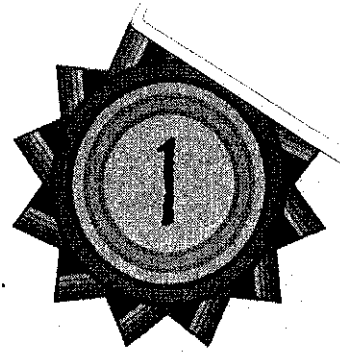
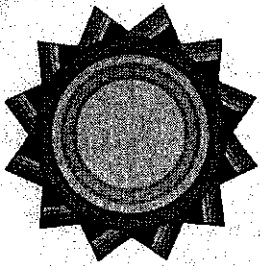


Natives and Newcomers



At Ellis Island, customs officials registered immigrants, attached initials to each one, checked heads for lice, and referred those who might be unacceptable for health or other reasons for further screening. Many were denied entry into the United States.



*Send These, the homeless, tempest-tost, to me:
I lift my lamp beside the golden door.*

—Emma Lazarus

E pluribus unum.

—Motto on the Great Seal of the United States of America

The United States of America is often described as a nation of nations. Contemporary illustrations of the meaning of this statement abound. For instance, a manager of a new housing complex in downtown Los Angeles, California, discovered that those living in the apartments spoke at least twelve different languages, including Tagalog, Vietnamese, Thai, Zapotec, Indonesian, and Laotian. A San Antonio, Texas, newspaper found that one of the most popular names for boys in Texas and California is the Spanish name José. In addition, Americans are increasingly likely to be of a mixed racial heritage. Since 1960, the number of interracial couples in the United States has grown more than tenfold, and the rate of intermarriage is expected to increase in the coming years. And since the attacks of September 11, 2001 on New York and Washington, DC, America has been wracked with numerous controversies and confusions concerning the Arab American, Arab, and Muslim people in our population. As often happens during periods of national crisis, people focus renewed attention on the racial and ethnic differences that exist within our diverse and changing society.

The cultural and racial diversity of the American people increased appreciably during the last decade of the twentieth century. Within that time the United States received more newcomers, representing nations from all over the world, than during any other decade in its history. While the presence of so many new arrivals may stimulate racial and ethnic antagonisms, it also may remind us that most Americans are descended from people who arrived here within the last five or six generations.¹ Only the American Indians can claim to have been here for more than five centuries. The recency of the arrival of most American groups is suggested by the fact that many Americans still think of themselves as having a "nationality" in addition to their identity as Americans. Every day we are reminded that cultural and racial diversity exists in America, and that cultural and racial identities are sources of both pride and conflict.

These realities raise a number of important questions: Is the cultural makeup of American society undergoing a radical change? How do newcomers see their new land and their place in it? How do long-time residents react to the newcomers? If Americans trace their national origins to other countries, do they think of themselves first as Americans and only then as members of an ethnic group (a term emphasizing cultural heritage) or a racial group (a term emphasizing physical appearance)? Should multiple loyalties be encouraged as sources of variety and strength or discouraged as sources of disunity and distrust? Some of these perplexing questions call for factual answers. Others are concerned mainly with the goals, values, and purposes of American society as a whole and each of the various groups within it.

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In this book we explore various aspects of these and other questions as we analyze the experiences of different groups that form the fabric of American society. We are especially interested in the following questions: Is there a uniform social process through which all groups of newcomers and their descendants must travel to become established in the economic and social "mainstream" of American life? Is American society actually becoming more diverse ethnically, as our examples have suggested, or are the forces that promote group mergers and decrease diversity moving at an even faster pace?² If America is becoming more diverse ethnically, how will the social characteristics of the American "mainstream" be affected? These questions have aroused debate throughout American history. For the most part, people have generally believed that there is a single, basic route to Americanization or assimilation into American society. The leading idea of assimilation theory has been that new immigrant groups are transformed from outsiders into full members of American society by giving up their previous ways of life to embrace an Anglo American cultural core. The experiences of various groups who have, nonetheless, maintained their ethnic or racial identities in the face of pressures to assimilate core Anglo American norms and values have tested this notion. American society is far from homogeneous, and immigrant ethnicity has affected American society as much as American society has affected it (Alba 1999a). From this perspective, assimilation can take place as two or more groups, or parts of them, diminish the cultural and social distance between them (Alba and Nee 1997).

An increasing number of people maintain that there is more than one social process that operates to change groups of newcomers and their children into Americans. Portes and Rumbaut (1990:7-8), for example, argue that the ethnic diversity among newcomers is greater now than ever before. They find the idea that there is a uniform process leading to Americanization "increasingly implausible" and state that "there are today first-generation millionaires who speak broken English, foreign-born mayors of large cities, and top-flight immigrant engineers and scientists in the nation's research centers. There are also those, at the other extreme, who cannot even take the first step [toward Americanization] because of the insecurity linked to an uncertain legal status."

We begin our exploration of these ideas by sketching very briefly the general social process most Americans have assumed is the basic route to Americanization for individuals and groups. This popular image is based heavily on the experiences of certain groups of newcomers who arrived during a particular period of U.S. history and has been the focus of fierce debate. As we proceed, we introduce a number of important competing ideas to help us understand fully how a group's identity and various individuals' identities may be transformed to that of being "Americans."



An Overview of Assimilation in America

A Popular View

The principal stages through which an immigrant is generally presumed to travel on the road to Americanization have been portrayed in many biographies, novels, plays, movies,

and scholarly books and articles. Both in fact and in legend, millions of people have come to the United States in search of economic, religious, and other opportunities. Those who arrived earlier may already have established "national churches, immigrant-aid societies, foreign-language newspapers, and other institutions" (Petersen 1980:239) to form an immigrant community within the new homeland.

In the popular view, the life of the newcomer is filled with problems to solve and obstacles to overcome. He or she must find a place to live, find a job, cope with learning a new language, and adopt a new way of living. The old ways and ideas are no longer appropriate. The newcomer must rapidly learn the "American way" to speak, dress, think, and act. As the newcomers make choices seeking to take advantage of opportunities to improve their social situations, assimilation is likely to take place despite the intentions of the immigrants to resist it. But even the **first generation** immigrant who wishes to do so probably will not be able to make a complete transition to the new way of life. His or her name, patterns of speech, dress, manners, religion, food preferences, place of residence, or type of occupation may continue to mark him or her as an "outsider." In most cases, the newcomers do not want to give up the old ways entirely. They may wish to be accepted as Americans in all ways that are essential to their livelihood and immediate welfare and to participate as fully as they like in the mainstream of American life. But they may prefer the sights, scents, sounds, and friendships that exist only in the ethnic community—the Chinatowns, Little Italys, Latino barrios, African American neighborhoods, and Little Saigons—that the members of their national group have developed.

The immigrants' children, the **second generation**, may learn many of the old-country ways from their parents and also may be unable or unwilling to drop all vestiges of their parents' culture and behavior. They may attend public schools and become more fluent in English than their parents; and they may fail to learn, or may actively reject, many of their parents' ways. These Americans may achieve greater economic success than their parents and may move out of the old neighborhood, marry someone of a different ethnicity,³ or change their name to something that seems more "American." Still, these individuals may regard themselves or be regarded by others as remaining in some significant ways "ethnics." On the positive side, a person who is bicultural may enjoy the "best of both cultural worlds"; on the negative side, the individual may not feel completely "at home" in either culture.

Finally, according to the familiar image being sketched, the grandchildren of the immigrants, the **third generation**, may move completely into the mainstream of American life. Although their parents will not have socialized them into the old culture, they may have learned to speak a few words of the grandparents' native language and they may have learned certain old-country recipes, folk songs, and proverbs. They also may feel a strong sense of attachment to their ethnic heritage, but they will speak mostly English, and questions concerning their nationality will seldom arise.

According to the traditional assimilation model, the individual has now become a full member of the host society, sharing equally with the other established members in the distribution of social rewards. He or she may "rise" to any position the society has to offer. This image of the **assimilation process**—called by some scholars "straight line theory"—is highly controversial. It assumes, among other things, that newcomers look forward to "progressing" in American society rather than looking back to life in the homeland. It as-

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sumes also that, on the average, each generation will reach a higher level of social and economic standing than the preceding generation. Stated differently, the longer a group has been in the United States, the more successful it will be in social and economic terms (Suarez-Orozco 2000:6).⁴ As applied to European immigrant groups, this line of thought has been generally correct (Glazer and Moynihan 1964:313; Levitt and Waters 2002:15), but the description we have offered so far overlooks many complications.

Consider, for instance, the different life experiences of the children of immigrants who arrive in the United States with their parents in comparison to the experiences of their siblings who are born in the United States. Those in the former group (increasingly called the *1.5 generation*) are, strictly speaking, first-generation immigrants; but depending on their ages when they arrive, the course of their adaptation to the culture of the new country may be more-or-less similar to that of their brothers and sisters. Consider, too, the much broader question of how well the three-generations process describes the experiences of non-European groups in America.

Some Non-European Instances

If we were to attempt to explain what has happened to American Indians during the past four centuries in terms of the popular image of Americanization, it would be clear that the three-generations description simply does not fit this case. The complex societies of Indians preceded the first English settlements. For the most part they did not enter American society voluntarily through immigration but, rather, through conquest and the occupation of their territories. In the process, however, historians have found that Indians often incorporated "foreigners," including many African Americans, into their families and communities. By the end of the American Revolution, Indian-African American intermarriage resulted in a substantial and visible "mixed population in a number of areas" (Mandell 1998). Some were clearly Indian, some were African American, and others maintained dual identities. During a later period of relocation to reservations and antiassimilationist policies toward Indians, further ethnic divisions occurred. During the civil rights movement, Indians expressed renewed pride in their ethnic identities. In the decennial census of 1990 the numbers of persons identifying themselves as American Indian increased rather than decreased, as is expected in traditional assimilation theory. Moreover, as American Indians have increased their incomes through gambling casinos and other enterprises on the reservations, some tribal members living in urban areas have moved back to the reservations and worked to reclaim their Indian culture and language.

The African ancestors of most Black Americans came to the United States as bonded servants or slaves. They, too, obviously did not emigrate to the United States in the traditional way we have discussed. Although much human migration involves, to some degree, both voluntary and involuntary elements, it is clear that the involuntary element was enormously greater in the migration experiences of most Black Americans than was true of any other group that has come to the United States.⁵ Recent scholarship has suggested that there were many nonmarital as well as marital sexual relationships among Blacks and Whites and that some prominent American leaders fathered children with slave women. Thus, there may have been more "racial mixing" than the strict laws in

many states that prohibited interracial marriages and relationships would lead us to believe.⁶ It is clear, also, that after many more than three generations, Black Americans, on average, have not entered fully into the mainstream of American life and become simply "Americans."

Mexican Americans present a somewhat more complicated case. Like the American Indians, the ancestors of some Mexican Americans were brought into the United States involuntarily through conquest. The ancestors of some others, however—and this is by far the largest category—have migrated more or less voluntarily to the United States from Mexico. Many of those in the latter group did not consider the border between the two countries to be very important culturally and did not think of themselves as immigrants to a foreign country (Alvarez 1985). Like American Indians and Black Americans, most Mexican Americans have not completed the process of inclusion within three generations.

Why have some groups long present in the United States not merged uniformly into American society? Is it likely, given still longer periods of time, that the groups that have not gone through the three-generations process will gradually be assimilated fully? Will the newcomers who now are reaching America follow the three-generations pattern? Stated more generally, the primary question we consider here and throughout the book is this: *What factors affect whether the members of a given group assimilate into various aspects of American life and the rate at which various types of assimilation occur?*

Some Factors Affecting Assimilation

Differences in Social Power. Throughout most of the history of the United States White Americans have been not only the largest group, but also the most *powerful* group. Their members have been more highly represented in positions of authority within the government, military services, and economic and educational organizations of the society than any other group. In these positions, they have played the greatest role in making decisions that affected the relations among different groups. The many other racial and ethnic groups that have been represented in our society have been both smaller in size and less powerful. In all human societies, some group or groups will have greater social power than others and, therefore, a greater capacity to *control* than others; and the kinds of relations these groups have with one another represent a vital element in the operation of the society.⁷ Racial and ethnic relations, not only in the United States but throughout the world, may be viewed as revealing some of the social consequences that may arise when one group is more powerful than, and dominates, another.

Often the power of a dominant (most powerful) group is accepted as legitimate by subordinate (less powerful) groups, and the commands of its members are willingly obeyed. Sometimes, however, the subordinate groups do not wish to obey and, then, the dominant group may rely on coercion, leading to overt or covert conflicts between the groups. *The relative power or degree of dominance of various racial and ethnic groups, rather than their sheer size, is of paramount sociological significance.* We note in passing that all segments of a dominant group do not necessarily share the group's power equally. In our society, for instance, men and members of the upper socioeconomic classes generally have wielded greater power than women and members of the lower classes.

