacings”;

(5) intervening at the highest political levels in South Africa to express the strong desire of the United States to see the development in South Africa of a nonracial democratic society;

(6) supporting the rights of the victims of apartheid through political, economic, or other sanctions in the event the Government of South Africa fails to make progress toward the removal of the apartheid laws and the establishment of such democracy; and

(7) supporting the rights of all Africans to be free of terrorist attacks by setting a time limit after which the United States will pursue diplomatic and political measures against those promoting terrorism and against those countries harboring such groups so as to achieve the objectives of this Act.

### **Policy Toward Other Countries in South Africa**

Sec 104. (a) The United States policy toward the other countries in the Southern African region shall be designed to encourage democratic forms of government, full respect for human rights, an end to cross-border terrorism, political independence, and economic development.

(b) The United States will work toward the purposes of subsection (a) by —

(1) helping to secure the independence of Namibia and the establishment of Namibia as a nonracial democracy in accordance with appropriate United Nations Security Council resolutions;

(2) supporting the removal of all foreign military forces from the region;

(3) encouraging the nations of the region to settle differences through peaceful means;

(4) promoting economic development through bilateral and multilateral economic assistance targeted at increasing opportunities in the productive sectors of national economies, with a particular emphasis on

increasing opportunities for nongovernmental economic activities;

(5) encouraging, and when necessary, strongly demanding, that all countries of the region respect the human rights of their citizens and noncitizens residing in the country, and especially the release of persons persecuted for their political beliefs or detained without trial;

(6) encouraging, and when necessary, strongly demanding that all countries of the region take effective action to end cross-border terrorism; and

(7) providing appropriate assistance, within the limitations of American responsibilities at home and in other regions, to assist regional economic cooperation and the development of interregional transportation and other capital facilities necessary for economic growth.

#### **Policy Toward Frontline States**

Sec 105. It is the sense of the Congress that the President should discuss with the governments of the African "frontline" states the effects on them of disruptions in transportation or other economic links through South Africa and of means of reducing those effects.

Sec. 106. (a)(1) United States policy will seek to promote negotiations among representatives of all citizens of South Africa to determine a future political system that would permit all citizens to be full participants in the governance of their country. The United States recognizes that important and legitimate political parties in South Africa include several organizations that have been banned and will work for the unbanning of such organizations in order to permit legitimate political viewpoints to be represented at such negotiations. The United States also recognizes that some of the organizations fighting apartheid have become infiltrated by Communists and that Communists serve on the governing boards of such organizations.

(2) To this end, it is the sense of the Congress that the President, the Secretary of State, or other appropriate high-level United States officials should meet with the leaders of opposition organizations of South Africa, particularly but not limited to those organizations representing the black majority. Furthermore, the President, in concert with the major allies of the United States and other interested parties, should seek to bring together opposition political leaders with leaders of the Government of South Africa for the purpose of negotiations to achieve a transition to the post-apartheid democracy envisioned in this Act.

(b) The United States will encourage the Government of South Africa and all participants to the negotiations to respect the right of all South Africans to form political parties, express political opinions, and otherwise participate in the political process without fear

of retribution by either governmental or nongovernmental organizations. It is the sense of the Congress that a suspension of violence is an essential precondition for the holding of negotiations. The United States calls upon all parties to the conflict to agree to a suspension of violence.

(c) The United States will work toward the achievement of agreement to suspend violence and begin negotiations through coordinated actions with the major Western allies and with the governments of the countries in the region.

(d) It is the sense of the Congress that the achievement of an agreement for negotiations could be promoted if the United States and its major allies, such as Great Britain, Canada, France, Italy, Japan, and West Germany, would hold a meeting to develop a fourpoint plan to discuss with the Government of South Africa a proposal for stages of multilateral assistance to South Africa in return for the Government of South Africa implementing —

(1) an end to the state of emergency and the release of the political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela;

(2) the unbanning of the African National Congress, the Pan African Congress, the Black Consciousness Movement, and all other groups willing to suspend terrorism and to participate in negotiations and a democratic process

(3) a revocation of the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act and the granting of universal citizenship to all South Africans, including homeland residents; and

(4) the use of the international offices of a third party as an intermediary to bring about negotiations with the object of the establishment of power-sharing with the black majority.

#### **Policy Toward International Cooperation on Measures to End Apartheid**

Sec. 107. (a) The Congress finds that —

(1) international cooperation is a prerequisite to an effective anti-apartheid policy and to the suspension of terrorism in South Africa; and

(2) the situation in South Africa constitutes an emergency in international relations and that action is necessary for the protection of the essential security interests of the United States.

(b) Accordingly, the Congress urges the President to seek such cooperation among all individuals, groups, and nations.

#### **Policy Toward Necklacing**

Sec. 108. It is the sense of the Congress that the African National Congress should strongly condemn and take

## *Declaration of Sanctions against South Africa by the U.S. Congress*

effective actions against the execution by fire, commonly known as “necklacing”, of any person in any country.

United States Ambassador to Meet with Nelson Mandela Sec. 109. It is the sense of the Senate that the United States Ambassador should promptly make a formal request to the South African Government for the United States Ambassador to meet with Nelson Mandela.

### **Policy Toward the Recruitment and Training of Black South Africans by United States Employers**

Sec. 110. (a) The Congress finds that —

(1) the policy of apartheid is abhorrent and morally repugnant;

(2) the United States believes strongly in the principles of democracy and individual freedoms;

(3) the United States endorses the policy of political participation of all citizens;

(4) a free, open, and vital economy is a primary means for achieving social equality and economic advancement for all citizens; and

(5) the United States is committed to a policy of securing and enhancing human rights and individual dignity throughout the world.

(b) It is the sense of the Congress that United States employers operating in South Africa are obliged both generally to actively oppose the policy and practices of apartheid and specifically to engage in recruitment and training of black and colored South Africans for management responsibilities.

## **TITLE III — MEASURES BY THE UNITED STATES TO UNDERMINE APARTHEID**

### **Prohibition on the Importation of Krugerrands**

Sec. 301. No person, including a bank, may import into the United States any South African krugerrand or any other gold coin minted in South Africa or offered for sale by the Government of South Africa.

### **Prohibition on the Importation of Military Articles**

Sec. 302. No arms, ammunition, or military vehicles produced in South Africa or any manufacturing data for such articles may be imported into the United States. . . .

### **Prohibition on Computer Exports to South Africa**

Sec. 304. (a) No computers, computer software, or goods or technology intended to manufacture or service com-

puters may be exported to or for use by any of the following entities of the Government of South Africa:

(1) The military.

(2) The police.

(3) The prison system.

(4) The national security agencies.

(5) ARMSCOR and its subsidiaries or the weapons research activities of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research.

(6) The administering authorities for controlling the movements of the victims of apartheid.

(7) Any apartheid enforcing agency.

(8) Any local, regional, or homelands government entity which performs any function of any entity described in paragraphs (1) through (7).

(b)(1) Computers, computer software, and goods or technology intended to service computers may be exported, directly or indirectly, to or for use by an entity of the Government of South Africa other than those set forth in subsection (a) only if a system of end use verification is in effect to ensure that the computers involved will not be used for any function of any entity set forth in subsection (a).

(2) The Secretary of Commerce may prescribe such rules and regulations as may be necessary to carry out this section.

### **Prohibition on Loans to the Government of South Africa**

Sec. 305. (a) No national of the United States may make or approve any loan or other extension of credit, directly or indirectly, to the Government of South Africa or to any corporation, partnership or other organization which is owned or controlled by the Government of South Africa. . . .

### **Prohibition on Air Transportation with South Africa**

Sec. 306. (a) (1) The President shall immediately notify the Government of South Africa of his intention to suspend the rights of any air carrier designated by the Government of South Africa under the Agreement Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Union of South Africa Relating to Air Services Between Their Respective Territories, signed May 23, 1947, to service the routes provided in the Agreement.

(2) Ten days after the date of enactment of this Act, the President shall direct the Secretary of Transportation to revoke the right of any air carrier designated by the Government of South Africa under the Agreement to provide service pursuant to the Agreement.

(3) Ten days after the date of enactment of this Act, the President shall direct the Secretary of Transportation not to permit or otherwise designate any United States air carrier to provide service between the United States and South Africa pursuant to the Agreement. . . .

**Prohibitions on Nuclear Trade with South Africa**

Sec 307. (a) Notwithstanding any other provision of law —

(1) the Nuclear Regulatory Commission shall not issue any license for the export to South Africa of production or utilization facilities, any source or special nuclear material or sensitive nuclear technology, or any component parts, items, or substances which the Commission has determined, pursuant to section 109b. of the Atomic Energy Act, to be especially relevant from the standpoint of export control because of their significance for nuclear explosive purposes. . . .

**Prohibition on Importation of Uranium and Coal from South Africa**

Sec. 309. (a) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, no — (1) uranium ore, (2) uranium oxide (3) coal, or (4) textiles produced or manufactured in South Africa may be imported into the United States.

(b) This section shall take effect 90 days after the date of enactment of this Act.

**Prohibition on New Investment in South Africa**

Sec. 310. (a) No national of the United States may, directly or through another person, make any new investment in South Africa.

(b) The prohibition contained in subsection (a) shall take effect 45 days after the date of enactment of this Act.

(c) The prohibition contained in this section shall not apply to a firm owned by black South Africans.

**Termination of Certain Provisions**

Sec 311. (a) This title and sections 501(c) and 504(b) shall terminate if the Government of South Africa —

(1) releases all persons persecuted for their political beliefs or detained unduly without trial and Nelson Mandela from prison;

(2) repeals the state of emergency in effect on the date of enactment of this Act and releases all detainees held under such state of emergency;

(3) unbans democratic political parties and permits the free exercise by South Africans of all races of the right to form political parties, express political opinions, and otherwise participate in the political process;

(4) repeals the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act and institutes no other measures with the same purposes; and

(5) agrees to enter into good faith negotiations with truly representative members of the black majority without preconditions.

(b) The President may suspend or modify any of the measures required by this title or section 501(c) or section 504(b) thirty days after he determines, and so reports to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, that the Government of South Africa has —

(1) taken the action described in paragraph (1) of subsection (a),

(2) taken three of the four actions listed in paragraphs (2) through (5) of subsection (a), and

(3) made substantial progress toward dismantling the system of apartheid and establishing a nonracial democracy, unless the Congress enacts within such 30-day period, in accordance with section 602 of this Act, a joint resolution disapproving the determination of the President under this subsection.

(c) It is the policy of the United States to support the negotiations with the representatives of all communities as envisioned in this Act. If the South African Government agrees to enter into negotiations without preconditions, abandons unprovoked violence against its opponents, commits itself to a free and democratic post-apartheid South Africa under a code of law; and if nonetheless the African National Congress, the Pan African Congress, or their affiliates, or other organizations, refuse to participate; or if the African National Congress, the Pan African Congress or other organizations —

(1) refuse to abandon unprovoked violence during such negotiations; and

(2) refuse to commit themselves to a free and democratic postapartheid South Africa under a code of law, then the United States will support negotiations which do not include these organizations.

**Policy Toward Violence or Terrorism**

Sec. 312. (a) United States policy toward violence in South Africa shall be designed to bring about an immediate end to such violence and to promote negotiations concluding with a removal of the system of apartheid and the establishment of a non-racial democracy in South Africa.

(b) The United States shall work toward this goal by diplomatic and other measures designed to isolate those who promote terrorist attacks on unarmed civilians or those who provide assistance to individuals or groups promoting such activities.

## “The State of Native America”

(c) The Congress declares that the abhorrent practice of “necklacing” and other equally inhumane acts which have been practices in South Africa by blacks against fellow blacks are an affront to all throughout the world who value the rights of individuals to live in an atmosphere free from fear of violent reprisals. . . .

Source: *U.S. Statutes at Large 100 (1986): 1086.*

## “THE STATE OF NATIVE AMERICA”

SOURCE *Means, Russell. From “The State of Native America,” in Native American Reader: Stories, Speeches and Poems. Edited by Jerry D. Blanche. The Denali Press, 1990. Copyright © 1990 by Jerry D. Blanche. Reproduced by permission of the publisher.*

INTRODUCTION *By the time Russell Means, an Oglala Sioux, delivered this address in 1988, he had made a name for himself. When he came to prominence in the late 1960s and early 1970s, he made his goal that of the “reinstitution of pride and self-dignity of the Indian in American.” He wanted more for his own tribal people, and all Native Americans, than the stereotypes perpetrated in America for centuries—that of the savage with no culture except that which could be given up for what was thought to be a superior white man’s culture. He joined the American Indian Movement, or AIM, founded by activist Clyde Bellecourt and others on the belief that if the federal government were allowed to continue to supervise Native American affairs it would mean the end of their people, and of their culture. For decades the Bureau for Indian Affairs, as the federal agency was known, had less than a sterling record in managing the lives of Native Americans on the reservations. Assimilation was the rule rather than cultural respect of the people who had settled in this country centuries before white men came to explore.*

What I said is, “Hello, my relatives. I am an ally, and I come from Yellow Thunder Camp in our very sacred holy land, the Black Hills.”

Back in 1968–70, the state of the American Indian nations in the Americas of the Western Hemisphere was unchanged from 1492. That’s in 1968, 1969, and 1970. This is now 1988, and it still remains unchanged from 1492. In 1492 we were considered an “expendable peoples” by Columbus and the governments of Europe, including the Roman Catholic Church. It wasn’t until 1897, thirty-two years after the conclusion of the Civil War, that the Catholic Church declared us to be human

beings. Until then, the Marine Corps of the Catholic Church, the Jesuits and the Franciscans, considered us to be “beasts of burden.” And now they’re going to canonize, make into a saint, Father Serra, a slaveowner, a murderer. That is the state of the American Indian nations. The pope is going to canonize an Indian murderer, an Indian slaveowner, Father Serra, who established these missionary outposts for the Marine Corps, I mean the Catholic Church, along the western coast of Mexico and California.

We are an “expendable people.” Go down to Brazil and you will see the government forcibly relocating and allowing miners and forestry employees to massively murder Indian people. Go to Paraguay where they still have bounties on the Aiche. Go to Chile, where Pinochet is officially starving the Mapuche to get their remaining lands. Go to Costa Rica, where Weyerhaeuser is removing Indian people so they can get at their forests. Go to Nicaragua, where the entire government effort has not only relocated but mass murdered, and it continues to this day, the Indian people. Both the left or the right excuse it and would rather deal with dope dealers. Go to Mexico. Go to Alaska. Go to Canada. Come right here to the United States of America, where this government right here today, at this very moment, is relocating and starving to death and completely destroying an Indian nation, the Navajo, in Arizona. Forced relocation, the same thing the Sandinistas are doing.

