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**Colonized outcaste ethnic groups in American society**

**Fuccillo, John Joseph, Ph.D.**

**City University of New York, 1990**

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COLONIZED OUTCASTE ETHNIC GROUPS

IN

AMERICAN SOCIETY

by

JOHN J. FUCCILLO

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate  
Faculty in Sociology in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of Doctor  
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1990

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11/21/89  
date

Frank Baugh  
Chairman of Examining Committee

Nov. 21, 1989  
date

Robert M. Alford  
Executive Officer

Michael E. Brown  
Hylan Lewis  
Supervisory Committee

The City University of New York

## Abstract

COLONIZED OUTCASTE ETHNIC GROUPS  
IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

by

JOHN J. FUCCILLO

Advisor: Professor Frank Bonilla

The dissertation focusses on aspects of ethnic interaction in the United States with specific reference to the American Native peoples, Afro and Puerto Rican Americans.

It utilizes an original abstract model in order to clarify the similar forcible inclusion experiences into the expanding American social system of the systemically depicted 'nonwhite' ethnic groups referred to above. Aspects of the status of the Afro and Puerto Rican peoples in the modern era are related to their 'atypical' but sociologically similar inclusions.

As denoted 'colonized outcaste' ethnic groups, their inclusions into the social system significantly differed from those of the majorities of those original European immigrants who migrated to the social system in the same era focussed on: from the creation of the United States to the early 20th century.

The essay begins with a comment on the Ideology conception, goes on to review some concepts of Race, Institutional Racism and Ethnicity and then comments on generalizations that refer to assimilation, cultural pluralism and the melting pot in the chapter on Social Stratification and The Harmony Conceptions of Ethnic Interaction. The members of the diverse Native Americans included into the social system in the era focussed on are conceived as the 'classical' outcaste ethnic groups. Aspects of the inclusions of these uniquely subordinated peoples are noted in the chapter on Empire, Imperialism and American Native Peoples. The next chapter on Social Processes and Social Positions goes into more detail on these inclusions, with some contrasting comments to the significantly differing inclusion experiences of those European immigrants who 'voluntarily' migrated in the period referred to.

This chapter also presents the original 'ideal type' theoretical model that is used to further clarify aspects of the uniquely pervasive domination that those originally victimized native peoples were confronted with in that era of the American expansion. The final two chapters compares the similar inclusions of the original Afro and Puerto Rican peoples and relates them to their similar victimized status in the modern era.

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Any number of people over a very lengthy period of time have assisted me in the preparation of this essay. It is not possible to refer to each individually.

Most of them are probably not aware of the extent or manner in which they have objectively assisted me in this academic journey: in one way or another.

For example, I know that they do not truly understand nor have they fully appreciated their contributions to the beginning, ending of this Ph.d. program and dissertation. Of necessity, my greatest thanks must go to my aged parents: Joseph and Virginia Fischetti Fuccillo. A brother, Gerard J. Fuccillo, founder and owner of the GJF Engineering Co. of Sonora, California shares in this truly 'profound' sense of appreciation.

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Although the current Executive Officer of the Sociology Department at the Graduate Center has only recently joined its faculty, Professor Robert R. Alford has also expressed a similar concern for me; my academic efforts that I truly appreciate: Thank you, Professor Alford.

The late Professor Edward Sagarin was a member of the dissertation Committee before his relatively recent and untimely death. He encouraged, assisted me in the pursuit of the Ph.d. studies, the dissertation in a unique manner that cannot really be acknowledged in writing. Thank you, Professor Sagarin: wherever you may be.

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an equivalent number of years have been realistically equal to those past, present members of the formal dissertation Committee. This comment is sincerely meant.

It is difficult for me to express my 'thanks and appreciation' for the interest, concern for me that you have displayed over the years, Bob. I hope that you will soon consider my past comments about Teachers College at Columbia.\*

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Her staff, made up of students and non-students, have expressed a similar dedication towards the Graduate Center and its students.

Similar comments could be made about Robert Goldstein, Registrar of the Graduate Center and his staff: I want to thank all of you. I should also note the friendly help, assistance shown to me over the years by Ms. Carmen Walters-Deale of the Registrar's Office and am looking forward to giving her a copy of the dissertation. Various staff members at the Graduate Center's Office of Financial Aid, especially Mr. Martin Boren, have also been helpful.

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I want to end this statement with the comment that in a very real and literal sense, I really do not know just where I would be at this moment in TIME if it were not for the existence of the City University of New York and its Graduate Center.

-John J. Fuccillo

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\* I expect to soon start 'auditing' classes at Columbia.

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Introduction

Chapter 1

## Ch. 1. Introduction

This dissertation has limited aims. It will attempt to focus on sociologically significant aspects of ethnic interaction in the United States with a specific emphasis on American Native peoples, Afro and Puerto Rican Americans.

Partly, it will attempt to create an abstract theoretical model useful in social science research on ethnic relations in the United States or societies similar to it in their history and development. To an extent, the essay will clarify the similar inclusion experiences into the United States of 'nonwhite' ethnic groups at differing points of time. An attempt will be made to relate these diverse but uniquely similar experiences to some aspects of the status of the modern Afro and Puerto Rican peoples in the 1980's.

These ethnic groups are depicted as 'colonized outcaste' peoples whose original inclusions into the expanding American social system differed significant-

ly from the inclusion experiences of the majority of the European immigrant peoples migrating to the social system in the same era. One significant aspect of these differing historical experiences has been that the expanding U.S. social system effectively went to the depicted nonwhite ethnic groups in order to forcibly include them under its political authority.

Inasmuch as there seems to be a great deal of ideology in the social science literature with regard to the historical and modern status of these ethnic groups, the dissertation begins with a brief comment on the ideology conception.

It will then briefly review various concepts about Race, Institutional Racism and Ethnicity as background for the more substantive chapters of the dissertation. The following chapter will then briefly comment on, outline what are being denoted as the 'harmony' generalizations of ethnic interaction. Social Stratification and The Harmony Conceptions of Ethnic Interaction to some extent will try to emphasize the persistent lack of reference to class in the conceptions denoted as assimilation, cultural pluralism, integration and the melting Pot.

It seems to be almost necessary to do so. It will

emphasize the inadequacies of these conceptions for a fuller and more objective understanding of ethnic interaction in the United States, especially with respect to social stratification.

The American Native peoples are conceived of as the 'classical' colonized outcaste ethnic grouping in the United States. Significant aspects of the historical development of 19th century America and the experiences of these peoples will follow in Ch. 5 on Empire, Imperialism and American Native Peoples.

Ch. 6 will focus on the inclusion experiences of the native peoples in more detail, with some limited contrast to the sociologically different inclusions of the European immigrant peoples in the same era. It will also present a model depicting the uniquely dominated nature of the inclusions of the original native peoples into the social system.

Ch. 7, Afro and Puerto Rican Americans as Colonized Outcastes, will compare the similar inclusions of these ethnic groups to the colonized

outcaste model presented in the prior chapter and will again briefly refer to the differing inclusion experiences into the American social system of the European peoples.

Ch.3, Afro and Puerto Rican Americans in The 1980's Era, will briefly outline some of the significant aspects of the overall social status of these groups in the contemporary era. It will attempt to further clarify how the differing but sociologically similar inclusions of the original Afro and Puerto Rican peoples into the social system are related to the social status of their descendants. No attempt will be made to give a full and complete depiction of the status of the modern Afro and Puerto Rican American groups nor will I try to assert that the inclusions experiences of their ancestors are the only factors affecting this status. The writer is aware that innumerable and complex social processes underlie it that seem to be significantly related to the development of the United States as an 'empire-like' social system.

## Ch.2. Ideology

### Introduction

The academic area of race and ethnic relations is replete with ideologies, theories, beliefs and unsubstantiated assertions. The ideology concept itself has persistently evoked debate in the social science literature as to its exact meaning. Inasmuch as this essay will refer to this concept and to some of the more significant theories of race and ethnicity, it seems appropriate to review the debate about ideology and establish a working definition for this dissertation.<sup>1.</sup>

### Ideology: What Is It?

Zygmunt Baumann has noted that in one of the first conceptions of the term created in the 18th century, its meaning primarily referred to a system of ideas that would be of benefit to society:

...to Destutt de Tracy...commonly...  
acknowledged as the person responsible  
for the coining of the word...ideology  
was to be a meta-theory...that would  
influence the prosperity of society...  
its many concerns...would be united...  
by the power of action...bent on en-  
hancing.. 2.

In post-revolutionary France, an attempt was made by its new government to institutionalize this science with the creation of the French Institute Nationale that was

...created to cultivate ideology as the practical science of the regulation of...society...3.

Baumann feels that the scientific connotations of the concept have undergone drastic changes over the centuries:

...ideology...underwent a truly bewildering...semantic change...acquiring... in the end...a meaning exactly contrary ...to its original connotation...

...what more antagonistic semantic domains are there than truth and falsehood; knowledge...shifting...narrow-minded prejudice. 4.

George Fischer has commented that much of the academic debate about the ideology term is basically one of confusion. He felt that while there seems to be some tacit agreement in the philosophical, social scientific literature as to its general meaning the formulations differ a great deal from specific ration-

alizations by occupational groups to broad political programs and social movements. He went on to point out that

...some writers have treated ideology as inevitable...shared...conventions of meaning... (Madian)...or...systems of interacting symbols which make incomprehensible social situations...meaningful...5.

#### Ideology as Faith, Myth, Dogma and Common Sense

Some social scientists have equated ideology with dogma or moral convictions. Robert Park once defined ideologies as doctrines that are implicit in the general customs of people. He didn't explain how they arise, become implicit or change within dominant cultural processes of societies.<sup>6.</sup>

P.H. Partridge referred to ideology as moral argument or faith:

...one very powerful interest throughout the course of European social thinking has...been the ideological...about...ways of life...the institutional conditions of the good life...political ideology has often been mainly...faith...myth...moral dogmatism...7.

Anthony Orum made similar comments in his com-

parison of democratic to totalitarian governments:

both forms of government display...  
ideological beliefs...myths...if you  
will. 8.

Hagedorn's interpretation is similar:

...ideologies (and) systems of beliefs  
(are) used to justify a group's sup-  
port of its preferred social arrange-  
ments...such an organization of beliefs  
is illustrated...by racism...by ideo-  
logies...calling for the equal treat-  
ment of groups...9.

Shils equated ideology with differing kinds  
of secular religion and righteous dogma:

...ideology is concerned with the  
sacred...it seeks to sanctify exist-  
ence by bringing it under the dom-  
inion of the ultimately right prin-  
ciples. 10.

These interpretations imply that there can be  
any number of conflicting types of ideologies within  
modern social systems. In the overwhelming majority  
of them, any number of groups exist who hold contra-  
dictory beliefs, goals and purposes. Conceptions of  
ideology such as the ones quoted tend to emphasize  
the beliefs of social groups with little or no refer-  
ence to the systemic sources of these beliefs: how

they arise, change or may be influenced by broader cultural processes.

Laclau generally views ideology as common sense that he considers synonymous with what he calls 'misleading articulations':

...common sense discourse is presented as a system of misleading articulations ...in which concepts do not appear linked by inherent logical relations...but are bound together by connotative...evocative links which custom...opinion...have established... 11.

This type of interpretation explicitly defines ideology as false, misleading and deceptive ideas.

Feuer has also defined ideology as myth although he also includes a reference to ambiguous philosophical ideas in one of his comments:

...every ideology is an invariant myth ...without it...their historical use... attractive power cannot be understood.

...every...ideology is composed of three ...ingredients...mythological structure... an alternating...set of philosophical tenets...an historically determined group are inherent...in...every ideology...12.

Such an interpretation seems much too rigid. It does

not seem possible that every ideology everywhere in the past, present or future has been, is now and will be composed of the three 'necessary' ingredients he cites. He gives no clear explanation as to why this must be so.

Many of the attempts to clarify the meaning of the ideology term refer to structural aspects of social systems as somehow involved in the creation of different cultural ideologies.

#### Ideology, Social Structure and Processes

In the latter 19th century Engels specifically referred to ideologies as the outcomes of diverse social processes, adding the idea of false consciousness as well:

...ideology is a process...accomplished by the thinker consciously but with a false consciousness...he works with mere thought material...does not investigate further for a more remote...source independent of thought... 13.

While Engels doesn't explicitly refer to the exploitative social structures of capitalistic social systems

that tend to conceal the diverse cultural processes underlying this thinking, he seems to imply their existence.

Therborn has indicated that ideologies are necessarily involved with the structural processes of social systems:

...ideology here will not necessarily imply any particular content...nor will it assume any...necessary degree of elaboration...it is the medium through which this consciousness...meaningfulness...operate...it includes everyday notions...elaborate intellectual...doctrines...<sup>14</sup>.

Such an interpretation seems much too general. Following it, ideology then comes to be almost anything and everything that human beings within societies might say or write. It acts as some sort of non-specific, vague 'medium'. One might well ask: how?

Karl Mannheim has given a somewhat unique interpretation of the concept in which two kinds of ideologies are referred to--the particular and the total:

...the particular conception of ideology is implied when the term denotes that we

...are sceptical of the ideas advanced by...our opponent...conscious disguises of the real nature of a situation... 15.

According to Mannheim particular kinds of ideologies usually appear in very specific social situations or debates when we perceive the arguments being advanced by others as overtly false or misleading. His total conception refers to

...the ideology of an era...of a concrete historical-social group... of a class when we are concerned with the characteristics of the total structure of this epoch...we refer not to isolated cases of thought-content... but to fundamentally divergent thought-systems...the opponent's total weltanschauung... 16.

By his reference to the total structures of the social processes of the social system within which ideologies arise, Mannheim seems to be emphasizing structured social processes of the social system including class, as the ultimate sources of ideologies.

Althusser also makes reference to underlying economic and political processes affecting ideologies:

...an ideology is a system of represent-

ations...endowed...with an historical existence...role...in a given society...

...societies secrete ideology as the very element and atmosphere...indispensable to their historical respiration...and life...17.

Stanley Aronowitz has compared Althusser to Lukacs and Gramsci in regard to their emphases that ideology ultimately derives from the structural processes of social systems:

...I believe Lukacs' concepts of hegemony...ideology are close to those of Gramsci...Althusser...all of them insist that...ideology is an aspect of the structure of...society...rather than a property of incorrect ideas...false consciousness

...for Lukacs...drawing from Marx's theory of...fetishism of commodities...the origin of ideology is in the permutations of the commodity form. 18.

The references of these writers to class or false consciousness inevitably leads one to some of the writings of Karl Marx.

Ideology and Marx: Interpretations and Comment

Different scholars have noted that both Marx and Engels were ambiguous in their use of the ideology term. Bertell Ollman has noted that:

...ideology refers...(in Marx)...at times to all ideas...sometimes to normative... other ideas which are considered...un-scientific...sometimes to such ideas as they serve the interests of a class...19.

Giddens has also claimed that while Marx did not set forth a systematic exposition of the concept, an explicitly Marxist interpretation of it should stress its relation to power and domination. He seems to be asserting that this is what Marx was trying to emphasize:

...in the German Ideology...there is a celebrated assertion about ideology... that the ideas in any given epoch...are above all the ideas of the dominant... class...it has access to ideas which it can disseminate...to legitimate...its own...domination...this connects...ideology to domination...20.

In linking the concept of ideology to domination, he also makes reference to an essentially vague "mode" through which it is upheld:

...I want to define ideology as the mode in which forms of signification are...incorporated within systems of domination...so as to sanction their...continuance...sectional interests...are represented as universal... interests. 21.

Marcuse has given a similar interpretation, while emphasizing that ideology essentially refers to illusions that assist in maintaining an apparatus of domination:

...ideology is a political concept  
...it...considers a doctrine in relation  
...not to an absolute truth...but rather  
...to the interest of transformation...

...countless philosophical doctrines...are mere ideology...as illusions about socially relevant factors...(they)... readily integrate themselves...with the general apparatus of...domination...22.

These interpretations seem to be limiting. Ideology then seems to refer only to those ideas that tend to assist a ruling elite in upholding their domination in structurally inequitable societies.

The interests of revolutionary groups have often been represented as 'universal' interests of mankind

in their efforts to challenge, change or overthrow  
 23.  
 existing political structures. For example, Judson  
 has commented on the Cuban Revolution led by Castro:

...one dies for opinions and not for  
 knowledge...for what one believes...not  
 for what one knows...as long as there are  
 no myths accepted by the masses...one may  
 go on talking about revolt indefinitely...  
 without provoking a revolutionary...change  
 ...movement...24.