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Throughout American history, the most powerful group also has been the largest group; but in many societies that is not the case, and it is the differences in social power that are of greatest significance in our analysis. We use the terms majority and minority, therefore, to indicate differences in group power rather than merely to indicate differences in size. Our concern is *the extent to which the minority group's behavior and life circumstances are related to the greater power exercised by the majority.*

But a majority-group's power is always limited in some respects. Minority-group members, even those who are extremely oppressed, do exert some influence, however small, over the development of intergroup relations; hence, although the rate of a group's assimilation within American society may be affected strongly by the extent to which the White Americans desire or resist their inclusion, the rate also is affected by the extent to which a minority-group's members desire or resist inclusion. For example, the existence of neighborhoods that are settled primarily by one ethnic group or another does not by itself demonstrate either that the concentrations have arisen primarily because the majority has enforced separation (*segregation*) or the minorities have chosen separation (*congregation*). *It is absolutely essential in any case that we study the historical sequences that have created the dominant-subordinate group relations of interest to us.*⁸

Voluntary or Involuntary Entrance. Our discussion has indicated that the members of groups who choose to become a part of American society are more likely to follow the three-generations process than those who enter the society involuntarily. Those who enter voluntarily may seek full inclusion, make great efforts to learn English, and be willing to alter many ways of acting that were customary in their former homeland. People who are enslaved or conquered, on the other hand, may be reluctant to become members of the society that is responsible for their enslavement. Their goal may be to escape from the new society that has been imposed on them or to drive the invaders out and return to their former way of life.⁹ Please note, however, that even though a voluntary entrance into American society may initially lead people to be more favorable toward the adoption of its culture, and an involuntary entrance may favor the rejection of Americanization, the possibility exists that the two types of entrance may not necessarily lead to different results.

Americanization may be viewed, even by those who migrate voluntarily, as having both desirable and undesirable aspects. For example, if the members of a racial or ethnic group view full inclusion within American life mainly as a process whereby a cherished way of life is gradually eroded or destroyed rather than as progress, they may struggle to maintain a separate ethnic identity. From this standpoint, a major problem for newcomers is the difficulty of *resisting* assimilation. Frequently, too, the members of an immigrant group may be uncertain regarding whether, or in what ways, inclusion should be sought. Nearly all Jews, for instance, may agree that the members of their group should learn English and be permitted to attend the public schools, but they may disagree sharply concerning the extent to which their religious ceremonies should be conducted in English.

Group Size, Concentration, and Time of Entry. It is well known that majority-group members are much more concerned about the presence of minority-group members and give much more evidence of rejecting them in those locations in which the

minority is relatively large and in which the minority group has grown rapidly in size.¹⁰ If the minority group actually becomes larger than the majority group, the concern of the dominant group probably will escalate. This situation has been common in the experience of Black Americans in many towns in the southern United States and of Mexican Americans and American Indians in many towns of the southwestern and western portions of the United States. When the minority is the larger group, the majority may erect many types of social barriers between itself and the minority. In these circumstances, the majority may be particularly sensitive, and may react violently, to even the slightest sign that these barriers are being eroded.

The economic conditions within the receiving country at the time a group arrives are critical factors affecting the group's reception. During periods of economic expansion when more "hands" are needed to do the work, immigrants are encouraged to move to the United States and are accepted more readily than during periods of economic downturns. When many Americans are out of work, the fear that "they" are taking "our" jobs away provides a powerful motive to resist the inclusion of newcomers. In addition to the timing of a group's entry, the length of time that has elapsed since the members of a group first arrived also is an important factor affecting inclusion. Lieberman and Waters (1988:43) found that among those who described their ancestry as "American" in the decennial census of 1980, 98 percent had "at least three generations' residence" in the United States.

Ethnic and Racial Similarity. Another factor affecting the rate of assimilation of a minority group within the United States is the similarity between the culture (ethnicity) of the minority and the culture of the majority. People whose native languages are Chinese, Korean, or Japanese, for instance, may experience more difficulty in mastering the speech patterns and inflections of the English language than those whose native languages are Dutch, German, or Spanish. And since Judeo-Christian beliefs are dominant within the United States, those who have been raised in a different religious tradition may find many "American" ways offensive and may resist them. Much the same may be said concerning American approaches to politics, education, courtship, marriage, and many other aspects of life.

A final factor affecting assimilation to be mentioned here—though many others will be uncovered in the course of our analysis—is the racial (physical) identification of the individual or group. Although White Americans generally have shown some hostility toward all foreigners, they have been more willing to accept the members of some groups than others. The history of the United States shows, in particular, that White resistance to the inclusion of different groups is greater for groups considered to be "non-White" than for groups considered to be "White."¹¹



Development of Assimilation Theory¹²

The most influential theory based on the three-generations idea was developed primarily by the American sociologist Robert E. Park. Park's theory, called the cycle of race relations, focused on four processes or stages: contact, competition, accommodation, and eventual

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assimilation. According to Park these stages represent "the processes by which the integration of peoples and cultures have always and everywhere taken place" and are "apparently progressive and irreversible" (Park [1926]1964:104).^{*} Since Park (1964:205) thought of assimilation mainly as a process that "erased the external signs . . . which formerly distinguished the members" of the smaller group, he gave little attention to how the characteristics of the receiving society might affect the assimilation of newcomers or how the society itself might be changed by their assimilation. Park did later concede that the cycle could end in a society that included a permanent racial minority (Kazal 1999).

During the late 1930s and early 1940s, historians Marcus Hansen and Oscar Handlin made notable contributions to assimilation theory. Hansen (1938) found that among some groups the grandchildren of the immigrants experience a revival of interest in the culture of the old country that fosters a reemergence of ethnic consciousness just when, according to Park's theory, ethnic ties should be disappearing. In a study that focused on the assimilation of the Irish into the social, cultural, economic, and political life of Boston, Handlin (1941) found a pattern that largely conformed to the expectations of the cycle of race relations; however, the Irish stopped short of full assimilation. They did not melt into the core Anglo culture and society but, rather, remained "outsiders" who were "beneath" the native residents and various groups of more assimilated immigrants.

In another important contribution, Kennedy (1944) studied the patterns of intermarriage among various European ethnic groups. She found that although ethnic intermarriage was increasing, as expected under the race cycle theory, the religious barriers among the groups remained strong. Irish, Italian, and Polish Catholics preferred to intermarry among themselves; British, German, and Scandinavian Protestants preferred Protestant spouses; and Jews preferred to marry other Jews. Thus assimilation occurred within the various religious groups—Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant—and not indiscriminately (Kennedy 1944).

During a peak of ethnic and racial unrest in the 1960s, theories of assimilation fell out of favor as scholars noted that ethnic groups appeared to be persisting and reviving rather than declining as had been expected (Olzak and Nagel 1986:1–2). Many people had assumed that the passage of time would automatically erase group differences, but this assumption was increasingly called into question, especially as it applied to racial minorities. Ethnic groups and identities were sustained by common interests, ethnic networks, family ties, and a strong ethnic organizational life. Many scholars attacked the idea that American society was unified by a consensus on Anglo American values and norms. They presented instead a picture of a fragmented American society filled with intergroup conflicts. An increasing emphasis on ethnic pluralism and ethnic conflict shifted the focus away from assimilation, which was said to emphasize interethnic consensus.

In contrast to the growing sentiment against assimilation theory, however, Milton Gordon (1964) presented at this time a new and valuable approach advocating a much more specific analysis of the structure of American society and the general process of assimilation than had been done previously. According to Gordon, U.S. society consisted

^{*}When the work of an author was originally published at an earlier date we have included that date for historical reference. The later publication date is a more recent edition and is cited in the references. These dual dates appear throughout the text.

of a number of subsocieties, each with its own subculture. These subsocieties might be based on ethnic, racial, religious, or social class affiliations. The core subsociety of the United States, with a subculture derived from the culture of England, was described as being White, middle class, and Protestant. Racial groups, non-European immigrant groups, and some religious groups retained their own organizational networks and their own primary group contacts within specific ethnic enclaves. Gordon (1964:71) proposed that an understanding of assimilation among American groups could be advanced by an analysis of seven specific subprocesses of assimilation, which we consider in detail in Chapter 2.

Gordon also noted that socioeconomic class status and group identity play a vital role in the process of assimilation and the operation of American society. Instead of simply losing their ethnic memberships and identities, individuals form networks with co-ethnics of the same social class. The resulting subsocieties, called *ethnolasses*, constitute the basis for the functioning and persistence of ethnicity in American life (Gordon 1964:51).

In the 1980s and 1990s, historians and sociologists noted an increase of common feeling among European ethnics based on "whiteness." They also became more aware that individuals may have multiple ethnicities and began to focus attention on assimilation between groups of immigrants as well as on assimilation between newcomers and Americans. Additionally, there was an increasing awareness that assimilation theory should take into account the transnational character of much contemporary immigration. Modern means of communication and transportation enable recent immigrants to the United States to maintain strong ties with friends and families in their countries of origin more easily than ever before and to remain at home, in a psychological sense, even while they are physically in the new country.

Still further, within various social settings, assimilation processes may affect different portions of a group in different ways, leading to segmented assimilation. Several of the largest recent immigrant groups have included both people with high educational and occupational skill levels and people with little education and occupational skill. The process of becoming an American may be a very different experience for the members of these two immigrant subgroups. For example, the members of the higher socioeconomic segment may experience rapid adaptation and movement into the mainstream, while the members of the lower socioeconomic segment may find the American dream to be out of reach (Levitt and Waters 2002:2; Zhou 1997:979). Together these considerations have stimulated a renewed appreciation of the manifold ways that assimilation may act as a powerful and variable force (Kazal 1999:298; Nagel 2002:259).

Many questions that intrigued Park and the other theorists early in the twentieth century were revived. What social forces hold a diverse country together? How do immigrants come to see themselves as Americans? Is there such a thing as an American identity? What is the nature of American pluralism? But this revival was accompanied by a much more complex and flexible vision of ethnicity than had existed previously. To illustrate, Kazal (1999:298) described ethnicity as a "process of construction or invention which incorporates, adapts, and amplifies preexisting communal solidarities, cultural attributes and historical memories." This process—which is a form of *ethnogenesis*—is thought to involve continual negotiation among various racial and ethnic groups and the dominant group (Nagel 2002:264). An ethnicity may disappear, be reinvented (sometimes

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as a pan-ethnic identity, such as Asian or Hispanic), or become a double identity (such as African American). In addition, individuals may choose to emphasize one or more aspects of their ancestry and to emphasize different identities in different contexts (Walters 1990).

In this book we have chosen to use many of Gordon's concepts and his theory of assimilation to describe and understand the experiences of different ethnic groups in American life, but we have done so with an awareness that the various processes of inter-group adjustment may not operate uniformly during one period or another or in the same ways for all groups.



Race and Ethnicity

The terms *race* and *ethnicity* have been assigned a variety of meanings and are the subjects of continuing debate. Each term refers in part to the fact that people may believe they and certain other people are the descendants of related ancestors and, further, that those of related ancestry comprise natural social groups or categories.¹³ Among those who perceive that they share with others some trait that is taken to denote common ancestry, there may develop a sense of "interconnectedness," "peoplehood," or group identification.

Race

As we have noted, racial group or category designations refer mainly to aspects of a person's physical heritage, whereas ethnic group or category designations refer mainly to aspects of a person's sociocultural heritage. People tend to *assume* that groups based on physical and social inheritance are natural and of special importance (Allport 1958:106; Petersen 1980:239). The plausibility of this viewpoint rests primarily on the centuries-old observation that family members usually resemble one another more in both appearance and behavior than do unrelated individuals.¹⁴

The practice of distinguishing between people's heritages primarily in physical terms or primarily in sociocultural terms is widely accepted. Its common acceptance, indeed, and the social groupings that are generally recognized thereby, provide the underpinnings for the analyses within this book; but let us note that *the boundaries between and within racial and ethnic groups are not sharp and fixed*. They in fact overlap, are blurred, and may change.

To illustrate, let us consider briefly some issues that arise in the process of attempting to determine a person's racial group membership. In everyday situations, most people are defined by themselves and others as belonging to a particular racial group even when they are aware that some racial "mixing" has occurred. They are thought to *be* (and are treated as being) members of this race *or* that race. Under these circumstances it is easy to assume that the boundaries of this system are "real" and have been imposed on us by nature. In fact, however, the conclusion that a person is a member of a single race

involves a much larger element of choice and social agreement than may be apparent. The most frequently chosen defining trait, skin color, obviously varies by degrees and cannot be used to establish sharp boundaries. Since all of the other visible traits (e.g., eye shape, nose shape) that are commonly employed suffer this same defect, any effort to establish sharp boundaries among the races on the basis of any one of these commonly used physical traits is bound to be imperfect.¹⁵

The problem of overlapping boundaries cannot be surmounted by combining the various traits, either. It is true that in the United States people who trace their origins to Europe are more likely to be called and to call themselves "White" than are people who trace their origins to Asia and Africa (i.e., there is a correlation between geographical origin and skin color), but some people who trace their origins to Europe have darker skins than some people who trace their ancestry to Asia and Africa (i.e., the correlation of geographical origin and skin color is not perfect). As additional traits are added, the probability that all of them will lead to the same racial assignments declines.¹⁶ The low levels of correlation among clusters of these different socially accepted criteria of racial grouping have led scholars to disagree concerning how many human races there are, with ranges running from only a few to very many.¹⁷

Blurred boundaries among races is not the only problem. As we discuss later, several groups of Europeans who came to the United States and who today are unquestioningly accepted as White were not considered to be White at the time they arrived (Jacobsen 1998) but were thought, instead, to be "members of 'degenerate races'" (Nagel 2002:265). These changes in the racial designation of some groups show clearly that *although people commonly think of races, and sometimes ethnic groups, as sharply distinguishable and fixed biological entities, their boundaries, in fact, are set by social agreement.*

Two dramatic illustrations of this point have received widespread attention. In 1998 researchers reported they had found almost conclusive DNA evidence that Thomas Jefferson fathered at least one child with his slave, Sally Hemings. The descendants of this union have always been considered to be Black, even though Jefferson was White and Hemings was, by the reckoning of the times, "three-fourths" White. Then in 2003, it was revealed that Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, a prominent U.S. Senator and at one time a leading segregationist, was the father of his Black housekeeper's daughter. The senator's family confirmed that the daughter, who was 78 years old in 2003, was the child of the senator, and his housekeeper was 16-years old at the time of the birth. In reporting the story, many journalists noted that African Americans and Whites are so intertwined genetically that conventional racial categories are meaningless. Such findings make clear that the apparent sharpness of racial and ethnic boundaries reflects the fact that people react to the members of these socially recognized groups in quite different, socially important ways.

