

FORTY YEARS AFTER L.A. WALKOUT- SITUATION STILL GRIM

Inland Empire Hispanic News

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Forty years ago this month, I joined thousands of Mexican-American students who shocked the city of Los Angeles by walking out of the public schools. We marched through the streets of East Los Angeles to peacefully protest the racism and educational inequality we faced in the schools.

The walkouts lasted for a week and a half and captured national attention. More than 10,000 students participated, including students from the predominantly African-American Thomas Jefferson High School in South Central Los Angeles who walked out in solidarity with us.

The walkouts were the first major mass dramatic protest against racism and educational inequality ever staged by Mexican Americans in the United States.

The Los Angeles walkouts ignited the emergence of the Mexican-American civil rights movement - which came to be known as the Chicano Movement - throughout the southwestern United States.

Three months after the high-school walkouts, I was one of 13 organizers who were indicted for conspiracy to "willfully disturb the peace and quiet" of the city of Los Angeles. At the time, I was a first-year graduate student and the president of my campus chapter of the United Mexican American Students. I was arrested in the early morning hours while hard at work on a term paper. The trauma my family and I were forced to endure during my arrest and my subsequent imprisonment was a life-changing experience for me.

We faced 66 years in prison if convicted of the conspiracy charges. It took two years for our conspiracy case to be decided by the California State Appellate Court. The court finally ruled that we were innocent of the conspiracy charges by virtue of the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution granting freedom of speech. If that amendment did not exist, I could still be in prison today instead of teaching at the University of California, Berkeley.

But the walkouts - and the Chicano Movement they ignited - did not eliminate Latino educational inequality.

There are more Mexican-American teachers and principals in the Los Angeles city school district, but the dropout rate is higher than it was back in 1968. Nationwide, Latino students are the most segregated and have the highest dropout rate. And the majority of Latino students who do graduate from high school are not eligible for college admission because they have been academically ill equipped.

In California, Republican Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger has cut the education budget by millions of dollars. His priority has been to build more prisons instead of more and better schools.

At the national level, President Bush remains out of touch with the needs of Latino youth in the public schools in spite of proclaiming himself the "Education President." His "No Child Left Behind" law has not contributed to making the public school system better for Latinos and other youth of color.

Federal funding for public schools is grossly inadequate. Bush has yet to allocate funding for the development of a multicultural curriculum that can make the Latino experience - and that of other people of color - an integral component of public schooling. His priority is war.

The time has come for another round of student strikes against educational inequality. This time, however, students should be joined by all the teachers and administrators who share their concerns and are willing to demand that state and federal governments prioritize the educational needs of our youth instead of feeding the military-prison-industrial complex.

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HAND-OUT #3

DEFINITIONS OF RACISM

1. "Racism is a belief that human groups can be validly grouped on the basis of their biological traits and that these identifiable groups inherit certain mental, personality, and cultural characteristics that determine their behavior. A corollary belief is that some biological groups, such as Caucasians, have superior mental and behavioral traits and that others, such as Blacks and Indians, are mentally and culturally inferior." James A. Banks.
2. Pierre van den Berghe defines racism as "any set of beliefs that organic, genetically transmitted differences (whether real or imagined) between human groups are intrinsically associated with the presence or the absence of certain socially relevant abilities or characteristics, hence that such differences are a legitimate basis of invidious distinctions between groups socially defined as races."
3. "Although this term has been used loosely, for our purposes we can define racism specifically as an ideology which considers a group's unchangeable physical characteristics to be linked in a direct, causal way to psychological or intellectual characteristics, and which on this basis distinguishes between superior or inferior racial groups." Joe R. Feagin.
4. "Racism results from the transformation of race prejudice and/or ethnocentrism through the exercise of power against a racial group defined as inferior, or by individuals and institutions with the intentional or unintentional support of the entire culture." Benjamin P. Bowser and Raymond G. Hunt.
5. "Racism involves the subordination of people of color by white people. While an individual person of color may discriminate against white people or even hate them, his or her behavior or attitude cannot be called 'racist.' He or she may be considered prejudiced against whites and we may all agree that the person acts unfairly and unjustly, but racism requires something more than anger, hatred, or prejudice; at the very least, it requires prejudice plus power. The history of the world provides us with a long record of white people holding power and using it to maintain that power and privilege over people of color, not the reverse." Paula S. Rothenberg.
6. "Racism is the generalized and final assigning of values to real or imaginary differences, to the accuser's benefit and at the victim's expense, in order to justify the former's won privileges or aggression." Albert Memmi.
7. "Racism is the abstract property of social structures at all levels of society that manifests itself in ethnic prejudices as shared group cognitions, in discriminatory actions of persons as dominant group members, as well as in the sections, discourses, organization, or relationships within and among groups, institutions, classes, or other social formations. Teun A. van Dijk.

8. "Terribly hard to define, as a number of writers have ruefully acknowledged, racism as I use the term in these pages consists in habitual practice by a people of treating, feeling, and viewing physically dissimilar peoples-identified as such by skin color and other shared hereditary characteristics- as less than persons." Richard Drinnon.

9. "In our own use of the term racism, we mean, whatever actions or institutional procedures help create or perpetuate sets of advantages or privileges for whites and exclusions or deprivations for minority groups. This usually requires an ideology or explicit superiority or advantages of one racial groups over another, plus the institutional power to implement that ideology in social operations." Mark A. Chesler.