Welcome to the Americas. Welcome to the Americas, my home, where the dust that you kick up as you walk is made up of the bones of my ancestors. Welcome. For what you have appropriated and for what we have given to you, I will tell you.

Sixty percent of the world’s foodstuffs comes from us. Eighty percent of what the average American eats every day comes from us. Non-Indians are continually asking me, “What’s some traditional Indian food?” What did you eat today? Did you go to a salad bar? That’s all ours.”

We domesticated and developed, for instance, over ten thousand species of potatoes. So when the Europeans came over here, what did they take back? One species. So when the blight hit their potato crop, they had nothing to fall back on, and consequently, we got a lot of Kennedys coming over here. When the blight hit one of our potato crops, we had 9,999 to fall back on. And they call me primitive!

Sewage systems we gave to the Europeans. When Cortez and Pizarro and Coronado and all the rest of the conquistadors were over here destroying Indian people and our records, some of the people with them recognized that, hey, these Indians have sewage systems. Let’s take it back to Europe and clean up Berlin and

Rome and London and Madrid and Brussels, Paris. And voilà! In less than a generation the amount of disease and the plague that was rampant in Europe dramatically was reduced to less than one percent than what it had been before. Because of the introduction of sewage systems that we gave to the world.

I could go on and on and on. The medicines the advent of pasteurization, named after Louis Pasteur. B.S.! In his own writings he credits the Indians!

Welcome to natural childbirth. The Lamace method. A Frenchman comes over here, studies the Indian way of giving birth, goes back to France, writes it up, and you call it the Lamaze method.

Welcome to the Americas. Welcome. The finest medicines in the world developed here. Developed here! Welcome to the Americas. From quinine to penicillin. Welcome. Codeine.

Welcome to the Americas. But instead of the Europeans, the Asians, the Africans, the Middle Easterners, the Far Easterners, instead of saying “thank you,” we are still an “expendable people.” Does anyone talk about majority rule in Ecuador or Bolivia or Peru or Panama or the Northwest Territories of Canada or Guatemala? No. You don’t hear about majority rule. Because those are Indians, campesinos peasants. Do you see at the family of nations a red person sitting around the table with the family of nations? We are the only color of the human race not allowed to participate in the international community. That’s an insult to your own humanity! Think about it! Look around! Your own humanity is being insulted! You live in this modern day and age when an entire people is not even considered to be a part of the international community.

Welcome to the Americas. The states of the American Indian peoples. You blithely continue on in life without an acknowledgement of Colorado or of any of the forty states whose names are derived from the origin of the Indian language. It’s amazing how people are not saying “thank you.”

[In] 1968 and 1969, 1970, Indians that protested back east were wearing Plains Indians outfits. American Indian people were attending conferences in ties, shined shoes and suits and bouffant hairdos, with pearl earrings on the women. They were afraid to wear beadwork, afraid to wear silver and turquoise. They were embarrassed to announce to the world that they are proud of who they are. I was fortunate to be in the vanguard of a cultural revolution that took place in the late 1960s and 1970s. That cultural revolution enabled our pride and self-dignity to once again become the criteria of what the American Indian nations are all about. It succeeded beyond our wildest plans and expectations, hopes or dreams.

When I sat in Minneapolis with Clyde Bellecourt and Dennis Banks in 1969 and we took the American Indian movement into a national and then international organization, I remember when we attended Indian conferences and they wouldn’t allow us to speak because we looked “ridiculous” in headbands and beadwork and moccasins and we had a drum with us. Our own people. When Dr. Alfonso Ortiz, a Pueblo Indian from New Mexico, who is a doctor of anthropology at the University of New Mexico, was up in his three-piece suit at the National Indian Education Association, of which I was on the board at the time, he was giving the keynote address at a banquet. The American Indian Movement. We came in. I was sitting up there on the dais with him, and the American Indian Movement came in with all their headbands and all their beadwork and their drum, and we stood, Indian people, at each exit, and wouldn’t allow these other Indians in their ties and gowns to leave because they tried to leave. We sang Indian at that conference, the National Indian Education Association, NIEA, which now is somehow wallowing in the left-brain, right-brain arguments. That was the state of the American Indian nations in 1970. The Indian people embarrassed about who they are.

It’s changed that cultural revolution. We had to challenge the United States government militarily, and we won again! Again! Because we were right and we’re still right.

But understand the state of the American Indian nations. Because we know. You see, at the advent of the opening up of half the world to the rest of the world, we allowed disease and overpopulation of Europe to dramatically decrease, as I said, in the matter of a generation. There were diseases that were rampant and incurable in Europe: the plague, everything. They instituted sewage systems and the population density went from thirty-five per square mile in 1492 down to seven in less than a century because of the opening of the Western Hemisphere and the cleaning up of the environment.

What happened? The disease was contained. The diseases were contained. But have you all learned? What’s the disease today that’s incurable? AIDS. The revolution comes around again, but this time there is no more Western Hemisphere, no more Indians. Because we already told those moon Indians, “Watch out, they’re coming.” There’s no other place to go.

The message is the same: clean up. You want to cure AIDS? Clean it up. You want to cure all the other diseases, the cancers, every one that pops up every day? Clean up. As Chief Seattle said, “Continue to contaminate your bed and one night you will suffocate in your own waste.”

The state of the American Indian nations, that cultural revolution I was talking about of the 1970s. Here’s

the beauty of that experience: our traditional people gained respect. Our culture gained respect. And we're still struggling. We're now embarking on an economic revolution. The Red Nations of the Western Hemisphere.

But let me tell you something about the state of the American Indian nations. There is Indian activism in virtually every Indian community. Wherever there's more than one Indian, there's activism. That goes whether it's Seattle University, the Navajo, Nicaragua, Argentina, Chile, Alaska, Canada—everywhere we live. And it's infected the world. Because of our cultural revolution the onslaught and attack on indigenous peoples worldwide is now pervasive.

They're getting our own people to call themselves “Native American.” They're getting our own people to teach in universities like this about “we come from China.” Understand that we do not come from China. That is a racist, a very racist concept that began with Thomas Jefferson, and he only wrote about it in passing, because of our physical characteristics. In fact, the reverse is true. Geologists know it's impossible for us to have migrated from the Western Hemisphere west. Because during the Ice Ages, the ice corridors that were formed along the northwest coasts of the Western Hemisphere made it impossible to migrate from here to the west, or, as the Europeans call it, the Far East. I could never figure that one out. In fact, those same ice corridors made migration from here going west possible. Geologists know this.

Where are the anthropologists around here? Don't they ever visit with geologists? The archaeologists, the official grave robbers of intellectual institutions such as this? Any high school students that have aspirations towards robbing graves, I would suggest that it is one of the most disrespectful professions and dishonorable professions, if you want to call it that, in the world today. There are federal laws protecting grave robbers. What kind of ghouls are archaeologists?

I live at Canyon de Chelly, on the Navajo for aeons. Canyon de Chelly is part of a whole tourist route to go see where Indians used to live. Cliff-dwellers, they're called. The Anasazi people, they're called by “anthros” and “archies.” And these peoples, the Diné, the Hopi, all indigenous peoples of that area, the Zuni, the Pueblos, the Apache, those ruins that are in the sides of the cliffs. We never go there. We have respect for that. We have respect. But day in and day out tourists, non-Indian tourists are trampling all over those cliff dwellings. Every day of the year. They call them cliff-dwellers. They want to know what happened. But you know that archaeologists and anthropologists will not consult with Indian people because that would prejudice their findings. So they have come to the conclusions by robbing some of our graves, and this is the most recent, that we

were cannibals because these bones were all broken up and in mass graves in a mass area.

Of course, these graves are about six or seven thousand years old. They didn't take into account any earthquakes or a coyote or two hanging around digging up the earth or moles or worms, etc. They didn't even go over to the Hopi and say, “Hey guys, how do you bury your people?” They came to the conclusion we're cannibals. I retorted that if I used the same criteria as anthropologists and archeologists of these learned institutions, I will go to a Christian gravesite, dig up a grave, find a body in a coffin, and say, “Aha! Aha! The white man is saving his dead for future famines! They have found a way to preserve food.” That's how ridiculous this grave-robbing has become in the alleged intellectual community. We have our own people believing this. In the same institutions not even protesting it!

I am sick and tired of the state of the American Indian. We had a beautiful cultural revolution, but you know what happens? The government and all institutions are making it even harder for us to know who we are. You see, in this country, the United States of America, the Indian people, we can be anything we want to be. Anything. We can even become archaeologists. But we can't be Indian. It's against the law in this country to be Indian. We can't pray. The last six decisions of the Supreme Court concerning our freedom of religion all denied it. The last Rehnquist decision totally obliterated our right to freedom of religion. In the name of “progress.”

We do not have the right to pray in the Black Hills. I know. We are still in court. I have argued. I'm the only non-lawyer ever to argue before a U.S. Court of Appeals. I argued on behalf of the Yellow Thunder Camp against the Black Hills National Forest for their refusal to allow us to pray in the Black Hills according to our ways. But we as Indian people are not allowed, and I'm going to give you a view of what American Indian people are doing to themselves, because we've become our own worst enemy.

Understand this about the U.S. government: they practice and perfect their colonialism on us, here, in the backyard of America, and then export it to the world. If you don't believe it, look at the West Bank, look at South Africa, look at Borneo, look at the Philippines, etc. Then look at yourselves, look in the mirror. What do we think? We cannot, we do not have self-determination. It's called “self-administration,” and that's my term. We get to administer someone else's policies.

Do you think Indian people are standing up? No. Do you know who they consider our leaders? The one's who suck off of Uncle Sam. Those are our alleged leaders, who are leaders by permission from the federal

government. They're not my leader. Understand colonialism, where you're not allowed a choice of who your leaders are going to be. In fact, it insults your intelligence so much you refuse to participate in the society. Is that why only forty-five percent of Americans vote? Because they refuse opportunity, they refuse choices?

We still have a lot to give to the world. To be independent. We're not allowed to know who our heroes are. Our Indian children, every day, are bombarded with white and black heroes on TV and in school. And that's good, for the white children and the black children, and that didn't come without struggle. But our children, and you think our fancy, educated Indians are doing anything about making sure that their heroes are known to our own children? No. The only heroes they know, and that's because of us, AIM, are the ones from the last century.

What about our heroes from the first decade of this century? Or the second decades? Or the twenties? We had heroes, local and national heroes. And in the thirties, and the forties, and the fifties and the sixties and the seventies and the eighties. Our children don't know the names. In 1950 all the sports media in this country got together and they voted on who was the finest athlete in the first half century. You think they voted Jesse Owens? No! Jim Thorpe. They did it again in 1975.

Who was the finest athlete America produced in the first three-quarters of the twentieth century? Jim Thorpe won again, overwhelmingly so, both times. I go around the Indian nation. I ask Indian teenagers and I ask Indian little kids. Just last week, I asked my daughter, who's in the third grade, "Who's Jim Thorpe?" "I don't know." And yet, one of the high schools on my reservation is called the Thorpes. Nobody on my reservation knows who Jim Thorpe is. None of the children.

I said, "Who's Billy Mills?" He won the 10,000 meters at Tokyo. He's from my reservation. None of the kids know who Billy Mills is. That was just in 1964, for crying out loud.

I say, "Who's the first Indian ever to run for president of the United States?" First I ask, "Who was the first Indian to become vice president of the United States of America?" Charles Curtis. [Curtis served with Herbert Hoover from 1929 until 1933.] Everybody knows that, right? My own kids, other Indian kids don't know that.

I said, "Who's the first Indian ever to run for president of the United States?" I asked my daughter. She didn't know. I said, "It's your dad." [During the 1980s, Means ran for president on two different occasions, once as the Libertarian candidate.]

But you see? I tell my own people: "Quit your complaining. You want to complain to somebody? Look in the mirror. And be a little bit independent."

But Indians and non-Indians: You're penalized today for being independent. If you're not part of the masses, you're penalized. Think about it. In every aspect of your life. Just look at the tax structure if you don't believe.

The state of the American Indian nations. I'm sick and tired of our own people. There's an entire people now in North Carolina who have Indian blood in their veins and want to be federally recognized. To me that's the abomination of what Indian people are. They actually believe that if you're federally recognized by the United States government, that somehow is a positive development. To me it is the most negative.

The Mikasukis, the Seminoles, the ones who defeated the United States of America not once, but twice, the ones that had every Indian killed by the United States of America in that Seminole war, who have never been defeated by the United States government, cost the United States government then a million dollars. This is back in the early 1800s, when a million dollars was a million dollars. Now a million dollars in those terms is about 120 million, OK?

Imagine, in a war where for every death you cause it cost you 120 million dollars. Those Seminoles, the Mikasukis, who still live in the Everglades, back in the 1960s, when Buffalo Tiger was looking for federal recognition and got it, half of his nation refused to be enrolled in the federal government, refused to go along with him. They said, "No, that would legitimize the United States government. The United States government isn't legal."

These primitives, who refuse to be enrolled with their national ID number, refuse to recognize the United States of America, that is who our Indian leaders are. Not somebody funded by the federal government, funded by you all. You're the taxpayers. Funded by you. That's not my leader.

One thing about Indian people, and I just want to give you a small glimpse of who we are. Indian people are not tourists. We have homes that we never leave, and those that do are no longer Indian because they have no more connection.

Understand what that connection is. It's that dust I talked about earlier, that dust that comes from our Mother Earth. And only out of respect can you regain that. The Indian people are fooling themselves, not only in their culture, they've dropped their culture so they can call it a "powwow circuit," and they can dress any way they want to be, to the point where they fight their own people and are dependent on the federal government.

I come from the poorest county in the United States of America, the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. The



poorest county. I moved away from there last year to the home of my wife, a Navajo, Diné. Because that culturally is the way we do things. The man always moves to where the woman is from.

In fact, because we are a matrilineal society, if we had the disrespect enough to take another's last name, it would be the woman's last name, not the man's. Because the male lives a shorter life than the female. So it's a natural sense that the man would go where the woman is from so that because the man, when we leave this earth, then our wife and children are around their relatives and friends. So they'll always be in friendly society, never be alone.

But we have a home. We don't have to look for zen. We don't have to look for Franciscans, you know. We have a way of life. We do not have a religion, we have a way of life. Our way of life is made up of one word: it's called “respect.” But it means a lot more. Respect for our relatives' visions. When you understand that everything lives and that everything is sacred and the further you get away from what is natural the less important life becomes.