Judson also refers specifically to Marx:

...that class struggle is pursued...  
 ought to be pursued in the realm of ideas  
 ...consciousness in not a new thought...  
 Marx expressed it in his concerns over the  
 false consciousness of the English working  
 class. 25.

He also refers to Gramsci's equation of myth with a

political ideology which represents...  
 itself...not as a cold utopia...nor as a  
 ...mere doctrinaire rationalization...but  
 as a concrete creation of the imagination  
 ...that acts upon a dispersed, pulverized  
 people to provoke...organize the collect-  
 ive will. 26.

These latter comments emphasizing the political  
 nature of and aspects of differing ideologies seem to  
 also suggest that some forms of ideological beliefs

are also very much needed in political movements that attempt revolutionary changes in the political structures of social systems. This seems especially true for those comments referring to Marx or Marxism. Some of the ambiguities about Marxist interpretations of ideology have recently been noted by Andrew Gamble in a comment on Larrain's Marxism and Ideology:

...the concept of ideology has always been central to Marxism...but there has always been great ambiguity in the way in which the term is used...is ideology ...false consciousness to be contrasted with true consciousness of science... expressions of class. 27.

Gamble notes that Larrain distinguished between positive and negative interpretations of ideology in The Marxist literature claiming that Marx himself:

...always held a limited negative concept of ideology...never used it in its later positive sense...in which it can refer to any systematic set of ideas...

the positive conception defines ideology ...in a more neutral fashion as any coherent set of ideas...which expresses the interests...objectives...values of a class or party... 28.

As can easily be seen from the differing quotations from social scientists and others, the meaning of the ideology conception seems elusive. Some of the writers insist that it almost always refers to various kinds of dogmatic beliefs, myths. Others emphasize the political aspects of ideology, insisting they are necessarily related to structured political institutions of social systems, the beliefs that assist ruling elites to maintain their inequitable power. Others refer to the need for ideologies of different kinds for revolutionary political movements to succeed.

The quotations presented above were obviously not meant to give a complete review of the many ways in which the ideology conception has been defined in the social science literature, elsewhere. They were meant only to give the reader some idea of the divergency of the views on the meaning of the term and how different writers have felt it can be used and defined.

Raymond Williams has acknowledged that the concept of ideology did not originate with Marx even though it has been an important part of many Marxist writings. He has referred to three distinct versions of it:

1. A system of beliefs characteristic of a particular class or group.
2. A system of illusory beliefs--- false ideas or false consciousness, which can be contrasted with true or scientific knowledge.
3. The general process of the production of meanings and ideas. 29.

Williams briefly reviews these related interpretations, admitting finally that there can be no

...single correct Marxist definition of the ideology concept...30.

Williams has also referred to The German Ideology in asserting that Marx allowed for the possibility of each class developing its own specific kinds of ideology:

...each new class...is compelled to represent its interest as the common interest of all...the members of society...put in an ideal form...it will give its ideas the form of universality...represent them as...the

only universally valid ones...31.

He also refers to one of Lenin's comments about the necessity for a proletarian, socialist ideology in the worldwide struggle against capitalism:

...socialism...insofar as it is the ideology of the proletarian class... is founded on all...the material of human knowledge...it presupposes...a high level of science...and scientific ...work...in the class struggle of the proletariat which develops spontaneously...on the basis of capitalist relations...socialism is...introduced by the ideologists...32.

Williams does not go into any great detail as to how or under what specific economic, political conditions such socialist ideology can develop. He ultimately concludes that within Marx's writings:

...ideology hovers between a system of beliefs characteristic of a certain class...false ideas or false consciousness...which can be contrasted with true or scientific...knowledge...this uncertainty was never resolved.33.

The question of what is a true or correct perception of reality has been the subject of persistent debate, argument and ongoing research in the social sciences.

### Summation

The comments on the concept of ideology have not been intended to settle the debates as to just what the definitive meaning of the conception is or should be. The concept as defined here will be referred to at various points throughout the essay. It seemed useful to begin with the above as a means of emphasizing that the very conception of separate and distinct human races is considered to be an essentially 'ideological' one by many writers as well as by this writer. The working definition of "ideology" for the dissertation is:

Ideology-- Socially structured interpretations of values, beliefs, ideas, social processes that attempt to advance systemic, class, group or individual goals and interests.

The above conception attempts to stress the structural processes necessarily involved in the creations and re-creations of ideas. The above depiction should assist in making the reader more aware of and sensitive as to just whose specific interests are being advanced by

different arguments about ethnic relations. Such awareness should hopefully make the reader also more fully aware of mythical or more subjective aspects of such arguments as opposed to their more objective aspects especially with regards to those differing beliefs and theories about the existence of separate and discrete human species. Such arguments and theories will be briefly reviewed and commented on in the following chapter.

Ch. 2. Footnotes

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Chapter 3. Race, Institutional Racism & Ethnicity

European Derivations of the Racial Concept

It is impossible definitively to determine how, when, and why the beliefs and theories about the existence of biologically separate and discrete human species first evolved within human social systems.<sup>1.</sup>

In Plato's Republic, an interpretation is given of how such beliefs might have been first created. He cites an imaginary discussion by his Philosopher-Kings about suitable myths that might assist in upholding their highly stratified, unequal social system:

...can we devise something in the way of convenient fictions...which we may induce our community to accept...

...we shall tell our people in this fable that all of you in this land are brothers - ...but God...mixed gold in those who are fit to rule...they are of the most precious quality...he put silver in the auxiliaries ...brass and iron in the farmers, craftsmen.2.

Such a discussion emphasizes the innate nature of the inferiority and superiority of the differing groups with "...gold in those who are fit to rule..".

Montagu has traced some modern conceptions about distinct human species to the 18th century scientists Linnaeus, Buffon, and Johann Blumenbach:

...the term race was first introduced into the literature of natural history by Buffon in 1749...(it) represented a sub-division...of a species...when it assumed a classificatory value...it was understood that it was purely arbitrary ...no more than a simple convenience, it had no other meaning than that...3.

Since then the concept seems to have assumed much more than a simple meaning.

The criteria Linnaeus used for classifying human beings ultimately derived from his studies of plant and animal life, some of which he published in his Systema Naturae. The book became a standard reference work among social scientists for many decades after its initial publication in 1759. Griessman has pointed out that Linnaeus was the first scientist to apply the term 'homo sapiens' to human beings:

...classification began with Linnaeus (and) his method of classifying plants ...animals is still used...the species are grouped into genera, the genera...

into families and so on...4.

Blumenbach created the widely used term 'Caucasian' to refer to the so-called 'white' species with his reference to a collection of skulls in 1775. He then arbitrarily

...classified mankind in a five-part skin color system...selected a handsome skull from a collection...it had belonged to a native...of the Caucasus mountains...whites came to be called Caucasians...5.

Since that era the numbers of the differing separate species specified have varied. These changing variations in their numbers have ultimately depended on what is asserted to be the so-called 'scientific' criteria that supposedly distinguish and separate the species.

In the same era that Linnaeus, Blumenbach and others were writing, Georges Buffon also asserted that inter-fertilization was the basic standard, criterion for classifying the discrete but innately 'inferior and superior' species. Buffon generally became known as an "...exponent of improvement of the alleged inferior races in an appropriate environment...but he never really doubted the validity of a white

standard... 6.

Despite the contradictions implicit in these assertions about inferior and superior human species, the three often wrote or spoke of the equality of them all. They shared similar cultural stereotypes about the innate superiority of the white peoples as well as the presumed inferiority of those depicted as 'non-white'. Linnaeus once wrote that

...the African black is...ruled by  
caprice...the men are indolent,...  
anoint themselves with grease. 7.

Buffon used the location of the European continent as a justification for his presumptions of the innate superiority of the white peoples, their assumed physical beauty:

...the most temperate climate lies between  
the 40th-50th degrees of latitude...(it)...  
produces the most handsome, beautiful men...  
it is from this climate...that the...various  
degrees of beauty ought to be...derived. 8.

While Buffon often asserted that there were no innate differences in the mental abilities of presumably discrete human species, he also insisted that the

whites were the primary race from which all other species derived:

...the caucasian must...on every physiological principle...be considered as the primary of these 5 principal races...the extremes into which it has deviated are the Mongolian...the Ethiopian...African blacks..." 9.

Stephen Gould has pointed out that similar unquestionable presumptions and condescending attitudes have been fairly common among many American and European scientists. To some extent, these assumptions about the innate superiority of the white peoples have carried over into cultural processes that seem to have contributed to the ongoing domination of Africa, the Caribbean area and the native people of both North and South America.<sup>10.</sup>

Some Early American Racial Ideologies And  
Classificatory Schemes

Macleod has summarized many of the diverse European-derived ideologies involved in various characterizations of so-called discrete human species in the British colonies as well as in early nineteenth-century America. He's asserted that they were involved in the rationalization and institutionalization of slavery as well as in the physical separation and segregation of the free Afro-Americans in those colonies and states where the institution of slavery was not very widespread.<sup>11.</sup>

Most of the American Revolutionary leaders derived from the upper or the upper-middle classes of the British colonies. According to Stephen Gould, many of them often expressed racial beliefs, opinions and attitudes "...that would embarrass public school mythmakers..."<sup>12.</sup>

One of the most important of the various upper-class Revolutionary leaders was Benjamin Franklin who sometimes wrote, spoke of separate human species as if they were unquestionable realities of human biology. At one point, he echoed commonly-held attitudes of many of the various Revolutionary leaders by asking:

...while we are clearing America of  
woods why darken its people? Why

increase the sons of Africa by planting them in America...where we have an opportunity (to) exclude all blacks ...tawnys...of increasing the lovely white,...red. 13.

Jefferson, Washington and many of the other founders of American society were also members of a slave-owning aristocracy that depended to a great extent on the social institution of slavery for their wealth and lifestyles. Many of them made statements similar to Jefferson's written comments that:

...I advance it...as a suspicion only that the blacks, whether a distinct race or made distinct by time...circumstances...are inferior to the whites... in the endowment of body...and mind... 14.

Throughout the slavery era in the United States, this relatively small but politically and economically powerful Southern aristocracy justified its involvement in slavery on economic grounds claiming it was, regrettable but necessary. Debate and research on the nature of the races seem to have been closely linked to the cultural processes that supported the institutionalization of slavery.<sup>15</sup> As Gould has put it:

...it is not coincidental that a nation ...still practicing slavery...expelling its aboriginal inhabitants from their homelands should have provided a basis for theories that blacks,...Indians are separate species...inferior to whites.<sup>16</sup>.

In their research and writings, most of the early American racial classifiers generally put Africans, Native Americans, Oriental and Hispanic peoples at the bottom of their racial hierarchies. In that era, some European theories about natural racial hierarchies were almost as popular as the 'Great Chain of Being' theories in America:

...the idea of an unbroken Chain of Being' stretching from the lowest ...to the highest forms of created matter was greatly popularized in the 18th century...

it was analogous to the theory of evolution...<sup>17</sup>.

These theories seemed to be significant underlying factors in the creation and recreation of those cultural processes involved in the material oppression of nonwhite peoples and other white ethnic groups culturally deemed to be innately inferior

throughout the nineteenth century.

In one of his books, W.E.B. Du Bois wryly depicted the symbolic position of Afro-Americans throughout the nineteenth century by asserting that in the United States, there existed the "...sincere, passionate belief that somewhere between men, cattle, God created a tertium quid...called it a Negro...a simple clownish creature, loveable within its limitations...foreordained to walk within a veil." 18.

Throughout the nineteenth century differing ideologies and doctrines about the biological superiority of Anglo-Saxons were often taught in some academic area of most American colleges and Universities. This term along with the terms Nordic, Teuton and Aryan were often used by many academics to refer to the supposedly superior branches of the white race. They were generally presumed to be elite groupings within the species. Some writings about the groups further assisted in the institutionalization of diverse myths and ideologies of the superiority of the "white

species".

After the Civil War, throughout the industrialization following it and the ensuing expansions of the social system beyond its continental borders, American academics and political leaders often wrote or spoke about the 'civilizing missions' of the Americans. Most often, such references were to the white members among them.

Racial doctrines often referred to Darwin's theories of evolution or to other "laws of nature" such as the "survival of the fittest". In their never-ending quests for more lands to exploit, the western empire-like social systems tended to develop differing cultural ideologies through the latter nineteenth century and into the twentieth century. Some of them referring to the superiority of the white species seemed to serve as cultural rationalizations for colonizing activities.<sup>19.</sup>

Du Bois also asserted that the different theories that developed in the United States and

other European nations were essentially economically based. They tended to be culturally linked to the material needs and complex structural processes of these distinctive types of expanding social systems. These theories also tended to contribute to the persisting exploitation of the labor of the majorities of the members of the white working classes in these societies at the same time.<sup>20</sup>

In their Kinds of Mankind, Klass and Helman made reference to the non-scientific reasoning of many nineteenth century American racial classifiers. The measurement of skulls was one such non-scientific method:

...many scientists concentrated on the measurement of skulls...did each race have a characteristic skull shape? ...if so, it would be necessary only to measure the shape of a person's skull... to know his racial classification.<sup>21</sup>

By 1849, a cephalic index had become widely used by scientists:

...the scientist measured the point of widest breadth of the head, the point of...greatest length...C.I. equals head breadth, divided by head length... multiplied by 100. 22.

Perceived differences in skin coloring, height, hair texture, etc. between different groups came to have significance as absolute indicators of separate human species. Few of those citing these 'scientific' criteria really sought to explain why such perceived differences were valid characteristics of discrete human species. Generally, it was simply assumed to be true. 23.

Theories of the independent creation of discrete human species were also fairly popular in the nineteenth century. Some well-known advocates of these theories were the Swiss-born naturalist Louis Agassiz and the Philadelphia physician Samuel Morton. Both of them used the measurement of skulls and the probable weights of the brains of designated races as the significant evidence for their theories.

Morton was a data analyst, sifter and collector of skulls; Agassiz a well-known Harvard theorist. They both put the "Black race" at the bottom of their racial

classifications. Agassiz turned to publicly arguing for the rigid segregation of the denoted races only after he had migrated to the United States in the 1840's. Prior to his migration, he had often argued that:

...whereas the animals are distinct... species...man, despite the diversity of his races...constitutes one and the same species... 24.

Later in his life, Agassiz's racial arguments became overtly infused with patent racist ideology:

...the courageous, proud Indian...how different a light he stands...by the side of...the obsequious negro...or by the side of the cunning...cowardly mongolian...are not these facts, indications that the differing races ...do not rank upon one level in nature. 25.

Similar to other racist reasoning one sometimes encounters in the modern era, Agassiz's theories simply assumed that the fact of discrete human species had been finally documented. His reasoning presumed that the 'white' race was at the top of the racial hierarchy.

Morton used methods and reasoning similar to Agassiz's. Some of the comments in his Crania Americana openly exposed his preconceptions:

...the Greenland esquimax (Eskimo)... are crafty,...sensual, obstinate and unfeeling...they seem to have no ideas beyond the present...providing for the present moment...the Chinese have been compared...to the monkey race...whose attention is perpetually changing from one object to another. 26.

In this book, Morton seems to have been even more hostile towards designated Black peoples, sometimes insisting that they "...are the nearest approximation to the lower animals...the women are more repulsive in appearance than the men." 27.

In the latter decades of the nineteenth century, some historians such as John Burgess often extolled American imperialism. They often mingled its defense with racial ideologies, insisting that:

...of all peoples who had learned... Darwin's lesson of the survival of the fittest, the Teutonic race...was the only one of superior stock...there was a vast difference in political...capacity between the races...it was the white man's mission, duty...right to hold political power...28.

As the United States extended its political authority and economic dominance well beyond its continental borders, all kinds of such ideologies arose within dominant cultural processes of the society.<sup>29.</sup>

Assertions and Reflections of Racial Ideologies In  
The 20th Century

1. Assertions

Pierre van den Berghe has traced some of these above-noted theories/ideologies about discrete races that continued into the 20th century to the American expansions in those era. He linked the themes of:

...laissez-faire capitalism in the economic sphere...jingoism, imperialism...in foreign relations...(to)... ethnic intolerance...in...the domestic sphere. 30.