10. "For Race is not a scientific concepts as I have argued elsewhere, but rather a social category used to establish human worth and social status. It is the fundamental category or racism which is not simply attitudes but a system of denial and deformation of a people's history and humanity and right to freedom, based exclusively or primarily on the specious concept of race."

"Racism expresses itself in three fundamental ways, as: 1) historical imposition; 2) ideological justification; and 3) institutional arrangement. It is an act of violence against and imposition on a people's history and humanity in racial terms, an interruption and appropriation of their history, and utilization of their labor-the essential process of history-for the building of another's history."

"Moreover, racism as ideology is 'an elaborate system of pseudo-intellectual categories, assumptions, and contentions negative to third world peoples and serving as justification of the imposition and reinforcement of the institutional arrangement."

"It's three ideological forms, which may be termed ideological absurdities are: 1) religious-claims of divinity, and command and support from God to conquer, rule & ruin the lives of third world peoples; 2) biological - academic and popular claims of diminished intellectual capacity, unrestrained sexuality and propensities for violence; and 3) cultural - claims of genetic superiority based on posing world culture as a white construction instead of the human product it is." Maulana Karenga.

Written by Alex E. Lopez

March 2008

use for ^{my} My Identity - Who I am!

Who am I?...from a physical standpoint i am not what i seem. To the general public i am just a collage of stereotypes, conjectures, and postulations...and we are all subject to these assumptions. But to tell you that i am hispanic, of latino descent...is to bring a whole new variety of myths and prejudgment's to mind. But i am not Hispanic...i did not choose to call myself hispanic, nor did latinos as a whole choose to be grouped into one category. I am a CHICANO...a mestizo...composed of european and indian blood, a descendant of indigenous indians from Aztlan, and spanish hispanos from spain...

my first point is to explain the origin of the word hispanic: according to wagner the term was first coined in the early 1970's by the united states census bureau to classify a diverse people with a relationship to the spanish language or culture. but sadly America is a country in which we are educating the masses into believing that anyone who descends or immigrates from twenty one distinctly different progenies are: culturally alike, vote as a group, cant cut it in schools, work menial jobs, join gangs, get aids, think alike, look alike, but most significantly have no heritage other than what is being accomplished here in the US by anyone politically labeled hispanic. Many hispanics would rather view themselves according to their distinct identity, in contrast to the broader labeling of hispanic. Stereotypically, those who call themselves hispanic are more assimilated, conservative, and younger. while those who choose the term latino tend to be liberal, older, and sometimes radical.

My personal experience as a Chicano has been unique...as you can see from my outer physical features i am not what you think a chicano should or would look like. this socialization has affected me within my culture and society in general. My father...who is a prof. of chicano studies at UC riverside raised me on a very progressive, liberal agenda. I was involved in the movement at a young age, attending speeches, marches, protests...functions all relating to injustices affecting the latino community. I grew up middle class, and my parents both worked hard to to achieve that status in society...but socialization's have modified that accomplishment into "selling out"...at least that is the perception among the lower-classes of latinos. I hung-out with a very diverse crowd...and i was a victim of these postulations. i would be called white, even though i spoke spanish. i was not always accepted by my own...because of my fair skin....or when i brought a friend home they would sometimes make a comment about the house or neighborhood i lived in as if the wealth in my family was somehow handed down. This bothered me...but i knew who i was. what made them so Chicano? was it their brown skin? a lower income? they had no knowledge of their culture....they did not even know what the word meant. As ignacio Garcia states: "they have become so socialized to accept their disadvantaged status in society that it has become part of their culture" but it is not in our culture to be poor, that has only been the last 500 years of our history. look at the last 2000 years of our existence and what we have brought to this world in terms of science, mathematics, agriculture, and forms of government (immortal)