When you get yourselves locked into the asphalt jungles and there is no life, then even the human being's life is no longer important. My son, who is three years old, we live out on the Diné land in the desert, and I take him to the anthills and I show him and we sit there and we watch the ant people and I tell him about the ant people: “Have respect. Don't walk on their homes.” He says, “Well, Reba does it.” Reba's our horse. I say, “Reba's part of the earth. We know better.”

If you have respect for the ant people then you'll have respect for people in Hiroshima. If you have respect for the ant people then you will have respect for people in Nicaragua or South Africa or anywhere else in the world.

The state of the Indian nation. Do you know the names of these mountains that are so beautiful right here, that you're so proud of you even put them on your license plates? When I moved down to Navajo, my wife didn't take me around. Just every time we traveled around she'd tell me the name of that mountain and that mountain and its history and whose land this is and what family has lived on that land and why.

This is the state of the Indian nations, but we're losing that because our educated Indians who have bought the white man's way will not allow our children to know our own heroes, our contemporary heroes, and what is beautiful and natural and respectful.

The state of the Indian nations. It's important that you know that you cannot break a branch when you're a child because you're breaking the arm of a living being. It's important to understand and be thankful for rain

and not curse it because you have to walk in it. And to love the winter, not because you can ski on it, but because it makes you strong as a person, as an individual.

If you know who you are I know who we are because I know the sacred colors. I know that pink stands for medicine. So I ask why? So my elders tell me. You go into the medicinal plants, all that plants that are good for you, inside the bud, not available to the naked eye. It's pink. Poisonous plants do not have that pink. Remember that when you're out there. We don't want to go there. But you tell those Russell people that if they ever come to the United States and have a meeting, maybe we will attend.”

Understand the beauty of that. Talk about individual sovereignty, independence. That was the ultimate statement. Here were all these educated Indians in the United States, Canada and the rest of the hemisphere, all the ones with their degrees, all the ones that like this kind of thing, we're hopping, including myself. I wasn't going, but I was all excited about it.

That really sat me down to look at what we are. All of that materialism, all of that ego tripping, didn't mean a thing to these old people. All of these fancy titles after all of these fancy people that were putting on this tribunal. If they ever decide, they'll never have a tribunal over here.

“If those Russell people ever have a meeting over here, then maybe we'll come.” I think that is the ultimate statement of sovereignty, individual sovereignty.

The state of the American Indian nations is an exciting state. I see that what goes around comes around. I understand that, because everything that is holy and sacred and good is round. Understand that also. That's part of the male-female balance. The sun is round, the moon is round. Walk up on a hill and you'll see that our sacred grandmother, the Mother Earth, is round. Everything sacred is round. So what goes around comes around.

Our people accomplished a socioeconomic phenomenon in the 1970s, in one decade, in less than fifteen years, not only in the United States of America but in Canada and the rest of the Western Hemisphere.

It's an exciting time to live, and we're fighting, but I'm sick and tired of the educated Indian, because to me they're not educated. They've educated their wisdom out. It's good. I have confidence in people who have education. I have one; my children are getting theirs. I advocate Indians to go on to institutions of higher learning. I hold seminars on it to those that will listen. Drug abuse and alcohol abuse.

But understand that I know what oppression is. I know what sacrifice is. Understand that peoples who come from the barrio, the reservation, the ghetto, we know oppression. So we know how to struggle. We know what sacrifice is. Ask any mother. It’s really that simple. Any mother.

So it’s an exciting time. And I see it’s time now to go to my own people, slap them in the face and hear them say, “Thank you. I needed that.”

Because we did it once before, as I told you, at that convention at the NIEA. Understand that we’re not through yet.

The sanctity of life is too precious to allow this society to continue to be disrespectful. I have grandchildren, nine grandchildren, and I fought so that my sons and my daughters would have a better way. And I’m not going to allow my sons and daughters to be satisfied so that their sons and daughters get back in the same old rut.

I’m not going to allow these pseudo-Indians who call themselves leaders, who the white man calls leaders. They’re an insult to you and to me and to your government to allow these tribal governments to continue.

Understand that you are the next tribal peoples. You’re going to be the new Indians of the twenty-first century. You’re already feeling the squeeze. Understand. I know the beauty of the male-female balance. I know my creation story, and those that continue to suck off of Uncle Sam are my enemy and the enemy of everyone. It’s not just limited to Indians. Maybe to all Native Americans, huh? The state of the Native American.

So I’ll leave you with the words of Chief Seattle, and I quote part of his letter and speech to the then-president of the United States of America. He said, “Wave follows wave, and tribe follows tribe. It’s the order of nature, and regret is useless. Your time of decay may be distant, but it will surely come. For even the white man’s god who walked and talked with him as friend with friend could not escape our common destiny. We may be brothers after all. We shall see.”

Thank you.

## “GROWING UP IN MISSISSIPPI”

SOURCE *Sue, Sam. From “Growing Up in Mississippi,” in Asian American Experiences in the United States. Edited by Joann Faung Jean Lee. McFarland &*

*Company, Inc., 1991. Copyright © 1991 Joann Faung Jean Lee. All rights reserved. Reproduced by permission of McFarland & Company, Inc., Box 611, Jefferson NC 28640. www.mcfarlandpub.com.*

INTRODUCTION *The population of small southern towns was—and into the early years of the twenty-first century, continued to be—divided mostly between two races: African Americans and whites. What would it be like if you were of another race, considered a community member only marginally? What if the only other Asian people to date in high school were your cousins? In this essay, Chinese American Sam Sue describes his experiences in such a town in Mississippi. His family’s grocery store primarily served the African American community, as did the other Chinese businesses in town. That often created friction among the Asian community and the African American community since business owners were thought to cheat their poor customers. The fact that physical features betrayed race in such a way to make someone undesirable was not made any better when even one’s own heritage was lost by such a vast distance from the larger communities. In this case, other Chinese or Asian Americans present in the urban areas of other states were not present there in that small Mississippi. What does it mean when the first time the author even ate in a Chinese restaurant was in the far away city of Cleveland, Ohio?*

“There is this shot in the opening scene of the movie, *Mississippi Burning*, where you see two water fountains. One is broken, and chipped, and water is dripping from it. The other is modern, and shining. A white guy goes up to the nice one, and the black kid goes up to the old one. I remember saying to myself, ‘If I was in the scene, where would I drink?’

“As a kid, I remember going to the theatre and not really knowing where I was supposed to sit. Blacks were segregated then. Colored people had to sit upstairs, and white people sat downstairs. I didn’t know where I was supposed to sit, so I sat in the white section, and nobody said anything. So I always had to confront those problems growing up. So these experiences were very painful.

“I guess I was always considered marginal with whites and blacks, though I think I got along better with blacks. I really didn’t have any childhood friends. I just felt I had nothing in common with them. And I guess I felt there was this invisible barrier. I stayed mostly with my family—I have two older brothers and one older sister.

“I lived in a town called Clarksdale. At the time, there were twenty-five thousand to thirty thousand people there. In the sixties at the height, there were maybe forty to fifty Chinese families in town. Quite a number.

## *“Growing Up in Mississippi”*

They used to have Chinese parties, and gatherings, and the funny thing about it was they all sort of came from the same village, or district.

“Chinese church was more of a social, rather than a religious event. I always hated the gatherings. I was basically ashamed of being Chinese. I think that’s probably true for a lot of Chinese Americans—on the East and West Coasts. Whether they will acknowledge it is something else. But I think there is a lot of self-hatred, induced by society, culture, and circumstance. So I hated to go to these Chinese parties. Besides, it’s not like you could date any Chinese girls, because they were all your cousins.

“I was lucky, in that the school I went to was mostly white, because our store was near the center of town, and the school was across the way. But most of the Chinese families lived in black areas so they went to black schools, and the kids got harassed a lot by the blacks. There was a lot of resentment against the Chinese by the blacks, because some of the Chinese families would rip off blacks, because it was part of giving store credit to the black farmers—they got surcharged excessively. Or they might be charged for things they didn’t purchase.

“I didn’t date at all—not in high school. It was totally unheard of. I remember very painful experiences of asking white girls to see if they were interested or anything, and them mumbling some excuse about being busy that night. But you knew what was going on. My cousin, for instance, had to take his cousin to the senior prom. I didn’t think that kind of thing would be a good thing for me, so I didn’t go to my senior prom. My reaction at the time to the dating scene was total alienation. I never considered dating a black girl. I don’t know if it was racism, but I just felt there was no commonality. Because even though one wasn’t accepted as a white at the time, dating a white was seen as going up—that was the thinking then. And I think Chinese women had it harder. I think it was okay for a Chinese man to date a non-Chinese, but not for a Chinese woman to go out with anything but a Chinese. Part of that was that Asian women are presumed to be exotic and submissive, and that’s a common theme that runs through the stereotype images.

“Northerners see a Southern accent as a signal that you’re a racist, you’re stupid, or you’re a hick. Regardless of what your real situation is. So I reacted to that by adapting the way I speak. If you talked to my brother, you would definitely know he was from the South. But as for myself, I remember customers telling my dad, “Your son sounds like a Yankee.” I think I had a Southern drawl, but it wasn’t pronounced. I also mimicked Northern accents because I was so alienated. Maybe I had this deep alienation, even as a kid. I used to read the Times. I’d see this stuff on the television. I grew up on the “Bowery

Boys.” The television and the radio were my links to civilization. I’d be waiting for eight P.M. to roll around, so that I could reach radio waves from Chicago or even New York. It was like Radio Free Europe for me.”

**Family:** “My role model when I was growing up was my older brother because he was going to college when I was in elementary school. He was bilingual, so he was sort of the link for me between the old and the new country.

“My brother went to Ole Miss (University of Mississippi), and at one point, he was the first Chinese on campus invited to join an all-white fraternity. He was also in the ROTC. Actually it wasn’t many years after that that they took away my father’s and my oldest brother’s citizenship. It was ironic—here he was teaching American government. He was about as American as you can get, and it sort of opened his eyes. Being denaturalized meant he was deportable, so he and my dad had to get waivers, and reapply for citizenship—doing the test again. So they had to be naturalized twice.

“There was a confession period for those who came into the country illegally. Many Chinese confessed, and things were okay. But what bugs me is my dad confessed, and he was nailed to the wall. He came into the U.S. illegally in the 1930s. Later on, he brought my mother and my oldest brother from China. The government took away his citizenship by virtue of him coming here on false papers. He was denaturalized in 1965. That meant what the government gave, it could take away. I mean, Sue is not my real family name. I think it is Jiu.”

**The Family Store:** “Dad said he went to Mississippi because that’s where a good number of Chinese from his village had moved to. We, like other Chinese in Mississippi, ran a ‘mom and Pop’ grocery store. Anything from shotgun shells to fresh meats to corn chop and hog shorts. (Corn chop is feed for chicken, and hog shorts are grain for hogs.)

“My father would open his store about nine thirty in the morning, and close it about ten at night. We would eat after the store closed. We all ran the store, seven days a week. Only on Christmas would he close for half a day. He wouldn’t even close the store when my brother got married. I had to run the store. I didn’t want to go to Florida for my brother’s wedding and let Dad stay home. So I let him go.

“It was a very rural area, and a number of Chinese had done well doing this. I guess economically they fit in to the area because their clientele were mostly black, rural farmers. I guess the black rural farmers couldn’t get credit from white storekeepers. I guess that they presumed Chinese store keepers filled a need—providing credit to black farmers who couldn’t otherwise get it. I remember for years on end, my father keeping records of people

who owed him money. And that’s what a lot of other Chinese did too. They filled that function.

“Our store was a social place, people would hang out on Friday, payday. So black customers would be hanging out, drinking beer, and eating sandwiches. It would be packed, with blacks and red necks. It was a place for them to meet.

“My dad didn’t have much time to spend with me, so most of the time I would talk to the customers. We would kid around. I’d ask them, ‘How’d your skin go so black? And they would tell you stories to kid you. ‘Oh, I rolled down this river bank and got all this mud on me, and couldn’t get it off.’ And I used to believe that stuff, and I thought blacks were really different. A lot of the blacks in our store chewed tobacco, so you’d think their spit was browner than white people’s. But on a real gut level, you knew that people were treated different. And it’s sort of weird on my parents’ level, because on one hand they would make friends with a lot of black people, then on another, they would say racist things about them.

“Back then, the amount of poverty blacks suffered was profound. It doesn’t come close to the experience of blacks in urban centers today. You’re talking about people who didn’t have running water, or who only got it recently. My father used to sell kerosene because people used it to light their lamps. I remember people using Clorox bleach to purify the water. It had chlorine in it, so they would let it sit in the water and kill the germs. Blacks were at the very low end of the scale, and the Chinese were sort of in between. We didn’t really fit in. Very rich, aristocratic whites, were at the top end. Chinese really didn’t have a place in society. Economically they were better than the blacks, but on a social scale, they didn’t amount to very much. I think blacks saw us as Jews. We were in the same position as Jews were in the town. We all sort of played marginal, economic roles. There were quite a few Jews in town. They weren’t accepted by blacks or whites either. I don’t think whites knew what to make of us.

“Buying a store in California or some other urban center was expensive, whereas buying a store in Mississippi was cheap, so that’s why a lot of Chinese families moved there. But you have to remember that there were still racial restrictions. A lot of the Chinese couldn’t buy property, or had difficulty buying it. By the time my father paid off the mortgage, the owner said, ‘I am not going to convey the title to you.’ My understanding was that we had to threaten to sue him to get it.”

**Housing:** “We had to live in the back of our store. It was tenement-like conditions, though we didn’t know it at the time. I didn’t know how poor we were until I left. Everyone slept in one big room. There was a kitchen in

the back. We used to use the place to store goods too, so there would be boxes all around. If you went into the living room, you’d be sitting on a box of laundry detergent. We lived that way until 1970. It was only then that we could consider buying a house. We thought of buying a house in 1966, but it didn’t work out. It was a white neighborhood, and the day before closing, we received a telephone call. Someone said, ‘If you buy that house, we will burn it.’ And we knew it was one of the neighbors calling. One of the Chinese families knew who had called—it was a Pepsi Cola distributor. Many of the Chinese families were so upset about what had happened that they boycotted Pepsi Cola for a long while. We didn’t buy the house. The attitude was, if we’re not wanted there, we just won’t move there. Getting a house in a white neighborhood—it wasn’t only impossible—there was no choice. You could either buy a house somewhere, if you could find an owner that would sell it to you, or you could buy property on the outskirts of town and build a house—which is what many Chinese families ended up doing. This way, there were no problems from neighbors because there weren’t any neighbors.