Characterizing the latter nineteenth-early twentieth centuries as the 'Golden Age of Racism', van den Bergh cited the underlying needs of an empire-like, industrializing social system for cheap labor as basic to the creation and recreation of these ideologies of intolerance:

...the writings of Theodore Roosevelt, ...Madison Grant...other American racists epitomize this period...Social Darwinism, economic liberalism were fused to... rationalize the survival of the fittest,

wealthiest...the industrial jungle  
gave racism the accolade of science. 31.

Robert Park quoted a summary of an important strand of these ideas about race that became popular in that era even before Thomas Bailey published it in 1916:

...this is a white man's country...  
the white race must dominate...Teutonic  
peoples stand for racial purity...the  
Negro is inferior...no social or political  
equality for them, the status of  
peasantry is all the Negro race may hope  
for if the races are to live together  
...the above indicates the leadings of  
Providence. 32.

Any number of the racial ideologues in these early decades of the twentieth century equated Teutonic or Anglo-Saxon ancestry with true Americanism. Henry Osborn, a Columbia University Zoology professor, insisted that the conservation of the white race was simply a matter of the love of country since "...this was the race that had given us the spirit of true Americanism..." 33.

These ideologies generally excluded Afro-Americans inasmuch as they openly emphasized 'white' skin coloring as being somehow the only perceived factor that would be indicative of patriotism. Darker peoples were out of the

structural processes that were supposedly creating a new, superior American race and social system. About the time Osborn wrote about race and patriotism, larger numbers of perceived 'darker' peoples from Southern, Eastern Europe were migrating to the United States. Anglo-Saxon academics, public officials and political leaders began expressing fears that the 'white Nordic-American race' was dying out since,

...it only requires a single dark-eyed ancestor to lend dark hair... eye color...to an otherwise pure Nordic strain. 34.

Osborn wrote the above in what must be one of the most racially polemical, least-documented social science texts ever printed in the United States: Madison Grant's The Passing of the Great Race. By 1920, the book had gone through three editions and had become somewhat academically as well as politically influential. It was primarily aimed at documenting the immutability of racial character-

istics, the presumed unchanging superiority of the denoted Nordic race. It referred to the innate inferiority of nonwhite peoples at the same time-- including white ethnic groups from Southern and Eastern Europe.<sup>35</sup>

Grant's book is full of seemingly settled assertions, conclusions for which he provides no empirical evidence. In a comment about the "original" races, he claimed that:

...the great legacy of race is the immutability of bodily characters  
 ...closely associated with the immutability of psychical predispositions  
 ...impulses...all of the original races of man...had dark eyes...which are universal among...wild animals  
 ...all blue, gray or green eyes came from the Nordic race (which)...has an ...absolutely fair skin...is consequently the white man par excellence... 36.

Throughout the book, Grant expressed fears and anxieties about dark physical characteristics. He classified European peoples into three basic races: Nordic, Alpine and Mediterranean:

...the Nordic race is domineering...self-reliant...jealous of their personal freedom...usually Protestant...the Alpine race

is essentially peasant...agricultural  
 ...submissive to authority...Roman  
 Catholic...in literature...scientific  
 research...37.

He insisted that these Nordics were the "...one Great  
 38.  
 Race of Mankind..."

Even though the book sometimes expressed contempt  
 for the goals and ideals of democracy, Grant eventually  
 became fairly well-known in some government circles.

At times he

..was called in as an advisor by the  
 Congressional Committess drawing up the  
 legislation restricting immigration...

...his ideas formed the principles under-  
 lying the...exclusionary Immigration Acts  
 of 1921...1924...quotas were established  
 the largest number of immigrants could  
 come from Great Britain...the Scandinavian  
 countries,...Germany...

...the quotas from Southern, Eastern  
 Europe were small...with few exceptions,  
 Asians and Africans were completely  
 excluded. 39.

While this quota system has been modified to some extent  
 over the decades, its basic restrictions remain effect-  
 ively embedded within U.S. immigration laws despite the  
 objective changes in the nature of the social system  
 40.  
 and the differing ethnic groups within it.

Another popularizer of racial ideologies during the 1920's was Lothrop Stoddard, whose articles and books were similar to those of Grant and Osborn. In a reference to the African, Mediterranean and Asiatic races, he insisted that the United States

...had been harmed in the late 19th century by a horde of...Alpines,... Mediterraneans,...not to mention Asiatic elements...who had crowded out the native Nordic Americans... the result was a mongrelized offspring...a walking chaos so consumed by his jarring heredities...that he is quite worthless. 41.

The variations of these relatively enduring themes have been characterized by Sherman and Wood as:

...the most conservative view, that there are inherited biological differences that make Blacks...(or the Mexicans, Indians, etc.)...intellectually..and physically inferior.42..

In 1962, Carleton Coon published what became a fairly influential variation of this idea in his The Origin of Races that emphasized theories of polygeny at the same time. Much of this book is based on an undocumented assertion that at some

undetermined time in the distant past:

...man was a single species, Homo Erectus, perhaps already divided into five geographic races or sub-species...(it) evolved into Homo Sapiens not once but five times...as each sub-species passed a critical threshold from a more brutal to a more sapient state... 43.

Coon claimed that due to variable movements and migrations of these original sub-species, interbreeding and intermixture occurred among them over time. Any number of other species then evolved although many of them came to be geographically isolated. His original five species were called Caucasoid, Mongoloid, Australoid, Congoloid and Capoid. The latter two were named after the Congo River and the Cape of Good Hope in Africa.<sup>44</sup>

This presumably innate inferiority is often viewed as the most basic and non-changeable fact in social problems affecting large numbers of people among specific ethnic groupings. Such a presumption then serves as a justification for refusing any political or social resolutions of enduring social problems. These assumptions about a 'natural law' of race-based superiority and inferiority seem to have contributed

to the cultural processes maintaining structural inequalities in the United States.

As Sherman and Wood have noted:

...this so-called (innate) inferiority is often seen as the cause of low income, less educational achievement, poor housing, etc. 45.

This type of reasoning puts the entire responsibility for the degraded life situations and social status of those with low incomes or little education on the victims' natural destinies. It ignores inequitable and discriminatory cultural processes that are invariably involved in the complex, diverse social and economic problems of the social system.

These beliefs in some kind of innate inferiority essentially tell materially deprived peoples that there is nothing that can be done to assist them. They should simply somehow adjust to their genetically determined situations and status within the social system without complaining.

## 2. Rejections

Edward Reuter briefly summarized some of the less influential findings of scientific research on the human species that had also grown up by the end of the nineteenth century and beginning decades of the twentieth century:

...there was a growing realization that the social significance of race could not be understood by the enumeration of biological processes ...physical differences. 46.

Reuter also emphasized that in that era a fairly large amount of less widely-known research had developed that tended to challenge the prevailing ideologies about the existence of discrete human species. By that time, many of these scientists had concluded that there really were no such things as discrete human 'races'. According to them such an objective reality as a distinct and separate human species was just not scientifically possible to conclusively document and prove.

Reuter went on to emphasize that the socially significant differences between so-called human 'races' were culturally created. Perceived physical distinctions

between human beings are minor:

...there is no known group of men whose culture can be differentiated on the basis of any complex of racial traits...the differences between peoples are those of language,... belief...custom,...technology...

these cultural acquisitions are independent of race...they are learned...used, transmitted (and) discarded without changes...in the germ plasm. 47.

During the 1930's-1940's, some of the writings of British biologists Julian Huxley and A.C. Haddon became more influential among some scientists. In one of their books they emphasized that

...the existence of human sub-species is purely hypothetical...nowhere does a human group exist...which corresponds closely...to a systematic sub-species in animals...

all that exists...is a number of arbitrary ethnic groups...which can never be genetically...purified...if race is a scientific term...it must have a genetic meaning. 48.

Ruth Benedict made essentially similar points in many of her books and articles. She especially stressed that the physical characteristics of human

beings were effectively dependent on the objective possibility of interfertilization between any man and woman who were capable of producing children. Her reasoning was that if there were truly genetically distinct and discrete human species, this interfertilization would be biologically impossible:

...any healthy man and woman of any differing ethnic group can produce another human being, while no family of the red deer...has ancestors who were elk. 49.

Penrose's review of Dunn and Dobzhansky's Heredity, Race & Society said essentially the same thing. He also emphasized the essential irrelevance of genetic factors to the geographical locations of specific groups, the linguistic differences between them. In his comments, Penrose rejected the racial concept altogether:

...the writer is unable to see the necessity for the term race when what is meant...is a...given population...differentiated by some social...geographical...peculiarity...

The use of the concept race...makes

the presentation of the facts about geographical...linguistic groups unnecessarily complicated. 50.

Genetic variation among human beings is essentially unpredictable. There has never really been any agreement among scientists as to just how many genes of specific types objectively constitute a separate and discrete human species. Specific enumerations of these differences are scientifically arbitrary.

So are theories of evolution applied to "race". In language similar to that of any number of scientists, biologists Paul Ehrlich and Richard Holm have asserted that:

...so-called subspecies of races in ...man are not evolutionary units... they are arbitrarily created to describe ...certain variations...patterns in one or a few characteristics...they have no common genetic pattern nor may their genetic future be predicted. 51.

They comment on a basic error in much scientific, social science research and writings:

...it is an error to believe that... human subspecies are things that can be discussed,...compared or whose separate evolutionary development may be traced. 52.

Skin coloring has often been used by scientists and others as the primary criterion to confirm hypotheses about separate human species:

...the genetics of skin coloring is... considerably complex...the color differences between people is due to the joint action...of several genes...

geneticists have studied...the inheritance of skin coloring for more than half a century, yet exactly how many genes are involved is...still unknown. 53.

Dobzhansky feels that any attempts to objectively document the existence of specific numbers of discrete species are implicitly futile, misleading. He's asserted that this type of research is effectively a waste of time:

...any anthropologist who maintains...that there are exactly five or any other fixed number of races...or who resolves to cut the ...the Gordian knot...is nurturing illusions... 54.

Raymond Mack has echoed such reasoning in similar language by concluding in his Race, Class & Power that in regards to distinguishing human races

We talk all the time glibly of races (but) nobody can give us a definitive answer to the question as to what is a race...when I turned to a consideration of racial problems...I was shocked by the formalism of the work...nobody has tried to answer the questions why certain measurements were taken...why they were considered to be important. 55.

More recently, Coser, Rhea, Steffen and Nock reaffirmed this reasoning in somewhat differing language:

...the human species is traditionally separated into three broad racial... categories...Negroid, Caucosoid,... Mongoloid...(but) the peoples of the world have been crossbreeding for so long that the concept of race is unimportant. 56.

Lewontin, Rose and Kamin have reiterated this and have concluded that social and cultural processes are primarily responsible for the social significance of racial ideas in human affairs. Needless to say, the variable social, economic and political effects of beliefs in the idea of discrete human species continue to have consequences within social systems

out of all proportion to their demonstrable validity.

...racial categories are established that correspond...to major skin color groups...borderline cases are distributed into new races according to whim...no matter how defined...the differences between major...'racial' categories...turn out to be small...

...usage of racial categories must take its justification from some other source than...biology. 57.

Erich and Holm have referred generally to the far-reaching consequences of these beliefs. To some extent, this essay is an attempt to more fully clarify and outline some of the related social consequences of these conceptions within American society:

...promulgation of views of races... their supposed properties may have serious...far reaching consequences ...for man's present...behavior (as well) as for his future psycho-social evolution. 58.

Views of racial distinctiveness have become institutionalized within the dominant cultural processes of United States society.

#### Racism and Institutional Racism

For purposes of the essay it seems unnecessary

to go into a detailed review of these much-used terms in the social science literature. Pierre van den Berghe's conception seems to be useful:

Racism is any set of beliefs that organic genetically...transmitted differences, whether real or imagined, between human ...groups are...intrinsically associated with the presence or absence...of socially relevant abilities, characteristics... hence that such differences are a legitimate basis for...invidious distinctions between groups...socially defined as races. 59.

Realistically it seems to be relatively unimportant whether victimized human groupings are called 'races/ethnic groups' or anything else. In terms of social research, what seems more relevant is to try to clarify how and why specific societies become characterized by racial beliefs and to outline the consequences of them.

Prewitt has referred to the relevance of underlying cultural processes that often go unacknowledged by those involved in institutions:

...institutions are fairly stable...social arrangements,...practices through which... collective actions are taken.<sup>60</sup>.

The 'stable' nature of many of the American social institutions through which relatively routine arrangements and actions are taken is relevant to the goals of the essay, this chapter. Carmichael and Hamilton seem to have been the first writers who introduced the conception of institutional racism into the social science literature in their Black Power in 1967. This type of racism is not generally conscious or willful on the part of individuals. Most often it is covertly expressed. 61.

As used in this essay, "institutional racism" will refer to those complex social processes that more or less routinely contribute to the production of

...those established laws, customs...  
practices...that systematically reflect  
...racial inequities in American society

...if racist consequences accrue, the  
institution is racist...whether or not  
the individuals...maintaining these  
practices have racist intentions. 62.

Two issues that the essay will try to clarify is how racism became embedded within the dominant

institutions of American society and how this fact influences the condition of ethnic groups in the United States.

### Ethnicity and Ethnic Groups

A common dictionary interpretation of "ethnicity" refers to it as a "trait" corresponding to "ethnic background"<sup>63</sup>. The question is, however, to what does "ethnic background" refer? McLemore equates ethnicity with nationality:

...many Americans still think of themselves as having a 'nationality' (ethnicity) in...addition to their identity as Americans...64.

This merely shifts the problem from one term to another. As with many concepts in the social sciences, a clear and widely accepted definition of the ethnicity concept is difficult to find. Richard Schaefer points out that ethnicity is essentially subjective and not easily or rigorously defined. Schaefer refers to some kind of political distinction between citizens, non-citizens or potential future citizens. As he has

put it:

...the term nationality group is sometimes reserved by other writers for peoples...migrating from a specific nation. 65.

While the nationality of groups of individuals is involved in cultural distinctions, it seems superficial if not misleading to equate ethnicity and political identity. It is as misleading to equate ethnicity with attitudes, as Richard Burkey has done:

...ethnicity is a set of attitudes related to a sense of ancestral identification with a segment of the world's population...like all attitudes it varies among individuals ...some are preoccupied with ethnicity... while others find it irrelevant or absurd. 66.

There are obviously psychological aspects of ethnicity but, whatever they are they have more to do with the ascribing group than with the objects of the ascription. What is more important is culture.

Bahr, Chadwick, and Strauss have provided what seems to be an interpretation along just these lines:

...ethnicity refers to shared culture,  
...background...(it)...includes common  
ancestry,...embraces language...religion

custom...national...political identification. 67.

They comment on how ethnicity seems to be dependent on "social interaction" which they claim is "consciousness of kind". Within the ethnically diverse social system of the United States much social interaction involves groups with culturally different ethnic identifications. This cultural diversity may underlie certain conflicts and can have especially serious consequences for the most vulnerable people within metropolitan areas. 68.

Bahr, Chadwick and Strauss refer to engrossing social relationships yet they are not clear as to what belonging to an ethnic group means for individuals:

...the essential determinant of ethnic group membership is social identification ...if the group defines a person as similar...enough to belong to it...if that person...identifies with that group...then he or she...belongs to that group. 69.

People may, officially or unofficially, be treated as

members of an ethnic group without somehow identifying with that group. Specific criteria for membership within groups are not immutable. They are subject to change over time, place, and circumstances. Nevertheless Stanley Eitzen seems to assume that the meaning of "ethnic group" is more or less self-evident:

...the United States is inhabited...by a multitude of ethnic groups that migrated to this country in different...waves...it has been assumed that the mixture of these diverse peoples would in time...blend...70.

Eitzen's comment refers only to those white ethnic groups from Europe who migrated to the United States. These types of harmony-oriented summaries of the demographic development of the United States distort American history, particularly in regard to those confrontations with peoples beyond its borders. "Nonwhite" peoples are only some of those who did not voluntarily migrate to the United States. Superficial interpretations like Eitzen's tend to ignore these facts about the historical development of American society, especially in the 19th century and

71.  
early 20th century.

With this in mind, the conception of ethnicity that will be used for this essay is the following:

Ethnicity refers to the subjectively shared systemic social processes that routinely produce constantly changing but essentially similar learned social, cultural characteristics expressed by ill-defined discrete cultural groupings within the social system.

An ethnic group is:

A constantly defined population entity affected by constantly changing, complex, social processes. These result in the expression of roughly similar cultural characteristics perceived as unlike the cultural expressions of other presumably separate population entities.

#### Summation

This chapter has reviewed some of the differing conceptions of the existence of discrete human species.