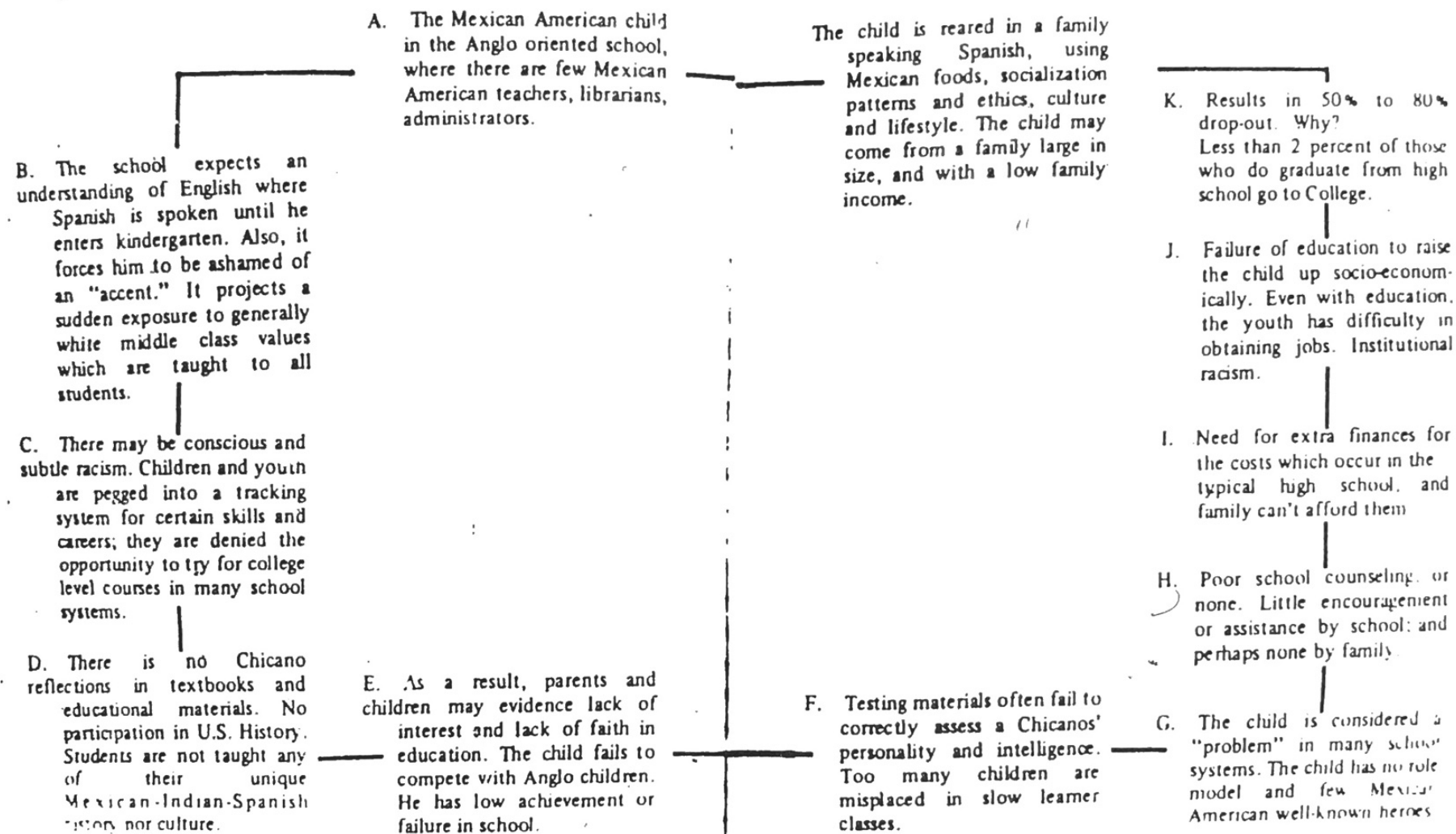
So, to familiarize everyone with the meaning of the term Chicano. as Tatum states: "it was first used in a disrespectful way by mexican-americans to describe newly arriving immigrants from mexico who were usually socially inferior, less educated mexican indians. Not until the 1960's did it take on a an expression of ethnic pride, social and political awareness, a way to identify oneself in a positive light. Since the movement for civil rights was in full swing...the word also had connotations of radicalism and militancy. which still...on occasion proves true today and is the reason why some chicanos prefer to be called hispanic...to disassociate themselves from these stereotypes.

So in my quest to find who i was, and what i am about. chicano has been a continuos search, an experience of passion, education, belief, anger, love, sadness, hope, and rejection. It alludes to a historical and political conscienceness. the term chicano is grounded in a philosophy, not a nationality. So it is not true that you have to be "mexican" to be a chicano. but you must desire change...positive change, socially and spiritually. therefore...CHICANO, IS A STATE OF MIND.

THE CYCLE OF EDUCATIONAL BARRIERS TO WHICH THE MEXICAN AMERICAN IS SUBJECT

J. Hintz

The scheme below depicts this circle of frustration and non-productivity which results from the usual school system and its curriculum. The barriers cause bewilderment, confusion, and perhaps hostility among many children. The child cannot cope with the school situation because he doesn't relate to it. But some children achieve in spite of the barriers.



high seems to impress some of the minority populations, for the perspective of the '70s, it is united through the combined good analysis of this process.

From this perspective, it remains to be seen in more detail and to relate the process to the specification of class structure as programmed in figure 16, in its "left" variation and in the trench analysis described

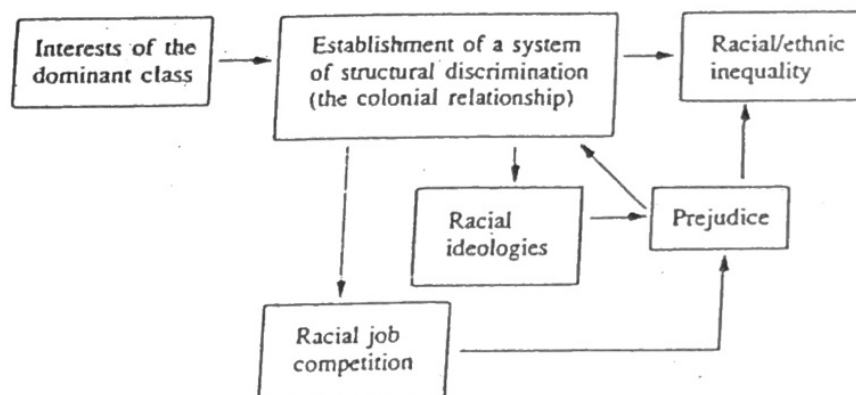
Figure 16 represents an elaboration of the process of a System of Structural Discrimination in a socialized discrimination in the segmented classes. Segmentation of institutionalized discriminatory segmentation. The segmentation is that it is not necessarily an anomaly may be in the subordination. Under the latter conditions, the basis of equality with all Chicanos are not necessarily