“Eventually, my family decided to buy a plot of land and build our home on the outskirts of town near some other Chinese families. We had to get a white man to buy the property and convey the title to us because certain property owners would not sell to Chinese families—and this was as recent as 1970.”

**Parents:** “My father came to the United States in the 1930s from the Hoi Ping district of Canton. Like many Chinese of his generation, he went to California first. He didn’t bring my mother. She came later. He worked in a restaurant with several other relatives around the San Francisco area. He said he borrowed money to come over, and the people working in the restaurant, including himself, were working to try to pay off his debt. They also wanted to save enough to go back to Hong Kong or China to get their wives. Eventually he did go back to China for my mother and my oldest brother.

“My dad was sixteen when he came to this country. He learned his English from customers, which would be blacks, or white rednecks. He did not finish school. He just finished the third or fourth grade in China. A friend of mine did a documentary on the Chinese in Mississippi, and she stayed with my dad in his home. She interviewed him, but never used the interview. She said his English was so strange that she would have had to use subtitles with it. He is a Chinese man who can speak English very poorly and does so with a black southern English dialect. It’s quite difficult to understand. I can

understand him, but it is difficult to communicate with him. And the gap gets even further when you want to get beyond the really simple language. Mom was less able to speak English than the others. One common thread that runs through many Asian lives is that parents spend so much time working for the future of their children, that they don't devote enough time to emotional needs. Either the parents are working and can't be there, or if they are at home, they are so tired they can't devote themselves to the children.

“The thing with Chinese parents is they make you feel like you owe them for the rest of your life—even when they're in the grave. My mother died when I graduated from college in 1977. My father made me feel terrible because he wanted me to work in the store even after I graduated. They had this idea that they were going to pass the store on to me, as stupid as it was. And they knew it was stupid. By the 1970s, the Chinese stores were declining due to mechanization. People used to be cotton pickers and we would sell these leather things for their knees so that when they crouched down they wouldn't have sore knee-caps. But with the advent of such things as cotton-picking machines and large supermarkets, it spelled doom for the Chinese store keepers. Also, kids my age didn't want to stay. Many chose to move to some urban area, such as Atlanta.

“My parents retired in 1978. But two months before the store officially closed, my mom died. It was a double shock for my dad. He not only lost his wife, but also his way of life. He had opened the store at nine AM and closed at ten PM, seven days a week. He did this for thirty years. He never went on trips. He just worked at the store. He felt there was nothing else.

“My dad is still in Mississippi. It's his life. He's been there since the Depression. It is all he knows. We actually tried to move him, but he is so attached to the area—not that he has affection for it, only that he's used to it—he feels it is home. There are still some Chinese there, though most have died, or moved away.”

**A Monolingual Chinese American:** “I didn't learn how to use chopsticks until I left Mississippi. We never used chopsticks at home. I didn't even have any idea of what a Chinese restaurant was until I went to college. My first encounter with a Chinese restaurant was in Cleveland, Ohio. There just weren't any near where I was growing up.

“I can't speak the language, and you feel intimidated by it when you go into restaurants. Like you keep ordering the same dishes because those are the only dishes you can order. You feel that since you are Chinese, you should be able to speak to other people that look like you. Sometimes they have mistaken me for a *juk-kok*

[foreign-born Chinese] and started talking to me; I can't understand a word.

“I don't feel Chinese, and I'm not. I identify myself as Asian American. I feel Chinese to some extent, but not necessarily to the extent of knowing much about Chinese culture or tradition. When I was in college, I met these Asian studies majors, and there was a certain amount of resentment in that they could speak the language and know the culture but they didn't know what it was like to be Chinese in a white society. They may have had a superficial understanding of the culture and language, but at the time I sort of felt they were expropriating our culture, and I felt very possessive about Asian women. It's like when I walk outside, I know I will be treated differently. It's not something I like saying. It's not even a political statement. It's just seeing reality. I'm not looking for, or am I supersensitive to, being treated as a Chinese person, or a nonwhite person, but it's there. It's even here in New York.

“One senses it in my profession as an attorney. You're arguing a case before a judge. And the other guy is white, and he's been around. The moment he walks in the office, it's like he says to the judge or the clerk, ‘How's so and so?’ But when I come in, it's like this stranger walks in—you don't belong here. But when he walks in, it's like family. I feel like I just walked into the wrong club—a place I don't belong.

“I never worked for a large firm. I never had the inclination to do that. It wasn't only a political choice, I really had nothing to talk to them about. There is this sort of Waspish mentality in the profession. I now work in a small Asian law firm. All the jobs I've had since college have been associated with Asian stuff.

“I don't have a burning desire to learn Chinese at this point, though it would be helpful in my work and in certain aspects of my life.

“If I went to China, I would be an American, and that is what I am in that context. So many of my views, as much as I may want to deny it, are American. If I were in a foreign country, I would be homesick. In terms of adopting American culture and values I'm an American. But in terms of feeling there is a difference, then I'm still Asian or Chinese. I feel different. Ask me what I feel different about, and I can't really say. It's not only that people may or may not treat you differently. It's that I am different.

“I left Mississippi in 1973. There was no future for me there. I was so alienated that even if I thought there was something concrete to be done there, I have such bad feelings for the place I wouldn't go back. Being Chinese in Mississippi was definitely a handicap.

## NELSON MANDELA'S ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF CAPE TOWN, GRAND PARADE, ON THE OCCASION OF HIS INAUGURATION AS STATE PRESIDENT

SOURCE *Public Domain.*

INTRODUCTION *By 1990 when he was released from his last 26 years in prison, Nelson Mandela had spent most of his adult life fighting against the injustice of apartheid. Born the son of a Tembu Tribe Chief, he was well-educated, having qualified for the practice of law in 1942. He joined the African National Congress (ANC) in 1944. Once the National Party established its sweeping apartheid policies Mandela began resisting them and the government. From 1956 until 1961, when he was finally acquitted, he was on trial for treason. When the ANC was banned in 1960, he presented the case for establishing a military wing within the body. For his actions, Mandela was arrested with other leaders of his resistance and brought to trial in 1963 for plotting to overthrow the government. On June 12, 1964, he was sentenced to life imprisonment along with eight of the other accused. Until 1982, he was housed at Robben Island Prison, off Cape Town; then he was moved to Pollsmoor Prison, on the mainland. Ironically, he became more famous and more respected in prison and gained strength from many supporters throughout the world. When he was released from prison in 1990, he began to work even harder to accomplish his long-held goals. In 1993 he was given the Nobel Peace Prize. And in 1994 he was standing before the world as he was inaugurated as state president.*

Cape Town, 9 May 1994

Mr Master of Ceremonies,

Your Excellencies,

Members of the Diplomatic Corps,

My Fellow South Africans:

Today we are entering a new era for our country and its people. Today we celebrate not the victory of a party, but a victory for all the people of South Africa.

Our country has arrived at a decision. Among all the parties that contested the elections, the overwhelming majority of South Africans have mandated the African National Congress to lead our country into the future. The South Africa we have struggled for, in which all our

people, be they African, Coloured, Indian or White, regard themselves as citizens of one nation is at hand.

Perhaps it was history that ordained that it be here, at the Cape of Good Hope that we should lay the foundation stone of our new nation. For it was here at this Cape, over three centuries ago, that there began the fateful convergence of the peoples of Africa, Europe and Asia on these shores.

It was to this peninsula that the patriots, among them many princes and scholars, of Indonesia were dragged in chains. It was on the sandy plains of this peninsula that first battles of the epic wars of resistance were fought.

When we look out across Table Bay, the horizon is dominated by Robben Island, whose infamy as a dungeon built to stifle the spirit of freedom is as old as colonialism in South Africa. For three centuries that island was seen as a place to which outcasts can be banished. The names of those who were incarcerated on Robben Island is a roll call of resistance fighters and democrats spanning over three centuries. If indeed this is a Cape of Good Hope, that hope owes much to the spirit of that legion of fighters and others of their calibre.

We have fought for a democratic constitution since the 1880s. Ours has been a quest for a constitution freely adopted by the people of South Africa, reflecting their wishes and their aspirations. The struggle for democracy has never been a matter pursued by one race, class, religious community or gender among South Africans. In honouring those who fought to see this day arrive, we honour the best sons and daughters of all our people. We can count amongst them Africans, Coloureds, Whites, Indians, Muslims, Christians, Hindus, Jews — all of them united by a common vision of a better life for the people of this country.

It was that vision that inspired us in 1923 when we adopted the first ever Bill of Rights in this country. That same vision spurred us to put forward the African Claims in 1946. It is also the founding principle of the Freedom Charter we adopted as policy in 1955, which in its very first lines, places before South Africa an inclusive basis for citizenship.

In 1980s the African National Congress was still setting the pace, being the first major political formation in South Africa to commit itself firmly to a Bill of Rights, which we published in November 1990. These milestones give concrete expression to what South Africa can become. They speak of a constitutional, democratic, political order in which, regardless of colour, gender, religion, political opinion or sexual orientation, the law will provide for the equal protection of all citizens.

They project a democracy in which the government, whomever that government may be, will be bound by a

higher set of rules, embodied in a constitution, and will not be able govern the country as it pleases.

Democracy is based on the majority principle. This is especially true in a country such as ours where the vast majority have been systematically denied their rights. At the same time, democracy also requires that the rights of political and other minorities be safeguarded.

In the political order we have established there will regular, open and free elections, at all levels of government — central, provincial and municipal. There shall also be a social order which respects completely the culture, language and religious rights of all sections of our society and the fundamental rights of the individual.

The task at hand on will not be easy. But you have mandated us to change South Africa from a country in which the majority lived with little hope, to one in which they can live and work with dignity, with a sense of self-esteem and confidence in the future. The cornerstone of building a better life of opportunity, freedom and prosperity is the Reconstruction and Development Programme.

This needs unity of purpose. It needs in action. It requires us all to work together to bring an end to division, an end to suspicion and build a nation united in our diversity.

The people of South Africa have spoken in these elections. They want change! And change is what they will get. Our plan is to create jobs, promote peace and reconciliation, and to guarantee freedom for all South Africans. We will tackle the widespread poverty so pervasive among the majority of our people. By encouraging investors and the democratic state to support job creating projects in which manufacturing will play a central role we will try to change our country from a net exporter of raw materials to one that exports finished products through beneficiation.

The government will devise policies that encourage and reward productive enterprise among the disadvantaged communities — African, Coloured and Indian. By easing credit conditions we can assist them to make inroads into the productive and manufacturing spheres and breakout of the small-scale distribution to which they are presently confined.

To raise our country and its people from the morass of racism and apartheid will require determination and effort. As a government, the ANC will create a legal framework that will assist, rather than impede, the awesome task of reconstruction and development of our battered society.

While we are and shall remain fully committed to the spirit of a government of national unity, we are determined to initiate and bring about the change that our mandate from the people demands.

We place our vision of a new constitutional order for South Africa on the table not as conquerors, prescribing to the conquered. We speak as fellow citizens to heal the wounds of the past with the intent of constructing a new order based on justice for all.

This is the challenge that faces all South Africans today, and it is one to which I am certain we will all rise.

## REPORT ON RWANDA FROM AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

SOURCE *“Rwanda: Mass murder by government supporters and troops in April and May 1994,”* Amnesty International © 1994 Amnesty International. Reproduced by permission.

INTRODUCTION *The United Nations peacekeeping forces were already in Rwanda in 1993 to help support efforts toward peace that were finally occurring between the Hutu government and the invading guerillas of the Tutsi-led Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF). These forces were ill-equipped, lacking enough weapons, ammunition, vehicles, and other necessary supplies. It has been reported that one man had attempted to warn the United Nations about a plan to exterminate the Tutsis at a more alarming rate than the Nazis had exterminated the Jews. In the spring of 1994, that warning proved true. Gangs of errant soldiers and kids with machetes organized by the Hutu government began a slaughter that was hard for the world to absorb—almost as it sat back and watched. These forces killed at least 800,000 in 100 days. Amnesty International called for action that would prevent further abuse. For the decade following this horrific event, the United States and the rest of the world’s powers could not escape the accusations of neglect.*

Mass murder by government supporters and troops in April and May 1994

### 1. INTRODUCTION

At the start of April 1994 Rwanda was plunged into the most tragic part of its recorded history yet. By early May 1994 it was estimated that 200,000 people or more, most of them members of the minority Tutsi ethnic group, had been killed in countrywide massacres. More than 300,000 Rwandese have fled to neighbouring countries, most of them to Tanzania, and others to Burundi, Uganda and Zaire. About two million others are reported to be displaced inside the country. Many of those who

have fled from their homes are said to be the lucky ones, but a significant proportion have severe injuries. In many cases entire families are reported to have been annihilated. Stories abound of severely traumatized children who are sole survivors of their families.

Virtually all the killers belong to the majority Hutu ethnic group, to which President Juvénal Habyarimana, the head of state whose killing on 6 April 1994 precipitated the massacres, also belonged. Those directing the killings are principally supporters of the former single ruling party, the *Mouvement républicain national pour la démocratie et le développement* (MRND), Republican National Movement for Democracy and Development, particularly members of its youth wing, known locally as *Interahamwe* ("They who attack together"). From the mid-1970s until 1991 Rwanda's Constitution stipulated that all Rwandese citizens were members of the MRND by birth. During the past two years, the MRND has been allied to the *Coalition pour la défense de la république* (CDR), Coalition for the Defence of the Republic, an exclusively Hutu political party. CDR's youth wing, known locally as *Impuzamugambi* ("They who have the same goal"), has orchestrated a violent campaign against any Hutu supporting sharing power with the Tutsi-dominated rebel Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF), and all Tutsi.

In the months preceding President Habyarimana's death, Amnesty International had received reports that government authorities and the armed forces were supplying military weapons to *Interahamwe* and *Impuzamugambi*. These have subsequently been used in their killing spree. The Presidential Guard is reported to have been in charge of military training of the *Interahamwe* and *Impuzamugambi* to constitute a militia responsible to the armed forces as well as to MRND and CDR officials closely associated with President Habyarimana. The current massacres in Rwanda are being carried out mainly by supporters or sympathizers of MRND and CDR, in conjunction with members of the security forces, particularly those of the Presidential Guard, the Gendarmerie, the regular army and local government police. Most killings are politically-motivated: to destroy the population groups viewed as potential supporters of the RPF and the multi-ethnic parties opposed to the MRND and CDR.