It seemed necessary since the essay focusses on different characteristics of ethnic/race relations in the United States. It seemed to be an appropriate way of introducing the more complex issues that will be discussed in the chapters that follow.

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## Ch. 4. Social Stratification and the Harmony

### Conceptions of Ethnic Interaction

#### Introduction

Social scientists have often used different abstractions to clarify social interactions of American ethnic groups. But such interactions are too complex for the concepts that have been developed. This seems especially true for the abstractions that are often used to substantiate 'harmony' in ethnic interaction:

1. Integration
2. Assimilation
3. The Melting Pot
4. Cultural Pluralism

As commonly used in the social science literature, these characterizations imply the inevitability of social mobility for all ethnic groups willing to "work hard"<sup>1.</sup> These abstractions seem to be based on differing types of illusions that the United States is

...a peaceful society in which social relations are harmonious...voluntarily ordered amongst the great majority...of the society's members. 2.

In contrast, this essay assures that the United States is a highly stratified social system essentially based on

...the ownership...control of the means of production...by a small minority...the concomitant exploitation of the overwhelming ...majority of its people...3.

The 'eventual success' idea has been formulated by Wilton Gordon:

...processes of racism...discrimination ...if they succeed in keeping vast...numbers of the minority group...deprived of educational opportunities...may...retard the acculturation process...but from the long view of American...history...this effect of discrimination will be seen to have been a delaying action only... 4.

Such interpretations are indicative of utopian views of the American social system that tend to ignore important realities of its history. They are not necessarily indicative of a racist perspective. They do imply that some kind of 'natural law' is at work within the social system that will eventually allow different ethnic groups to overcome barriers to their adjustment, progress in the system. This cycle

perspective was stated by Robert Park well before  
Gordon's interpretation of it:

...in the relations of races there is  
a cycle of events which tends to repeat  
itself...the cycle which takes the form  
of contact...competition...accomodation  
...eventual assimilation...(it)is...  
progressive...irreversible...6

But in terms of the continually-changing nature of  
social relationships such a cycle does not seem to  
be possible. The assertions that it is tend to ignore  
the complexities of diverse social processes. The  
following review of the "harmony" perspective is  
intended to emphasize why such theories about complex  
social relationships are misleading.

#### Integration

Hunt and Walker have assumed that the essential  
nature of the integrated society is more or less self-  
evident. They have made any number of undocumented,  
ambiguous assertions about aspects of ethnic groups  
and their affiliations, insisting that the United  
States

...is a system that minimizes...  
the importance of national ancestry. 7

The legalized exclusionary annihilations of American native peoples and the slavery status imposed upon the majority of Africans were long-term, enduring structured processes of American society. These processes involved geographical, political and economic expansions of the social system throughout the nineteenth century. To some extent, they were justified by reference to the national ancestry of different ethnic peoples.

Hunt and Walker's comments that further attempt to clarify the nature of the integrated social system seem to make it even more difficult to understand:

...the integrated society is not...  
directly concerned with ethnic group  
equality...inequality...survival or...  
disappearance...

...if ethnic groups survive...it is  
because of the cumulative effects of  
individual choice...rather than because  
of government guarantees...to protect  
ethnically-based institutions...or  
privileges...ethnic...affiliation loses  
its salience in the...social structure.8.

This seems to make large assumptions about integration that seem to be based on circular reasoning: the 'integrated' social system is simply said to be integrated.

Hunt and Walker seem to focus on 'individual choices' of the denoted members of identified ethnic groups to retain their distinctive ethnic identity. They make little or no reference to structured political processes that may limit what empirical choices any person may have as a member of socially-identified ethnic groups. Moreover, the simple fact of being identified by others in U.S. society as Indian, African or Puerto Rican seems to have had much more complex, invidious consequences--as compared<sup>9.</sup> to members of those groups denoted as white.

Hunt and Walker do not really go into detail about how ethnic affiliation loses its salience within American society. Nor do they go into detail as to why:

...integration assumes that the problem of ethnic group conflict is solved...

...through the adoption of a common identity...the disappearance of separate ethnic group interests...it solves group conflicts through the merger of separate groups into...a common whole...10.

Burkey's conception, in wording very similar to that of Hunt and Walker, also seems to raise more questions than it answers:

...integration as a social process is the reduction of differences between members of two or more groups ...the ethnic or racial...status of coworkers becomes unimportant...as these groups coalesce...the entire... society may be characterized as ethnically...racially integrated...11.

Such characterizations make similar assumptions about the inevitability of ethnic coalescence that somehow emerges in social systems.

Griessman has used a similarly vague conception of 'coordinated compliance' among ethnic groups as being effectively synonymous with integration.

He comments that

...in the relationships between dominant...subordinate ethnic groups there is a social process

whereby they are brought into a coordinated compliance with the...ongoing activities...objectives of the... dominant group...12.

His "dominant group" does not seem to refer to a single majority ethnic group but it resolves diversity under a societally functional system of stratification:

...the dominant group is that collectivity within society which has pre-eminent...authority to function as guardians...and sustainers of the controlling value system...13.

As with many social scientists writing in this area, Griessman neither discusses the relationship between race/class, and ethnicity nor anticipates the relevance of such relationships to the realities of ethnic interaction.

Van den Berghe's comments about integrationist groups equate them with assimilationist groups. He also seems to assume that the meanings of integration and assimilation are more or less self-evident:

...assimilationist...integrationist groups have sought incorporation into the mainstream...of their societies...14.

What this 'mainstream' actually refers to is no more

clear than Griessman's notion of "the dominant group."

### Assimilation

Peter Rose uses a concept of assimilation to clarify ethnic interaction in the United States:

...the three principal theories of... adjustment...offered by the Founding Fathers...their spokesman have been... referred to as Anglo-conformity...(or assimilation)...accomodation (cultural pluralism)...the melting pot (amalgamation)...15.

He uses assimilation interchangeably with Anglo-conformity, accomodation and amalgamation, equating them with processes of cultural pluralism represented as a melting pot:

...the idea of assimilation has been the most prevalent throughout much of our history...the best course to national...integration... 16.

But the different peoples who have been involuntarily brought under American political authority have had brutalizing experiences that have given no indication whatsoever that the social system was meant, as Rose claims, to be some sort of haven or refuge for them.

Gordon has cited Anglo-Conformity as being one of the three major processes of national integration generally assisted by "...philosophies of assimilation that have demanded the complete renunciation of the immigrant's ancestral culture..."<sup>17.</sup> Elsewhere, he has equated the core group of American society as being a sub-society made up of:

...middle-class white Protestant Americans...as the immigrants...have become Americans...their contributions have been made by way of cultural patterns from the mould of the overwhelmingly English character of the dominant Anglo-Saxon subculture...whose domination in the United States has never been seriously threatened...<sup>18.</sup>

Throughout his Assimilation In American Life, Gordon is vague as to just what he really means by becoming 'American' or what it means to make 'contributions by way of Anglo-Saxon cultural patterns.' He gives the impression that such assertions are or should be more or less 'self-evident', that the average American would understand what he meant. He doesn't provide further clarification of or proof for

his assertions. Such ideologies amount to advocating that significant aspects of the dominant society be imposed upon the majorities of the immigrant groups as a condition of 'full and complete acceptance'<sup>19</sup>. This conclusion is supported by Bahr, Chadwick and Strauss:

...in the assimilationist view...the minority communities gradually lose their distinctiveness...acquire the values...behavior patterns of the majority...implicit in them...is the superiority of the dominant position...it dominated because...the natural laws ...of social evolution dictate that right...might...should prevail...20.

#### The Melting Pot-Process

Another variation of the notion of assimilation tendencies are the melting pot ideologies. Gordon's characterization is typical:

...the melting pot idea envisaged a biological merger of the Anglo-Saxon ...peoples with other immigrant groups ...a blending of their respective cultures into a new...indigenous... American type. 21.

Geschwender also characterizes the 'blending' perspective with a certain irony:

...various authors have suggested that America is a great melting pot...a new unique blend of all the cultures... peoples who have migrated to it...

...pizza and spaghetti from Italy... beer from Germany, the Christmas tree from Scandinavia...all combine to make ...the mixture that is America...22.

These critics point to the "melting pot" as referring to the white peoples who have migrated voluntarily to the United States. It is clear that this ideology ignores the experiences of conquered or forcibly included peoples.

A literary interpretation of the melting-pot idea of America as a land of refuge for all who came to American society was expressed in the 1920s by Israel Zangwill in one of his plays:

...America is God's crucible...the great...melting pot where all the races of Europe...are melting and reforming...there she lies...can't you hear the soaring...23.

This conveys the essential assertion of the 'melting/ coalescing' ideologies. It conveys a relatively enduring cultural theme about the eventual material

'success and progress' of those migrating to the social system.

McLemore describes the nature and potentially violent implications of the idea of a melting pot of ethnicities:

...the melting pot theory...embraces the goal of the disappearance of minority...groups in America...24.

These themes effectively distort much of the history of the United States as a capitalist, empire-like social system in which 'minority' ethnic groups were initially forced into the oppressive, low-wage labor necessary for its development. These material processes required a world of invidious distinctions among ethnic groups, both white and non-white.

Bahr, Chadwick & Strauss argue that the melting pot analogy is no longer significant:

...the view of America as a great melting pot...in which the tired... poor...ethnically different may lose their former identities...become simply Americans...has lost its force in the past few decades. 25.

They emphasize, however, that ethnicity is still important for the prospects of different portions of the American population:

...for many people...ethnicity continues to represent an important part of personal identity...its importance seems greatest among the lower...middle classes.26.

In fact, they claim that by the 1980's, "...the United States seems to be moving towards a pluralistic society...".  
27.

Cultural Pluralism

Horace Kallen coined this term to describe the nature of ethnic interaction within the United States in the 1920's. He implied that this was the kind of social system that the original Founding Fathers had actually planned:

...cultural pluralism would seek to ...provide conditions under which existing ethnic cultural groups might attain ...the cultural...perfection...proper to its kind.

...all the various nations must be taught this fact...that democracy means self-realization through self-control...self-

discipline...that one is impossible  
without the other...28.

Kallen assumes here that various ethnic groups who have migrated to the United States have lacked control and self-discipline. He seems to be claiming that they would be able to find their own cultural development and distinctiveness by adapting to American "democracy."

The European white ethnic peoples who have, somehow, been 'perfecting' their own cultural uniqueness in a "...future land rich in diversities..." seem to be the groups that Kallen's comments primarily refer to. <sup>29.</sup>

To some extent there has been a resurgence of social science support, in the 1970's and early 1980's for the pluralist perspective. These themes invariably stress a functional

...integration of peoples into the  
...economic, political order of the  
...dominant society...while they retain  
a distinctive cultural life...

...this was more likely to be seen as a  
desirable objective of the...minority  
group...it involves neither cultural  
nor structural assimilation. 30.

Books like Richard Gambino's Blood of My Blood, Michael Novak's The Rise of The Unmeltable Ethnics, Glazer and Moynihan's Beyond the Melting Pot can generally be viewed as examples of this cultural pluralist perspective. They all insist that significant aspects of ethnic distinctiveness have remained fairly stable within the United States inter-generationally. While Glazer and Moynihan focussed primarily on New York City, they generalized to other United States areas.<sup>31.</sup>

According to Milton Gordon, many members of earlier immigrant groups who managed to succeed materially or assimilate themselves into the American social system managed to preserve their

...communal life...significant portions of their culture...within the context of political...economic integration... 32.

Generally, all of these theories are very similar in ignoring the realities of American historical development and the expansions of it beyond its legal 'borders'. Such ideological theories ignore the

realities of how differing minority groups came to be involuntarily included into the social system, the imperialistic processes involved in such inclusions.

Stephen Steinberg's comparison of the pluralist interpretations to those of the melting pot themes seems to apply to the integration/assimilation themes as well:

...once the position of the ethnic pluralists is stripped of its rhetorical excess...it is not altogether at odds with...the melting pot theorists.<sup>33</sup>

The harmony conceptualizations seem to derive from variations of the functionalist perspective in social science. This perspective blurs the class aspect of the social system that necessarily affects interaction among ethnic groups. By emphasizing the experiences of dominant white ethnic groups, many of the more harsh realities of the experiences of the nonwhite ethnic groups within the social system tend to be further distorted.

At the same time, the empire-like nature of the social system is effectively replaced with utopian and romantic interpretations and distortions of the

historical development of the social system that included the formal legalization of slavery as well as legalized and enduring policies of extermination towards the native groups on the North American continent. The unique complexities of the American stratification system and the persisting cultural ideologies that seem to deny that it is a stratified social system with a powerful elite upper-class tend to enhance and recreate such cultural distortions.

Some social science conceptions that refer to the underlying economic and political processes of subordination involved in many of these 'harmony' ideologies and cultural themes will be briefly commented on.

### Caste

Some ethnic groups within American society have sometimes been engulfed in pervasive and enduring processes of subordination and stratification. The actual origins of caste-like processes of stratification seem to be lost in ancient history. Such hierarchical ranking predates the objective oppressions that seem to characterize modern industrial societies, the recent develop-

ment of capitalistic social systems.

Basically, a caste or caste-like social system is one that is rigidly divided hierarchically. Its differing castes are involuntarily created among the members of the social system. Individuals are assigned to separate and distinct groupings or castes at birth. Socially ascribed criteria are used for such cultural identifications. In its pure form the caste society allows no interaction whatsoever between the different castes, except in highly specific and ritualistic ways. 34.

Within these types of societies, there is a rigidly enforced division of labor based on the caste membership and an enduring and routine resistance to any and every type of change. Hegel had presumed an initial equality among human beings that eventually deteriorated within human social systems over time resulting in caste differentiation. Hegel stressed the religious processes that were traditionally involved in the development of caste societies. He emphasized the inter-dependence of the divinely assigned castes whose tiny but powerful elite groups claimed some kind of supernatural preference as a

35.  
rationalization for their privileged status.

Dumont, in his Homo Hierachicus, has made this more concrete:

...the caste system is composed of hereditary groups...distinguished from one another...yet connected in three ways:

1. Gradation of status or hierarchy.
2. Detailed rules ensuring their segregation from one another.
3. An interdependent division of labor. 36.

Bougle claimed that caste systems are inevitably based on an underlying belief in the necessary opposition between the pure and impure castes. This opposition resulted in the physical segregation of the different castes and a rigid, hereditary division of labor:

...the whole...is founded on the necessary hierarchical coexistence of the two opposites...purity and impurity...37.

Variable writers have focussed on specific aspects of differing caste systems in differing countries. In commenting in detail on the Indian caste system,

Isaacs specifically referred to the untouchable castes within it:

...Brahmins...kshatriyas...Vaisyas  
 ...shudras are broken up into masses  
 of sub-groups...all with intricate  
 sets of rules...regulations govern-  
 ing their contact with each other.

...the untouchables were set outside  
 ...cut out of the community altogether  
 ...served and...largely still serve  
 as its scavengers...sweepers...they  
 perform a good part of the plain  
 ordinary toil of the field. 38.

Isaacs observed that the socially-denoted outcaste groupings traditionally remained "separate and distinct in their rigidly segregated living quarters ...always the most squalid of India's villages." 39.

In his The Religion of India, Weber acknowledged these rigidly structured inequities embedded within the ancient Indian social system. He referred specifically to the untouchables as:

...pariah...impure castes who were primarily a guest people...who lost their residential anchorage in Hindu territory...a ritualistic barrier was established...in every village may be found indispensable guest workers. 40.

Weber emphasized that the labor of these impure castes was necessary for the functioning of Indian society. In the 20th century, there have been political movements such as the ones led by Gandhi, to reform the rigidity of the requirements of the caste system within India. Untouchability and other degrading liabilities imposed upon denoted impure castes were formally outlawed in 1949. In practice, the actual enforcement of this legislation has been relatively ignored, resisted.

Other social scientists have attempted to apply the caste conception to the status of Afro-Americans. In much of his writing in the early 20th century, Du Bois referred to it. He linked caste-like processes to the growth of the American empire in the 19th century, as well as to the economic inequalities that underlay the differing racial conflicts involved in this development. In his Dusk of Dawn he noted that:

...the history of our day may be epitomized in one word: Empire...the domination of white Europe over black Africa...Asia...through...political power built on the economic control

...of labor...income and ideas...the echo of this industrial imperialism in America was the...expulsion of black men from American...democracy ...their subjection to caste control ...wage slavery. 41.