Figure 16 is intended to illustrate certain points. It is in pyramid fashion because of the other, on the basis of class and average income. What is portrayed here is the hierarchy of the class memberships across the diagram because of the United States, but form a subordi-

One way in which interests are of the working class is still a union with all members of the latter working conditions, the establishment of a classless society of other classes, particularly workers have certain interests

FIGURE 16

INTERNAL COLONIALISM AND CLASS SEGMENTATION



ELABORATION OF THE SYSTEM OF STRUCTURAL DISCRIMINATION IN CLASS TERMS

	Capitalist Class	Professional-Managerial Class	Petty Bourgeois Class	Working Class
Dominant Segments				
Chicano Subordinate Segments				

(Chicano subordinate segments together constitute the internal colony)

Class desmasse

Class dismissed

TABLE 2.1

Differences between the Exclusivist Melting-Pot and the Culturally Democratic Philosophies in Education

Philosophy	Mexican American sociocultural system	Socialization practices of Mexican American home and community	Personality characteristics	What is changed	Goal
Melting pot—Anglo conformity view	Excluded, omitted, prohibited, or considered educationally unimportant	Seen as interfering with child's development. The basis of deprivation	Seen as deviant, unacceptable, "culturally deprived"	The child	Acculturation into the cultural ideal of Anglo-American middle class
Cultural democracy	Language-heritage, cultural values, and teaching styles considered educationally important	Seen as determining unique communication, human-relational, incentive-motivational, and cognitive styles and must be used as basis for teacher training	Seen as acceptable and as means whereby child can explore new cultural forms related to communication, human relations, incentive motivation, and cognition	The educational style of school through greater involvement of Mexican American parents, new teaching strategies, curriculum developments, and assessment techniques	Bicultural identity

HANDOUT # 7 ASSIMILATION vs. INTERNAL COLONIALISM

Assimilation Model

- 1) Focus on ethnicity
- 2) Immigrant analogy
Voluntary entry
Goal: assimilation
- 3) Key components
 - a. Assimilation (metaphor from biology)
 - b. Value consensus
 - c. Cooperation within & between groups
 - d. Integration
- 4) Assimilation
 - a. Cultural
 - b. Structural
- 5) Applies to white ethnic groups
 - a. Ethnicity
 - b. Shared values
 - c. Similarities
 1. Physical
 2. Cultural
- 6) Blaming the victim
 - a. Unassimilated racial minorities
 - b. Attacks on minority groups
 - c. Language
 - d. Family
 - e. Education
 - f. Welfare

Three variants

- A. Anglo conformity
- B. Melting pot
- C. Equalitarian pluralism

Multiculturalism

- 1) Racial & ethnic diversity
- 2) Group contribution to US
- 3) Celebrate differences

Internal Colonial Model

- 1) Focus on race
- 2) Reject immigrant analogy
Involuntary entry
Goal = pluralism
- 3) Key components
 - a. Pluralism
(Ethnic stratification)
 - b. Value conflicts
 1. Elite/class conflicts
 2. Power differences
 - c. Diverse group interests
 - d. Separation/segregation
- 4) Pluralism
 - a. Equalitarian
 - b. Inequalitarian
- 5) Applies to people of color
Racial minorities
 - a. Race
 - b. Divergent values
 - c. Different from Anglos
 1. Physical
 2. Cultural
- 6) Condemn dominant society
 - a. Ethnocentric majority
 - b. Attacks on majority
 1. Values
 2. Culture
 3. Elitism
 4. Exclusion
 5. Institutional racism
 6. Racial inequality

Three racial experiences

- A. White supremacy
- B. Systematic discrimination
- C. Racial exploitation

Minorities can't assimilate

- 1) Individuals succeed
- 2) Exclude racial contributions
- 3) Failure to validate group differences

diepanded
economy
like Mexico

NEO VS CLASSIC
Colonialism

minib LS

Instructions!

copy

experiences

ORIGINS OF CONTACT AND MODERN-DAY RACE RELATIONS: A THEORY OF INTERNAL COLONIALISM

like
maxwell

Discuss
articulate

In the previous chapter, we discussed a number of different ways that two groups can come in contact, ranging from voluntary to involuntary. Robert Blauner (1972) has developed a theory about the development of American race relations that places crucial importance on the nature of this initial contact. Blauner's theory of internal colonialism distinguishes between those conquered peoples who became part of the United States (or any other country) involuntarily and those who entered voluntarily. A group that is conquered, or annexed by force, is referred to as a colonized minority; one which entered willingly is called an immigrant minority. As we have seen, Afro-Americans, Mexican-Americans, and Native Americans all fit the category of colonized minorities. The Chicano and Indian people were conquered and forced into subordinate status in much the same way as native peoples in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Oceania when the Europeans colonized those areas. A major difference is that in the United States the white Europeans became a majority more quickly and declared independence from the mother country more quickly than in some of the other areas. They treated the indigenous populations they conquered—Indians and Mexicans—much as colonizers did in other parts of the world, however.