The logic of this conclusion has led some students of racial and ethnic groups to argue that race is a sociopolitical rather than a scientific concept and to recommend that it be abandoned completely as a scientific term (Littlefield, Lieberman, and Reynolds 1982:644).¹⁸ It also led to a demand, primarily by interracial couples and those with multiethnic children, that people should be allowed to select one or more racial categories that reflect the complexities of their lives and heritages. Consequently, for the first

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time, the census of 2000 allowed people to check more than one racial identity on the census survey form.

Given this new option, 6.8 million of the 281.4 million Americans counted in the 2000 census marked two or more boxes or wrote a Hispanic-origin term as their second race. The most popular combination was "White" and "Some other race," which was reported by one-third of those who checked more than one race. The second most popular response was White and American Indian representing 16 percent of those reporting more than one race.

This change in the way racial information is gathered represents a radical shift away from the assumption that each individual has only one racial identity and, in Prewitt's (2002) opinion, is the greatest change in the measurement of race in the history of the United States. He believes, too, that it will take some time for the consequences of using the multiple-race category to become clear. On one hand, the use of multiple designations may increase the difficulty of interpreting the statistics on race and make it more difficult to demonstrate the existence of discrimination. Governmental agencies may adopt apparently "colorblind" policies that would permit policy makers to ignore major inequalities among racial and ethnic groups in areas such as wealth, education, health, and health care (Murguía and Forman 2003). On the other hand, the blurring of racial categories in political, legal, and social affairs, Prewitt speculates, may lead racial categories to disappear not only in the legal and political spheres but also perhaps even in the public's consciousness.

Ethnicity

Although the concept of ethnicity usually emphasizes a person's sociocultural heritage, "a biological connotation sometimes adheres still to 'ethnic'" (Petersen 1980:235),¹⁹ but even when a person's appearance or behavior is generally acknowledged to derive exclusively from culture, there is a common tendency to treat the characteristic as a fixed, all-or-none matter and to miss entirely the flexibility of the group boundaries thus created.

In addition, there is a strong tendency to create derogatory images of members of various groups, a subject that we pursue in Chapter 5. Both majority-group and minority-group members may well believe that "we" who share certain sociocultural characteristics are more honest, or skillful, or loyal, or humane than "they" who share other sociocultural traits. Such judgments about in-groups and out-groups are made with little reflection in our daily lives, and they seem to rest on hard experience and firm foundations. Even when such views are poorly founded, they nevertheless exist as social realities and guide social behavior. They also create formidable barriers to intergroup understanding and the full inclusion of minority groups within a society.

As we analyze racial and ethnic relations in America, then, we must recognize the social reality of the racial and ethnic categories that exist in our society and, simultaneously, maintain an awareness that these categories have not been imposed on us by nature. They are created by the members of social groups (even when physical traits are used as building materials) and they are subject to reconstruction. Since there is no firm

line of division between the concepts of race and ethnicity, we often use ethnicity as a general term that includes race.

Some scholars have argued that alterations in our existing racial and ethnic categories will occur naturally with the passage of time. The argument is that racial and ethnic distinctions are inherently at odds with the demands of a modern urban, scientific, society and that, consequently, "the forces of history" are against the maintenance of such distinctions. Americans generally believe that an individual's rewards and place in society should depend heavily on his or her achieved characteristics, such as educational level and occupational skill (the principle of achievement) rather than on ascribed characteristics, such as race, ethnicity, family status, sex, and age (the principle of ascription). Hence, social distinctions based on racial and ethnic differences are considered to be inconsistent with modern life and ought automatically to decline.

But if racial and ethnic distinctions have been declining, why have civil rights activities become more prominent in the United States since the 1950s? And why is it true that "Everywhere one looks, ethnic division persists" (Spickard 1989:11)? These questions suggest that we may not take for granted the idea that racial and ethnic differences automatically will decline. As a society reorganizes along new lines, numerous conflicts almost certainly will arise between dominant and subordinate groups; nevertheless, even if the process is not automatic, should not the passage of time generally lead interacting racial and ethnic groups gradually to adjust to one another and become more alike? The implications of various answers to this question must be examined in detail. We begin this examination in the next chapter.



Discussion Questions

What does it mean to be an American today?

Who wishes to be considered, and will be accepted, as full participants in American society?

How is the question of race dealt with in the assimilation process? If assimilation means becoming American, who are the non-Americans?

What kinds of interactions are occurring among the various ethnic groups in the United States?

Will ethnic and racial differences disappear with the passage of time?

To what degree are the newest immigrants assimilating?

What keeps people together in this nation and what keeps them apart?

Is there a dominant group in American society?

Why do sociologists continue to use racial and ethnic categories?



Key Ideas

1. Many people assume that the usual and normal course of Americanization requires three generations. In this view, the adult grandchild of the immigrant generally is, and should be, fully Americanized.
2. A basic sociological task is to try to understand the factors affecting whether, to what extent, and the rate at which the members of a particular group have been included within a given society.
3. Many factors may affect the rate at which different groups move toward full inclusion within a society. Some of the most important of these are (a) the attitudes and relative power of the majority and the minority, (b) whether the group's entry into the society was largely voluntary or involuntary, (c) the relative size, rate of increase, and degree of concentration of the minority, (d) the time at which the minority entered the society, (e) the cultural similarity of the majority and minority, and (f) the racial similarity of the majority and minority.
4. Several scholars have maintained that when racial or ethnic groups come into contact, a specific sequence of events is set into motion. Robert E. Park's theory, the cycle of race relations, holds that racial and ethnic contact leads to competition, accommodation, and eventual assimilation. Park's theory assumes that these processes always occur in that order. The sequence is thought to be universal, inevitable, and irreversible, ending with the disappearance as a separate group of the less powerful of the two groups.
5. Many studies of the race cycle idea found that it seemed to fit many cases, at least partially; but it also failed fully to forecast the results of intergroup contact. By the 1960s, the theory had attracted many critics and was largely discredited. Many scholars argued, for instance, that the smaller ethnic groups founded by immigrants had not merged completely with the majority group. Others argued that the process of merging was often interrupted by a resurgence of ethnic awareness, group pride, and ethnic group reconstruction. During this same period, however, a new theory, presented by Milton M. Gordon, provided the basis for an improved analysis of assimilation processes.
6. Numerous problems exist in the effort to classify people as members of specific racial and ethnic groups. The boundaries between racial and ethnic groups overlap and, in many ways, are blurred. Even though people commonly think of races, and sometimes ethnic groups, as sharply distinguishable biological entities, their boundaries are not set by nature but are set, rather, by social agreement; hence, these boundaries are flexible rather than fixed.
7. Judgments about in-groups and out-groups are made routinely and may rest on poor foundations. Such judgments, nevertheless, exist as social realities and guide social behavior. They serve as significant barriers to intergroup understanding and the inclusion of minority groups within a society.

8. Americans generally believe that an individual's place in society should not be determined by ascribed characteristics (such as race, ethnicity, or sex) but, rather, should depend on the individual's achievements; hence, an individual's rewards should be based on the principle of achievement rather the principle of ascription. To the extent that these ideas are translated into action, the ties that bind individuals to racial and ethnic groups in American society should become progressively weaker; but the history of the past four decades of the twentieth century raise questions about this view.



Key Terms

achieved characteristics Those characteristics of a person, such as his or her educational level and occupation, that may be acquired through the efforts and performance of the individual.

Americanization The accumulated changes in the culture, occupations, friendship patterns, marital patterns, and identities of those who are not Americans as they become Americans.

ascribed characteristics Those characteristics of a person that are assigned to him or her by birth, such as gender role, race, or ethnicity.

assimilation The general process through which newcomers to a group are transformed from outsiders into full members of a group or society.

assimilation process The specific, continuous changes that occur in different aspects of life as newcomers to a group are brought into the group.

congregation The concentration of a group of people within a particular area primarily because they wish to be together.

correlation The strength of the tendency of two or more variables to occur together.

cycle of race relations Robert E. Park's theory stating that when groups come into contact with each other they set into motion an inevitable and irreversible chain of events leading to intergroup competition, accommodation, and the eventual assimilation of the smaller group into the larger group.

dominant group The most powerful group within a society.

ethnolasses Subsocieties that form within ethnic groups comprised of people of similar social class position.

ethnic group A group or category of people whose inclusion in the group or category is based primarily on similarities of nationality, religion, language, or other aspects of a person's sociocultural heritage. The term also may be used more broadly to include racial groups.

ethnic pluralism A condition of intergroup adjustment in which the members of ethnic groups are successful in maintaining their preferred degrees of separation from the majority.

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ethnicity The "sense of peoplehood" shared by those who believe they are members of a given ethnic group; a person's ethnic identification.

ethnics People who are identified as members of a particular ethnic group.

ethnogenesis The social processes through which people (1) from the same geographic regions join together to form a new ethnic group within a different society; (2) revive the functions of an ethnic group that has lost all or most of its previous role; or (3) bring together in a new, broader ethnic group several groups that are thought to be related.

first generation People of foreign birth who have emigrated to the United States.

inclusion A general term used to designate all social processes that lead to the merger of a minority group with a majority group.

in-group A group of people who share certain traits and characterize themselves as "we."

majority See "dominant group."

minority See "subordinate group."

out-group The members of any group that lies beyond the circle of those who characterize themselves as "we" and are referred to as "they."

principle of achievement The belief that individuals should be rewarded on the basis of their individual efforts and performances rather than on the basis of inheritance.

principle of ascription The belief that certain inherited characteristics should determine their holder's share of society's rewards.

racial group A group or category of people whose inclusion in the group or category is based primarily on inherited physical characteristics such as skin color, hair form, and facial form.

second generation People who are born in the United States and whose parents were immigrants.

segmented assimilation The effects of the subprocesses of assimilation on the different members of a group will vary. Although a majority of the members of a group may adopt the culture of Anglo American society, some groups of immigrants may adopt the standards of other groups within the society; hence, the general pattern of assimilation for an immigrant population will not be uniform.

segregation The concentration of a group of people within a particular area primarily because the majority group has left them little choice.

subculture The patterns of culture that emerge within an ethnic group as the old-country ways are transplanted and modified through contact with the host country's culture.

subordinate group A group that is less powerful than the most powerful group in a society.

subprocesses of assimilation Specific types, levels (or components) of the general process of assimilation. The subprocesses identified by Milton M. Gordon are defined in Chapter 2.

subsocieties Social networks and formal organizations within a group that are the source of group identification and enable the group's members, if they so wish, to confine all of their primary social relationships to other group members.

third generation People who are born in the United States and whose parents are second-generation Americans.

three-generations process An intergenerational sequence through which an ethnic group loses its distinctiveness within three generations.

transnational Refers to the fact that many individuals have a sense of identity rooted in more than one society. They may live and work in the United States, but they maintain close ties with the place in which they, their parents, or their grandparents were born.



Notes

1. Social demographers estimate that a generation is approximately 25 years.
2. For instance, Farley (1966:108-214) argues that for Whites ethnicity already has lost much of its meaning and that "potentially" race also could follow this path. We explore these crucial, and explosive, questions more fully in later chapters.
3. "A convenient term for [a] sense of 'peoplehood' is 'ethnicity'" (Gordon 1964:24).
4. Suarez-Orozco refers to these ideas as the "clean break" assumption and the "uniform progress" assumption.
5. Schermerhorn (1970:98) presented a classification of migrations according to the amount of coercion involved. Slave transfers are the most coercive type.
6. Four important legal cases debated the racial issues surrounding miscegenation law (laws against interracial marriages or sexual relationships). These cases were *Kirby v. Kirby* (1922), *Estate of Monks* (1941), *Perez v. Lippold* (1948), and *Loving v. Virginia* (1967). The arguments in these cases reflected the social and scientific ideas about race that were dominant at the time (Pascoe 1996). Alba (1999a) points out that racial/ethnic boundaries blur, stretch, and move, as the current emphasis on the social construction of race implies.
7. For a comprehensive treatment of the concept of control and of its importance in sociological analysis, see Gibbs (1989).
8. Heraclitus, a scholar of ancient Greece, put it this way: "He who watches a thing grow has the best view of it."
9. An influential analysis of minority groups in terms of their goals was presented by Wirth (1945:347-372).
10. As (1) the ratio of the incoming minority to the resident population increases and (2) the influx becomes more rapid, the probability of conflict increases (Williams 1947:6-7). This viewpoint has been referred to as the visibility-discrimination hypothesis, the competition hypothesis, and the minority-size hypothesis (Burr, Galle, and Fossett 1991:833).
11. Distinctions also are made within the White group. Dark-skinned Whites are generally less acceptable to the dominant group than are Whites of lighter skin (Warner and Srole 1946:285-286).
12. This section is heavily indebted to the valuable work of Russell A. Kazal (1999).
13. *Social groups* are small aggregates of people who know one another and interact on a personal level. *Social categories* are large aggregates of people who share one, or several, social characteristics.
14. The idea that clans, tribes, nations, and races owe their resemblances to shared blood was discredited by the discoveries of Mendel and others. A person's characteristics result from the operation of separate parti-

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cles ("genes") of the germ plasm of the parents (Dobzhansky 1962:27). The genetic elements are either present or absent; they do not "mix." An element may be present within the gene structure of an individual (the genotype) but find no expression whatever in the visible characteristics of the individual (the phenotype). The unexpressed characteristic is nonetheless still there.

15. Blumenbach, an early anthropologist, appreciated this point far better than many later observers. In his words, the "innumerable varieties of mankind run into one another by insensible degrees" (Quoted by James C. King 1971:113).