The massacres began soon after President Habyarimana of Rwanda and President Cyprien Ntaryamira of Burundi were killed on 6 April when their plane was brought down by a rocket. The two presidents were returning to Kigali from a regional summit in neighbouring Tanzania to discuss ways to end political crises in Burundi and Rwanda. The massacres are still continuing a month and a half later.

There have been similar waves of massacres, albeit on a much smaller scale, since October 1990 when the RPF launched a war from neighbouring Uganda to overthrow the government. Soon after the war began the MRND government called on its supporters to help government forces fight the enemy — the RPF, locally known as *Inkotanyi*, and its supporters. "The enemy" was used synonymously in government propaganda for the Tutsi ethnic group in general, members of which were attacked solely because they belong to the same ethnic group as most RPF combatants. Hutu identified by President Habyarimana's supporters as being sympathetic to sharing power with Tutsi have also been targeted. Tutsi throughout Rwanda, even in parts where there has been no armed conflict, have been subjected to extreme violence and massacres by government supporters for no obvious reason other than their ethnic origin.

In late October and November 1990 many Tutsi were killed in the northeastern Mutara region where the RPF began its attacks. Surviving Tutsi in the area fled to Uganda. Many Tutsi in other parts of the country were trapped between members of the security forces and Hutu gangs led by local officials. In Kigali mass detentions were carried out at the end of October 1990; most of the more than 7,000 people detained in Kigali were Tutsi.

In October 1990, just after the RPF's first attacks, more than 300 Tutsi were killed in Kibilira district (*commune*), in Rwanda's northwestern prefecture of Gisenyi. Responding to criticism by human rights groups, the government arrested two local government officials accused of masterminding massacres, but released them without trial within a few weeks. Immediately after the RPF briefly occupied the northwestern town of Ruhengeri in January 1991, members of the security forces and Hutu gangs, again with local officials, massacred as many as 1,000 or more Tutsi of the Bagogwe clan in Gisenyi and Ruhengeri prefectures. The clan had taken no particular part in the fighting, but its members were singled out for attack solely because of their ethnic origin. Former President Habyarimana originated from the area, which is dominated by Hutu. Anti-Tutsi propaganda had been particularly fierce there. Central government authorities imposed a news blackout on the region for several months and took no action against those responsible, denying to Amnesty International and others that any killings had occurred.

In March 1992 Hutu in Bugesera region, south of the capital, Kigali, killed as many as 300 Tutsi after the government-owned radio had broadcast what it said was the text of a tract, claiming that the RPF was planning to assassinate prominent Hutu politicians and that it had the support of the *Parti libéral* (PL), Liberal Party. The



radio broadcasts reportedly hinted that the Hutu should defend themselves against the enemy and, as on other previous and subsequent occasions, the “enemy” was understood to refer to the Tutsi in general. Following an international out-cry, the government reported that several dozen suspected killers had been arrested. They were soon to be released without any independent investigation to establish responsibility. The only trial reported by the authorities was that of a soldier accused of shooting dead a 55-year-old Italian woman missionary who was helping Tutsi victims at Nyamata Roman Catholic church. The trial appears to have occurred due to foreign pressure and even then the authorities claimed the shooting was accidental. The soldier was sentenced to one-year’s imprisonment.

Opponents of talks with the RPF who still dominated the former ruling party and the military stepped up the violence against the Tutsi and members of opposition political parties during the first half of 1993, as there were indications that peace talks between the government and the RPF might produce an agreement. The MRND and CDR rejected any agreement to share power with the RPF, and therefore to share power with the Tutsi. The peace talks began to move forward when, after the MRND formed a government with opposition political parties in 1992, the then Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, both of whom came from parties in opposition to the President, represented the government at the negotiations in the northern Tanzanian town of Arusha. Prime Minister Dismas Nsengiyaremye repeatedly accused President Habyarimana of obstructing the peace talks and condoning political violence. In July 1993 this conflict resulted in the replacement of Dismas Nsengiyaremye by Agathe Uwilingiyimana as Prime Minister. The talks culminated in the signing of a peace agreement on 4 August 1993 and a formal end to the fighting. The Organization of African Unity (OAU) played a significant role in facilitating the talks and drafting of various agreements and sent military observers, the OAU Neutral Military Observer Group (NMOG), to monitor the various cease-fires between the parties to the conflict. Towards the end of 1993, after some months delay, a United Nations (UN) peace-keeping force known as United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR) was deployed to help implement the peace agreement. NMOG was subsequently integrated into UNAMIR. The state-controlled radio and subsequently a privately-owned radio known as *Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines* (RTL) were used to denounce the peace talks.

The violence continued and the authorities delayed implementing the terms of the peace accord. By the start of 1994 the UN and the international community in general were expressing concern at the government’s failure to implement it. The UN Security Council warned that it would withdraw UNAMIR if the stalemate con-

tinued. By the beginning of April 1994 it appeared that opponents of the peace accord could not hold out much longer and that the peace accord was going to be implemented. Since President Habyarimana’s death on 6 April, blamed on the RPF by government sources, there have been many claims that it was opponents of multi-ethnic power-sharing among the President’s own supporters who were behind the killing, as they were the only ones who would benefit from a disruption to the peace process.

After the President’s death, the power-sharing arrangement between political parties was set aside and an interim government led by the former speaker of the National Assembly, Théodore Sindikubwabo, was set up. The interim government blamed the killing of President Habyarimana on the RPF and Belgian troops serving with UNAMIR. It evidently had no intention of implementing the peace accord. This and the massacres which started on 7 April led to a resumption of the war between the RPF and government troops. By this time, pro-government militia had been prepared and armed for a “final assault” on the Tutsi. These massacres appear to have been prepared to deprive the RPF of any support. During an operation characteristic of a coup d’état the Presidential Guard moved quickly to kill the Prime Minister and the President of the *Cour de cassation*, Cassation Court, both of them Hutu, with some semblance of constitutional authority. The new authorities and the military mobilized their supporters against the “enemy” Tutsi and also against Hutu who they suspected of being allies of the RPF — that is to say, critics and opponents of the MRND and CDR.

The initial killings by the armed forces set the militia killing machine in motion. Government and military authorities appear to have been involved at the highest level in the massacres, with the intention of destroying anyone identified as a supporter or a potential supporter of the RPF; the logic of the authorities’ own propaganda was to designate every Tutsi as a potential threat. The subsequent campaign of killings was consequently committed with genocidal intent.

Genocide is a crime against humanity and, whether committed in time of peace or time of war, is a crime under international law (see Chapter 5 below). Genocide is defined in international law<sup>(1)</sup> not just as killing on a massive scale, but as killing or a number of other acts **committed with intent to destroy**, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group. The Convention provides for the punishment of those who carry out genocide and also for those who conspire to commit genocide or engage in public incitement to commit genocide, and those who attempt to commit genocide or are accomplices in it. Furthermore the Convention provides for the punishment not only of rulers and public officials who commit

genocide, but also of private individuals. Rwanda has been obliged since the country acceded to the Convention in 1975(2) to implement its provisions in law and practice.

The genocidal intent that became apparent through the systematic mass murder of Rwanda's Tutsi was part of a larger picture of political murder. The overall picture was one of a political drive to wipe out all sectors of the population deemed present or future threats to those in power — and one dimension of this threat, the Tutsi, were defined by their ethnicity. The targeting of the Tutsi minority for destruction, as the principal designated enemy, was a major part of this political program of murder. The systematic hunting down and murder of those associated with Rwanda's multi-ethnic opposition parties, Hutu and Tutsi alike, provided a political dimension behind the larger campaign of murder along ethnic lines that has outraged world public opinion.

All of the deliberate and arbitrary killings perpetrated on the authority of Rwanda's armed forces and *de facto* government since 6 April 1994 are gross violations of human rights law. The orchestrated targeting and murder of a huge proportion of the victims along strictly ethnic lines, moreover, requires the international community to meet special obligations under international law above and beyond its permanent commitments to suppress extrajudicial executions and other violations of the right to life.

A first step is to examine the evidence of an intent to commit genocide by the leaders that have dominated Rwanda's government and armed forces since 6 April and the institutions acting on their behalf or at their behest. To this end, the public smearing of the Tutsi minority indiscriminately as "the enemy", evidence that regular and irregular forces were armed and deployed with an explicit mission to destroy the Tutsi population, and the incitement and mass mobilization of the Hutu population by these forces in attacks on the Tutsi minority appear to show such an intent.

## 2. THE SLAUGHTER OF TUTSI AND THEIR "ACCOMPLICES"

Within hours of the death of President Habyarimana, units of the security forces, MRND and CDR supporters in Kigali and other parts of the country were out on a hunt for Tutsi. Hutu who supported political parties which accept power sharing were also targeted. Within a few days of the start of the killings, massacres were occurring all over the country. The victims were surrounded in their homes and villages. Those who managed to escape from their homes thought the killers would respect churches, but they were tragically wrong. In fact, the confines of church buildings and compounds where many sought refuge appear to have made it impos-

sible for them to escape. Members of the security forces and civilian gangs associated with them followed those fleeing. In most cases when the killers met resistance and could not use traditional weapons, such as clubs and machetes, they first used grenades and then firearms, including automatic weapons. Weakened or dying victims would then be finished off with knives and machetes. Only areas effectively controlled by the RPF appear to have been spared the worst of the carnage.

### 2.1 Killings of opposition leaders and critics in Kigali

The initial victims in Kigali were Hutu and Tutsi opposition leaders, some of whom were government officials, human rights activists and other prominent Tutsi. These individuals were well-known and their killing appears to have been planned well in advance by the military. There have been persistent, but unconfirmed reports that a list of the victims had already been established by some security force commanders in conjunction with MRND and CDR leaders. The first reported victims were **Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana**, several other government ministers and the President of the Cassation Court, **Joseph Kavaruganda**. Before she was appointed Prime Minister in mid-1993 Agathe Uwilingiyimana, who was then Minister of Education, had been assaulted by men believed to be members of the security forces. There had also been a grenade attack on the house of Joseph Kavaruganda in 1993. The death of President Habyarimana appears to have provided the killers with a special opportunity to eliminate these officials. The coordinated nature of the attacks and the high profile of the regular army in them suggested considerable planning.

The security forces also launched a hunt for human rights activists who had already been persecuted in previous months and years because of their criticisms of human rights violations. Some of them, such as Monique Mujawamariya and Alphonse Nkubito managed to escape. Alphonse Nkubito, who is also a high-ranking public prosecutor, had survived a grenade attack in November 1993. He had been branded a traitor and supporter of the RPF when in late 1990 he ordered the release of Tutsi detained arbitrarily in the aftermath of the RPF's first attacks. Other human rights activists, such as **Fidèle Kanyabugoyi**, a Tutsi, and **Ignace Ruhatana**, a Hutu, were not able to escape and were killed. Fidèle Kanyabugoyi, a member of a human rights group known as KANYARWANDA, had previously been detained for his human rights activities in 1992 and 1993. He had collected information about the massacre in early 1991 of Bagogwe in northwestern Rwanda. Ignace Ruhatana was among some 30 people tried by the State Security Court in early 1991 on charges of collaboration with the RPF, simply because he had been found with documents

critical of President Habyarimana and the government. He was among the few who were acquitted.

Following the first round of killings, soldiers then attacked a Roman Catholic centre in Kigali known as *Centre spirituel christus* and extrajudicially executed about 17 Tutsi, mostly priests and nuns. The killings were not random. European priests and nuns were locked in a dining room while the Tutsi were being killed. Those killed included **Father Chrysologue Mahame**, aged 67 and **Father Patrick Gahizi**, aged 48. The victims appear to have been targeted solely because they were Tutsi, many of them with a prominent social position.

These killings were swiftly followed by a hunt for Tutsi and Hutu who were known to support the politicians who had been killed. Militia set up roadblocks in Kigali and its suburbs. Each individual passing through these roadblocks had to produce an identity card which indicates the ethnic origin of its bearer. Being identified as or mistaken for a Tutsi meant immediate and summary execution. The killers made no attempt to conceal the killings — or hide the bodies after the fact, as witnessed by journalists and other foreign nationals. There was no evidence that either central government or local government authorities or senior army officers opposed the killings by those acting on their authority. Quite the contrary, the evidence suggests the *de facto* authorities and top armed forces leaders had ordered and directed even this early stage of the murder campaign. This conclusion can be drawn in part from the systematic manner in which particular opposition leaders were hunted down and killed, the consistent, coordinated nature of the road-block operations, and the persistent pattern by which Tutsi in general and specific Hutu identified with the opposition were screened out and killed. This suggests orchestration, not mere acquiescence by higher authorities. Evidence of similar coordinated action was to emerge countrywide in the weeks to come. Some Tutsi were trapped and tried to hide within Kigali. Many were quickly found and killed. For example, some Tutsi tried to hide at the stores of the Belgian Red Cross at Gikondo. Soldiers followed them there on 8 April and forced them out. Most were hacked to death while a few were shot dead. Bodies were scattered all around the store, apparently because the victims were killed as they tried to run away from their killers. Another massacre in Gikondo is reported to have taken place at the Methodist church. An unspecified number of Tutsi were reportedly killed there and at least 40 seriously injured.

Wounded civilians tried to seek medical attention at Kigali hospital, but many were killed either before they arrived there or in the hospital itself. For example, soldiers bayoneted to death two men inside the hospital on 11 April. Four days later, seven more patients were killed

in the same hospital. The staff at the hospital were powerless to save the victims and the authorities took no action either to prevent further killings or to investigate those which had occurred.

On 17 April more than 100 Tutsi were killed by soldiers and militia at Nyanza, south of Kigali. They had been part of a group of some 2,000 Tutsi who were reportedly intercepted by soldiers and militia as they walked to seek refuge at Amahoro stadium in Kigali where some UNAMIR troops were camped. The attackers hacked some Tutsi with machetes in order to compel them to walk to a place where they would be slaughtered. On reaching Nyanza hill the victims were made to sit down before grenades were hurled at them. A witness saw a pile of at least 100 bodies and said many others were in houses nearby.

## 2.2 Massacres in northern and eastern Rwanda

Most of the massacres in eastern Rwanda appear to have taken place in the premises of churches where Tutsi and Hutu government opponents had sought refuge. For example, more than 800 people were reportedly killed on 11 April by government supporters and soldiers at Kiziguro Roman Catholic church, Murambi district of Byumba prefecture. Journalists and RPF fighters recovered about 10 survivors from a mass grave near the church. The attackers first forced the Spanish missionaries there to leave, before the killings began. One of the survivors, **Jean Busheija**, said he and some others were forced to carry about 800 bodies into the mass grave. When they had finished carrying the bodies the attackers then turned on them and he threw himself into the grave to escape being hacked to death.