Discuss
Expand
Explore

Some critics argue that blacks do not fit the model because they were not conquered and enslaved on their own land. Blauner replies that this does not change the basic fact that they were conquered and forced into a subordinate status in this country. This experience—forced entry into American society—distinguishes blacks, Chicanos, and Indians from *all* other American ethnic groups. However much discrimination the various European immigrant groups may have suffered, their entry here was voluntary. They did not have the status of a conquered people. Blauner argues that this difference between immigrant and colonized minorities created vast differences in their position in American society, some of which persist today. According to Blauner, certain things always happen to ethnic or racial groups when they are conquered and colonized. First, they are forced to participate in somebody else's society, whether they want to or not. Second, they are subjected to some form of unfree labor, which "greatly restricts the social mobility of the group and its participation in the political arena" (Blauner, 1972, p. 53). Often, the colonized group is isolated in the least advanced sector of the society, away from the areas of growth and opportunity. Finally, the culture and social institutions of the colonized group are subjected to attack by the colonizer. The colonizer's objective is to *force* the group to give up its ways and accept the "superior" ways of the colonizer. As a result the colonized minority is frequently subjected to the castelike patterns of intergroup relations discussed in the previous chapter. As we saw in the previous chapter, *all* of these things happened to each of the groups discussed: blacks, Chicanos, and American Indians.

It has been argued by some (see, for example, Murguía, 1975, Chapter 3)

that Mexican-Americans fall somewhere between the colonial and immigrant classifications, largely because, despite their initial involuntary presence, Mexicans have been voluntarily immigrating into the United States ever since the Southwest was annexed. It is, however, true that the *initial* mode of contact—which for Chicanos was involuntary—shapes all subsequent contact. For these reasons, and because of the distinct Chicano history of subordination and subjection to unfree labor, many argue that the internal colonialism model describes very well the Chicano experience (Barrera, 1979; Moore, 1970). Although we must admit that there is debate on the matter, Mexican-Americans would appear to fit the description of a colonized minority more closely than they fit the description of an immigrant minority.

The experience of blacks, American Indians, and Chicanos presents a sharp contrast when compared to that of the European ethnic immigrants. For whatever reason, they came voluntarily. In some cases, their culture was closer to America's dominant culture than that of the other groups, but the critical difference is that they chose to enter and learn American culture. However much they may have been discriminated against, they never experienced the complete social control of the plantation or Indian reservation. They never experienced the unfree labor situation of the slave or the migrant farmworker. Their families and religious institutions were never systematically attacked as were those of black people and Indian people. Finally, they were never restricted to jobs outside the industrial mainstream, as were so many blacks, Indians, and Chicanos. To all these differences, we must add that a majority tends to have different and more intense prejudices toward a conquered and subordinated people than it has toward an immigrant people. Blauner's main point is actually quite simple: These tremendous historical differences place modern-day blacks, Chicanos, and Native Americans in a very different social position than their counterparts among the European ethnics. They have been, and are, subject to a number of socially imposed disadvantages that the immigrant groups are not, no matter how much they may have been discriminated against. Furthermore, their relationship to the dominant society is and always has been fundamentally different. Blauner and others feel this offers one answer to two oft-repeated questions: (1) Why have blacks, Chicanos, and Indians not assimilated to the degree that other groups have? (2) Why do these three groups remain socially and economically disadvantaged when other groups, such as Irish and Italian-Americans, have enjoyed rising status? These sociologists believe that these differences result from the differences in the historical experience of *immigrant minorities* and *colonized minorities*. (Blauner, 1972, discusses all of these differences between European immigrant groups and the three colonized minorities at greater length.)

We have considered blacks, Chicanos, Indians, and European immigrants in terms of the immigrant versus colonized minority dichotomy. By now, you may be wondering where Asian-Americans fit in. The answer seems to be somewhere between an immigrant minority and a colonized minority. It is hard to classify their original presence in the United States as either completely voluntary or completely involuntary. The majority of Chinese immigrants during the peak period of

Discuss
Elaborate

Discuss
Elaborate

migration in the nineteenth century—some as indentured laborers or contract laborers. These immigrants were bound to creditors in China, to whom they had to pay off debt incurred for travel to the United States. Some of the contract laborers, who were referred to as “coolies,” were actually forced into their servitude (Barth, 1964, pp. 50–59). The same was true of some—though far fewer—Japanese immigrants—mostly those who came by way of Hawaii (Ichihashi, 1969, Chapter 5). The early immigration of Filipinos, whose homeland was in fact made into a colony of the United States, was also often less than voluntary.

These groups might be classified as falling somewhere between immigrant and colonized minorities, and their experience since their arrival in America supports that view. Their labor was often unfree, with many tied to job and employer until their debts, contracts, or indentures were paid off. They were largely isolated in low-pay, labor-intensive sectors of the economy, as were blacks and Chicanos. On the other hand, they were not forcibly deprived of their land or subjected to the total control of slavery or the Indian reservation as were the other groups,¹ so they were in a more favorable position to retain their social organization and ways of life. Since many of them did come voluntarily, they were also more inclined to make some voluntary adaptation to American culture and institutions. In short, both the nature of their arrival and their experiences after arriving in America suggest that the experience of Chinese-, Japanese-, and Filipino-Americans falls somewhere between the colonized experience of blacks, Chicanos, and Indians and the immigrant experience of the European ethnics.

Another group that falls somewhere between an immigrant and colonized minority is Puerto Ricans in the United States. Their homeland was, like the Philippines, made into a colony of the United States. Their migration to the United States, however, seems to have been quite voluntary (Blauner, 1972). As with the Asian groups, their experience since migration seems to fall somewhere between that of the immigrant and colonized minorities.