16. Swedes typically are thought to be tall, long headed, blond, and blue eyed; but a study of Swedish people found that only 10.1 percent of those studied had *all four* of these

traits (Loehlin, Lindzey, and Spuhler 1975:22).

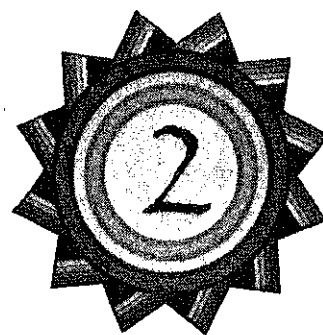
17. Linnaeus distinguished 4 races, Buffon distinguished 6, Deniker concluded there are 29, Coon et al. constructed 30, and Quatrefages listed 150 (Dunn and Dobzhansky 1964:110; Loehlin, Lindzey, and Spuhler 1975:33).

18. Among anthropologists the concept of race has been passé since the end of World War II, but some anthropologists wonder whether it should be revived (see, e.g., Keita and Kittles 1997; Mukhopadhyay and Moses 1997; Visweswaran 1998).

19. "Ethnic" comes from the Greek *ethnikos*, meaning a nation or race, and "nation" comes from the Latin *nasci*, meaning "to be born"; hence, both ethnicity and nationality are derived from terms that originally referred to a group's biological heritage (Petersen 1980:234).

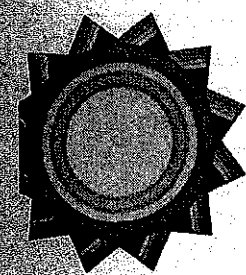
Together or Apart?

Some Competing Views



The process of assimilation is complex. Some people favor a complete merger of the majority and the minority. Others advocate lower levels of merger. Defining a group's goals allows for a better understanding of what assimilation means to them.





They must cast off the European skin, never to resume it. They must look forward to their posterity rather than backward to their ancestors.

—John Quincy Adams

America is God's crucible. The great melting pot where all the races of Europe are melting and reforming!

—Israel Zangwill

Thus "American civilization" may come to mean the perfection of the cooperative harmonies of "European civilization" . . . a multiplicity in a unity, an orchestration of mankind.

—Horace Kallen

The Indians are not willing to come to live near to the English. . . . A place must be found somewhere remote from the English, where they must have the word constantly taught, and government constantly exercised.

—John Eliot

We saw in Chapter 1 that the path immigrant groups generally are thought to travel as they move from the status of foreigners to that of Americans is supposed to be completed in about three generations. We saw, too, that Robert E. Park's theory of assimilation is consistent with this view but that Milton Gordon's theory includes the possibility that cultural assimilation may not lead to other forms of assimilation. Gordon's theory does agree, however, that if the assimilation of a group reaches a certain point, the completion of the assimilation process becomes inevitable. Park's and Gordon's theories, and assimilation theories in general, are consistent with the idea that as ethnic differences decline the society's underlying order and unity rest increasingly on agreements concerning values and norms among the different groups. For this reason, assimilation theories generally are referred to as consensus or order theories.

We also noted in Chapter 1 that people who enter U.S. society voluntarily ordinarily have different experiences and goals than those who enter involuntarily. Involuntary inclusion (the inclusion of slaves, for example) is likely to be accompanied by much more conflict between groups than is voluntary inclusion; hence, if one group lives involuntarily in the same territory with another for three or more generations, the result may be high levels of intergroup tension and disunity rather than order and consensus. Theories predicting that intergroup association over long periods of time will generate lasting hostility are examples of conflict theory.

Conflict theorists attack assimilation theories for (1) giving insufficient attention to the power differences and social conflicts that exist among racial and ethnic groups, (2) confusing the idea of assimilation as an historical reality or matter of fact with the idea

of assimilation as a desirable condition that groups should work to achieve, (3) being inapplicable to the experiences in America of non-Whites and those who have entered the society involuntarily, and (4) recommending or requiring that people sacrifice their individuality and group heritage. These and other criticisms have stimulated the development of a number of alternative theories that we will discuss at pertinent places throughout the book. The most important of these alternatives for our purpose is the theory of internal colonialism. This theory plays an important role in our discussions of the experiences of African Americans, Mexican Americans, and Native Americans.¹

The implications of the major ideas introduced so far must be examined in much greater detail. We begin with a brief discussion of the subprocesses of assimilation described by Gordon (1964). To illustrate the ideas being presented, we refer to certain events drawn from the early colonial period of American history; in so doing, we make certain statements concerning colonial American society that will be discussed further in Chapter 3. We also present a brief summary of the main features of Gordon's theory of assimilation subprocesses.



Subprocesses of Assimilation

The European "discovery" of the Western Hemisphere near the end of the fifteenth century was followed by a long period of competition among several European nations for control of the land and resources of the new territories. By the time the English established their first successful colonies in Jamestown, Virginia (1607) and Plymouth, Massachusetts (1620), the Spanish and Portuguese had been colonizing the New World for more than a century; the Spanish had already established permanent settlements in what are now Florida, New Mexico, and California. All of the territories claimed and occupied by these and other European powers had been held previously by various indigenous "Indian" peoples. As the Jamestown and Plymouth colonies expanded—by armed conquest and other techniques—the English became the dominant or occupying group in an increasingly large territory. The Native Americans gradually were forced either to retreat to lands that the English did not occupy or, if they wished to be included in English colonial society, to remain where they were on terms set by the English.

This process of expansion and domination by the English led, in time, to the seizure of New Netherland, which had been established earlier by the Dutch. New Amsterdam (1626) became New York (1664), giving the English tentative control of a strip of coastal territory stretching from Massachusetts to Virginia. During the next three decades, the mainly English population of this still-expanding territory became much larger in size, gained a stronger grip on the land, and came increasingly to think of itself as comprised of "Americans." As this sense of "Americanness" developed, the established Anglo Americans drew sharper lines between themselves and more recent newcomers, whom they regarded as "foreigners."

These considerations support a very important point: *By the last quarter of the seventeenth century, the Anglo Americans had become established as the "native" group along*

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the Atlantic seaboard from Massachusetts to Virginia. Now, obviously, this statement does not mean the Anglo Americans were natives in exactly the same sense as the Indians. Anglo Americans who were born in the colonies were natives in the literal sense of the word—America was their native land; but, unlike the Indians, they had not been on the land before the European invasion began. They and their ancestors had displaced the Indians as the principal occupants of the land and had established their own ways of living as dominant. In this way, the Anglo Americans established their culture and institutions as the basic elements of American life. From their perspective, then, the more nearly a person approximated the Anglo American pattern the more nearly "American" he or she was judged to be.²

Let us examine more closely "the Anglo American pattern" and attempt to describe some of its component parts. Consider, for instance, some of the main features of Anglo American culture. English was the accepted language, and foreigners were expected to learn and use it; Protestant religious ideas were dominant, and non-Protestant practices were discouraged; and the system of law and government that was being established throughout the territory clearly was imported from England, as was the system of business practices that was established. It is true, of course, that various non-English elements were being added to the culture of the Anglo Americans. Many foods, planting practices, hunting methods, and other knowledge that were crucial to survival in North America were being borrowed from the Native Americans; and many other cultural items were being contributed by other groups. Dutch place names, for example, already had supplanted Native American names in some parts of New York and continue to be used there even now. Moreover, many aspects of English culture had been affected by the "long intimate and cranky relationship" (Tuchman 1988:57) that had existed between the English and the Dutch prior to 1664; and, in addition to the Dutch, New Amsterdam contained people of Swedish, French, Portuguese, Jewish, Spanish, Norwegian, Polish, Danish, African, German, and several other ethnicities when the English arrived there.³ Given this diversity, the culture of the Anglo Americans was no longer identical to that of the English. In its major contours and social structure, nevertheless, it was distinctively English.

Within this context, we may say that if the Native Americans or the Dutch or the members of the many other groups that already were present in the English colonies abandoned their previous cultural practices and took up those of the colonists, they were undergoing a form of cultural assimilation. In this case the term refers to the subprocess of assimilation through which the members of a subordinate group gradually relinquish their own culture and, *at the same time*, acquire that of the dominant group.⁴ Since this subprocess of inclusion involves the *substitution* of one heritage and behavior pattern for another, we will refer to it as *cultural assimilation by substitution*. We also will examine cases of cultural assimilation in which the subordinate group keeps most, or a significant portion, of its own heritage (McFee 1972). In those cases we will use the term *cultural assimilation by addition*. Obviously, when this type of cultural assimilation occurs, the subordinate group remains distinguishable.

The complete merging of one group into another requires more, however, than cultural assimilation by substitution. It also requires what Gordon calls structural assimilation, which focuses on the type of human relationships sociologists call *primary relationships*. These relationships are predominant within families, friendship groups, and

"social" clubs but are not typical of relationships at work, in schools, in commercial transactions, at political meetings, and in places of public recreation. The latter are called **secondary relationships**.

Our analysis will be aided greatly by dividing Gordon's structural assimilation into two subprocesses, one for social settings in which secondary relationships are paramount and one for settings in which primary relationships are paramount. **Secondary structural assimilation** refers to equal-status relationships between subordinate- and dominant-group members in the public sphere. **Primary structural assimilation** refers to close, personal interactions between subordinate- and dominant-group members in the private sphere.⁵

The next step of ethnic assimilation to be included in our analysis is **marital assimilation**. This subprocess refers to the gradual merging of subordinate and dominant groups through intermarriage. In many cases, merging takes place directly as members of the dominant group marry partners from various subordinate groups; often, however, it takes place less directly as out-group marriages occur between the members of more or less assimilated groups.⁶ To continue our previous illustration, the Native Americans, Africans, Dutch, and others could be considered fully assimilated at the most personal levels of association only when friendships and marriages among these groups and the dominant group were taking place without regard to racial or ethnic distinctions.

Even groups within which high levels of intermarriage exist, however, still may not be merged in several important respects. People whose parents or more distant ancestors came to America from another country—for instance Germany or Ireland or Italy—may continue to consider themselves to be in some degree German or Irish or Italian even though they were born in America and never lived in the ancestral homeland; or members of the dominant group may continue to think of the descendants of these groups as in some way not yet fully "American." Until the members of both the majority and the minority share the view that they are part of the same ethnic group **identificational assimilation** is incomplete. Moreover, when the descendants of immigrants think of themselves or are perceived by members of the majority as retaining in some measure a foreign identity, majority and minority members may feel prejudice toward one another and may discriminate against one another. Although there is widespread agreement that the term *prejudice* refers to an attitude, it has been argued that an attitude concerning a person or group should be considered a prejudice only if it is a judgment that is not based on fact or experience. Similarly, most people agree that the term *discrimination* refers to an overt action, but it is used by some to refer only to actions that spring from prejudice. And, although these terms generally connote an unfavorable attitude or action, they are sometimes also used to refer to attitudes and actions that are favorable to a particular person or group. In short, there are no precise or universally accepted definitions of prejudice and discrimination. For our purposes **prejudice** is an unfavorable attitude toward people because they are members of a particular racial or ethnic group and **discrimination** is an unfavorable action toward people because they are members of a particular racial or ethnic group. Both prejudice and discrimination may vary by degrees and, therefore, their levels may range from extremely high to extremely low.⁷

The presence or continuation of prejudice and discrimination against the members of another group or their descendants shows that a *complete* merger of the groups has not

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occurred and that some further assimilation is possible. Gordon refers to the subprocess through which intergroup prejudice disappears as *attitude receptional assimilation* and to the subprocess through which discrimination disappears as *behavior receptional assimilation*. But even the disappearance of ethnic prejudice and discrimination does not mark the complete merger of the groups. There may still remain conflicts between the groups over values and power; and only the elimination of these remnants of group differences results in *civic assimilation*, which, in Gordon's terms, means that the separate groups now have become one group. Those who previously were English or Native American or Dutch or Irish are now simply "Americans."

For the present, we list eight subprocesses of assimilation that may lead to a situation in which subordinate and dominant groups become indistinguishable from one another: (1) cultural assimilation by substitution,⁸ (2) secondary structural assimilation, (3) primary structural assimilation, (4) marital assimilation, (5) identificational assimilation, (6) attitude receptional assimilation, (7) behavior receptional assimilation, and (8) civic assimilation. We generally refer to the third and fourth subprocesses simply as secondary and primary assimilation and to the sixth and seventh subprocesses as attitudinal and behavioral assimilation. Note that in the list *secondary assimilation appears ahead of primary assimilation*. The reasoning is that since in modern societies people typically meet and interact with one another in impersonal settings before they become close friends, secondary assimilation into jobs, schools, political parties, elected offices, and neighborhoods might be expected to precede primary assimilation.

Our discussion takes place primarily at the group level and, therefore, refers to the effects of the subprocesses of assimilation on the majority of the members of the various groups. In reality, the assimilation of some members of each group, for different reasons, will diverge from the group's average. Instead of adopting the culture of the Anglo American group or "mainstream," some individuals adopt the standards of other groups within the society. The resulting pattern is one of *segmented assimilation* rather than uniform assimilation. The meaning and value of these distinctions will become progressively clearer as we move through our analysis.