Hundreds more were killed by *Interahamwe* and gendarmes at Rukara Roman Catholic mission in Kibungo prefecture's Rukara district. The missionaries there reportedly asked a local government official to help protect the Tutsi hiding from militia. The official instead decided to cut the water supply to the mission. The missionaries were subsequently forced to leave as the *Interahamwe* and gendarmes attacked, hurling grenades through the windows of the church and finishing off others with guns and machetes. Similar killings of hundreds more were reported at Gahini Protestant church in Rukara district where many bodies were reportedly dumped in a pit latrine.

## 2.3 Massacres in Cyangugu prefecture

Massacres in Cyangugu prefecture in the southwest have been some of the most horrific and extensive. *Interahamwe* have been able to call on the support of the military when they have met resistance. Many Tutsi fled from their homes early on to escape being killed and took refuge at

churches and a stadium in Cyangugu town. Many were killed there. Others were herded into administrative centres where they were systematically killed.

Soon after the killings began, Tutsi fled to Mibirizi Roman Catholic parish in Cyimbogo district. Militia attacked them there, apparently led by a businessman and the recently elected mayor (*Bourgmestre*) of Cyimbogo. The victims resisted and on 9 April the Prefect (governor of Cyangugu prefecture) and Roman Catholic Bishop of Cyangugu visited the area to appeal for an end to the attacks. On 18 April the attackers returned armed with grenades, machine guns and other automatic weapons which they used against the men who were putting up resistance. The attackers also received militia reinforcements from neighbouring Bugarama district. When most of the Tutsi men had been killed or injured, the attackers entered the church compound and killed all males they could lay their hands on, including babies. There were apparently some survivors and the attackers returned two days later. Only just over 300 women and children remained out of the original number of more than 2,000 people who had taken refuge at the church. The Prefect was apparently urged to open the border with neighbouring Zaire to allow potential victims to escape, but he reportedly refused saying that he had received orders to keep it closed. Thousands were also reportedly massacred by militia at Mushaka, Nyamasheke and Nkaka Roman Catholic parishes.

On 14 April three Tutsi Josephite monks in the company of Cyangugu's Roman Catholic bishop, Thadée Ntihinyirwa, were killed at a roadblock mounted by militia about six kilometres from Nyamasheke parish. The bishop was attempting to evacuate them and several other members of the clergy from the parish. The following day, the militia attacked and killed an unspecified number of Tutsi and Hutu members of the opposition sheltering at the parish.

When the killings began about 5,000 Tutsi and Hutu members of the opposition gathered at Cyangugu stadium where they hoped they would be protected by the authorities from attacks. Amnesty International has received reports that individuals were then regularly picked out by militia and members of the security forces and killed while soldiers at the stadium stood by. On 29 April some tried to escape but militia and local police hurled several grenades at them and opened fire, killing an unspecified number. Those who managed to escape risked being killed as they approached the nearby border with Zaire which the Rwandese authorities had closed. Humanitarian organizations were prevented from visiting the stadium and the Prefect, Emmanuel Bagambiki, failed to facilitate access.

#### **2.4 Massacre at Mukarange parish, Rwamagana district**

More than 3,000 people, most of them Tutsi but including Hutu members of opposition political parties, were killed at Mukarange Roman Catholic parish in Kibungo prefecture's Rwamagana district in the east of the country. The victims were first herded into the parish main hall and grenades were hurled at them through windows. An estimated 2,500 were killed there. Some 500 or more tried to run but were mowed down with machine gun fire in the church compound. About 1,000 were reportedly herded towards Lake Muhazi and the attackers continued to shoot them. Only an estimated 50 survived by using banana stems as rafts to cross the lake. A journalist reported that he stopped counting when he reached 3,005 corpses.

#### **2.5 Massacres of hospital patients and orphans in Butare**

The programmatic killing campaign has shown no respect for any of the traditional places of special protection or refuge in Rwanda. Churches were the most common traditional places of refuge to be horrifically violated, turned, as in Mukarange parish, into lethally enclosed killing grounds. Hospitals and orphanages followed. The only explanation was that the authorities intended the murder squads to seek out and kill their perceived enemies wherever they were. The sick and the children of the Tutsi were part of the designated enemy.

On 23 April government troops and militia killed about 170 patients and some staff at Butare hospital. The patients were being cared for by doctors of *Médecins sans frontières* (MSF), an international non-governmental humanitarian organization. Shocked by these killings of defenceless patients, MSF decided to leave the hospital. The authorities, who had reportedly given assurances to MSF that there would be no attacks on the hospital, took no action against the attackers or to protect any other potential victims. From the hospital the killers proceeded to a nearby camp for the displaced where they reportedly killed an unknown number of people.

On 1 May people thought to comprise members of the security forces and militia attacked and killed 21 orphans and 13 local Red Cross workers in Butare. The orphans had just been evacuated from Kigali to Butare where it was thought they would be safe. The only plausible explanation for these killings can be the ethnic origin of the victims, reinforcing the impression that the killers acted with genocidal intent. Killings in Butare took place after the Tutsi Prefect of Butare had been replaced in mid-April 1994. He and members of his family were reported to have been subsequently killed.

### 3. KILLINGS BY THE RPF AND ITS SUPPORTERS

In addition to the massacres by soldiers, militia and others in areas under nominal government control, Amnesty International has also received reports of deliberate and arbitrary killings of government supporters by RPF combatants and by civilians in the areas under RPF control, although not on anything like the same scale. Before April 1994 such killings had occurred in various parts of northern Rwanda. For example, at the start of 1993 there were reports that the RPF killed about 300 Hutu supporters of the government in northwestern Rwanda to avenge massacres of Tutsi. Some Hutu were reportedly shot at that time when they refused to leave their homes and flee to Uganda.

Particularly in the last week, there have been some reports of such killings by RPF combatants since 6 April 1994. In one reported incident in mid-April 1994 an unspecified number of suspected *Interahamwe* were arrested by the RPF and tied in a manner known in Uganda as *kandoya* or “three-piece tying”, with the victim’s arms tied above the elbow behind the back(3). One of the prisoners called **Kayiranga** was then killed when he was kicked in the chest and head. He reportedly died as he pleaded for mercy. An eye-witness reported that he did not stay to witness the fate of the others. It is likely that this incident was not an isolated one. Hutu fleeing from eastern Rwanda to Tanzania in early May 1994 alleged that they were fleeing from attacks by the RPF. They claimed that some Hutu had been killed and houses burned in their villages.

One RPF commander was reported to have told the press in April 1994 that RPF combatants kill *Interahamwe* when they encounter them. Amnesty International is concerned that such a statement from a senior RPF commander indicates that some prisoners and militia may have been executed by the RPF in violation of basic humanitarian principles.

### 4. RESPONSIBILITY AND PURPOSE OF THE MASSACRES

Information available to Amnesty International suggests that by early April 1994 the authorities had prepared their supporters both materially and psychologically to carry out the massacres which started on 7 April. Since 1990 the authorities had repeatedly told Rwanda’s Hutu population that the RPF was fighting to reinstall a Tutsi monarchy that had been overthrown in 1959 and to seize their (Hutu) land. Political rallies and radio addresses had been used to convey the message that all Tutsi were enemies of the Hutu and supporters of the RPF. Indeed the authorities continually reinforced this interpretation, as virtually no action was ever taken against people who killed or committed other abuses against Tutsi civilians.

Many attacks by government supporters were incited, ordered or condoned by the authorities. Each time it only took a radio broadcast calling on government supporters (Hutu) to “take up arms against the enemy” for a massacre of Tutsi to result. Since April 1994 the same pattern has been repeated on a massive scale.

*Interahamwe* militia were created and armed by leaders of the MRND. Addressing a public rally in Ruhengeri on 15 November 1992 former President Habyarimana denied that *Interahamwe* were involved in violence. He claimed that the militia were being falsely accused by government and judicial authorities who belonged to the opposition. He said that he did not need the army to support him during electoral campaigns, as he and *Interahamwe* were united.

A few days earlier, at a meeting attended by the President in Gisenyi, Léon Mugesera, an official of the MRND, called for the extermination of the Tutsi. He reportedly said that Tutsi should either voluntarily return to what he claimed was their ancestral country of origin, Ethiopia, or be thrown into Rwanda’s main river, Nyabarongo, which leads to Lake Victoria and indirectly to the Nile, flowing north(4). He allegedly said that the Tutsi should return to Ethiopia, like Ethiopia’s Jewish or Falasha community had returned to Israel.

In December 1990 a journalist known to be close to top government officials published what he called the “Ten commandments” calling for hatred of Tutsi. The commandments urged Hutu to mistrust Tutsi and to have no pity on them, warning that “The Batutsi are thirsty for blood and power and want to impose their hegemony on the Rwandese people by the gun”(5). No action was taken by the authorities in connection with this article, although many other journalists were detained around the same time because they criticized government officials or their policies, without calling for violence.

In addition to killings of Tutsi and opponents of the government which occurred from October 1990 onwards, it was clear by the start of 1994 that MRND and CDR leaders were preparing for a large-scale offensive of some sort. They were arming their supporters and training them in the use of military weapons. In February 1994 UNAMIR officials protested against the existence of training camps and the massive distribution of arms to civilians at a time when the government and the RPF were supposed to be preparing for demobilization of their combatants. In this way, it seems, the ground was prepared for the massacres under the very eyes of representatives of the international community.

The Prime Minister appointed after President Habyarimana’s death was reported to have called on government supporters around the country to collect arms from Kigali.

On 30 April the government-controlled radio called on people to take up arms against the enemy all over the country.

Immediately the massacres began, RTLM radio began broadcasting messages calling on the militia to step up fighting the enemy. This radio had continued operating throughout the period since 6 April, broadcasting calls for ethnic hatred and killings; they appear to constitute public incitement to commit genocide when taken in the context of the orgy of killings.

Members of the interim government have neither acknowledged the scope of the mass killing nor called on their supporters to stop attacking defenceless civilians, despite the international outcry. On 28 April the Minister of Foreign Affairs said that only about 10,000 people had been killed, countering estimates that as many as 100,000 had already died in the massacres. He and the Minister of Commerce told journalists that the only way to stop the killings was for the RPF to stop fighting government forces. They appeared to justify massacres of Tutsi on the grounds that the Hutu population was fighting to stop the Tutsi in the RPF from taking power. In mid-May 1994 the leader of *Interahamwe*, Robert Kajuga, told Radio France International that the killings were spontaneous and that the Hutu only fought in self-defence. He added that there was collaboration between *Interahamwe* and the armed forces, and that his militia were helping the army to defend the country.

## 5. CONCLUSION

Amnesty International is gravely concerned that the Rwandese armed forces and government appear to be responsible for inciting, perpetrating and condoning mass killings, particularly of members of the Tutsi ethnic group. The majority of the victims were killed while unarmed or were trapped in churches and other public places where they hoped they would be protected. The killings went far beyond people suspected of supporting the RPF and targeted any Tutsi of both sexes and all ages. In some cases described above women and girls were spared(6). Statements made by government and other officials since October 1990 were evidently meant to incite Hutu to kill all Tutsi, with apparent genocidal intent. Virtually no one who has incited or perpetrated violence against Tutsi has been brought to justice, mainly because those in positions of responsibility at all levels either supported or condoned these acts. Indeed some Hutu who advocated peaceful and equal co-existence with Tutsi paid with their lives, or those of their relatives. These elements support a conclusion that the killings were planned and orchestrated principally to wipe out the Tutsi ethnic group in Rwanda.

Amnesty International is calling on the relevant bodies of the United Nations to take prompt action to prevent further human rights abuses in Rwanda and also urgently set up a mechanism to investigate and establish whether genocide has been (and is still being) committed in Rwanda and, if so, to identify those authorities who have ordered, incited, encouraged or condoned it. Those identified as responsible for mass killings or genocide should be tried by a competent and impartial court of law. These recommendations are spelled out in more detail in Amnesty International's appeal to the UN entitled, *A call for UN human rights action on Rwanda and Burundi*.

## REPORT ON CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY IN GUATEMALA

SOURCE "*Guatemala Appeal Case: Crimes against humanity remain unpunished in Guatemala*," Amnesty International, *AI Index: AMR 34/035/2006 (Public) November 17, 2006. Reproduced by permission.*

INTRODUCTION *For 36 years Guatemala was at war—inside itself. During the internal armed conflict, more than 200,000 people had "disappeared" or were killed. Most of the victims—with some reports stating the figure as high as 83 percent—were of Mayan ancestry. The war came to an end in 1996. When the 1998 United Nations-sponsored Commission for Historical Clarification concluded its study, it attributed at least 93 percent of the human rights violations to government forces. Five years after the conflict ended, in May 2001, twenty indigenous communities presented allegations of war crimes and genocide, against General Jose Efraim Rios Montt and others. Because of the problems of the Guatemalan court system, several of the cases had to be taken to Spain to be tried. As a result of obstruction and a lack of cooperation from many of those accused, the endeavor was not always successful.*

On 6 May 2001 twenty-one indigenous communities affiliated with the Association for Justice and Reconciliation (AJR), legally represented by the Center for Human Rights Legal Action (CALDH), presented allegations to the Public Prosecutor's Office against General José Efraim Ríos Montt and others for war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity committed during Guatemala's

internal armed conflict that lasted for 36 years and ended with the signing of the Peace Accords in December 1996.(1)

#### PROLONGED DELAYS IN THE FIVE-YEAR INVESTIGATION

After the complaint was filed with the Public Prosecutor's Office, a special prosecutor took testimony from approximately 114 eyewitnesses to the massacres (this includes testimonies in the separate case against Lucas García(2) and others). However, the special prosecutor was transferred in December 2004 and a second special prosecutor was appointed in July 2005, but in June 2006 he, too, was transferred. Two months later, yet a third special prosecutor was appointed.(3)

Unfortunately, the office of the attorney general has failed to make progress over the past five years to investigate vigorously the extremely grave allegations. In addition to the repeated changes of special prosecutors and delays in replacing them disrupting the continuity of the investigation, there are a number of other reasons for the slowness of the criminal investigation:

- Apart from testimonies from eyewitnesses, few other lines of investigation have been pursued. Amnesty International understands that no serving or former military officers have been subpoenaed to provide testimony;
- The Defence Ministry refused requests by the Public Prosecutor's Office to hand over military documents due to "state security" and the special prosecutors have not attempted to obtain court orders compelling them to produce the documents during in camera hearings with safeguards for any legitimate security concerns;
- There have been numerous dilatory appeals by General Efraín Ríos Montt and the others on procedural questions;
- Some courts lack independence from the political branches of government and can be susceptible to political pressure. There is no effective system to strengthen their independence and protect those judges and lawyers who are threatened.(4)

#### THE CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION IN SPAIN AND THE EXTRADITION REQUEST

Given the stagnation of the case in the Guatemalan judicial system, the lack of political will of the government in supporting measures to end impunity for past human rights violations, in 1999 the Nobel Peace Prize-winner Rigoberta Menchú filed cases of genocide, torture and murder in Spanish courts.