Regardless of the exact position of any group on the immigrant versus colonized-minority continuum, Blauner's basic point seems to be correct. The experiences of those who entered America voluntarily have been quite different from the experiences of those who did not. Not only were they forced into American society against their will in the first place, but colonized minorities have also had imposed on them disadvantages, social control, and attacks on their culture that immigrant groups have not. These differences have led to less assimilation, greater exploitation, and lower status, even to the present day, among colonized minorities as compared to immigrant minorities. It further appears that the situation today of those groups whose initial presence falls between immigration and colonization remains somewhere between that of the colonized racial minorities and the immigrants from Europe. To summarize, the position of any racial or ethnic group in America today cannot be understood without some examination of that

¹A notable exception is the imprisonment of Japanese-Americans in concentration camps during World War II, which is discussed later in this chapter.

**RADICAL FEMINISM, POSTMODERNISM,
MULTICULTURALISM, AND
THE NEW WORLD ORDER:
*UNA PERSPECTIVA CHICANA***

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ABSTRACT

The paper presents a review and critical synthesis of recent theoretical developments in the areas of race and gender studies, and discusses the limits of postmodernism and multiculturalism in contemporary society. We isolate and discuss three significant theoretical developments in the study of subordinated communities that have transpired over the past decade or so: (1) the proliferation of writing by radical women of color, (2) the emergence of postmodernism as a significant force across a wide range of fields, and (3) the increased emphasis on multiculturalism, pluralism, and diversity. Though our focus is on developing *una perspectiva Chicana*, and we cannot speak for other groups, the perspective presented is comparative and cross-national, and addresses issues that are relevant to other subordinated communities.

Introduction

It has been a decade since the *Humboldt Journal of Social Relations* published a special issue on "Race and Ethnic Relations: Cross-Cultural Perspectives." The special issue brought together experts from a variety of disciplines, including sociology, political science, history, psychology, and anthropology, to discuss and evaluate the most important developments, focusing particularly on new theoretical directions in the field. Although many of the articles were written by representatives of the group discussed, the perspective employed in each instance was comparative across ethnic groups within the United States and cross-nationally.

One of the authors of this article prepared a critique and evaluation of prevailing theoretical perspectives within Chicano Sociology for the special issue (Mirandé 1982-83). The earlier paper sought to: (1) assess the current status of the field, (2) review and critically evaluate the three major theoretical models (assimilationist, colonial, and Marxist), and (3) isolate similarities as well as differences among the models. A basic thesis of the earlier article was that the models are not completely antagonistic and that many of the presumed differences among them are more apparent than real.

The publication of this special issue provides an excellent opportunity not only to revisit some of the questions raised in the earlier article but to examine and critically evaluate recent trends and developments in the field over the past decade or so. This paper seeks to present a review and critical synthesis of recent theoretical developments within Chicano Sociology and race/ethnic theory. Though our focus is on the Chicano experience and we do not presume to speak for other groups, our perspective is comparative and cross-national. In reviewing paradigmatic developments within African-American Studies, for example, we have been struck by how the theoretical issues faced by African-

American scholars parallel those faced by Chicano scholars. More specifically, this paper seeks to: (1) reassess the status of the assimilationist, Marxist, and colonial models, (2) discuss the extent to which these are still the dominant models in the field, (3) trace the development of three emergent models—class segmentation, critical feminism, and postmodernism/deconstruction, and (4) discuss race and ethnicity theory within the context of the emerging new world order and the global economy.

Overview of the Established Models: Assimilationist, Internal Colonialist, and Marxist

The assimilationist model was widely accepted in the social sciences until the 1960s and early 1970s. It was at this time that the view of people of color as volunteer immigrant groups was challenged by those who believed the experiences of internally colonized racial ethnic groups within the United States paralleled the experiences of Third World peoples who had been colonized by European nations in the previous century. In the 1970s, internal colonialism, in turn, was challenged by the Marxist paradigm which viewed capitalism as the underlying cause of racial exploitation. Although the models cannot be grouped into neat chronological categories, a basic thesis advanced in this paper is that theoretical models die hard in the social sciences and that despite the challenges of the 1960s and 1970s, the assimilationist model has perdured into the present. The earlier article noted that, while the emergence of the models has followed this chronological order, it would be inappropriate to assume that one has been superseded by the other. In fact, it would be fairer to say that most colonial and Marxist theorists would agree that mainstream social science is still heavily infused with assimilationist assumptions. This is precisely why the need for alternative sociologies is still as great today as ever. (Mirandé 1982-83, pp. 185-186)

The Assimilationist Model

Because the assimilationist model is based on the European experience, its most fundamental underlying premises are not only that racial and ethnic minorities are immigrant groups who entered American society voluntarily but that the ultimate fate of immigrant minorities is assimilation into the great American melting pot. Social scientists who subscribed to this model were inordinately concerned with the malfunctioning of the Chicano family, for the family was often seen as the root of many of the evils encountered by Mexican-Americans (Ibid., p. 187). Whereas the pathology of the Mexican-American family was seen as rooted in patriarchy and that of the African-American family as rooted in matriarchy and the remnants of slavery, both family systems were seen as radical departures from the prototypical monogamous, egalitarian Anglo American familial ideal. In the now infamous Moynihan Report, the African-American family, for example, was described as a "tangle of pathology" which perpetuated poverty from generation to generation.