Du Bois was certainly aware of the 'wage slavery' imposed upon the majorities of the working classes of industrializing societies regardless of their depicted 'skin color'. What he seems to be implying in the above is that those depicted as non-white in these expanding empire-like societies were generally subjected to a more rigid exploitation of their labor. Underlying these events were military conquests and the growing dependence of industrializing societies on the material resources of militarily vulnerable, non-industrialized social systems. 42.

In his ABC of Color, Du Bois also related the historical roots of the structured segregation of Afro-Americans to their involuntary encounters with the social systems expanding into the New World:

...segregation is a group matter with long historical roots...when Negroes were first brought to America...their classification was economic not racial...

by law...custom, they were classed  
with...laborers. 43.

Du Bois contrasted the experiences of African slaves with those of white indentured laborers. These were uniquely exploited workers made up of members of the most poverty-stricken members of the European working classes:

...the first distinctions arose  
...between...laborers who had come  
from Europe...(who)...contracted  
to work for...a number of years...

...slavery became a matter of racial  
caste...free negroes were gradually  
forced together...as a caste...hold-  
ing themselves away from the slaves  
...being excluded...more severely  
...from intercourse with whites.44.

Du Bois consistently emphasized the cultural significance of the inequalities implicit in the economic processes of expanding empire-like social systems. These material processes underlay cultural differences, kinds of labor segmentation and the emergence of racial ideologies about biological inferiority. He ultimately argued that while other complex

social processes were involved in the emergence of slavery, it was the higher surplus value produced by it that was the underlying cause of its endurance for so many centuries.

Oliver Cox discussed the caste system in India, emphasizing its interrelationships with religion:

...the caste system of India...constitutes the social structure of Hinduism...the core of stability in this society...(it)...orders the society according to the functions of the differing groups...(the) order is changeless...presumptively sacred. 45.

To some extent, Cox reviewed similar aspects of capitalist social systems and of beliefs in the innate inferiority of nonwhites:

...it is the phenomena of the capitalist exploitation of the peoples...its...complimentary social attitude...

all racial antagonisms can be traced to the policies...attitudes of the leading...capitalist peoples...the white peoples of Europe...North America. 46.

One needn't accept Cox's contention, that all racial antagonisms can ultimately be traced back only

to the development of capitalism, to accept his conclusion that economic processes are among the major causal factors underlying the development of racial ideologies within these social systems.

Inasmuch as this dissertation assumes that the American social system has been stratified by class from its very beginnings, a brief comment on the class conception seems appropriate.

### Class

In much of the writing and debate about the nature of class in the social science literature, Karl Marx and Max Weber seem to be among those whose work is most often cited. Tucker has attempted to identify Marx's concept of class:

...there is no mystery about his answer...a class in Marx's view... is a special...form of the division of labor in society. 47.

This needs clarification. In some of his comments on what he meant by "class", Marx was not altogether clear, and at least on the surface, consistent. 48.

Despite this, Marx's writings on social stratification continue to be a major part of the ongoing debate about the relevance of variable conceptions of economic stratification for the fuller understanding of the social system.<sup>49.</sup>

According to Marx, systems of material production were the dominant social processes within human societies:

...in the social production which men carry on...they enter into definite relations that are indispensable... independent of their will..

...these relations of production constitute the economic structure of society...the foundation...upon which legal...political superstructures...arise...to which definite forms of...social consciousness correspond...

the mode of production of material life... determines the general character of the social...political...spiritual processes of human life.<sup>50.</sup>

These much-quoted statements have been especially provocative in the debate over the relationships among culture, law, economy, politics and society. Neither Marx nor Engels viewed either the emergence of social

classes or dominant cultural processes as effectively derived only from economy. Engels has been quoted as denying the rigidity of the universal economic determination of social relationships that both he and Marx have often been criticized for. At one point he attempted to qualify their position by referring to economic/material processes as a 'main' principle of human interaction:

...(some) writers sometimes lay more stress on the economic side than is due it...we had to emphasize...this main principle...in opposition to our adversaries...we had not always the opportunity to allow the other elements involved in (social) interaction to come to light.51.

Elsewhere, Engels attempts further to qualify his position on the nature of social interaction.

(It is unclear if he was writing for Marx also):

...it is not the economic position that is the cause...alone active...while everything else has a passive effect...

...there is interaction on the basis of the economic necessity...which ultimately ...always asserts itself. 52.

It is clear that, while Marx and Engels argued that

the mode of production is crucial for understanding the institutions of a society, they did not intend to preclude investigation of other determinants.

An example of an expanded account is that of

Kluckhohn:

...any act is a whole in the concrete world...all dimensions of behavior... are interdependent...cultural...social ...biological...as one is altered...the others...are likewise affected...if we see...behavior in its multi-dimensionality...we are less likely...to have an oversimple...picture of the 'forces' that determine...these facts.53.

It seems likely that Marx and Engels would have agreed with this, though they would certainly have insisted that this multidimensionality of human behavior is significantly affected by the economic processes of any social system. In the 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, Marx used "class" to refer to groups of people who live under similar economic conditions of existence:

...in so far as millions of families live under economic conditions of existence

that divide their mode of life...  
their interests...culture from those  
of the other classes...put them in  
distinct contrast to...the...  
latter...they form a class. 54.

Recent developments in technology have transformed the nature of 20th century western capitalism. Marx could not possibly have foreseen these differing technological developments when he was writing. His two-class mode remains generally useful, but its application requires a sense of intra-class differentiation including the intermediate strata Marx sometimes referred to. The increased dependence of modern capitalism upon essentially unpredictable types of technological developments has introduced difficult questions into the social science debate about the nature of capitalism. Duberman attempts to capture some of this complexity in classical terms:

...for Marx...a social class...is a group of people which has a permanent relationship to the means of production...sharing the same economic status ...the same style of life is not sufficient...there must be a sense of wellness...unity...belonging...together... which will promote the desire for

community...the knowledge of common interests. 56.

According to Duberman, Weber defined the class concept in essentially the same manner as Marx. For Weber

...a class consists of a group of people who stand in the same relationship to the economic opportunity structure...in a given society...live under similar conditions...determined by the amounts...kinds of...economic power they possess...57.

Weber defined class in his Religion of India somewhat differently. In it he injected a conception of status or prestige. He refers to status as being somehow involved with a distinctive style of life. Status is:

...a quality of social honor or a lack of it...conditioned...expressed through a specific style of life.  
...social honor can adhere to a class situation...of the status group membership...

...status membership influences... class situation in that the style of life...required by status groups makes them...prefer special kinds of gainful pursuits and reject others. 58.

Weber included specific interests and skills as being

significant characteristics of the members of classes:

...classes are groups of people who... from the standpoint of specific...interests have the same economic...position ...ownership or non-ownership...of material goods...or possessions of definite skills constitutes a class...situation. 59.

In his Class, Status & Party, Weber sees classes as connected with market position rather than position within the mode of production:

...with some simplification...one might say that classes are stratified...according to their relations to the production...acquisition of goods...status groups are stratified according to their consumption of...goods...as represented by special styles of...life.60.

Roberts and Brintnall argue that Weber's conceptions of class differed very little from those of Marx, when the two are compared with regard to relative emphasis on economy:

...in many ways...Weber had no quarrel with Marx's concept...of social class... he agreed...that capitalism tended to break down the local system of loyalty ...which defined...Feudalism...

...it its place...the marketplace begins to be global...competitive...resulting

in what Marx termed the 'universal  
saleability'...not only of human  
labor...but all human attributes.61.

The class character of capitalism, whether one stresses production (Marx) or market (Weber) is its most general aspect so far as connecting social differentiation to the problem of social change. For this reason, it is a key concept in understanding all forms of discrimination and oppression, though it is not the only one. The significance of Marx's concept lies in its emphasis on how the accumulation of capitalist wealth undervalues people and promotes excesses of exploitation that can be connected with "race" and "ethnicity".

#### Colony and Colonialism

These concepts refer to a particular type of social stratification. The creation of colonies tend to lead to a dominated and degraded status for colonized peoples that fixes them as a particular labor market alongside of normally exploited laborers.

The writers mentioned below emphasize the political/economic domination by 'white' social systems of undeveloped societies within Africa, Asia, and South America, or what has been called the "Third World".

Zahar, describes Fanon's interpretation of the "colonial situation" as one that stresses

...the reciprocal... structural dependence of the metropole colony...it has ...the colonizer...the colonized.62.

In emphasizing the dialectical relationships between these groups and their material condition, Fanon has pointed out that:

...the prosperity...privileges...of the former...are directly based on the exploitation...pauperization of the latter...in order to maintain it...the act of repression...must be constantly reproduced...its most characteristic feature is racism...by reducing the native to a chattel. 63.

Hechter further clarifies the economics of colonial domination:

...colonial development...produces a...cultural division of labor...

...domination...by a racially...culturally different conquering group...recourse to force...the dominated society is condemned to an instrumental role by the metropolis.64.

Hechter has referred to colonization within capitalist nations, in his book, Internal Colonialism. He discusses the underlying requirements of capitalist markets that require a colonial-like subordination of portions of the working classes within such social systems. 65.

He especially emphasized the reserve army of workers which is most often made up of redundant members of the labor force. Their more dominated situation often acts as a means to depress wage demands of the active labor force since employers can utilize them to offset such demands. These reserve workers are very often willing to work for lower rates of pay and are available if the wage demands of the active labor force threatens to reduce the surplus value that the employers require. These reserve workers are generally more pauperized

and alienated from the social system than are the  
66.  
members of the active labor force.

Hechter links these routine processes of capital-  
ism to ideologies that support privileged positions  
67.  
for class elites within capitalist societies.

Carnoy has argued that similar processes of domin-  
ation have existed throughout human history:

...the domination of one people by  
...another has taken place through-  
out history...exercised for its own  
ends...by a powerful group or class  
...such types of domination do not  
(necessarily) occur in terms of one  
society...dominating another...but of  
a group of people...who are able to  
extend their objective...power. 68.

Carnoy leaves open the possibility of different groups  
gaining access to political or economic power. He  
also emphasizes that the accumulation and express-  
ion of this power by elite groups in colonizing social  
systems are interrelated. Most often, they express  
such power within as well as beyond the formal  
borders of the societies in which they have power.  
At times, the power of elites may come to depend  
on the subordination of vulnerable social systems

beyond such borders. The expressions of extended power depend on time, place, circumstances, and culture, as well as on the nature of the material resources and levels of technology within the dominant and dominated societies.<sup>69.</sup>

C. Wright Mills may have been one of the first to use the term "internal colonialism". He used it to refer to the derivative power of indigenous classes and elite groups within undeveloped social systems who assist colonizer groups for their own benefit.<sup>70.</sup>

Hechter claims that the concept first emerged:

...from consideration of the situation of Amer-Indian regions in Latin America ...it focusses on political conflicts between...core...other groups...discrimination...against culturally distinct peoples. 71.

These militarily weaker peoples became pervasively more victimized as industrializing social systems expanded their powers throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.<sup>72.</sup>

In comparing Mexicans within the United States

to third world peoples, Acuna has asserted that

...the parallels between the Chicano's experience in the United States...the colonization of other third World peoples are too similar to dismiss... but the colonization is internal... occurring within...the country. 73.

Acuna retreated from this position in a later edition  
74  
of his Occupied America without explaining why.

Blauner has applied a model of internal colonization to Afro-Americans:

...the term internal colonialism... is useful for emphasizing the differences ...in social settings...first is a forced entry...into the larger social system... (then) subjugation to various forms of unfree labor...that restrict the physical, social...mobility of the group...third is a cultural policy of the colonizer...that constrains...(and) destroys original values ...orientations...ways of life. 75.

Blauner is emphasizing the effects of the original violent inclusion of Afro-Americans into the United States as chattel. He refers to other ethnic groups with similar experiences:

...other third world groups have undergone an experience that can be seen as part...colonial...part immigrant...Puerto

Rico has been a colony...exploited by the mainland...although the islanders have had relative freedom to move back and forth...(and) settle in the United States. 76.

These references to colonized peoples within the borders of the United States challenge more traditional interpretations of ethnic relations. This model became important during the "civil rights movement" when writers like Clark and Carmichael and Hamilton compared the plight of inner-city Afro-Americans to that of politically powerless residents of a colony. Clark stated that

...the dark ghetto's invisible walls have been erected by the white society ...by those who have power...both to confine those who have no power...(and) to perpetuate their powerlessness. 77.

Similarly, Carmichael and Hamilton used the model to account for racism, in Black Power:

...historically...colonies have always existed for the sole purpose of enriching the colonizer...the consequence...is to...maintain the economic dependency of the colonized ...institutional racism is found in the

established and respected forces of  
...society. 78.

The colonial model accounts for institutional processes within social systems that routinely result in systematic, pervasive, racially-justified and political domination of socially powerless groups. Most often, specific classes are directly or indirectly involved in this domination that contributes to the maintenance of their positions. The model is yet more plausible when incorporated into a conception of alternative labor markets for capitalist production.

While such processes are related to imperialism, some contrasts need to be drawn. In his essay on Imperialism, Joseph Schumpeter has commented that:

...imperialism...has often been used as a slogan...whenever it is used... there is always the implication of an aggressiveness...as reflected in terms such as world hegemony...(or) world dominion...at some time or another, most nations furnish examples of expanding for the sake of expanding...war for the sake of winning. 79.

In addition, Schumpeter speaks of

a will for broad conquest without tangible limits...created by wars that...required it...the machine created the wars it required...

...the policy of conquest...inevitably led to situations that compelled further conquest. 80.

Schumpeter denotes historical cycles of military conquests invariably leading to further dominations. Schumpeter seems to be trying to emphasize that one conquest of militarily vulnerable nations, groups has historically led to other conquests of other nations by the militarily superior ones. One conquest seems to assist in creating national needs or desires for further conquests.

For Lenin, the growth of capitalism and its concentration of wealth leads to the rise of international monopolies and imperialism as the "last stage" of capitalism:

...the economic quintessence of imperialism is monopoly capitalism...(they) have succeeded the capture of the most important sources of raw materials...the striving for domination...exploitation ...of an increasing number of smaller or weaker nations by an extremely small group

of the richest or most powerful nations...

...all these have given birth to those distinctive characteristics of imperialism which compel us to define it as parasitic or decaying capitalism.<sup>81</sup>

Lenin also referred to imperialism as "...moribund capitalism...in transition" and gave a brief outline of it as embracing five essential features:

1. The concentration of production capital to such a high stage...that it created monopolies.
2. The merging of bank capital with industrial capital...(and) the creation of a financial oligarchy.
3. The export of capital...as distinguished from the export of commodities.
4. The formation of international capitalist monopolies which share the world amongst themselves.
5. The territorial division of the whole world among the greatest capitalist powers. <sup>92</sup>.

While Lenin's depiction seems to limit imperialism to the development of capitalism, he doesn't restrict it to larger nations dominating smaller ones. He

emphasizes competitive economic struggles, the complex capitalist basis for such competition between social systems of any conceivable size. He implies that the pervasive domination of smaller, weaker social systems is part of the broader processes of competition and conflict between large-scale capitalist social systems but does not equate this with imperialism. Such depictions of imperialistic processes do not really focus on or imply that specific groups within imperialistic social systems may be 'singled out' or set apart for more pervasive or dominating types of exploitation such as the ones being focussed on here.

Bill Warren takes a more restrictive view of imperialism as

...the penetration and spread of the...  
capitalist system into non-capitalist  
or...primitive capitalist areas of the  
world. 83.

There is little doubt that capitalist social systems have been historically involved in military and political conflicts and in competition for control of the military resources of smaller, non-industrial-

ized, undeveloped societies. Native residents have been ideologically depicted as innately inferior 'non-white' peoples as rationalizations for this domination.

Imperialism utilizes violence to implement its primary goals and takes the lands and other resources of other peoples. It is anti-democratic and ignores basic human, political, and economic rights. It is not identical with internal colonization but is a contributing factor in that process of regulating portions of its own population.

Within the social science literature and in the media, colonialism and imperialism are often said to be processes of some bygone era. This essay takes the position that even though such processes may be hidden behind cultural ideologies of spreading 'democratic' rights, they are still part of basic structural processes of modern industrial nations.

### Summation

This chapter has attempted to give a critical outline of ideologies of ethnicity and race. Variations of assimilation, integration, cultural pluralism and the Melting Pot have been expressed consistently within the social science literature throughout the 20th century.