The Spanish National Court (*Audiencia Nacional*) took jurisdiction of the case in 2006, after Spain's Constitutional Court (*Tribunal Constitucional*) ruled in 2005 that Spanish courts can exercise universal jurisdiction over crimes under international law committed during Guatemala's internal armed conflict.

National Court Judge Santiago Pedraz carried out a fact-finding trip to Guatemala in June 2006 but was forced to return empty-handed due the "obstructionism" and lack of cooperation of those accused of atrocities and of the Guatemalan judicial system.

However, despite these obstructions, on 7 July 2006 Judge Santiago Pedraz charged several former Guatemalan military officers, including Ríos Montt, with genocide, torture, and other crimes against humanity, and issued international arrest warrants for their involvement in atrocities committed under their command responsibility.

According to international law, no state has a better claim than any other to initiate an investigation and, if there is sufficient admissible evidence, a prosecution for crimes committed against the entire international community. Indeed, in certain cases, any state may exercise such jurisdiction even if the territorial state has commenced an investigation or even a prosecution or has reached a final judgment. It is crucial that investigations on human rights violations and prosecution of those responsible are not hampered by political consideration. Amnesty International is calling on the Guatemalan authorities to comply with Guatemala's obligations under international law by ensuring the judicial process initiated on 6 May 2001 in Guatemala against General Efraín Ríos Montt and others for crimes against humanity is carried out in a prompt, impartial and effective manner while also supporting the legal process initiated by judge Santiago Pedraz in the Spanish Courts. If it does not carry out such an investigation in accordance with international standards, then it should promptly extradite the accused to Spain.

#### Background information

In 1998 the UN-sponsored Commission for Historical Clarification (a 'Truth Commission') concluded that over 200,000 people had 'disappeared' or were killed during the internal armed conflict which ended in 1996. Of the victims it could document and identify, 83 percent were of Mayan origin. Some 93 percent of human rights violations were attributed to government forces.(5) General José Efraín Ríos Montt headed the Government of Guatemala from March 1982 to August 1983, which corresponds to one of the highest peaks in human rights violations of the 36-year internal armed conflict. These included killings, rape, torture, enforced disappearances and genocide perpetrated against the indigenous population.

## “DARFUR: A ‘PLAN B’ TO STOP GENOCIDE?”

SOURCE Justin Raimondo, “What About Darfur? The Case Against Intervention,” *www.antiwar.com*, May 1, 2006. Reproduced by permission.

INTRODUCTION *The conflict in Darfur, the Sudan, began in 2003 when one rebel group claimed that Khartoum was neglecting the region and favoring the Arabs over the black African natives. Ongoing tension has long existed between the nomadic Arabs who wanted to maintain their grazing rights and the farmers from Fur, Massaleet, and Zagawa. Two main rebel groups, the Sudan Liberation Army (SLA) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) attempted peace talks, but ethnic divisions continued to create problems. A military group known as Janjaweed was accused of trying to “cleanse” vast areas of the black population and claims of genocide have been made, though the United Nations has indicated that no blatant acts of genocide have occurred—even though the deaths have been staggering at no fewer than 200,000 people, according to what little can be determined. In a country whose landscape is often harsh and unforgiving, it has been a war that created refugees in camps where people have been able to find little peace. In testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, in April 2007, Andrew S. Natsios, the President’s Special Envoy to Sudan discussed the conflict and possible solutions.*

### **Andrew S. Natsios, President’s Special Envoy to Sudan**

Testimony Before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee

Washington, DC

April 11, 2007

Thank you, Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee. I appreciate the opportunity to be here with you today to discuss how the United States (U.S.), together with the United Nations (UN) and our international partners, is addressing the crisis in Darfur.

A great deal has happened since I last gave testimony — some of it frustrating, some of it hopeful — but what has not changed is the Administration’s firm commitment to ending the violence and responding to the immeasurable suffering of the people of Darfur. The only U.S. interest in Darfur is a peaceful end to the crisis. Our goals are to provide life-saving humanitarian assistance to the millions of people who have been affected by violence; to promote a negotiated, political settlement to the conflict within the framework of the Darfur Peace Agreement; to support the deployment of a robust African Union (AU)/UN hybrid international peacekeep-

ing force; and to ensure the successful implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). We have no military or economic interests in Darfur and we oppose any effort by any group to separate Darfur from Sudan. While we have a relationship with the Sudanese government on counter-terrorism issues, this relationship has not prevented us from elevating humanitarian and human rights concerns to a pre-eminent position in our policy toward Sudan. As a country and as a government we are appalled by the atrocities that have occurred in Darfur including those in 2003 and 2004 when some of the worst violence occurred, and the United States has made solving conflict in this region a priority.

This is the third war in Darfur in just over twenty years, but it is by far the most destructive in terms of lives lost and people displaced. The current war is not a ‘simple’ conflict between Arab and African tribes, but a much more complex dispute fueled by drought and desertification, disputes over land rights, competition between nomadic herders and farmers, and longstanding marginalization of Darfur by the Government in Khartoum. The Sudanese government’s disastrous decision to arm, direct, and pay Northern Arab tribes, now called the Janjaweed, as their proxies in the war against Darfur’s rebels led to genocide and resulted in the deaths of hundreds of thousands of innocent civilians and the destruction of their villages and livelihoods.

Since then, the security situation on the ground has continued to evolve and has become increasingly chaotic. The Government of Sudan (GOS) is using the same strategies against Darfur that Sadiq al-Mahdi first developed and used against the south in the 1980s. By manipulating pre-existing tribal divisions, creating militias drawn from the youngest and most disenfranchised members of Arab tribes, forcing people from their homes, and separating them from their traditional leaders, the government has created a lawless environment where banditry and violence are on the increase as rebel groups and tribal structures fragment and begin to fight amongst themselves. We are now seeing more examples of Arab on Arab violence in Darfur, localized tribal conflicts, and looting, extortion, and hijacking by rebel groups. In January and February of this year, 80,000 people have been forced from their homes and into camps because of violence. In addition, regional political agendas are being played out in Darfur and violence and refugees are spilling across borders into Chad and the Central African Republic.

Against this backdrop, however, there are some small signs of hope and progress. Credible reports from Darfur indicate that there has been a slow, steady decrease in civilian casualties since January 2007 and direct fighting between the Sudan Armed Forces (SAF) and non-signatory



*“Darfur: A ‘Plan B’ to Stop Genocide?”*

rebel groups has virtually ceased in the past months. When I visited Sudan in October and again in December 2006, a broad range of GOS officials appeared to believe that they could solve their ‘Darfur problem’ through military means. This policy has proven to be a disaster as government troops have taken a beating at the hands of rebels and as they have lost weapons and equipment to rebel forces. I have stressed to Khartoum and the rebels that a military solution is not possible, as have our allies. Several regional powers have also begun to play a positive role. Most notably, in late February 2007 Libya brokered an agreement between Chad and Sudan to reduce hostility along their common border. Unfortunately, this appears to have unraveled in recent days and we note with great concern the recent attacks inside Chad against civilians in the villages of Tiero and Morena and escalating violence along the border.

However, these types of constructive efforts are welcome and we encourage Libya and other regional powers to work closely with the UN and AU on these initiatives.

Perhaps most heartening, groups inside Darfur are beginning to push back against the terrible violence they have seen over the past four years. The Nazir of the Southern Rizegat, the leader of an Arab tribe in South Darfur, has remained neutral over the course of the conflict despite attempts to draw him in. In other parts of Darfur, there are indications that Arab and African tribes are trying to rebuild cooperation, with a few scattered reports of groups returning looted livestock to the original owners and beginning to meet and trade in traditional markets.

We will continue to watch the security situation very closely. If the government and rebel groups continue to exercise restraint between now and the end of the rainy season, there will have been a full 20 weeks of relative quiet, enough time to restart political negotiations. If, however, either side breaks the fragile calm that appears to be holding between government and rebel forces inside Darfur — directly or through their proxies — we will take this as a clear signal that the parties to the conflict are not serious about the peace process and will respond in the strongest possible terms.

The current security environment has had an extremely negative impact on humanitarian operations in Darfur and eastern Chad. The U.S. Government’s (USG) first and most urgent priority is to ensure the continued delivery of life-saving humanitarian assistance to the two and a half million internally displaced persons (IDPs) and refugees living in camps in Darfur and eastern Chad. While civilian deaths may have declined in recent months, people are still being forced from their homes and nearly 80,000 new IDPs have flowed into camps in January and February of this year. The U.S. has

called upon all actors in Darfur — including the government, the Arab militias, the rebel signatories and the non-signatories — to cease all interference in the delivery of humanitarian aid. Representatives from NGOs have told me that there are now so many rebel groups in Darfur, it has become virtually impossible to negotiate deals for safe passage of workers and supplies. The number of security incidents against humanitarian agencies has increased, with more than a dozen local Sudanese staff killed, one expatriate woman sexually assaulted, and approximately 120 vehicles hijacked over the course of 2006. Much of this violence, particularly the theft of vehicles and supplies, has been perpetrated by rebels who seem more intent on stealing and looting than representing the people of Darfur. In my trips to the region I have met repeatedly with rebel leaders and have insisted that this type of activity cease immediately. While none of the rebels took responsibility for incidents, this message was clearly heard and we have seen a slight decrease in vehicle hijackings over the past few months, although the number remains unacceptably high.

Relief efforts are also being slowed by bureaucratic obstacles and continual harassment by the Government of Sudan. Visas and travel permits are routinely delayed or denied and humanitarian goods languish in customs for months. This seriously undermines the ability of aid workers to deliver needed supplies and services to civilians in the camps. We have pressed the government continually on this point, stressing that they should facilitate — not block — the delivery of humanitarian relief. During my recent trip to Sudan in March, I met with President Bashir and insisted that his government lift burdensome bureaucratic restrictions on relief workers. He gave his verbal assurance that this would happen and U.S. pressure, together with that of other donors, led to a breakthrough agreement signed March 28 between the Government of Sudan and United Nations that should significantly improve humanitarian access. If the agreement is implemented as written, it will signal the Sudanese government’s intention to improve the humanitarian environment for aid agencies.

I should mention that despite difficult and dangerous conditions, humanitarian workers have done a remarkable job of providing life-saving assistance to two and a half million IDPs and refugees in Darfur and eastern Chad. This is currently the largest humanitarian relief operation in the world and the U.S. is the single largest donor of humanitarian assistance. We have contributed more than \$2.6 billion in assistance to Sudan and eastern Chad in FY 2005 and FY 2006 and have provided more than 72% of all humanitarian assistance to Sudan. USAID is sending 40,000 metric tons of food aid to Darfur every month and the U.S. provided 50% of the appeal by the UN World

Food Program in 2006. In addition to food, the U.S. is providing shelter, water, sanitation, health, and hygiene programs for those in need. We are also working to protect vulnerable populations such as women and children by improving physical safety and providing immediate services to victims of violence. Given the extremely rugged conditions in Darfur, this assistance is saving lives every day and we need to recognize the tremendous work the humanitarian community is doing.

The only way to achieve long term progress in Darfur is to promote a political settlement among all the parties to the conflict within the framework of the Darfur Peace Agreement, and this is where we are now focusing our attention. We strongly support a leadership role for the United Nations and African Union and stand ready to support the important work of Special Envoys Jan Eliasson and Dr. Salim Ahmed Salim. We believe that the UN and the AU can play a critical role in keeping the attention of the international community focused on a negotiated settlement and can help channel disparate initiatives into a coordinated peace process. This will help minimize duplication and confusion and will guard against ‘forum shopping’ by parties to the conflict. Again, these are issues that I raised in my most recent visit to Sudan in March and I received expressions of support for negotiations — without preconditions — from the Government of Sudan, including President Bashir. It remains to be seen whether the GOS will make good on these statements, but there appears to be a growing consensus among key members of the ruling coalition that a peace agreement with non-signatory rebel groups may be the only way out of the current crisis.

As the central basis for negotiations, the U.S. supports the Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA) signed by the GOS and the faction of the Sudan Liberation Movement headed by Minni Minawi (SLM/MM) on May 5, 2006. Despite some limitations, the DPA is a good agreement that outlines ways to address the root causes of the conflict, creates space for the delivery of humanitarian aid, and gives international forces a robust mandate to protect civilians and humanitarian workers. In further negotiations among non-signatories and the GOS, we support adding amendments, annexes, or clarifications to the DPA. What we do not support is starting from scratch and spending another year negotiating a new agreement that will likely be worse for the rebel movements and the people of Darfur. We have made this point to all parties involved.

We recognize, however, that implementation of the DPA has been slow and this has made rebel groups reluctant to join the political process. We have called repeatedly on the government to implement key portions of the agreement, including disarmament of Arab militias

and empowerment of the Transitional Darfur Regional Authority. One of our most important tasks is to bolster the position of Minni Minawi, the sole rebel signatory to the DPA, in order to show that embracing peace yields dividends. He has been marginalized by the government on key decisions related to Darfur and the package of reintegration assistance promised to his troops under the DPA has materialized very slowly, if at all. Most recently, a violent and deadly March 24 attack by the GOS on a house run by SLM/MM in Khartoum and the fatal ambush of a senior commander in Darfur, only serves to raise questions about the seriousness of the GOS commitment to a negotiated peace. Non-signatory factions might ask why they should sign the Darfur Peace Agreement if the GOS continues to brutalize parties to the agreement.

The number of rebel groups now operating in Darfur also complicates a negotiated settlement. As I mentioned earlier, the GOS has played a major role in splintering opposition movements into factions and has attempted to buy off one group at a time rather than pursuing a broader peace through transparent negotiation with all parties. This tactic of divide and conquer creates inequality, dissatisfaction and mistrust among rebel factions, delaying or preventing the creation of a unified political position. Surrounding countries have also exacerbated divisions by providing support for rebel groups in pursuit of their own geopolitical agendas. As a result, we now confront a confusing array of rebel factions, the number of which fluctuates up to as many as fifteen at any given time. Rebel leaders frequently appear more focused on their own ambitions than on the well-being of people in Darfur. No peace agreement would have been possible in Southern Sudan had there been multiple rebel factions each with a different political agenda.