Gordon's Theory of Assimilation Subprocesses

In the theory embodying these ideas and concepts, all of the eight subprocesses contained in our list may occur simultaneously and "may take place in varying degrees" (Gordon 1964:71); however, the rate of change expected at each level depends on its place in the list; hence, cultural assimilation by substitution should proceed more rapidly than secondary assimilation, and so on through the list; however, the various subprocesses do not identify distinct and inevitable stages of assimilation. According to Gordon's theory, as noted in Chapter 1, *a group may assimilate culturally without necessarily proceeding through the remaining levels of assimilation*. The condition of "cultural assimilation only" may "continue indefinitely" (Gordon 1964:77). Past a certain point,

however, assimilation in all respects becomes inevitable. The crucial point in the process for Gordon is *the formation of primary group relations*. Once the minority group enters "into the social cliques, clubs, and institutions of the core society at the primary group level," marital assimilation will follow. As marital assimilation advances, identificational assimilation will take place, intergroup prejudice and discrimination will decline, and, eventually, "the descendants of the original minority group become indistinguishable" from the majority group (Gordon 1964:80).⁹ To summarize, Gordon's theory of assimilation subprocesses states (or implies) the following:

1. Each type (subprocess) of assimilation occurs at a different rate, though all of the types may be occurring simultaneously in some degree. Cultural assimilation by substitution occurs most rapidly, followed, in order, by secondary assimilation, primary assimilation, marital assimilation, identificational assimilation, attitudinal assimilation, behavioral assimilation, and civic assimilation.
2. The movement of interacting groups through the various steps toward a full merger, however, is not inevitable. A group may complete cultural assimilation only or cultural assimilation and secondary assimilation only without completing the remaining subprocesses. It may remain at the level of either cultural assimilation or secondary assimilation indefinitely, provided primary assimilation does not occur.
3. If primary assimilation does occur, marital assimilation, then identificational assimilation, attitudinal assimilation, behavioral assimilation, and civic assimilation are inevitable.

These ideas permit us to delineate more sharply the degrees and types of assimilation that have occurred, have not occurred, or are occurring between a given dominant group and any given subordinate group. If we compare the Native Americans and Dutch, for example, we may now say that although most of the Anglo Americans expected these ethnically distinctive peoples who lived among them to undertake cultural assimilation by substitution, this task posed greater problems for the Native Americans than for the Dutch. For one thing, the "distance" between the ideas, beliefs, manners, and physical appearance of the Native Americans and those of the Anglo Americans was far greater than the distance between the Anglo Americans and the Dutch; so for Native Americans cultural assimilation (if they chose to undertake it) involved greater change. For another thing, and partly as a consequence of cultural differences and similarities, the dominant group was more willing to accept the members of some groups than of others; so from the beginning as a group the Dutch were more acceptable to Anglo Americans than were the Native Americans.

These same considerations apply to the ease or difficulty with which secondary assimilation occurred among Native Americans. Any efforts they might have made to participate in the schools, jobs, or public life of American communities may well have been met by rejection and hostility; and, in many cases, they were expected to remain on reservations or beyond the frontier of settlement. Even more emphatically, primary assimilation and marital assimilation generally were opposed actively. The White, Protestant, European, Dutch, on the other hand, faced no insuperable barriers to a steady



movement through the remaining levels of assimilation. Even so, we must conclude—in direct opposition to the three-generations idea—that many of the Dutch did *not* move through all of the subprocesses within three generations and, also, that many did not wish to do so. Even though the Anglo Americans and the Dutch were able to understand one another fairly easily and to establish many forms of cooperation, the Dutch language was maintained in some families far beyond three generations, as were preferences for Dutch friends and marriage partners.

In addition to various concepts and a theory of assimilation, Gordon also presented a description of three systems of belief (or ideologies) concerning assimilation. *An understanding of these ideologies is crucial to our analysis of the processes through which groups come together, partially or completely, or remain apart.* It is also important that in passing we note a problem that lies at the center of many debates but that raises issues going far beyond our present concerns. Our discussion necessarily involves considerations of both (1) the beliefs different people hold concerning how the ethnic groups of our society *ought* to relate to one another and (2) the beliefs that are presented in competing theories that are meant to *explain the actual relationships* that now exist, have existed, or may exist between the various groups. The problem is that although it is easy to state the distinction between these two matters, it is by no means easy (some would say impossible) to maintain it in our thinking.

The assimilationist ideologies and antiassimilationist ideologies we will discuss are intended to be statements of the first type, that is, sets of beliefs concerning what various people think *ought* to be; but these sets of beliefs also afford valuable frameworks within which to organize the evidence that people use to help them decide whether interethnic relations are getting better, worse, or remaining the same, and, beyond that, to reach decisions concerning the kinds of actions or social policies that might be of value in the effort to change the way ethnic groups relate to each other. Additionally, many of the concepts comprising these statements also appear as elements of the theories that are constructed to help us understand the realities of social life.

With these points in mind, we turn now to a consideration of the ideologies of assimilation outlined by Gordon.



Three Ideologies of Assimilation

The Anglo-Conformity Ideology

We have said that from the standpoint of the Anglo American ethnic group in colonial America, an American was someone who fitted exactly (or closely resembled) the pattern of life, standards of behavior, and racial type the Anglo Americans preferred. He or she spoke English, was of a Protestant religious persuasion, was of the so-called White physical type, had an English surname, and practiced the customs, behavior, and manners of the Anglo Americans. This definition of the term *American* fostered the idea that to assimilate into Anglo American society foreign individuals and groups should accept the society and merge completely into it. This belief has been labeled the Anglo-conformity ideology of assimilation.¹⁰

From this perspective Native Americans and Africans were considered to be racially non-White and *could never satisfy all of the requirements of complete assimilation even if they were disposed to try*. Although the dominant group exerted pressure on all subordinate groups to adopt Anglo conformity, only the members of White ethnic groups were considered eligible candidates for full inclusion into the society. The members of non-White groups who conformed to the expectations of the dominant group by adopting the Anglo American culture still were not permitted, as a rule, to move freely into the economic and political life of the Anglo Americans, let alone into their private social gatherings and families. Anglo-conformity assimilation, therefore, always has been more difficult for non-Whites than for Whites.

But any individual or group wishing to complete Anglo-conformity assimilation must go beyond intermarriage. They also must think of themselves only as Americans and give their undivided allegiance to the United States. They must no longer be the objects of prejudice and discrimination by the majority or harbor prejudicial thoughts or engage in discriminatory actions directed toward the majority. Finally, their group must no longer be engaged in conflicts with the majority over values or power. These points are summarized in Table 2.1.

We note again that in the **Anglo-conformity model** cultural assimilation occurs by the *substitution* of the majority-group's culture for the native culture rather than by the *addition* of the former to the latter. In a slightly moderated form of Anglo conformity, some vestiges of the native culture may be acceptable to the majority group and may even be viewed as positive characteristics. These cultural remnants include things such as special holiday celebrations, ethnic foods and recipes, and folk costumes, dances, and songs. These elements may, in fact, become a part of the dominant culture. In any case, the minority's members exhibit a very high degree of secondary assimilation in education, occupations, places of residence, political participation, and mass recreation (i.e., in the *public sphere* of secondary relations), and they participate little or not at all in activities organized specifically for members of their own ethnic group (i.e., the *private sphere* of secondary relations). Intergroup friendships and marriages take place without regard to ethnicity, and ethnic prejudice, discrimination, and conflict over values and power are no longer problems.

This **model of assimilation** represents a mental image of the ideal solutions the members of any group—majority or minority—may prefer to the problems of intergroup relations. The Anglo-conformity model describes a set of ideal goals or *standards* toward which out-group members may elect, or be expected, to move. Those who accept this model may measure any given group's "progress" in American society by comparing the group's actual location in regard to each subprocess of assimilation to the ideals set forth in the model.

The general argument presented so far is that the English colonial efforts during the seventeenth century created an Anglicized version of *the very meaning of the word "American"* and that Anglo conformity was established tentatively as the accepted way for outsiders to achieve full inclusion. Those who championed this view looked down on members of any group who departed very much from the Anglo American ideal or who appeared not to wish to become Americans. Using Anglo conformity as the ideal, groups could be graded as more or less desirable according to how closely they

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TABLE 2.1 Anglo-Conformity Model

Group	Goals Concerning Assimilation
	Cultural
Majority and minority	Both groups agree that the minority will give up its culture and substitute the dominant culture. The minority's cultural distinctions will gradually disappear.
	Secondary
Majority and minority	Both groups agree that the minority will be accepted as equals in the educational, occupational, residential, and mass recreational spheres of society. The minority's separate secondary structures will gradually disappear.
	Primary
Majority and minority	Both groups agree that the other group's members will be accepted as close friends and members of their primary groups. The selection of friends primarily from their own group will gradually be discontinued.
	Marital
Majority and minority	Both groups agree that the other group's members will be accepted as marriage partners. They will gradually discontinue selecting partners primarily from their own ethnic group until mate selection will occur without regard to ethnicity.
	Identificational
Majority and minority	Both groups agree that the minority will accept the general society they are entering as their society. They will identify completely with it and give it their undivided loyalty.
	Attitudinal
Majority and minority	Both groups agree that they should drop all prejudices toward one another and learn to judge one another's members as individuals rather than as representatives of different groups.
	Behavioral
Majority and minority	Both groups agree that they should not discriminate against one another's members and should learn to judge one another's members in terms of their individual merits and achievements.
	Civic
Majority and minority	Both groups agree that the individual members of the two groups should participate on an equal footing in the civic life of the community. As the minority is assimilated into the majority, no basis will remain for intergroup conflict over power or values.

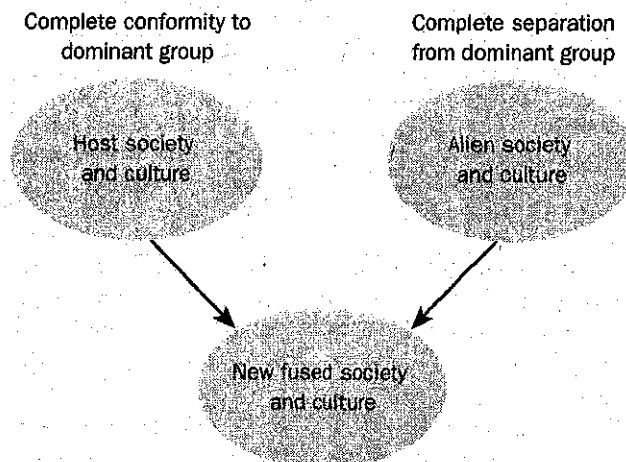
resembled the Anglo American pattern at the outset, how rapidly they departed from their own cultural and social patterns, and how "successfully" they came to resemble the Anglo Americans. From this viewpoint, American nationality did not arise as "a blending of all the people" in the colonies; an "American" was a modified Englishman" (Schwarz 1995:62).

This view of Americanization was not accepted by all members of the dominant group, of course; but by the end of the first century of English colonization, it had become paramount. Its continued force into the second century of colonization depended on the continuing dominance of the Anglo American group itself, and that dominance was threatened in some ways we will discuss in Chapter 3. We turn first to two other major assimilationist alternatives to the ideology of Anglo conformity. The first of these to develop in American society was the ideology of the melting pot.

The Melting-Pot Ideology

In 1783, J. Hector St. John Crèvecoeur ([1782]1976:25-26) asked, "What, then, is the American, this new man?" and proposed the following answer: "He is neither a European nor the descendant of a European. . . . Here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men." The basic belief lying behind the melting-pot ideology is that the culture and society of each ethnic group should be blended with the culture and society of the host group to produce a new and different culture and society. The melting-pot model is depicted in Figure 2.1.

As is true of Anglo conformity, the melting-pot view embraces the idea that minority groups in America should become indistinguishable from the majority. It adds to Anglo conformity, however, the further idea that the host culture and society also will "melt" so that the new society will reflect the proportionate influences of the groups that have gone into its making. The melting-pot ideology is thoroughly assimilationist but rejects the idea that the Anglo American core should remain as it was before assimilation occurred. Although a complete merger of groups would occur under this model of assimilation, as in the Anglo-conformity model, the Anglo American core also would be substantially changed. Advocates of this ideology believe the new host society resulting



**FIGURE 2.1 A Model of Assimilation:
The Melting Pot**
(Arrows indicate the preferred direction of
social and cultural change)

from the blend of the previously separate groups would be most consistent with the fundamental ideals of the United States.

The Ideology of Cultural Pluralism

Although the idea of cultural pluralism is quite old in American thought, its formulation as an explicit ideology is usually traced to the writings of the Jewish philosopher Horace Kallen (Gordon 1964:141; Meister 1974:53-61; Newman 1973:67). Beginning in 1915, Kallen attacked the idea that it was necessary for ethnic groups to give up their distinctive cultures or lose their distinctiveness in order to be *completely* American. Kallen argued in favor of an **ideology of cultural pluralism** based on the belief that the members of every American ethnic group should be free to participate in all of the society's major institutions (e.g., schools, jobs, politics) while simultaneously retaining or elaborating their own ethnic heritage.

In Kallen's view, neither the Anglo-conformity nor the melting-pot ideologies outlined acceptable goals for America. True Americanism, he thought, required us to protect and nurture the various distinctive cultures that exist within the United States. Unlike the other two assimilationist ideologies we have discussed, which assume (or hope) that intergroup relations will end in a merger in which the distinctive groups become indistinguishable, pluralist ideology is based on the idea that the members of minority groups should be accepted as *completely Americanized and assimilated without being required to disappear as distinctive groups*. Since groups may remain more or less distinctive, depending on how fully they assimilate in terms of each of the eight subprocesses of assimilation, many different models of pluralism may be visualized.