The chapter has emphasized the inadequacies of these perspectives. They ignore underlying determinants of inequality, and are utopian in their views of an implicit harmony in ethnic relations. Such relationships are conceived of in this dissertation as being only one aspect of inequitable processes of economic and social stratification in the capitalist social system.

Some comments about different concepts of social stratification were presented in order to clarify certain aspects of the colonialism and imperialism underlying stratification.

The following three chapters will emphasize the

inequities involved in the encounters of Native,  
Afro and Puerto Rican Americans with the expanding  
United States.

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Ch. 5. Empire, Imperialism and American Native Peoples

One finds within the social science literature superficial characterizations of the historical development of the American social system that contribute to the idea of an essential harmony of interests.

For example:

...America is...activistic...ready to coerce nature...pragmatic...individualistic...yet...valuing external conformity...Calvinistic...democratic...(and) adhering to values of hard work...progress...material success...freedom...equality. 1.

Such utopian ideas can be found in academic texts, popular books, and in the media. What follows will comment on aspects of what Conrad Cherry has called America's

...unlovely manifestations...a muscular imperialism...that cloaks American self-interest with platitudes about saving the world for democracy ...a racist myth that justifies American actions abroad...because of 'Anglo-Saxon' superiority...the belief in America as God's New Israel...has come to support American self-righteousness ...It has been easy for Americans to deceive themselves that they deserve election. 2.

Cherry feels that these ideas have been significant aspects of American cultural processes from its very creation as a separate social system. He also referred to ideologies which assert that

...America has been providentially chosen for a special destiny and task ...preserving...dispensing freedom. 3.

Beecher has depicted variations of these themes by citing a 19th century assertion that

...America is in the providence of God destined to lead the way in the moral...political...emancipation of the world. 4.

These variable assertions about America's unique predestination have historically assisted in rationalizing systemic processes of violence that have been involved in its growth and development. Routine cultural processes assist in ignoring or denying the historical violence involved in the growth of the United States.

Robert Bellah referred to similar 20th century ideas that express a faith in America's sacredness and high calling as a form of a national religion:

...there actually exists...alongside of  
but clearly differentiated from the Churches  
...an elaborate...well institutionalized...  
civil religion in America. 5.

What Bellah, Cherry and others seem to be referring to are the differing aspects of cultural nationalism that have persistently insisted that because of its predestined mission in the world, the American social system is more than just an example for other nations. Supposedly it has also been divinely called to actively spread its values and goals well beyond its ever-changing political boundaries in order to extend democracy literally anywhere.

#### Aspects of The Development of American Society

From the original creation of the social system in the latter 18th century to the early 20th century, most of the land now included as states or territories of the United States were acquired by it. Legal, political control was forcibly extended and reinforced over the diverse native residents, tribal groupings who lived on the immense land area that came to be called the North American continent. For the most part, the processes of this political control, theft of the lands and material resources by the European immigrants objectively took place

with the active encouragement of the Federal  
6.  
government.

The lands and material resources of the original residents effectively became the basis for the growth and expansion of the American social system in an empire-like manner. Many conceptions of empire are similar to the one given by Richard Burkey:

...an empire society...is a social system...characterized by the existence of a dominant ethnic group...(and) subordinate ethnic minorities...the result of the expansion of military forces...the incorporation of social systems...under control of the conquering people. 7.

Such a characterization is limiting since it requires the existence of an identifiable ethnic minority as a necessary characteristic of it. It could be that differing ethnic minorities and classes were involved in the exercise of political dominance within and beyond America's borders. Burkey also emphasized the forcible conquest of the United States but seems to think American imperialism ended after WW2:

...in the 19th century...the U.S.  
was an empire society...it established  
dominance...over hundreds of ethnic  
groups within contiguous...non-con-  
tiguous territories by military conquest

...the essential characteristic of  
the empire society is the prevalence  
...of conquest...since WW 2...America  
has quit conquering other peoples.<sup>8</sup>

For purposes of this essay an empire-like  
society is defined as:

An expanding social system that attempts  
to dominate social systems, classes or  
ethnic groups beyond as well as within its  
own borders: violently and non-violently.  
Such social systems presuppose variable  
processes of political and economic  
inequities as basic to their systemic  
social structures, processes.

Such empire-building processes have almost always  
involved military conquests of other social systems  
as well as cultural processes within them that have  
served to justify and rationalize such military  
activities and bloody consequences of them. In most  
of these empire-like social systems relatively small  
ruling classes have materially benefitted as a result  
of the expanding military activities of the social

systems. Invariably these processes have also involved the labelling of the residents of the denoted enemy societies as inferior: whether or not the designated peoples were depicted as 'white or nonwhite'.

Ringer has referred to the culturally unacknowledged processes of colonization inherent in the American social structure from its very beginnings. He feels it derived from the processes of imperialism in the centuries prior to the creation of the American social system especially by England

...the English conquest of North America drove the native population from their land and resources... sought systematically to push the Indian out of his life...(and) imported enslaved non-whites. 9.

Despite variations in the colonizing processes of the differing European social systems in the New World, Jacobs and Landau have emphasized the essential similarities of most of them:

...the Spaniards' mistreatment of the Indians was equalled by that of the English who abused the Indian's friendship from the start...the Dutch

behaved towards the Indians in much the same way as the other...white European settlers. 10.

They've also commented on the European assumptions of racial superiority, the persistent denial of the humanity of the diverse tribal groups they encountered and the brutalities inflicted on them:

...the white explorers did not believe...that the rules of warfare ...that governed...the conduct... of civilized enemies extended to fighting the heathen...barbaric indians...the most brutal actions were taken against them. 11.

Other writers have emphasized the racial issue underlying these brutalities involved in colonizing processes of that era. For example, Ringer has asserted that racial assumptions of superiority were inseparable from the diverse processes of cultural domination incorporated into the American social structure. Irving Krauss noted the racism of the ruling elites in the colonial era.<sup>12.</sup>

Any number of writers have referred to the

upper and upper-middle class origins of the men actually involved in the formal creation of the American social system. Krauss has pointed out that

...the formation...growth of the American nation reveals great conflicts over the distribution of social goods...great inequalities ...amongst the strata persisted and the authority structure was used to...benefit special interests ...the most extreme form of strat- 13. ification...slavery...was reinforced.

The most extreme form of inequity within a social system would be purposeful exclusion from it in the form of being subjected to planned extermination or involuntary displacement beyond its borders. Daniel Beard has commented on the Constitution as being a

...conservative document written by financiers...businessmen...speculators...5 out of 6 delegates to the...Constitutional Convention stood to gain...personally from the new Constitution...because of their holdings in securities...businesses ...slaves or land.14.

Heilbroner has also referred to the business interests of those involved in creating the Constitution and

has noted their involvement in the complex processes of the extension of American military, political and economic power that started just after its actual creation:

...from an early date...business...exerted an expansive thrust that brought the American economy into involvement with economies throughout the world...this... imperialist impulse was strongly encouraged ... (and) supported by American government policies. 15.

There seems to be little doubt that diverse forms of violence or its threatened usage were involved in the varied expansions of the U.S. social system throughout the nineteenth century. An example was the systemic violence expressed in the persistent Indian Wars that Federal, State or territorial governments encouraged or were involved in throughout the era. These various attempts to literally exterminate the tribal groups were overtly meant to deprive these vulnerable peoples of their material resources so that upper-class strata within the society, European immigrant groups could have literal unhindered

access to them. The Mexican-American War and its aftermath were examples of the violence that the Federal Government was involved in as it expanded its military dominance on the North American continent. Other historians have referred to American military conflicts beyond continental borders at the end of the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century to the Philippine Islands as well as to differing South or Central American and Caribbean social systems.<sup>16</sup> Carl Degler has linked such empire-building conflicts to presumptions of racial superiority embedded within the cultural processes that resulted in the influential Manifest Destiny ideologies. He's pointed out that

...by any reckoning except that of the Americans...who liked to think...they were carrying out the will of Providence ...these 19th century Wars were imperialistic. 17.

In 1803 the Louisiana Purchase from France doubled the size of the United States at that time but it involved the threatened usage of force. It opened up opportunities for exploration of the West to

immigrant settler groups and especially the upper and upper-middle class groups among them. Military conflicts as well as negotiations threatening the usage of violence were also involved with the American acquisitions of Spanish territories. For example in the early nineteenth century

...a number of Americans had pushed into the sparsely settled lands of Spain...along the Gulf of Mexico...by 1310...they...had effected a Revolution (and) offered the territory to the U.S. ...President Madison accepted. 18.

Not long afterwards as a result of the War of 1812

...the U.S. was able to wrest Mobile from Spanish Florida...after American infiltration...(and) military action made Spanish control tenuous...it was purchased in 1319. 19.

In that same year John Quincy Adams rationalized American claims to the entire North American continent by citing a law of nature:

...the world shall become familiarized with the idea of considering our...proper domain...to be the continent of North America...it was as much a law of nature that this should become our pretention ...as that the Mississippi...should flow to the sea. 20.

James Monroe reiterated similar reasoning in the same era by warning the European nations that

...we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to this hemisphere as dangerous to our own peace...(and) safety. 21.

This was another proclamation of cultural assumptions to sovereignty over the North American continent that were made by different political leaders throughout the nineteenth century. In that era Alexis de Tocqueville referred to a much-ignored aspect of the development of the American Empire: its growing naval power. He linked its growth to generalized assumptions about American progress in business and commerce, viewing it as both a cause and effect of America's expansions:

...when I contemplate the ardor with which the Anglo-Americans prosecute commerce...(and) the success of their undertakings...I cannot help believe that they will one day...become the ...foremost power of the globe...they are born to rule the seas.22.

Differing kinds of Manifest Destiny ideologies

assisted in rationalizing American expansions into Mexico when American troops "...invaded it in 1846...(and) took away approximately one-half of its territory...without consulting the resident Indians."<sup>23.</sup>

Such intermittent expansions well beyond the stated American borders of the times came to be generally regarded as 'routine and normal' throughout the century by the majority of Americans, its major political leaders. In 1867 the Alaska Purchase from Russia was yet another expression of the contemplated greater usage of the social system's military power in the Pacific. While military force was not used, the threat of its possible usage was implicitly involved in the negotiations as was the overt dominance of yet another native American tribal group:

...William Seward...the Secretary of State  
...regarded Alaska as the Northern flank 24.  
in his aim to dominate the Pacific...Eskimos

In those latter decades of the 19th century, complex processes of industrialization as well as military and political competition were gathering greater force throughout the entire capitalist world. Barraclough emphasized that in this era

...the appetite of the new industrialism  
swallowed up...the entire world as industry went

out in search of the basic materials  
without which it could not exist. 25.

The acquisition of necessary material resources are  
basic to the complex processes of industrialization.  
Assisting in the American acquisitions of them were  
cultural myths such as Jackson's Frontier Thesis,  
published in the same year that yet another expansion  
into the Hawaiian Islands took place in search of such  
resources although other factors were involved:

...American sugar planters staged a  
Revolution...deposed Queen Liliouckalani  
...(and) asked to be admitted to the  
Union. 26.

Turner's Thesis combined racist ideologies as well as  
persisting cultural ambiguities as to just where the  
American political boundaries should end. At one point  
he fantasized that

...American democracy...was born  
of no theorist's dream...(it) was  
not carried...in the Mayflower to  
Plymouth...not the Constitution...  
but free land...an abundance of...  
natural resources open to fit people  
...made the democratic society...

...in America...the Frontier is productive of individualism...(and) to the Frontier...the American intellect owes its striking characteristics. 27.

Throughout these exhortations Turner neglected to mention that the lands he was writing about were not exactly free. They and the material resources within them had become available to the Americans as a result of military conquests of militarily weak and vulnerable tribal groups, Mexican peoples, etc. In subsequent comments, Turner was unclear as to just what the Frontier implied: social myths or processes, natural resources or legal political boundaries. The Frontier became some sort of American Divine Symbol and captured the imagination of differing strata and classes for decades after Turner published his fantasies. Academics, politicians, writers and editors as well as Generals and Admirals sometimes referred to this cultural rationalization for the extensions of American economic and political power in their writings, speeches.

28

This greatly assisted in these diverse expansions of the social system in geographical areas very distant from the mainland United States.

With the acquisition of the Hawaiian Islands in 1893, the first domination of a small specific region had been completed. A few years thereafter other frontiers were created when in 1898 "...the Spanish-American War brought Cuba...the Philippines... (and) Puerto Rico under American control."<sup>29</sup> Part of the rationalizations for the War were widespread assumptions about America's destiny as well as racial presumptions that

...a number of non-whites could not be allowed to govern themselves.<sup>30</sup>

At the end of the War President McKinley reiterated a variation of persisting racial myths that

...the Philippines...were unfit... for self-government...there was nothing left...for us to do but take them all...and educate the Filipinos ...uplift...civilize...them. 31.

In his comments on that military conflict, Patterson referred to the structural processes underlying it and the interest groups involved in them:

...the popularity of the War against Spain...the initial complacency with

which Americans acquired this distant territory... (and) the appeal of Roosevelt's expansionist foreign policy suggested... that powerful... interest groups knew where they were... going.<sup>32</sup>

Roosevelt justified the usage of American violence as the means of carrying out the social system's presumed national mission towards 'barbarians':

...it is our duty... towards the peoples living in barbarism to see that... they are... freed from their chains... we can free... them only... by destroying barbarism itself... the missionary... merchant... soldier... may each have a part to play in this destruction... (and) consequent... uplifting... of the people.<sup>33</sup>

Some of the significant structural processes involved in the development of the American empire in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries can be briefly summarized:

1. Violent subordinations of militarily vulnerable non-white peoples on the North American continent and beyond it.
2. Complex cultural rationalizations for geographical expansions as 'Providential Destiny'.
3. Persistent cultural adherence to ideo-

logies of American and/or white superiority, the innate inferiority of non-whites.

- 4. Structural inequality of a stratification system that is culturally denied.

Such processes, events were culturally significant when the Foraker Act was passed in 1900 forcibly incorporating Puerto Rico under American political authority as a "...territory of the United States ...its...first...legally constituted colonial dependency." Whether or not it really was America's first 'colonial dependency' seems highly doubtful to this writer. The social system had been forcibly acquiring lands and effective colonies beyond the legal borders of the 13 original states from its very creation.

34.

Processes of Empire and American Native Peoples

The American social system generally viewed native peoples on the continent as being in the way of the culturally presumed destined expansions of the social system. By prior European, then American

reasoning these denoted non-white peoples had to be forcibly conquered or if necessary, exterminated. These implicit and explicit cultural goals resulted from complex and compelling political, economic processes only dimly understood by the white Americans directly involved in the attempts to implement them. <sup>35.</sup> The objective opportunities for those millions of Europeans to migrate to the expanding social system throughout the 19th century presupposed the ongoing conquests of the depicted 'red/inferior peoples'.

In the absence of those structural processes of conquest and subordination there would have been no larger American social system to migrate to beyond the 13 original states.

A summary of the European and American conquests of these culturally variable nonwhite peoples by John Collier has emphasized their persisting cultural depictions as non-human objects by the diverse and systemic structural processes of the dominating empires:

...the view of Indian history from 1492 shows a death hunt...against Indian

societies...to many of them...the death hunt brought annihilation... the white conqueror...pronounced a sentence of death on the Indian societies...

...through centuries-long years of slavery, physical decimation...(and) expropriation...the conqueror worked hard to carry it out.36.

Beal has provided a summary of the treaties made between the Federal government and tribal groups in the nineteenth century after they had been conquered:

...a council was held...(and) a treaty made...the Indians ceded lands in return ...for presents...boundary lines were marked off...(and) declared inviolable.37.

Needless to say, the boundary lines were quickly disregarded by advancing settlers and Federal troops not long after their designated 'inviolability'. The ongoing processes of expansion throughout the century made it only a "...matter of when not if ...the United States would take the (Indian) lands as Kickingbird and Ducheneaux have aptly put it. 38. These tragic events were assisted by what Murray

Wax has called the 'unarticulated' assumption implicit in just about all Federal policies towards native peoples throughout the century:

"...land title could only be acquired from the Federal government...Indian titles were non-existent." 39.

Throughout the century different religious missionaries became active among many native tribes. They sometimes encouraged members of these groups to leave their tribal or reservation areas and try to assimilate into the dominant social system. Ringer has noted that many if not most of those native peoples who attempted this and left their own "...tribal...environments to settle amongst whites...frequently became victims...(or) marginal men (who) quickly sank into a state of personal social disorganization." 40. Wax provided some details of this marginality that gives a somewhat 'graphic' depiction of the pervasively anomic status and situations that were forced upon these marginal men:

...when an Indian assimilated culturally he did not gain social acceptance...by the whites...and to his Indian fellows he appeared unmanly (or) ungenerous...denying obligations of tribal membership...