The essential elements of the assimilationist perspective are simple and straightforward (for a discussion of the assimilationist perspective see Glazer and Moynihan 1970; Gordon 1964; Murguía 1975; Blauner 1972, Ch. 2). The assimilationist model holds that:



1. American society is composed of diverse racial-ethnic groups integrated into an orderly, cohesive, "melting pot" of diverse interests.
2. The entrance of these diverse groups into American society is on an individual and voluntary basis.

~~everybody~~

everybody come voluntarily and leave old country

3. Immigrant groups generally come from less industrialized and less-developed nations and are lacking the skills necessary to compete effectively in modern society.

4. Immigrants enter the society at the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder, but their economic position is markedly better than it was in their country of origin. *notion?*

5. New arrivals are initially at a disadvantage economically, socially, and politically, but their ultimate fate is assimilation and integration into the host society.

6. Immigrant groups gain parity through education and acculturation to the values and culture of the dominant group and rejection of more traditional cultural and familial values. *Key*

7. Groups who do not attain parity are those that for one reason or another have failed or refused to assimilate and to take advantage of the many opportunities afforded immigrants in our open, pluralistic society. *تغير السلوك*

One of the major criticisms leveled at the assimilationist model is that it is a cultural deficiency theory of race and ethnic relations (for a discussion of such theories see, Barrera 1979, pp. 176-79). Based on an individualistic and volitional view, the model tends to minimize or negate the role of structural or historical forces in perpetuating racial/ethnic subordination. By turning to cultural factors to explain the lack of success of people of color, the model ends up somehow blaming oppressed people for their own oppression.

There are at least three variants of the assimilationist model: Anglo conformity, melting pot, and cultural pluralism (Gordon 1964; Murguía 1975, pp. 18-21).

Anglo-conformity is the most extreme variant of the model and cultural pluralism the least extreme. Anglo conformity holds that new immigrant groups inevitably take on the values and language of the "host" society (i.e., Anglo-Saxon Protestants). The melting pot model rejects the notion that any one group is dominant; arguing instead that all groups have contributed to the formation of a new hybrid society that is not based on any particular culture or group. Cultural pluralism pays lip service to the idea that distinct racial/ethnic groups are retained within American society and that no group is dominant. According to cultural pluralism, "[t]hese groups are said to maintain cultural, linguistic, and religious autonomy, while being held 'equal under the law' and integrated into the political and economic system." (Mirandé 1982-83, p. 187). In the earlier article, it was suggested that the differences among these three variants may be more apparent than real and that by perpetuating the illusion of equality, the ideology of the "melting pot" and of "cultural pluralism" only serve to mask the subordination of people of color in the United States.

The Internal Colonial Model

Proponents of this model hold that the experiences of people of color in the United States are more similar to those of Third World nations that were colonized by imperialist European powers than they are to the experiences of white European immigrants to the United States (for a discussion of the internal colony model see Fanon 1963, 1967; Memmi 1965; Blauner 1969, 1972; Moore 1970; Almaguer 1971; Acuña 1972; Barrera, Muñoz, and Ornelas 1972; and Barrera 1979). The initial introduction of African-Americans, American Indians, Chicanos, and, to a lesser extent, Asian-Americans was forced and involuntary. The model holds that:

تغير السلوك
تغير تاراج
فيل
Assimilation
vs
acculturation
↓
need
understand
participate
Paradigm means
equality
or equileness

7 Recourse
faire

8

✓ 1. American society is composed of diverse racial-ethnic groups, but rather than being integrated into an orderly and cohesive "melting pot," the society is characterized by the subordination of some groups by others who benefit from their subordination.

✓ 2. While Europeans immigrated individually and freely, the entrance of certain racial-ethnic groups was not only forced and involuntary but in mass.

✓ 3. Although it is frequently asserted that internally colonized groups come from less-advanced, under-developed nations, some subordinated groups have in fact come from older, advanced civilizations which in many ways were superior to their European counterparts.

✓ 4. Internally colonized people enter the society at the bottom of the socio-economic and political ladder, and their subordination is maintained through a variety of mechanisms.

✓ 5. Internally colonized groups have provided a dependent and secondary colonial labor force that receives lower wages and few, if any, of the benefits received by workers in the primary labor force. Historically, they have been dependent rather than free labor.

✓ 6. The subordination of internally colonized groups is not only economic and political but cultural. The dominant group has sought to render their culture dependent and to eradicate their language, thereby facilitating control of the colonized group.

سکس ان کا خوا
صا قبل
ان امریکی
وانگریزوں

Scab labor
labor Market Jeh
Dcare

7. Although the cultures of internally colonized people have been rendered dependent, they have not been eradicated, and such groups have not been assimilated or integrated into the dominant society. *Marginalized*

8. The dominant group permits a certain amount of upward mobility for a select number of individual members of internally colonized groups who are perceived as either more caucasian in appearance and/or willing to adopt the values and culture of the dominant groups. Ironically, such individuals tend to be accepted largely to the extent they are perceived as not identifying with or representing the interests of the colonized group.

9. Historically, race and color have been primary determinants of the acceptance of various racial/ethnic groups in American society, as groups that are more similar racially, culturally, and linguistically to white Europeans have been more readily accepted and assimilated.