We use the **model of cultural pluralism** summarized in Table 2.2 as our reference point in this book. Here we see that the minority group's members exhibit a very high degree of cultural assimilation but possess a distinctive heritage for use within the group. They are bilingual and bicultural. Cultural assimilation has occurred through the *addition* of the majority's culture to the minority's culture rather than by the *substitution* of the former for the latter. The differences of the majority and minority are mutually accepted and respected. The minority's members exhibit a very high degree of structural assimilation in education, occupations, places of residence, political participation, and mass recreation (i.e., desegregation in the *public sphere*); but they also remain very highly segregated in the religious, health care, welfare, and "social" recreational activities of their ethnic group (i.e., the "ethnic group" or *private sphere* of secondary relations). Ethnic preferences remain important factors in the choice of friends and marriage partners, and minority group members maintain a high level of ethnic pride while, simultaneously, giving their primary allegiance to the overall society. Intergroup prejudices and discrimination still exist but are subdued. Majority and minority groups have equal civil standing, and intergroup conflicts over values or power are expressed entirely through the established legal and political framework of the society (Gordon 1964:158).¹¹

The goals of some versions of cultural pluralism include the acceptance of the Anglo American culture as the "standard" pattern of the country but present a *different*

TABLE 2.2 A Model of Cultural Pluralism

Group	Goals Concerning Assimilation
	Cultural
Majority and minority	Both groups agree that the minority will accept and practice the culture of the majority; however, the minority will retain and elaborate a large portion of its own cultural heritage. The cultural assimilation of the minority will occur through the <i>addition</i> of the dominant culture to the minority culture rather than through the <i>substitution</i> of the former for the latter.
	Secondary
Majority and minority	Both groups agree that the minority will be accepted as equals in the educational, occupational, residential, and mass recreational spheres of society. Members of the minority will be free to choose whether to enter fully into the secondary structures of the majority or to live mainly within separate secondary structures.
	Primary
Majority and minority	Both groups agree that although the other group's members will be acceptable as close friends and members of their primary groups, each group nonetheless will select friends primarily from within their own group and intergroup friendships will not be actively encouraged.
	Marital
Majority and minority	Both groups agree that they will select marriage partners primarily from within their own group and intergroup marriages will be less prevalent.
	Identificational
Majority and minority	Both groups agree that the minority will accept the general society they are entering as their own, will give it their primary allegiance, and will derive their main ethnic identification from it; however, it is agreed that if they wish to, minority group members may also continue a secondary identification with their own group and its heritage.
	Attitudinal
Majority and minority	Both groups agree that they should drop all prejudices toward one another and learn to judge one another's members as individuals rather than as representatives of different groups. Each group, nevertheless, will encourage its members to take pride in their own group, its heritage, and their membership in it.
	Behavioral
Majority and minority	Both groups agree that they should not discriminate against one another's members and should learn to judge one another's members in terms of their individual merits and achievements. Each group, nevertheless, is free to give special recognition to exceptional achievements by its members.
	Civic
Majority and minority	Both groups agree that the individual members of the two groups should participate on an equal footing in the civic life of the community. All conflicts between the groups over power or values must be solved through peaceful, legal, and democratic processes.



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model of intergroup merger—one that rejects Anglo conformity and the melting pot but emphatically accepts the desirability of complete Americanization. It is vital to grasp the idea that from this perspective, if a group were to achieve the goals outlined here, it would have completed the requirements of assimilation. Its members would be viewed *as being as completely American as if they had lost their distinctiveness in accordance with the goals of Anglo conformity or the melting pot*. Advocates of this view wish to be an integral part of the society's cultural, educational, occupational, and political mainstream.¹²

Those who favor pluralism, Anglo conformity, or the melting pot specify different degrees and methods of intergroup merger while envisioning high levels of similarity and cooperation in regard to the mainstream of the culture and society. Both pluralists and Anglo conformists expect high levels of assimilation along the cultural dimension (though differing on whether it is desirable for this to occur by addition or by substitution) and in the public sphere of secondary assimilation. The aim of the pluralist model is to show that individuals and groups may become "one hundred percent Americans" without following the paths of Anglo conformity or the melting pot. Pluralists believe that high levels of societal unity and harmony are consistent with the maintenance of ethnic diversity in the cultural, personal, and marital arenas.

Since pluralism offers a broader range of possible models than either Anglo conformity or the melting pot, it also raises a major question: How much diversity is compatible with national unity? Many people who wish to live in a culturally diverse society may reject the model of cultural pluralism we have described as containing a dangerous degree of separation; hence, they may prefer a model of pluralism in which the groups may be distinguishable but nevertheless be more nearly alike in some respects than we have outlined.



An Antiassimilationist View: Blauner's Theory of Internal Colonialism

The models of assimilation we have described assume that as time passes the members of dominant and subordinate groups become more nearly alike in various respects, while the intensity of interethnic conflict declines. The models assume, too, that when conflict does arise it generally will be settled peacefully through negotiation, the courts, and the political process. Many theorists believe such views are unrealistic and, especially, that they ignore or downplay the long-term effects on people's social position and motivations of being forced to enter a society. You may easily imagine that when people are enslaved or conquered by the members of another group, their overriding reaction is to resist the dominant group, overthrow it, or try to escape from it rather than to strive to become a part of it.

To gain some appreciation of the importance of this point, consider the situation of the groups in Africa who were conquered as various European countries divided up the continent among themselves. Blauner (1972) has noted that in contrast to the more

or less voluntary movement of the immigrant minorities to America, the colonized minorities of Africa generally were indigenous to the areas in which they resided and were forced to "join" the society of the colonizers. Furthermore, the colonized minorities of Africa typically were not numerical minorities. They had less power, of course, which is why we call them minorities; but by sheer weight of numbers they have been in a better position than immigrant minorities to maintain and elaborate their cultures in the face of the dominant group's efforts to establish its own culture as the only acceptable one (Blauner 1972:53).

The economic situation of the colonized minorities of Africa also has differed noticeably from that of the immigrant minorities in America. Although the American immigrant minorities usually have had to take whatever kind of work they could get, at least initially, they frequently have been able to move on to something more desirable and to exercise some degree of choice in what they would accept. Even their first jobs were likely to be ones that some Anglo Americans were doing or had done recently. The complaint that "they" are undercutting us economically and are taking "our" jobs away has been heard monotonously in America. But this kind of labor difficulty did not arise in the African colonies. There the indigenous populations usually were required to engage in only the hardest, most menial kinds of tasks. The better jobs were reserved for members of the dominant group. Ordinarily, the opportunity to move around and compete freely with the members of the dominant group did not exist or was very limited (Blauner 1972:55).

Under these conditions, the colonized minorities in Africa did not usually come to think of themselves as French or Dutch or English, and they did not typically move into the mainstream of the dominant group's social life. Instead, the colonized minorities of Africa looked forward to the day when the European invaders could be annihilated or forced to leave and return to their own countries. When these circumstances are viewed within the context of Park's race-cycle theory, we see that race relations were not characterized by a steady movement forward out of the stage of accommodation into the final stages of assimilation. Rather, it was primarily a back-and-forth movement between the stage of accommodation and the prior stage of conflict. In its main or "classical" form, which was witnessed repeatedly in Africa after World War II, this oscillation continued until the dominant White group, in most instances, was thrown out of power and the previously colonized minorities became majorities. In many of these cases large numbers of the dominant White group fled or were driven out of the country. The final stage of relations between dominant Europeans and colonized Africans, then, was a conflict (usually violent) followed by separation rather than an accommodation followed by assimilation. With these points in mind, Blauner (1994:159) argued that "the communities of color in America share essential conditions with Third World nations abroad: economic underdevelopment, a heritage of colonialism and neocolonialism, and a lack of real political autonomy and power." Blauner added that colonization has taken different forms in the history of different American ethnic groups and that variations in time, place, and the manner of colonialization have affected the character of racial domination and the responses of the dominated group.

The three American ethnic groups that best illustrate the colonial model are American Indians, African Americans, and Mexican Americans. As we shall see, the his-

history of American Indians since 1492 clearly illustrates the consequences for indigenous peoples that follow being overrun by invaders and forcibly drawn into a society through conquest. The history of African Americans clearly illustrates the consequences for people of being subjected to a rigid system of slavery; and the history of Mexican Americans presents a complicated mixture of the consequences that may arise from both colonization and immigration. We consider these issues more fully in later chapters.

Our discussion of assimilation theory provides the basis for a description of three assimilationist ideologies—Anglo conformity, the melting pot, and cultural pluralism—that outline alternative goals for groups that are, through time, moving toward the creation of a single group. We turn now to a description of two antiassimilationist ideologies that draw their inspiration from conflict theories such as the theory of internal colonialism. While assimilation theories forecast some form of intergroup merger between majorities and minorities, conflict theories forecast that colonized minorities, and perhaps others as well, either will remain substantially apart from the majority for an indefinite period of time or will withdraw from the society altogether.



Two Antiassimilationist Ideologies: Separatism and Secessionism

We noted that the model of cultural pluralism we have outlined is only one of many possible versions of pluralism. We now consider an ideology that represents the view of pluralists who desire a still higher degree of separation than that described so far. Some pluralists suggest that separate school systems, separate economies, and even separate states or autonomous regions within the United States should be established. They may believe also that whenever such separate institutions cannot be organized, the rights of the minority should be legally protected through the establishment of proportionate quotas in schools, jobs, and political offices. Pluralists of this type may object to the idea that only members of minority groups should be bilingual. Perhaps English should not be the general language in all parts of the country or within every institutional setting; and perhaps the members of the majority should also be expected to be bilingual. Equality of results, not of opportunity, is the goal.¹³ We will simplify the problem of discussing innumerable possible pluralisms by distinguishing only one other model of pluralism as a contrast to cultural pluralism. Our second model emphasizes separation and is generally antiassimilationist in tone and intent.

For our purposes, in a society having pluralism of this second type only some members of the group master the dominant culture and become bilingual and bicultural. Among these, cultural assimilation takes place by *addition* rather than by *substitution*. Both groups formally accept the culture of the other but strive nevertheless to restrain its influence. The minority's members exhibit a low degree of secondary assimilation in both the *public* and *private* social spheres. Their education, occupations, places of residence, political participation, recreation, religious observances, and health and welfare

activities are separated from those of the broader society insofar as that is possible within the framework of a single society. The minority's members are legally protected against coercive efforts to force them to assimilate in any respect. *Each group's share of public offices and benefits depends on the group's relative size.*

Out-group friendships are strongly discouraged by both groups, and out-group marriage is strongly discouraged. The minority's members think of themselves primarily as members of their original group and only nominally as members of the broader society. Strong feelings of prejudice exist between the majority and minority, acts of discrimination between the majority and minority are common, and conflicts concerning differences in power and values frequently lead to intergroup violence. Since this second form of pluralism espouses a high degree of separation in the cultural, public, and social lives of the dominant and subordinate groups, we will refer to it as the ideology of separatism or simply as separatism. Our separatist model is summarized in Table 2.3.

Please note, however, that separatism in this sense still is not based on a desire to bring about a complete separation. A separatist view that advocates a group's complete separation or withdrawal from the society is called an ideology of secession. Secession is well illustrated by the withdrawal of the southern states from the United States in 1861 and by the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991.

Our discussion has attempted to show that the ideology of pluralism embraces varying degrees of merger and separation. One view proposes a form of pluralism that is decidedly assimilationist in tone and intent. Even though this, the cultural, form of pluralism contains certain separatist elements, these are present mainly in the sphere of private relations. Advocates of this kind of separateness emphasize that it does not detract from the unity of the nation but instead, by permitting different racial and ethnic

Table 2.3 A Model of Separatism

Group	Goals Concerning Assimilation
	Cultural
Majority	The majority expects the minority to adopt and practice the culture of the majority.
Minority	The minority adopts and practices the culture of the majority only insofar as is necessary for survival. The minority practices and elaborates its own culture insofar as is permitted.
	Secondary
Majority	The majority will not accept the members of the minority as equals in the educational, occupational, residential, political, and mass recreational spheres of society.
Minority	The minority attempts to participate in the secondary institutions of the majority only insofar as is necessary to survive. The minority elaborates and lives mainly within its own secondary structures. It struggles to reduce the influence of the majority on minority members' lives.

Table

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Table 2.3 Continued

Group	Goals Concerning Assimilation
	Primary
Majority	The majority does not consider the minority group's members to be acceptable as close friends and members of the majority's primary groups.
Minority	The minority does not consider the majority group's members to be acceptable as close friends and members of the minority's primary groups.
	Marital
Majority	The majority does not consider the minority group's members to be acceptable as marriage partners. Inter marriage is strongly discouraged, often through legal prohibitions and other barriers.
Minority	The minority does not consider the majority group's members to be acceptable as marriage partners. Inter marriage is strongly discouraged.
	Identificational
Majority	The majority expects the minority to accept the general society as their own, to identify themselves primarily in terms of it, and to give it their undivided loyalty.
Minority	The minority identifies primarily with its own group and grants the general society only limited allegiance and loyalty.
	Attitudinal
Majority	The majority maintains a high level of prejudice toward the members of the minority and disapproves of any majority member who expresses tolerant views toward the minority.
Minority	The minority maintains a high level of prejudice toward the members of the majority and disapproves of any minority member who expresses tolerant views toward the majority.
	Behavioral
Majority	Majority group members often discriminate against minority group members. Many forms of discrimination are integral parts of the folkways and laws of the general society.
Minority	Minority group members discriminate against majority group members insofar as is possible for members of a subordinate group. The minority struggles to decrease the level of discrimination to which it is subjected.
	Civic
Majority	The majority works to maintain the existing value system of the society and to monopolize social power. Minority group members are allowed into positions of power only when it is expedient for the majority.
Minority	The minority resists the dominant value system wherever it conflicts with their own value system; it struggles to attain social power. There is frequently intergroup conflict, often violent, over power and values.

groups to retain their distinctiveness without discrimination, creates especially loyal citizens. The second form of pluralism we have outlined, however, is antiassimilationist. Here the separatist elements are much more significant than in the cultural form and are definitely a challenge to the unity of the nation and the loyalty of its citizens. Indeed, this form of separatism may precede or lead to the secession of disaffected groups.