...to the white community he remained  
an Indian...socially inferior...not  
allowed citizenship...he could not vote  
or bring suit. 41.

This uniquely distinctive form of marginality for those  
native peoples who attempted such assimilation was  
directly related to the culturally unacknowledged  
processes of empire-building that the social system was  
pursuing along with its contradictory pursuits of  
establishing a 'free and democratic' haven for the  
oppressed. That the social system was not any kind of  
haven for native peoples should be more than obvious.

Despite the death hunts and other types of repression  
that the native peoples were subjected to throughout the  
century, many of their basic cultural values remained  
intransigent. Collier has commented that many of the  
native cultures seemed to have

...an astounding regenerative power...  
harried into the wastes...secreted there  
for lifetimes...starving...still Indian  
languages...religions...(and) cultural  
systems...symbolism...continued...to live  
on...faithful to their ancient values. 42.

Collier seems to be emphasizing in the above that many  
significant characteristics of native cultures weren't  
completely destroyed by the oppressions of the social  
system in that era. He's referring also to the rise of

industrial capitalism during the nineteenth century decades as being among the more important underlying cultural processes involved with the military defeats and subordinations of the native peoples thereafter. He also referred to some of the events, circumstances that were involved in the Industrial Revolution as being basic to the processes separating Western cultures from those of the native peoples since the industrialized cultural systems

...contained the assertion of a complex of values...wealth as an end in itself... (and) a means to power...the law of the free market was considered to be the law of human life...

...laissez-faire doctrines...viewed...the world as individuals controlled by a universal...(and) calculating self-interest. 43.

This cultural emphasis on the importance of the personal accumulation of material wealth was almost totally alien to the cultural systems of the majority of the native peoples subordinated by the Europeans and Americans in the New World. While the expanding social system ideally stressed freedom and democracy along with equitable access to the means for accumulating wealth for all, such values were never really meant to apply to native peoples. The

material resources of these differing tribal groups effectively became the basis for the accumulation of the material resources of the dominant white peoples. 44.

### Summation

This chapter attempted a brief clarification of some of the relevant aspects of the development of American society in the 19th century with specific reference to its empire-like aspects, the enforced inclusions of the different native peoples who came to be included into the social system in that era. It seemed helpful as a brief preparation for the primary theoretical and final chapters of the dissertation.

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## Ch. 6. Social Processes and Social Positions

### Introduction

The primary aim of the chapter is to create a generalization that will assist in clarifying the the uniquely similar inclusion experiences into the social system of the nonwhite peoples being focussed on. The generalization will be used as an ideal or pure type abstraction, as a means of clarifying actual social processes that never exactly correspond to the model. As Weber has depicted such abstractions:

...an ideal (pure) type is an abstract mental construct...stating what course ...a given type of human action would take if it were completely...unequivocally devoted to a single end. 1.

Everyday social interaction is constantly being affected and influenced by diverse and complex events and social circumstances that are realistically beyond the control of the individuals involved in such interaction. It is, however, objectively impossible to isolate and separate out all aspects of those complex social processes that are constantly being created, recreated. It's possible,

abstractly.

To variable degrees, the experiences that the outcaste groups were subjected to were or may be similar to the inclusions of other groups whether or not they're depicted as white or nonwhite. Before comparing the similar inclusion experiences of the Afro and Puerto Rican Americans into the social system, it seems appropriate to outline in more detail the victimized inclusion experiences of the native American peoples into the growing society. Making up hundreds of different ethnic groups, they are conceived here as the classical colonized outcaste groups whose inclusion experiences seem to most closely fit the generalization to be created. Their inclusions in time range from the creation of the U.S. social system in the latter eighteenth century to about 1870 when just about all of them had been forced onto isolated reservation as dominated and largely penniless peoples.<sup>2</sup>

These different native groups did not have the

same confrontations with the expanding social system in specific details. As Frederick Jackson Turner commented:

...generalizations about American Indians are subject to qualifications ... (and) reservations. 3.

A similar comment could be made for the different African ethnic groups conquered by the various European nations and the American social system in the same era. The references to the inclusions of the three outcaste groupings that will be made here seem to be sociologically valid for each of them. It is beyond the scope of the dissertation to fully depict specific variations from their generalized similar experiences.

Some contrast to the types of inclusions into the social system of the European immigrant groups seems necessary as a means of more fully clarifying the experiences of the outcaste groups.

American Native Peoples: Colonized Outcaste Ethnic Groups

1. As entire ethnic groups, Native American people were involuntarily included into the expanding social system at its formal creation and at differing points of time throughout the nineteenth century.

The above comment should be self-evident from the preceding chapter. Collier emphasized that throughout that era, White Americans generally regarded all the different native ethnic peoples as objective barriers to the progress of the social system as well as their own material success within it:

...laissez-faire doctrines and practices viewed the human world as an aggregation of persons...individuals...each of whom was controlled by a universal...inter-changeable...calculating self-interest... the law of the free market was considered (as) lord of all...4.

The violent confrontations between the Americans and the native peoples did not obviously result in what might be termed 'cooperative' relationships between them thereafter. Their cultural and physical clashes can be briefly summarized as bloody and antagonistic battle-situations. Such situations basically resulted from the persisting, relentless demands of the white Americans, upper-class strata

and classes among them for the lands of the native peoples. Such demands meant that throughout the nineteenth century almost

every means was utilized to dispossess the Indians...5.

Free access to the material resources contained within land is a major requirement for empire-like social systems to continue to expand although it is not the only requirement. Specific types of social institutions, processes and social structures were also required for the expansions of the American social system throughout the nineteenth century. They were necessarily involved in those persistent<sup>6.</sup> clashes and confrontations in that era.

The facts that military struggles over the lands of the native peoples took place is sociologically inseparable from the changing cultural processes that took place at the same time. These inevitable violent conquests of the native peoples did not have to take place as they did. If other social values,

processes and social institutions had been affecting social interaction between the native residents and the white immigrant groups then those tragic conquests of the native peoples would not have taken place. If cultural values and systemic structural processes limiting the further expansions of the social system had been incorporated into these dominant structural processes at its creation, there would have been no land or material resources for the Americans to fight over with anybody. It should be clear that both variables--land, social institutions and processes were historically significant and are still affecting Indian and white social relationships in the modern era.<sup>7.</sup>

The encounters of the advancing American social system through the nineteenth century with the diverse native peoples did not even remotely resemble the inclusions of the European migrants who came to the expanding social system in the same era. Kessner has summarized those migrations as having

...involved the decision...to sever

ties to land...country and culture...  
in search of a better situation in a  
better place...the ocean journey which  
carried the immigrants to a New World  
was only the first step in quest of  
better jobs...decent...housing...(and)  
safe neighborhoods. 8.

Such a generalization seems similar to others in the social science literature focussed on those migrations and is misleading to some extent. For one thing, it ignores the fact that most of those migrants who found better housing were located within the conquered lands of the native, Mexican peoples and other subordinated groups. It further assumes that a majority of those migrants made free and carefully thought-out decisions to make those migrations to the expanding social system. It also seems to imply that the majorities of those European immigrants did find 'better jobs and lives' in the New World. Many didn't and returned to their homelands and Muller asserted that

...there were always a great many  
who were poorly off...we cannot say  
...precisely how many...how poorly  
since little study...was made of them  
in a society that...resisted the idea

that it had a poor class...the American Way was unquestionably hard...on millions of little men. 9.

Kessner's comment seems to ignore the similar and different types of processes of exploitation and discrimination that many or most members of these different white immigrants also encountered in their own particular inclusions into the social system. His interpretation seems to imply that just about all those different groups who have ever actually migrated to American society have equitably participated in its dominant structural processes or will mystically participate in them in the future. 10. The impression seems to be given that such processes of social mobility are somehow divinely inspired. Exactly how these processes of mystical benevolence became embedded within the structure of the social system are not really made very clear by these assumptions and predictions. They can't be objectively documented because they are long-lasting but highly influential ideological myths. 11.

Objective myths seem to be a part of 'everyday' life in many , if not most social systems. However, the problem

for social scientists and others interested in somehow 'seeing thru' such myths and ideologies that may or may not be profoundly affecting social interaction at any single point in time seems to be just how to 'see through' them. The generalizations to be created in a later chapter may be one way of resolving such issues for long term, underlying problems within the American social system.

2. As the lands of the Indian peoples were taken throughout the nineteenth century, their humanity was persistently denied by dominant cultural processes of the social system.

The majorities of the white ethnic groups within the society regarded Indian peoples as innately inferior and non-human-species or objects.

The above generalization was especially true within those ever-changing frontier regions in which native peoples were regarded as enemies and outsiders whose

...behavior seemed provocative...from every frontier came incessant petitions...(or) resolutions relating to the Indian menace.12.

In a reference to significant aspects of European and American colonialism in the New World, Josephy emphasized that throughout that era, to the whites

...Indians were all the same...the newcomers disagreed amongst themselves...over the extent to which the native populations ...seemed to be inferior. 13.

Marden and Meyer have also emphasized dominant cultural depictions of native peoples in that era as things to be killed rather than human beings. It seemed to be generally taken for granted by the advancing white settlers that native peoples could or should be literally exterminated without fears of reprisals by legal social institutions.

Such a cultural identity significantly differed from those of the European immigrant groups throughout their initial inclusion experiences into the social system. While the majorities of these immigrant groups were culturally identified as inferior, did encounter ethnic discrimination during their inclusions and thereafter, none of them were literally identified as enemies, outsiders or objects to be killed.<sup>14</sup> Turner has noted that in some of their writings based on their explorations into Indian lands neither Lewis nor Clark

...give us any sense...of people...  
with equal rights to existence...self-  
determination...15.

These and other writings and debates about the human nature of native peoples were indicative of their pervasive outcaste-like status that was forced on them throughout their subordinating inclusions into the social system. Many of the ideological beliefs and 'official' assertions of their innate inferiority were similar to that of an Indian Commissioner who once insisted that

with wild men as with...wild beasts  
the question of whether...in a given  
situation one shall fight...coax...or  
run is a question of what is easiest  
...safest...16.

Possible future legal intermarriage between the different ethnic groups in any social system can be generally viewed as one major cultural indication of their overall social status in it. Legal marriages between consenting Indian people or between an Indian and white person were not often allowed in most states throughout the nineteenth century. Sexual contact was not so severely proscribed between natives and whites, however and variable numbers of "...mixed half breeds..." became scattered throughout the frontier regions and in the cities. 17. Thomas Jefferson, other reformers who interested themselves in the lives and problems of native peoples did often suggest intermarriage as the best and only solution to the structural oppression forced upon the diverse tribal groups. Realistically,

...acceptance of miscegenation was as alien...to the American people in the 19th century...as would have been John Collier's 20th. century concept of individual...cultural societies existing within the structure of the national society...18.

Different theories and beliefs in social evolution were aspects of the social processes of American society

from its very beginnings. Bound up with myths about the inevitable economic progress of American society, they were also involved with cultural ideologies about the survival of the fittest as expounded by William Graham Sumner, Herbert Spencer and others. Such cultural ideologies, themes are implicitly racist since they did not, generally do not regard the tribal groups as being part of these struggles. Dominant cultural processes did not generally acknowledge that native peoples even had a right to exist. Such theories assisted in the recreations of the cultural images of the native peoples as being among the unfit and uncivilized. Many of these themes were different variations of Spencer's justifications for the earlier British processes of conquest and colonialism in the 'New World'. They basically derived from the British social system that created diverse and various kinds of rationalizations for their long-term colonizing activities. As Spencer had put it:

...if we do not like the survival of the fittest...we have the survival of the unfit...the former is the law of

civilization...the latter of anti-civilization...19.

Even among many of the intellectuals, dissenters and reformers critical of the Federal policies towards native peoples, they generally

...accepted the Darwinian concept of the survival of the most fit as a working hypothesis...they explained the reasons for the Indians' condition by referring to the social evolutionary theories of the day...20.

The material needs of specific classes among the American people for the lands and material resources of the native peoples coupled with cultural presumptions about white superiority underlay the reasoning that rationalized the ongoing attempts to objectively exterminate native peoples on the continent as being indicative of a superior civilization as well as being morally justifiable.

3. Throughout their enforced inclusions into the social system, the material resources needed by native peoples to survive and pursue their distinctive ways of life were progressively taken by the expanding social system.

Native peoples in the nineteenth century gradually became materially impoverished and barely able to survive at a subsistence level of existence within the social system as well as on the reservation areas provided for them. The systemic reductions of the overwhelming majority of the native peoples to penniless paupers most of whom were gradually excluded from almost any participation in the labor force was another significant result of the processes of violence involved in the expansions of the social system that were previously referred to. Henry Fritz summarized these systemic processes as well as emphasizing the object status that native peoples were pervasively engulfed in throughout the century as

...the westward movement of the frontier  
left the Indians in precarious situations  
...they were seen as a worthless obstacle  
...to manifest destiny...21.

No other ethnic group in all of American history has been culturally regarded as a literal object-like obstacle to the expansions, attempted achievements of the major goals and values of the social system.

Within a capitalist society, objective access to the empirical means to the accumulation of personal material resources is one basic necessity for the survival of individuals or entire groups within it. The events referred to depicting the geographical expansion of the social system throughout the nineteenth century systematically ensured that the majorities of the native ethnic peoples would indefinitely remain in their poverty-stricken situations. These oppressive situations were in distinct contrast to the less pervasively oppressed situations that the majorities of the European immigrants were confronted by at their inclusion points. Regardless of the specific political affiliations of the federal administrations in that era, the bureaucracies formally involved in the subordinations of the tribal peoples were generally oriented towards assisting the different European migrants to remain in the labor force. Their policies generally tried to protect the access of these settlers to the captured lands of the native peoples. Such policies made denial of legal access to their own lands, the material resources within them a structural characteristic of the social system throughout the century. They assisted

in making the personal accumulation of material resources for native peoples in the social system even more of an objective impossibility. They also made their equitable participation in routine processes of the social system precarious and dubious as compared to the possible future participation within it that was culturally acknowledged for European immigrant groups. 22.

Legal rights to the private ownership of almost anything were effectively denied to native peoples as the expanding society went to them and ambivalently, forcibly included them under its political authority. Native peoples did not and do not even own those isolated areas called reservations they were forced onto. Josephy has emphasized that throughout the nineteenth century era 23.

...tragedy was heaped upon tragedy...when physical genocide slackened...cultural genocide took over...land...dignity...the means to existence...were all robbed...by despoilers...freebooters...encouraged by missionaries...government agents intent on ridding the nation of Indian life...content. 24.

The empire-like social processes involved in the growth of the social system throughout the century effectively meant that the tribal groups would have little opportunity to alter their impoverished status even if they wanted to. 25.

Treaties came to be a significant aspect of how Indians came to be included into the social system if one can really depict such oppressive events and circumstances as an objective 'inclusion' into it. The treaties constituted rigid barriers for native peoples to have legal access to the possible means for the possible means for the accumulation of personal resources for themselves. None of the European immigrant groups were subjected to similar barriers to equitable participation within the social system. Canby has noted that

...even when tribes possessed...some bargaining powers...the treaty-making process put them at a disadvantage...they were written in English...governmental relations...embodied in the treaties were ...foreign to tribal cultures...26.

Ringer has placed these instruments of control and structured repression as major aspects of the pervasive domination that the growth of the social system effectively resulted in for the overwhelming majority of the tribal groups. No European immigrant group were ever subjected to sign treaties that they did not understand, that proscribed their physical movlents for the indefinite future as well as taking their material resources from them. Ringer notes a 'cycle' of deception:

...the cycle would repeat itself...  
encroachment by frontiersmen...violent  
reaction by the Indians...punitive  
responses...by the U.S. government...  
eventual defeat of the Indian...renegot-  
iation of a new 'permanent' treaty...27.

These cycles of deception in the form of worthless treaties were only some aspects of the structured subordination and purposeful policies of domination routinely pursued by the Federal government to overtly exclude native peoples from the types of participation within the social system that immigrant groups became involved in.

4. At their inclusion points into the social system, native peoples were set apart and routinely isolated from equitable interaction with the dominant white ethnic groups: their legal, political status was vague and unclear.