The Marxist Model

A persistent criticism of Marxism has been its inability or unwillingness to deal with issues of race or ethnicity. In the 1970s, however, there was a resurgence of interest in Marxist and neo-Marxist thought, as many scholars of color began to question and challenge the internal colony model. A recurrent criticism was that internal colonialism was myopic, limited, and unprogressive because by focusing on racial and cultural oppression, attention was diverted from the underlying cause of racism and inequality—capitalism. An additional problem is that internal colonialism failed to recognize that capitalism subordinates working-class people of all colors. The Marxist model, in turn, holds that:

1. Capitalism is inevitably oppressive and based on the exploitation of some groups by others.
2. Racial minorities constitute an exploited underclass within American society.
3. The underlying basis for the exploitation of racial-ethnic groups is economic, not racial or cultural. *resources people CZ*
4. Racism will end only when capitalism ends and a classless society is established. *بزرگ جوامع*
5. Paradigms that focus on racial-cultural exploitation are limited and misguided because they are dealing with the effects rather than the root causes of social inequality.
6. In assuming that all whites are oppressors and all people of color are oppressed, one ignores the fact that the white proletariat are oppressed and some people of color are oppressors or would-be oppressors and inter-racial conflict and exploitation occurs among people of color.
7. The issue ultimately is not one of race or of culture but one between oppressors (capitalists) and the oppressed (proletariat).

Despite obvious differences among the models, one of the major themes of the earlier article was that there were also points of similarity and convergence among them. In reviewing the models, it is often unclear whether they are offered as theories designed to explain the experiences of oppressed groups or as ideological justifications or refutations of the status quo. The assimilationist and colonial models, for example, both acknowledge that people of color have been subjected to cultural control, but the former views assimilation

positively and the latter, views it negatively. The differences between the models, thus, are as much ideological and political as they are theoretical. The assimilationist model appears to be especially imbued with ideological assumptions. This ideology has led proponents of the assimilationist model to (a) view assimilation as an individual rather than as a collective phenomena, (b) focus on cultural rather than structural assimilation or integration, and (c) look for defects in the culture and values of oppressed groups to justify their subordination. Marxism, on the other hand, is similar to assimilation theory in that it gives primacy to social class over ethnicity, but it differs in recognizing racial and class oppression as a structural rather than an individual phenomenon. It is also similar to the assimilationist model in holding that over time racial minorities have become more integrated into the economy. Both Marxism and colonialism are structural models, but they differ in the primacy given to race and to class. While Marxism sees capitalism as the basis for racism, colonialism sees racism as the underlying basis for advanced capitalism.

Class Segmentation: Synthesis of Colonial and Marxist Models

In the 1970s and 1980s several theorists began to identify points of commonality between the colonial and Marxist models and moved to synthesize or integrate the two models. One of the first to attempt a synthesis of the models was Robert Blauner. In the classic work, *Racial Oppression in America*, Blauner acknowledged the need for a successful synthesis of the Marxist and colonial models, but noted that his own work fell short of this goal.

This suggests a major defect of my study. It lacks a conception of American society as a total structure beyond the central significance

CULTURE STUDY GUIDE

MATCH THE HEADINGS TO THE DEFINITIONS:

CULTURE SHOCK

ETHNICITY

MARGINAL MAN

MELTING POT THEORY

ETHNOCENTRISM

CULTURE

MULTICULTURALISM

ASSIMILATION

ACCULTURATION

ALIENATION

CULTURAL PLURALISM

ANOMIE

BICULTURAL

CULTURE CONFLICT

CULTURAL RELATIVISM

1. _____ The process by which one cultural group takes on and incorporates one or more cultural patterns.
2. _____ The process of estrangement from one's own heritage. Can be conscious or unconscious.
3. _____ Disorientation, anxiety, feelings of isolation. (In a dictionary: a) a collapse of the social structures governing a given society; b) a state of alienation experienced by an individual)
4. _____ A process in which an individual or group completely takes on the traits of another culture, leaving behind the original cultural identity and being completely absorbed into the new cultural tradition.
5. _____ The volition and capacity to negotiate comfortably two sets of cultural assumptions, patterns, values, beliefs and behaviors.
6. _____ Caused by differences in home and school expectations or inability to assimilate.

7. _____ No culture's values, ethics or morals as a whole may be judged as inherently superior or inferior to another's.
8. _____ Members of a pluristic society recognize the contributions of each group of the common civilization and encourage the maintenance and development of different life styles, languages, and convictions.
9. _____ The results of an impact, or encounter, that an individual or a group, may experience when confronted with the ideas of a totally different culture.
10. _____ Refers to the origin, classification, characteristics of a people.
11. _____ Belief in the inherent superiority of one's own group and culture.
12. _____ As suspended person, he fits into neither culture or society, but rather vacillates between both, desiring one while rejecting the other (usually his own original culture) but never fully participating in either one.
13. _____ A country, locality or situation in which a blending of races and cultures is taking place in order to create a homogeneous society.
14. _____ A structured process designed to foster understanding, acceptance, and constructive relations among people of many different cultures.
15. _____ The sum total of ways of living; including values, beliefs, esthetic standings, linguistic expressions, patterns of thinking, behavioral norms, and styles of communication which a group of people has developed to assure its survival in a particular physical and human environment.