The three ideologies of assimilation and two ideologies of separation we have presented offer alternative sets of goals that individuals and groups may choose to pursue and, also, to prescribe for others. Although they are not commonly referred to by the names we have given them, or in such detail, aspects of these models often are brought to public notice and enter public debate. For example, in speeches given on national holidays or at patriotic celebrations speakers often say that "America is a melting pot" or may celebrate the fact that millions of immigrants have reached our society over the years and found the opportunities needed to enter the mainstream and live "the American dream." For example, in his famous "I Have a Dream" speech, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. outlined his vision (or assimilation model) for future relations among the races.

Although assimilationist images are by far the most widely accepted in our society, separatist or secessionist views have always been present; and some of the advocates of these views are prominent in American history. Various representatives of the Native American peoples, Tecumseh for example, presented eloquent defenses of the desires of these groups to leave American society and to regain their former independence. As we shall see later, Marcus Garvey played a similar role among African Americans, and Malcolm X argued during a portion of his life for a type of separatism.



Using the Models as Descriptions

Recall that in addition to affording statements of what one may think *ought* to occur, the models we have presented also may be used as frameworks for *describing* the relations that have existed in the past or currently exist between groups. When they are used in this way, the models suggest the following interesting and debatable question: To what extent do these competing views afford accurate descriptions of what *actually has occurred* in American society during the past two or three centuries? Since we will be reviewing various kinds of evidence bearing on this question throughout the remainder of this book, our comments at this point are only preliminary.

We have asserted that by the end of the colonial period, Anglo conformity was the most widely accepted ideology within the dominant Anglo American group; and our previous examples of the way English culture became Anglo American culture through innovation and the adoption of Native American, African, Dutch, and other cultural elements during the colonial period illustrated the operation of social processes that led to the fusing of many cultural elements. Some other examples showed that the fusing process has continued in American society since that time. But since a fusing of cultural elements is expected to occur in both the Anglo-conformity model and in the melting-

pot model, these examples may be cited as evidence that we have been moving toward either of these two sets of goals.

Persuasive arguments have been presented on both sides. Park's theory states that "eventually" subordinate groups take on the characteristics of the dominant group, which is what one would expect on the basis of Anglo conformity. But the melting pot also has had strong advocates. For instance, the frontier thesis was presented by the historian Frederick Jackson Turner (1920). According to Turner, the Western American frontier functioned as a great leveler of persons and a blender of cultures. On the frontier, people had to adapt to the harsh conditions confronting them by devising and sharing solutions to the problems they faced. People borrowed freely from the various cultures there and, in the process, developed a new American culture that contained significant contributions from the various participating cultures and societies but was distinctly different from any of them.

The process of cultural accumulation that started on the Atlantic seacoast during the seventeenth century has continued as American society has grown and changed. For example, many types of previously foreign foods, beliefs, words, phrases, and various styles of dress, music, and dance gradually have become accepted as "American." In addition, when U.S. citizens are today asked to name their "nationality," an increasingly large proportion of them say "American." Consider additionally that the "English" culture on which the early Anglo American culture rested was itself the product of an extremely long period of cultural merging; hence, the Anglo American culture that developed during the colonial period consisted not only of English, Dutch, Native American, African, and many other elements then present in North America, but, also, of the fused elements of thousands of other cultures that existed during a period of several millennia before Europeans were even aware of the existence of the Western Hemisphere. The English language of today, for instance, reflects the fact that tens of thousands of words taken from the Celts, Romans, Danes, and Norman French, among others, were organized around an Anglo-Saxon core, which, in turn, consisted of elements borrowed from many additional languages (Bryson 1990:46-47). In the long view of history, *all* modern cultures and societies are constructed from a vast accumulation of sociocultural elements from the past.¹⁴

These examples introduce a point we stress in Chapter 14. It is vital that analyses of intergroup relations include clear statements concerning the *lengths of the periods of time* that are assumed to be needed for given sociocultural changes to take place. We may accept, for example, that the English culture of 1600 consisted of fused elements from a large number of other cultures and also that the processes of melting continued in America during the colonial period without necessarily accepting the idea that the melting-pot model affords the best description of the actual effects of assimilation in America during the years since 1776.

Consider some points that have been raised in favor of the claim that contemporary American society is not mainly a product of a melting-pot fusion of various societies and cultures during the past two or three centuries. Although we have noted that vast sociocultural changes certainly have taken place in American society since colonial times, this society has continued to consist of a variety of different racial and ethnic groups. As we shall see, many minority groups either did not wish to "melt" into the "mainstream" of the

society or were prevented from doing so. Many groups remained distinctive even after they adopted high levels of cultural assimilation; consequently, several scholars have argued that despite the profound changes that have occurred in, and enriched, American culture and society, the Anglo American foundation that initially defined the society's basic characteristics and structure (e.g., its language, laws, commercial organization, and basic values) has not thus far been altered markedly by the melting process.

From this perspective, changes in the defining features of Anglo American society have been comparatively small. The argument here is that although a high level of melting has taken place, it has been mainly in the direction of Anglo conformity. This view proposes that those who adopt the melting-pot metaphor usually are referring, in fact, to the processes that lead to Anglo conformity. As expressed by Herberg (1960:21), "Our cultural assimilation has taken place not in a 'melting pot,' but rather in a 'transmuting pot' in which all ingredients have been transformed and assimilated to an idealized 'Anglo-Saxon' model" (emphasis added). In a similar vein, Glazer and Moynihan (1964:v) observed in relation to New York City that "The point about the melting pot . . . is that it did not happen;" and, in Hirschman's (1983:398) opinion, the melting-pot metaphor has been significant mainly as "a political symbol used to strengthen and legitimize the ideology of America as a land of opportunity where race, religion, and national origin should not be barriers to social mobility."

At least three reservations are crucial in relation to these judgments. First, the Anglo American framework underlying American society certainly has not been static; second, if the processes of change continue for an indefinite period into the future, they "eventually" may well transform even the basic structure of the society; and third, the melting process may have produced a higher degree of mutual blending in some areas of the country than in others (Adams 1934). These valid considerations do not, however, afford a sufficient basis for stating conclusively that the fusion of the cultures of the natives, the later newcomers, and the indigenous population has significantly altered the foundations of the dominant culture thus far.

Whatever interpretation of the past a person favors, the coming chapters will make clear that sociocultural diversity has existed in America from the first; and, as is true for nearly all modern societies, America is still a multicultural society. Given these facts, the advocates of pluralism maintain that despite the dominant group's continuous pressures on them, most subordinate-group Americans have given only lip service to the two ideologies favoring sociocultural fusion and that, in fact, some unarticulated form of pluralism has had many more adherents than is generally acknowledged. They argue that the time has now come for the American people to synchronize their ideology with social reality. Let us now, they say, recognize and promote our diversity instead of continuing to place pressure on the members of subordinate groups to move toward a single social pattern.

Critics of pluralism, of course, do not agree that pluralist ideology (as distinct from the fact of sociocultural diversity) has played a significant role in our history; but even if that were true, they question the wisdom of endorsing pluralism as an accepted way to become an American and they raise questions that point to some important theoretical objections. For instance, will the acceptance of pluralism lead to a hardening of the group divisions that exist among us, promote intergroup hostility and conflict, and threaten the unity and stability of American society? Can the members of a subordinate

distinctive even after scholars have enriched, American defined the society's organization, and process.

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group maintain their balance between the social forces pressuring them toward fusion, on the one hand, and separation, on the other? Won't they, perhaps over a period of several generations, be drawn inevitably toward one or the other of these competing poles?

These questions pose serious problems for pluralist theory. The existence of constantly opposing pressures favoring either total conformity to the dominant group, at one extreme, or secession, at the other, suggests that cultural pluralism is inherently unstable. No group, critics say, can stop just at the point of assimilation defined by cultural pluralist philosophy. The group must continue through the exact point of merger it prefers toward one or the other of the two opposing poles. Either the submersion of the minority within the dominant group or the separation (possibly accompanied by open warfare) of the groups is the inevitable result. Contemporary examples of the latter outcome include the ethnic conflicts between Azerbaijan and Armenia accompanying the dissolution of the Soviet Union and between Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia and Kosovo accompanying the dissolution of Yugoslavia.

The main reasons for supposing that pluralism will not necessarily collapse under either the centripetal pressures of conformity or the centrifugal forces of separation are derived from America's political experience as the world's oldest democracy. The framers of the U.S. Constitution recognized that many different groups would struggle to gain control of the society; so they sought to write a legal document that would achieve a balance of social forces by providing ample checks against dangerous accumulations of power. To help reach this goal, they divided power among the three main branches of government, between the central government and the states, and between the large states and the small. The extent of the framer's success is a complex subject with a long history of debate behind it, and some skeptics doubt that American democracy could continue under an explicit policy of pluralism.

We have seen already that the Anglo Americans became the most powerful group in American society during the colonial period; but, as we will see in Chapters 3, 4, and 5, the fluctuating levels of immigration during the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries periodically raised the fears of natives that newcomers would gain control of the system and replace them as the dominant group. The struggle for political power in America, therefore, has taken place to some extent along ethnic lines; and, as a part of this struggle, the dominant group frequently has used ethnic discrimination to prevent "domination by ethnic strangers" (Horowitz 1985:188). An important issue for a pluralist social policy therefore is that since ethnic groups would continue to be distinctive and visible, the dominant group might continue to fear losing control and might continue to practice exclusion and oppression.

The pluralist position in political theory, however, is that the competing interests of groups embedded within an explicitly plural ethnic system may be stable for an indefinitely long period of time. This position is based on the idea that since many different types of interest groups, including ethnic groups, seek out government officials and attempt to influence the officials' actions, the resulting decisions reflect the balancing of many different points of view (see, e.g., Riesman, Glazer, and Denney 1950).¹⁵ Ethnic diversity, not uniformity, is seen to be the key to the maintenance of a vigorous democracy. As stated by Wirth (1945:355), the advocates of pluralism believe it is "one of the necessary preconditions of a rich and dynamic civilization under conditions of freedom."

To summarize, each of the models presented in this chapter helps us to state clearly, and to compare, both the *goals* different individuals and groups in American society believe they and others *ought* to pursue (i.e., they may serve as ideologies) and the *actual location* of any given individual or group (on average) in regard to the eight sub-processes of assimilation in our analysis (i.e., they may serve as descriptions). Stated differently, the models help us to specify both (1) what the members of any group, individually or collectively, *want* and (2) *how near to or far from those goals* any individual or group actually is. The theories of assimilation we have presented are efforts to explain how assimilation occurs and to forecast the probable future of intergroup relations in America. The value of these theories depends on how closely their explanations correspond to social reality.

Two of the ideologies of assimilation—the melting-pot ideology and the ideology of cultural pluralism—emerged in reaction to the demand by the dominant group that ethnic groups should rapidly fuse with the existing society. Both of these alternatives to Anglo conformity have emphasized the advantages of accepting diverse elements into the mainstream of American life. In its cultural form, pluralism holds that minority groups may retain or construct distinctive heritages and, at the same time, live in harmony and equality with the dominant society. In its separatist form, pluralism doubts the good will of the majority and focuses on what it believes to be basic flaws in the society. It sees majority and minority groups more as adversaries than as cooperating partners in a joint venture. Separatists do not accept the basic values of the dominant group, and they consider the levels of distinctiveness permitted under cultural pluralism to be unsatisfactory. True democracy, from the separatist perspective, cannot occur when the majority has the power to control the destiny of a minority group's members. A minority's ability to protect its rights depends, according to this line of reasoning, on a high degree of independence in the economic, political, and educational arenas, as well as in more personal matters. Separatism shades into the more extreme position of secessionism, which represents the ultimate challenge to the goals of all three assimilationist ideologies.

The implications of the major ideas introduced so far must be examined in much greater detail in relation to the actual experiences of different groups within American society. We begin this effort in Chapter 3 by expanding our discussion of the way the Anglo Americans consolidated their power on the Atlantic Coast of North America.



Reality Check

INTERVIEW WITH CURTIS

Curtis is a White American of German descent. He is married, has two young daughters, and is a sixth grade teacher who is working on a graduate degree. His wife's father was White and her mother was Mexican American. Curtis's family lives in an ethnically mixed neighborhood. The school in which Curtis teaches has a diverse student body, although most of the teachers are White.

How do you refer to yourself in terms of racial and ethnic relations?

I don't think about it a lot but I'm sure that the answer to your question would be that I consider myself just White.

When did you first become aware of your racial and ethnic identity?

My parents were both raised in East Texas, so they had some prejudicial attitudes about minority groups; but that never seemed to rub off on me and my siblings. I think my last name is German, but we never really talked about coming from a German background, and there wasn't really any German culture infused into my upbringing; however, in high school I developed an interest in German culture. As far as being White, it was never talked about very much; it was just kind of taken for granted.

Would you tell me about the high school you attended?

The high school I attended in the late 1970s was a real diverse south Texas school. We had a large Hispanic as well as African American population. Everyone in my class and at my high school seemed to get along pretty well. Things that we did in high school, the activities that we participated in, were very integrated. We were friends, and I don't recall any disagreements at all that happened at the school that were centered around ethnic and racial groups.

Tell me about your family.

I would say that my children probably identify themselves as White. My wife probably identifies herself as a "coconut" because her mom was Mexican American and her dad was a White from Appalachia. She felt really uncomfortable growing up in San Antonio, because, although she looked Hispanic, she didn't speak Spanish; so she wasn't quite a part of either the majority group or the Hispanic group. Still, our family's activities, birthday parties and stuff, all have an Hispanic flavor to them. There are a lot of other customs that we practice around these types of holidays.

Does your family talk about race and ethnic relations?