In January I met with rebel leaders to gain their perspective and to deliver a strong message from the U.S. government that they need to unify politically and support humanitarian operations. I stressed that while the people of the United States are appalled by the atrocities committed against the people of Darfur, the rebels should not translate that into support for their political movements, many of which are personality based and the goals of which are obscure. I have urged them to renounce the violent overthrow of the government of Sudan, which some have been publicly advocating, and which is an impediment to peace negotiations. I urged them to be flexible and practical about their demands in any upcoming negotiations; they will not get everything they ask for.

We have begun to see a number of good, new initiatives that feed into broader UN and AU efforts to negotiate a political settlement. One particularly promising initiative

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that the U.S. strongly supports is the process being led by First Vice President Salva Kiir, who is also the President of Southern Sudan. With the blessing of Khartoum, Vice President Kiir has consulted with Darfur’s tribal leaders, community groups, and non-signatory rebel leaders in order to find a workable solution to the Darfur crisis. The Sudan People’s Liberation Movement (SPLM) can play an important role in advising the Darfur non-signatory groups since they have the experience and credibility that comes from successfully negotiating the Comprehensive Peace Agreement with Khartoum.

Recently, international attention has focused on the need for an enhanced peacekeeping capacity in Darfur. The African Union peacekeepers have done, and continue to do, an admirable job under extremely difficult conditions, but a more robust force is needed. African Union troops have come under increasing attack, with the most recent incident resulting in the death of five Senegalese peacekeepers in Northern Darfur. Two Nigerian peacekeepers were killed earlier in March. Missions that were once carried out as a matter of course, for example protection details for women leaving IDP and refugee camps in search of firewood, have now been halted and the threat of increased rapes and attacks is very real. The USG has provided over \$350 million in support to the approximately 7,700 strong AMIS force since FY04. This includes construction and operation of 34 base camps, maintenance of vehicles and communications equipment, pre-deployment equipment and training, and strategic airlift. However, the AU has reached the limit of its capabilities, and a robust force with the command and control of the UN is desperately needed in order to function effectively and minimize the risk of atrocities in the future. The AU itself has called for a transition of the African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS) to a United Nations operation.

Transition of the current African Union Mission in Sudan to a more robust hybrid AU/UN peacekeeping operation remains a policy priority for the United States. UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1706 of 31 August 2006 has a robust mandate, including the protection of civilians, and remains the touchstone for the U.S. position on peacekeeping in Darfur. In November 2006, the UN and AU convened a high level meeting in Addis Ababa where key players, including the Government of Sudan and the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, agreed to a three-phase plan that would culminate in a hybrid AU/UN peacekeeping force of 20,000 troops and police under UN command and control.

This plan was reconfirmed at an AU Peace and Security Council meeting in Abuja and by a UN Security Council Presidential Statement (PRST). Sudan has repeatedly told us over the past months that they

agree to the Addis framework; and the PRST was done at their specific behest. However, in a March 6 letter that President Bashir sent to UN Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon, he essentially rejected the Addis Agreement’s Phase II Heavy Support Package, effectively also scuttling the third phase or hybrid force. Furthermore, he stated: “Command and control after provision of the support packages is the responsibility of the African Union, with the necessary support from the United Nations.” UN command and control of the hybrid operation was agreed to by all parties in Addis, including Sudan, as an essential component of any force. This is not negotiable.

We are very concerned with President Bashir’s letter rejecting major portions of the heavy support package. We are hopeful that an April 9 meeting in Addis Ababa signals that the GOS is willing to reconsider its position. We trust that the GOS will honor its commitments and move swiftly to implement all remaining phases of this agreement, including a vigorous joint AU/UN peacekeeping force under UN command and control. The U.S. government strongly opposes any efforts by the Sudanese government or others to renegotiate, once again, the agreement reached in Addis Ababa on November 16, 2006. The failure to implement the Addis framework is not acceptable and will soon be met, as we have long stated, with a more confrontational approach.

I would like to add a word about international pressure on Khartoum. In January, I made a visit to China where I had positive meetings with several key officials, including State Councilor Tang Jiaxuan and Assistant Foreign Ministers Cui Tiankai and Zhai Jun. The Chinese have been largely supportive of our efforts to resolve the Darfur situation through peaceful means and have been publicly encouraging Khartoum to allow the AU/UN hybrid force as agreed to in Addis. We confirmed with them our position that our interests in Darfur are solely humanitarian and we have no economic or military interests behind our policies. We also made it clear that we are not pursuing regime change in Sudan unless the people vote for a new government in free and fair elections agreed to under the Comprehensive Peace Agreement framework. China’s Ambassador to the UN Wang Guangya played a vital and constructive role in helping to broker the Addis compromise. During his recent visit to Khartoum, Chinese President Hu Jintao encouraged Bashir to show flexibility and allow the AU/UN hybrid force to be deployed. While we welcome and encourage China’s efforts to apply diplomatic pressure on the Government of Sudan, we look to Beijing to join with the international community in applying more forceful measures, should Khartoum remain intransigent. China’s substantial economic investment in Sudan gives it considerable potential leverage, and we have made clear

to Beijing that the international community will expect China to be part of the solution.

Similarly we are pleased with the emergence of broad international support for the humanitarian needs of people in Darfur. Many countries in Africa and around the world have echoed UNSCR 1706 and called publicly for Khartoum to admit UN peacekeepers and abandon its futile effort to impose a solution by force. During my October trip, I also made a stop in Egypt where I met with the Egyptian Foreign Minister Abul Gheit and Secretary General of the Arab League, Amr Moussa. Mr. Moussa and the Arab league have recently played a much more active role in urging the Sudanese government to take a more constructive approach to the Darfur crisis.

Despite all this, the regime in Khartoum continues to find the weapons it needs for conflict, to find markets for its products, and to find investors. So while I have conveyed a real appreciation here today for many international efforts to push Sudan in the right direction, I also want to be quite clear: the world needs to do more. Congress, individual activists, and the huge array of committed non-governmental organizations can and should continue to shine a spotlight on Khartoum’s enablers.

While our primary topic today is Darfur, the crisis there must be seen in the context of our overall policy goals in Sudan; ensuring the implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement and supporting the democratic transformation of Sudan through free and fair elections in 2009. Unless there is progress on these two broader goals, there is little chance that we will be able to find a lasting solution to the crisis in Darfur. The international community needs to recognize the fact that southern Sudan is at a cross roads. The CPA has created a fragile peace between the north and the south after two decades of conflict during which more than 2.4 million people died and four million were displaced. However, over the next year, several important steps must be taken to ensure that the CPA succeeds. Armed militias still threaten the security of southern Sudan. These groups must be demobilized or integrated into the SAF or the SPLA, and the withdrawal of the Sudanese Armed Forces from all areas of the south must stay on schedule. The southern economy is finally growing, but north-south boundary disputes, including the lack of implementation of the Abyei Border Commission’s decision, and a lack of transparency in oil contracts keep the south from getting its full share of oil revenues. The pilot census must proceed in order to lay the foundation for elections in 2009, and legislative reforms — including the election law — must be passed. Without international action to energize implementation of the CPA, the most likely outcome will be two Sudans, not John Garang’s vision of a united “New Sudan”.

Should the CPA collapse it is likely that security issues will be the cause. At ceremonies to celebrate the CPA’s second anniversary on January 9th, Salva Kiir, the first Vice President of the Government of National Unity and the President of the Government of southern Sudan, accused the Sudan Armed Forces (SAF) of deliberately violating the security provisions in the CPA. South of Juba and along the border between northern and southern Sudan, other armed groups associated with the central government remain a serious and destabilizing problem in the South. In Malakal, a state capital on the Nile, such tension led to combat in early December 2006; only the aggressive and timely intervention of United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS) troops prevented the violence from spreading. I visited Malakal just after the incident to show the support of the U.S. government for the UN’s efforts to stabilize the situation.

It is my belief that one of the most important efforts we are undertaking in southern Sudan is to support the transformation of the Sudan People’s Liberation Army (SPLA) into a smaller, more professional military force. This will offset outside efforts to destabilize the GOSS through militias or other armed groups. The discipline and competence afforded by modern, professionally trained troops and officers will prove a stabilizing factor in Southern Sudan. At the same time, the UN, U.S. and other partners need to press forward with reform of the police and criminal justice sector so that local conflict does not escalate, thus requiring an SPLA response. Reform of the security sector in Sudan is proceeding, although more slowly than we would like. According to UNMIS, the UN Mission in Southern Sudan, SAF redeployment from southern Sudan is verified at 68 percent but further progress is hindered by delays in other security related requirements, such as the formation of units composed equally of SAF and SPLA troops known as Joint Integrated Units (JIUs). SPLA redeployment from the transitional areas along the north/south border is mostly complete but is being held up due to a delay in the formation of the Joint Integrated Units. CPA security provisions need to be implemented now or conflict is likely to erupt in several areas around oil rich Abyei and near Juba. Joint Integrated Units have been assigned locations in the main towns but are without proper training or support. Contrary to the provisions of the CPA, companies in these battalions remain in separate units for both housing and training. The SPLA is gradually downsizing into a professional army, but still needs proper training, facilities and administration for the downsized force. The U.S. plans to financially and materially support this important process of providing strategic training and mentoring to the SPLA at key levels. This assistance will not include any weapons or weapons systems and is specifically provided for under the CPA.

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Economic issues divide the north and south. The Sudanese economy is growing at a rate of 12% per year. Their Gross Domestic Product will double in the next six years if current growth rates are maintained, after having already doubled over the last five years through a combination of growth and currency appreciation. Wealth is concentrated in greater Khartoum (in the Arab triangle between Dongola, El Obeid, and Kasala) while other regions of the country remain impoverished and neglected. Under the CPA, the Government of National Unity is required to begin making sizeable increases in the budgets and revenues in 2007 to impoverished provinces throughout the country. These provinces have yet to see the benefits of oil revenues. The Parliament has approved these expanded provincial budgets, however the money has not yet been sent to the provinces by the Ministry of Finance.

The U.S. is a major partner for aid, but not for trade. Unilateral economic sanctions are a central element in the U.S. economic policy toward Sudan. As a result, the United States has negligible trade with Sudan and minimal investment in the country. At the same time, Sudan has built stronger economic ties with China, India Malaysia and Gulf Arab states and substantial trade continues with Japan and Europe. The Darfur Peace and Accountability Act (DPAA) and the President’s Executive Order 13412 modified the U.S. comprehensive sanctions regime against Sudan under Executive Order 13067 by easing many restrictions with respect to the Government of Southern Sudan, and certain other geographic areas, though Sudan, and specifically the Government of Sudan, is still subject to significant sanctions under U.S. law.

On the surface, Sudan’s political reform has moved forward. The National Congress Party (NCP) and the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement (SPLM) formed the Government of National Unity (GNU), organized the parliament and distributed positions at senior levels of government as they had agreed in the CPA (though civil service reform is still outstanding). The SPLM established the Government of Southern Sudan in Juba, with a limited number of positions for its NCP partners, and likewise set up the ten state governments in the south. The new government in Juba is still a weak institution in its infancy, especially in such areas as service delivery, financial management and human resource development. In recent months, however, I am happy to note that President Salva Kiir has taken steps to confront the issue of corruption in his government. In the past weeks he took decisive action to counter corruption among GOSS officials with alleged involvement in mismanagement of resources, which we believe was a needed step in improving the management of the GOSS.

Below the surface, there has been little political transformation. Whether in Khartoum or in Juba, military officers are in charge. The NCP uses the instruments of state power, particularly the security services, to limit the scope for opposition parties and to manipulate the public agenda. It would be seriously challenged in a genuinely free and fair election. The SPLM, which has broad popular support in southern Sudan, has made impressive first steps to establish itself in the north but has never faced elections itself.

There remains a major risk that elections will not be held on time. The CPA specifies that before elections, a census will be conducted throughout Sudan, but arrangements for the census are falling behind schedule. If the elections are to be held as scheduled, the census must be expedited.

Despite these serious shortcomings, there has been some progress under the CPA. Peace is holding in the south for the first time in twenty-four years. The GOS has transferred over \$1 billion in oil revenues to the new GOSS. Designed by both the north and the south, the new Sudanese Pound has been introduced as the new common currency. A new government has been created in the south, commerce is thriving, the economy is growing, displaced people are returning to their ancestral homes and farms, and 75% of the 40,000 militias (most created by the GOS during the war) have been demobilized or merged into either the northern or southern armies. There is no famine in southern Sudan. We should not underestimate these achievements or the benefits of peace and increased economic growth for the average southern family. These are not insignificant achievements, but these achievements are fragile and at risk because of a failure to carry out all of the provisions of the CPA.

Overall, the situation has more cause for alarm than for reassurance. U.S. policy intended the CPA to be a turning point for Sudan’s transformation from an authoritarian state to a more just and democratic state that can be a partner for stability and security in a dangerous part of the world. Sudan is now at the halfway mark between signature of the peace accord and its first major turning point, national elections. The Assessment and Evaluation Commission (AEC), set up to monitor CPA implementation, has only a muffled voice because both the NCP and SPLM must agree to any of its decisions. The ruling National Congress Party, which has been alarmed by this trend, has done little to create the atmosphere for Southerners to want to remain in Sudan: the continuing conflict in Darfur and the tactics used by the central government there only confirm Southern fears that nothing has really changed in Khartoum. The CPA needs

renewed, high level international political attention. Along these lines, the United States strongly supports the proposal being considered for an East African summit through the regional Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) to re-assemble the heads of state in the region involved in supporting the initial CPA agreement, to review progress to date and define steps needed to accelerate implementation.

These are our objectives: to provide life-saving humanitarian assistance to the millions of people who have been displaced from their homes and affected by violence in Darfur; to promote a negotiated, political settlement to the conflict that is agreed to by all parties within the

framework of the Darfur Peace Agreement; to support the deployment of an AU/UN hybrid international peace-keeping force to protect civilians and ensure continued humanitarian access; and to ensure the successful implementation of the CPA. However, if we find the Sudanese government is obstructing progress on these objectives, the United States government will change its policy and will pursue more coercive measures. The burden is on the Sudanese government to show the world that it can meet and implement the commitments it has already made.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee for your time and interest in this important matter.

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