I have been known to talk about things like that for the whole trip to school in the morning with my two young daughters, and it's about a 20-mile journey. Once one of my daughters was at a neighboring girl's birthday party and I don't know exactly what happened, but my daughter said something to a little Black girl about "we don't wanna play with you because you're Black." The girl's mom called over—she's real good friends with my wife—so my wife and I sat Alison down and talked about how that should not be an issue, that it was inappropriate for her to say that.

What stands out as most important to you about being White?

I don't know if I attach any kind of significance to it. You know, maybe I haven't had a whole lot of time recently to really reflect on it. I have small children at home, a full-time job, and graduate school. I guess the most important thing about it is that there are a whole lot of issues that I guess people in other ethnic

(continued)

and racial groups have to deal with that I don't. So I do recognize there is some privilege about being White. That's the only significance that I can attach to it.

How does your racial or ethnic background affect you in your life?

Other than having an interest in German, being of German heritage does not affect me. There is very little from my ethnic heritage that is a part of my household. We do more things that are part of the Hispanic culture than we do anything else as my wife is half Hispanic. In my job at school, when I'm interacting with students of different ethnic or racial groups, sometimes there is a barrier there, and until I have an opportunity to be around these kids for a while I feel there is some distrust because I'm White.

Have you ever experienced an uncomfortable situation because of your race or ethnicity?

I guess I'm uncomfortable when I find myself in a crowd where I'm the minority. When I'm in those situations I feel that I'm perceived as a stereotypical White male, with maybe some preconceived attitudes about being in a group of minorities; so it takes a while before I feel comfortable. After you interact with people for a while and they see how you really are, the discomfort goes away.

Would you tell me about your friends?

I have friends who are White, certainly; and I have friends who are Black and Hispanic. I think it is pretty proportionate to the makeup in this area. I live in a very diverse neighborhood, so I have neighbors that are Black and Hispanic; but I think I would probably have some reservations if my daughters were to come to me someday and say they wanted to be romantically involved with someone of a different race. I think I'd feel that way because I recognize it's going to be an added burden to be dealt with, rather than because I hold that group in negative regard.



Discussion Questions

In regard to aspects of secondary assimilation—education, occupation, residence, and so on—is Curtis highly integrated into the majority?

How did Anglo conformity become the dominant ideology of assimilation in the United States?

Why are assimilation theories opposed by conflict theorists?

Do you favor an ideology of assimilation or of separation? Why?

What practical problems are presented by each of the ideologies of assimilation or separation?

Which model of assimilation or separation best describes the existing group relations in the United States today? Give examples.



Key Ideas

1. Assimilation theories generally are consistent with the idea that as ethnic differences decline, the society's underlying order and unity rest increasingly on a consensus among the different groups concerning basic values and norms. For this reason, assimilation theories generally are referred to as consensus or order theories. Conflict theories, in contrast, emphasize that the inclusion of foreign groups is likely to be accompanied by and lead to high levels of intergroup tension and hostility rather than order and consensus.
2. The subject of assimilation is complex. It is important to think separately about *the facts* of assimilation and *the goals* that may be pursued. In regard to facts, it is helpful to focus on a set of specific subprocesses of assimilation rather than on a single general process. In regard to goals, it is helpful to identify competing ideologies.
3. Milton M. Gordon has identified seven subprocesses of assimilation: (1) cultural assimilation, (2) structural assimilation, (3) marital assimilation, (4) identificational assimilation, (5) attitude receptional assimilation, (6) behavior receptional assimilation, and (7) civic assimilation.
4. Our analysis identifies two additional subprocesses by dividing cultural assimilation into two subprocesses (cultural assimilation by substitution and cultural assimilation by addition) and by dividing structural assimilation into two subprocesses (secondary structural assimilation and primary structural assimilation).¹⁶
5. According to Gordon's theory of assimilation, each of the subprocesses listed in Key Idea 3 may occur simultaneously and in varying degrees, and the rate of change in each one will correspond to its position in the list. In contrast to Robert E. Park's view, *a group may assimilate culturally without necessarily proceeding through the remaining stages*. As primary assimilation advances, however, Gordon's theory agrees with Park's *that assimilation in all respects becomes inevitable*.
6. Gordon also specified three main assimilationist ideologies that favor different goals: Anglo conformity, the melting pot, and cultural pluralism. The models of assimilation based on these ideologies do not represent the actual levels of assimilation of any particular group or groups; they represent, rather, *the goals* toward which a group may elect or be expected to move. The models also may be used to help specify how near to or far from the goals an individual or group actually is.

7. Anglo Americans had become established as the dominant group along the Atlantic seaboard from Massachusetts to Virginia by the end of the seventeenth century. They had displaced the Native Americans and established their own ways of living as dominant. The more nearly a person approximated the Anglo American ethnic model, the more nearly "American" he or she was judged to be. This perspective on assimilation is called the Anglo-conformity ideology.
8. The melting-pot ideology and the ideology of cultural pluralism are prominent assimilationist views opposing the idea that Anglo conformity is the *only* way to become a "100 percent" American and also the idea that people of White, Anglo-Saxon ancestry necessarily make the most desirable citizens.
9. The melting-pot ideology, like the ideology of Anglo conformity, favors a complete merger of the majority and the minority. Unlike Anglo conformity, the melting-pot model states that both the majority and the minority should change, creating a new society and cultural identity.
10. The ideology of cultural pluralism opposes the complete merger of minorities with the majority. It seeks instead various degrees of merger and separation depending on the type of assimilation under consideration. Many pluralist models may be constructed. One example, which we refer to as cultural pluralism, stresses equality of opportunity for minority-group citizens plus the right to retain their cultural and social distinctiveness. In this form, the minority seeks to master the culture of the dominant group without losing its own culture. It also seeks secondary assimilation *in the public sphere*. This approach, therefore, is decidedly assimilationist with respect to the nation's central institutions even though separation in the private spheres of life is preserved.
11. The extent to which a person voluntarily enters a new society may be a crucial factor in determining the way the person reacts to that society. Members of immigrant minorities are more likely to wish to adopt an assimilationist strategy than are members of colonized minorities. Prolonged conflicts between the host group and colonized minorities are likely and may promote separatist and secessionist ideologies and movements.
12. The most extreme antiassimilationist view is secessionism. Secessionists advocate a total separation of ethnic groups, through violence if necessary.
13. The models presented in this chapter help us to specify both (1) what the members of any group, individually or collectively, *want* and (2) *how near to or far from those goals* any individual or group actually is. The theories of assimilation are efforts to explain how assimilation occurs and to forecast the probable future of intergroup relations in America.
14. An important issue for theories of pluralism is whether any group can resist the centripetal social forces favoring full merger at one extreme or the centrifugal social forces favoring complete separation at the other.



Key Terms

Anglo-conformity ideology A set of beliefs based on the idea that non-Anglo individuals and groups should accept Anglo American society and conform to its patterns of culture, social institutions, and social and private life.

Anglo-conformity model A specific vision of complete assimilation in which subordinate groups accept and conform to the Anglo American patterns of culture, social institutions, and social and private life.

antiassimilationist ideologies Systems of beliefs that oppose assimilation.

assimilation ideology Systems of beliefs concerning how society should bring minority groups within it into full participation in society.

attitude receptional assimilation The subprocess through which ethnic prejudice declines.

behavior receptional assimilation The subprocess through which ethnic discrimination declines.

civic assimilation The subprocess through which intergroup conflicts over values and power decline.

colonial model A perspective that analyzes intergroup relations in terms of the ways colonization has affected racial domination and the responses of the dominated group. When applied to U.S. racial and ethnic relations, the model assumes that persons of color in America share many of the same experiences that conquered people in Third-World nations have experienced.

colonized minorities Ethnic groups, generally indigenous to an area in which they become minorities, who are forced to become a part of the society of colonizers.

conflict theory A theory emphasizing that power and value differences exist between dominant and subordinate groups and that social conflicts are normal consequences of these differences.

consensus (order) theories Theories emphasizing that the underlying order and unity of society rest on a consensus concerning basic values and norms of behavior among the different groups within it.

cultural assimilation by addition The subprocess of inclusion through which the members of a subordinate group acquire the culture of the dominant group but retain or elaborate most, or a significant portion, of their own culture.

cultural assimilation by substitution The subprocess of inclusion through which the members of a subordinate group gradually relinquish their own culture and acquire that of the dominant group.

discrimination An unfavorable action toward people because they are members of a particular racial or ethnic group.

frontier thesis Frederick Jackson Turner's theory stating that the Western American frontier functioned as a great leveler of persons and a blender of cultures to create a social melting pot.

- identificational assimilation** The subprocess through which both minority group members and majority group members come to identify the minority group members as full members of the larger society.
- ideology of cultural pluralism** A set of beliefs based on the assumption that the members of every American ethnic group should be free to participate in all of the society's major institutions (e.g., schools, jobs, politics) while simultaneously retaining or elaborating their own ethnic heritage and social institutions.
- ideology of secession** A system of beliefs based on the assumption that ethnic groups within a society should separate completely and form new, independent societies.
- ideology of separatism** A system of beliefs based on the assumption that there should be a high degree of separation in the cultural, public, and social lives of dominant and subordinate groups.
- immigrant minorities** Minority groups that were created through voluntary immigration.
- marital assimilation** The subprocess of inclusion through which the dominant and subordinate groups gradually merge through intermarriage.
- melting-pot ideology** A set of beliefs based on the assumption that the culture and society of each subordinate group should be blended with the culture and society of the host group to produce a new and different culture and society.
- melting-pot model** A specific vision of complete assimilation shared by those who accept the ideology of the melting pot.
- model of assimilation** A hypothetical conception of the specific way in which a smaller group that is outside a larger group becomes an integral part of the larger group.
- model of cultural pluralism** See "pluralist model."
- pluralist model** A specific vision of complete assimilation proposed by advocates of the ideology of pluralism.
- prejudice** An unfavorable attitude toward people because they are members of a particular racial or ethnic group.
- primary relationships** Warm, close human relationships that are regulated mainly by sentiments of liking and affection and are characteristic of small, tightly knit groups such as the family.
- primary structural assimilation** The subprocess of inclusion through which dominant and subordinate group members engage in close, personal interactions with members of the other group.
- secondary relationships** Human relationships that take place outside of small, tightly knit groups such as the family and are regulated mainly by conventional social roles and norms, administrative rules, and laws.
- secondary structural assimilation** The subprocess of inclusion through which dominant-group and subordinate-group members engage in nondiscriminatory

interactions within occupational, educational, civic, neighborhood, and public recreational settings.

separatist model A specific pluralist vision of intergroup relations in which the cultures, institutions, and social lives of subordinate groups are highly separated from those of the dominant group.

theory of assimilation subprocesses Gordon's theory of assimilation. It identifies seven subprocesses of assimilation, operating simultaneously and at varying rates of speed, to bring about various types of intergroup merger. The theory states that cultural assimilation may occur without necessarily leading to the remaining forms of assimilation; however, once primary assimilation occurs, the other forms inevitably follow.

theory of internal colonialism Maintains that if a group enters a society involuntarily, power and value conflicts will characterize the relations between the dominating and dominated groups until social conflicts between the groups result in their eventual separation.

transmuting pot The idea that the melting pot metaphor is often used to describe the social processes that lead, in fact, to Anglo conformity.



Notes

1. Some additional theories center on concepts such as ethnogenesis, ethnic enclaves, middleman minorities, social class conflict, dual labor markets, split labor markets, and intergroup competition.

2. Although it is useful for comparison to think of Anglo Americans as sharing a single set of standards, there is a substantial diversity within this "host," "charter," or "core" group. Gordon (1964:74) employed one term, the core subsociety, to refer to middle-class Anglo American standards and another term, the core group, to refer to the standards of the entire Anglo American group.

3. Eighteen languages were spoken in New Amsterdam at the time it was annexed by the English (Hansen 1945:39).

4. To be sure, this process operates in both directions. As the subordinate group acquires the culture of the dominant group, the dominant group also will acquire some aspects of the culture of the subordinate group. For the

sake of clarity, we defer a consideration of such important complications.

5. Gordon's (1964:31-38) analysis clearly recognized the importance of the distinction between secondary and primary relationships, but he did not carry the terms over into the naming of the subprocesses of assimilation.

6. We consider in later chapters some problems in assessing various aspects of marital assimilation.

7. We explore these concepts more fully in Chapter 5.

8. We do not list cultural assimilation by addition here because it does not lead to the disappearance of the groups; however, we soon discuss the crucial role this subprocess of assimilation plays in our analysis. In later chapters, we introduce additional subprocesses.

9. Gordon's theory specifies that cultural assimilation only may last indefinitely and also that primary assimilation is the watershed point in the movement toward full merger, but

the status of secondary assimilation in the theory is to some extent unclear. We interpret the theory to mean that the process of merger may stop indefinitely either after cultural assimilation or after secondary assimilation.

10. This term is generally accepted and will be used in this book. Gordon (1964:85) attributed it to Cole and Cole (1954).

11. For a related effort to describe an ideal or perfect cultural pluralism, see Murguía (1989: 109–111).

12. This view of pluralism has also been called "consensual pluralism" (Horton 1966: 708) and "liberal pluralism" (Gordon 1964:88).

13. Scholars who focus on interethnic relations in Third World countries generally refer

to this form of pluralism as cultural pluralism (Horowitz 1985:135–139).

14. Linton (1936:326–327) commented, for instance, that the "solid American citizen" may thank "a Hebrew deity in an Indo-European language that he is 100 percent American."

15. In contrast, Mills (1956), among others, maintained that a relatively small number of people actually make the decisions that appear to be made through democratic procedures.

16. Tables 2.1, 2.2, and 2.3 distinguish between cultural assimilation by substitution and cultural assimilation by addition in the descriptions of the goals concerning assimilation rather than in the headings.