#### Equitable Social Interaction

This conception will refer to the realistic opportunities for the majority of any American ethnic group to fully and freely interact with the members of other ethnic groups on a relatively equitable basis. It will refer here especially to the relative freedom of physical movement of ethnic groups within the social system. Implicitly, it refers also to different ethnic groups having culturally acknowledged rights to eventual formal citizenship. Legal rights to physical entry or movement within American society for non-citizens has always been precarious and uncertain. The different levels of government have always had formal rights to deny or restrict such movement simply on the basis of the non-citizenship of individuals or groups. The concept is being used in this and the following chapter as a means of clarifying significant characteristics of the relative 'access to the means of social mobility' empirically experienced by the

ethnic groups focussed on at their inclusion points into the social system. It will refer to the generalized empirical possibilities implicit in the overall social status of distinct ethnic groups to become involved in those social processes within the society that may assist the majority in materially improving their status in the indefinite future. Formal rights to future citizenship in the social system is one major aspect of the possibilities for ethnic groups to potentially improve their overall future status, social situations. Throughout nineteenth century America, its dominant cultural processes routinely acknowledged the right to future citizenship for the different European immigrant groups while denying such a right for native peoples at the very same time.<sup>29.</sup>

The majorities of the members of all ethnic groups who have migrated to American society or to whom the social system went to in order to forcibly include them into it, seem to objectively have had differing types of realistic opportunities for future interaction within it. To a great extent, this seems to have depended on the manners of these initial entries, the nature of the differences. Neither those who came to the society or to whom it went to in order to

include them under its political authority ever had full and complete access to the diverse means of social mobility. At the same time, it seems reasonable to assume that some ethnic groups had somewhat better objective possibilities for future improvements in their overall social situations as compared to others. Objectively, any ethnic groups forcibly included into the social system primarily for the literal thefts of their material resources would have restricted access to the means of social mobility in the future.

#### Segregation and Political Status

The complex legal ambiguity of the tribal groups in the social system at its beginning was formally carried over into the structural processes of its expansion in later decades. So was their segregated, isolated status within it and their exclusions from routine participation in dominant social processes. The ambiguity of their legal status and the systemic processes of segregation in the social system are object-

ively inseparable. The dissertation is assuming that the most full and complete isolation from participation in the dominant social processes of the social system is for different levels of government to pursue legalized policies of extermination towards them. That all native peoples were the objects of such institutionalized governmental policies throughout the nineteenth century should be more than clear from prior comments. These systemic policies could also be viewed as the most overt and significant aspect of the ambiguous and unclear status of the different ethnic groups in relation to the expanding society. Canby commented that

...the unique legal posture of the tribes in relation to the Federal government...is deeply rooted in American history...30.

Many American political leaders in that era expressed views that overtly encouraged a pervasive isolation of tribal groups who survived the persistent extermination attempts. At its formal creation, the Federal government pre-empted legal responsibility for the separation of native peoples from white Americans in the Trade and Intercourse Acts that the Congress began to pass in 1790.

These various Acts provided a formal, institutional basis within the social system that more or less 'enshrined' routine discrimination against distinct ethnic peoples in a manner that has been unique in all of American history. No other ethnic group has been the subject of this kind, type of legislation that served as a formal rationalization for overt as well as covert acts of violence against the native peoples. The basic rights and liberties were denied to them in their very formulation inasmuch as they had no rights--whatsoever; to participate in their formulation, to add what they might think was or would be appropriate to their historically unique social status in the social system.

Since that era, diverse types of legislation has been created for the alleged protection of these various groups--some of which had special kinds of needs for the formal protection of the differing levels of the government. It should be kept in mind that the so-called Indian peoples make up any number of separate and distinctive ethnic peoples: they are not all 'the same' and speak any number of differing languages. Despite such uniqueness, they seem to be all regarded as 'the same'. These differing Acts took no notice of this.

Supposedly formulated for the protection of the native peoples, the primary policies embedded within most of them provided for their further domination as well as legal exclusion from equitable interaction in the society. Until 1834, these Acts supposedly established the

...boundaries of Indian country...non-Indians were prohibited from acquiring Indian lands...by purchase or by treaty ...from settling or entering them for 31. ...purposes of hunting...grazing...trading.

The Acts were routinely ignored by the different levels of government as well as by the majorities of white settlers. They seemed to primarily serve as yet another cultural indication that the Federal government would be systematically involved in regulating much of the potential social interaction of the denoted native enemy groups with the dominant white majority population. Their sporadic enforcement allowed white ethnic groups to further oppress native peoples with the active encouragement of most 32. levels of the state and federal governments. The confused and unclear status of native peoples became even further formalized and institutionalized with the passage of these nominal Acts that were almost objective symbols of an ambiguous life-situation Indian peoples had little control control over. A further indication of the marginality of the

groups in relation to the social system were the different ways that the Federal government rejected their legal rights to participation: extermination, segregation and near-isolation on reservations and the denials of any number of routine legal rights formally acknowledged for the European immigrants. These latter groups in those decades were not culturally identified as literal enemies of the social system. Such a structured singling-out by the social system is very often lightly treated in American history texts. When such processes are mentioned they are very often rationalized as necessary for the achievement of America's Manifest Destiny to expand across the entire North American continent. The Marshall Decision of 1831 further formalized the cultural denials of basic human rights for tribal groups in the ensuing decades. It culturally assisted in making the lives of native peoples even more ambiguous while reinforcing those processes isolating and excluding them from dominant social processes on an equitable basis at the same time. European groups were not subjected to the extreme contradiction embedded in the decision asserting that

...the Indians are acknowledged to have an unquestionable right to the lands they occupy...until that right be extinguished ...by our government...33.

How is it possible for an entire ethnic group to have an 'unquestionable' right to their own lands if that right is also subject to formal annulment at any point in time? Marshall designated tribal peoples as domestic dependent nations. This formal status asserted total federal authority over the lives of native peoples including the rights to remove and segregate them as the government saw fit:

...they are domestic...dependent nations  
 ...occupy a territory...to which we assert a title...independent of their will...to take effect in point of possession...when their right ceases...34.

The implicitly confused reasoning in the above should be more than evident as should the reiteration of the systemic denial of basic human and political rights for an entire ethnic group. Marshall also went on to formally reduce native peoples to the status of children. In a further comment on all native peoples. Again, European immigrants were never subjected to such formal reasoning by the very highest court in the society:

...meanwhile...they are in a state of  
pupilage...their relation...to the  
United States resembles that of a  
guardian...35.

This Decision was quoted in later decades by other  
courts and public officials as further justifications  
for almost any form of violent and non-violent  
deprivation and cruelty towards native peoples. Roger  
Daniels has referred to some of the invidious cultural  
consequences of this momentous Decision:

...wardship became a magic word in the  
mouths of Indian agents...any order...  
command...sale or lease of land came to  
be justified...as an act of guardianship

...every denial of civil...political...  
economic rights came to be blamed on  
their wardship...36.

By the end of the decade in which Marshall had made his  
Decision

...all...but a few remnants of tribes  
east of the Mississippi...were moved...  
to the West...the journeys became symbols  
of...imposed suffering...extreme hard-  
ship...37.

Collier has noted that by the middle of the nine-  
teenth century, legalized policies of exclusion from  
participation in the social system towards native

peoples had become more focussed:

...the annihilations of Indian cultures as more tribal groups were confronted by the social system...policies...became more complexly implemented...38.

In the above Collier seems to be referring to structural processes such as the Indian Wars that went on for decades as well as the legalized removal and reservation policies, the creation of a Federal Bureau of Indian Affairs, etc. Other Supreme Court Decisions further formalized these focussed annihilation efforts that Collier refers to. The emerging American empire effectively constituted a legal threat to the lives, ways of life of the native peoples for decades. Their formal rights to citizenship were totally ignored by the Supreme Court, the Congress as well as by American Presidents throughout the era. This was true regardless of which political parties the members of the highest levels of the Federal government were identified with.

While the Dawes Act of 1867 granted a limited

form of citizenship to some native peoples who left the reservation areas, it excluded the majority of native peoples from it at the same time. It didn't grant the right to vote to them and only a relatively few native peoples actually chose such an uncertain transition in ensuing decades to a social system that had traditionally tried to exterminate them. Why would the majority of native peoples even want to become formal citizens of such a society? The right to vote for native peoples wasn't achieved until 1924 when full citizenship was legally extended to all native peoples wherever they resided. Even with citizenship

...the exact position of the Indian in the American social system remained in doubt...whether...Indians...were a...peculiar group...with special rights and disabilities...39.

European immigrants to the social system throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries never had their citizenship formally restricted simply on the basis of their ethnic identities. This was only one of the many significant social barriers to equitable participation within the social system that Indians were confronted by.

The first Secretary of War of the United States, Henry Knox, foresaw many of the objective consequences of the migrations of white peoples into the lands of the native peoples beyond the 13 original states and the near-extinction of these diverse tribal groups in this 'modern era'.<sup>41.</sup>

5. The sociologically significant results of the previously depicted processes was that native peoples were ambivalently included into the social system in a pervasively subordinated social status.

Their objective access to the means of social mobility within the social system was also persistently and pervasively restricted.

Macpherson's depiction of the possessive market society emphasizes access to the material means of labor as a necessity for survival or mobility within it for individuals or entire ethnic groups. In these social systems

...the powers of a man include not only his energy...skill or capacity to labor ...but his access to the means (land, capital, other materials) without which his capacity to...labor cannot become active labor...42.

He notes that any kinds of objective barriers to this access can mean that the continuing existence of individuals or groups within these social systems becomes increasingly precarious:

...if a man must produce in order to exist...he must have both...the capacity...access to the means of labor ...a man's powers are reduced...when he has less than free access to the means of...profitable...labor...43.

Within these types of societies, objective opportunities for persons and groups to accumulate personal

resources of their own are implicitly related to their future possibilities for social mobility. Such accumulation is one of the most significant culturally-recognized measures of this mobility.

#### Native Peoples and Social Mobility

Wright has referred to one of the more significant, enduring cultural themes of the American social system:

...in the traditions of American life... few ideas...have greater prominence than the notion of the dignity of labor...the virtue of diligent application...to one's job...whatever it might be...44.

He comments on some variations of this theme:

...from the earliest times...these related themes...find expression in an infinite variety...provide emphases...to the lesson ...that earnest industry...is unflinching in its rewards. 45.

That earnest industry has very often been more than just unflinching in its rewards throughout American history should be self-evident. These cultural emphases ultimately derive from European civilization and its diverse processes of domination and colonialism. The different European nations set persisting traditions of subordination of Indians on the North American continent before the creation of America

that routinely involved brutal military conquests of native peoples. Wright also referred to the effective 'transfer' of the cultural values, processes of the European empires into the newly-created American social system:

...the prudential values of the Puritans  
...their repeated injunctions against  
waste...extravagance...were transferred  
to America...to become a dominant influence  
in the colonies...it was a part of the  
fundamental social doctrines...46.

The absence of these Protestant ethic work themes and values within Indian social systems was often interpreted by nineteenth century Americans as yet one more indication of the presumed inferiority of the denoted 'savages' as well as by newly-arriving immigrant groups.

Very much unlike these latter groups, the overall 'life-situation' of the tribal groups within the American social system also meant that they were almost constantly removable by its military and political officials. These empirical possibilities created persisting uncertainties among them as to their future existence in any single location. Such actual possibilities constituted formalized and structural barriers for native groups to social mobility in the society. The officials involved in these

literal kidnappings rarely considered the economic consequences of them for the native groups. Even the threat of possible removal assisted in precluding long-term planning or participation in the labor force by native peoples.

The essence of these exclusion, extermination and removal policies by the Federal government throughout the nineteenth century has been summarized by Collier. He noted that by about 1880

...all its ethical scruples had been...disposed of..the United States was...determined that no native social structure...should live...47.

Such a determination seems to have been embedded within dominant cultural processes of the social system at its very creation. By 1884 when all the different native peoples on the continent had gone thru their pervasively victimized inclusions into the social system, the Supreme Court issued another decision with regards to the status of native peoples within it. It can be viewed as another example of other decisions by the

Court throughout the century that served to further complicate the status of native peoples as well as to restrict their objective access to the means of social mobility at the same time. It assisted in further limiting native peoples to their isolated reservations and is indicative of the ambiguous social status imposed on the majorities of them. The confused implications of the 1884 Decision are self-evident:

...although Indians were born in the United States...they were no more born in the United States...than were children of any foreign government...born within the domain of that government...48.

Even at such a late date in that century, the highest-level American court would still not regard Indian peoples as human beings entitled to basic legal protections of the government. Native groups had been effectively considered to be actual enemies of the Federal government, the social system in the decades prior to the decision that objectively reinforced their unique marginality in it for the indefinite future.

Formal education or objective access to different opportunities to it can be considered as one objective means to social mobility within the American social system.

In terms of the economic and social processes of the development of American society throughout the nineteenth century, formal education had not really assumed importance for individual or group efforts at social mobility until the latter nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In that era, structural processes of industrialization became more widespread. Basic literacy and more formally specialized types of education began to become more important for obtaining higher-level and better-paying jobs. Despite such structural developments, at that time

...the United States did not offer satisfactory opportunities for instruction ...schooling had been rare...few, red men in 1880 spoke English...1 Indian child out of 12 was being instructed. 49.

As depicted enemies of the society, native peoples had been historically considered as having few if any needs for formalized education. Even when it became possible for some tribal groups to obtain limited types of such formalized education, it didn't really assist them to any extent in becoming involved in processes of social mobility since

...it was too often presented...as a

system to be substituted...for  
traditional..values..as an  
engine to destroy them...50.

In a reference to Indian boarding schools Washburn indirectly refers to similar issues in the modern era about the usage of the English language that have confronted many Hispanic groups throughout the 20th century. As late as 1890, the boarding schools generally insisted that

...all instruction must be in English pupils must be compelled to converse with each other in English...they should be punished for every violation of this ...every effort should be made...to encourage them to abandon their tribal language...51.

By 1901 an evaluation of the educational opportunities that had been provided to Indian peoples in the prior century concluded that

...the system had failed...it had not caused the Indians to cease their...dependence on the government...the record was one of abysmal failure... 52.

Preparing native peoples for economic independence and participation within dominant economic processes of the social system were systematically ignored and overtly

downplayed in the few educational programs that were available to the majority of the native peoples throughout the century. Instead, they were excluded from taking advantage of programs geared to assisting them in achieving limited forms of social mobility in the future. When some progress was made in the 20th century to increase funding for their education, it occurred in the context of the routine degradation of native cultural systems as well as their enforced isolation on literal prisons called reservation areas.  
53.

Native Peoples As Colonized Outcastes: A Summary Depiction

By the latter decades of the nineteenth century, complex processes of industrialization began to bring many millions of European immigrants into the urbanized areas of the United States. At the same time, native peoples remained largely isolated from them on their reservations. They had been fully subordinated in the development of the social system throughout the century. Sociologically similar to the status of their ancestors at their inclusions into the social system, the majority of the native peoples lacked objective economic and political opportunities for equitable participation in the social system. While the overt policies of violence by the Federal government towards them had long ceased, they were still being effectively excluded from the social system. Systemic processes keeping them separate from the dominant population on their isolated reserved areas can be viewed as covert forms of violence. Complex types of oppression towards them as entire ethnic groups had become institutionalized within dominant processes of the society. Not long before the acquisition of Puerto Rico, a Federal court depicted the uniquely ambiguous

status of native peoples in the social system. It was

...unknown to any common law...civil law  
or to any system of municipal law...Indians  
...were neither citizens...nor slaves...they  
were little more than prisoners of war...  
while war did not exist...54.

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Ch. 7. Afro and Puerto Rican Americans As Colonized  
Outcastes

Introduction

This chapter will compare significant aspects of the inclusions of the Afro and Puerto Rican peoples into the United States to the colonized outcaste model created in the prior chapter. Some contrasting comments will refer to the inclusions of native peoples and European immigrant groups into the social system in the same era.

1. Afro and Puerto Rican Americans were forcibly included into the nineteenth century social system in a similar manner for the thefts of their lands or labor.

### Afro-Americans

Similar to the inclusions of the native peoples into the colonial social systems on what came to be called the North American continent, African peoples had also been conquered by the expanding European empires prior to the creation of the United States. Specific members of the upper classes among the Europeans had been directly and indirectly involved in the implementations of the subordinations of the African & Native Americans in their own homelands. These classes and strata derived many more material benefits from these subjugations as compared to  
1.  
other classes.

Marable emphasized that the essence of the social processes that maintained institutionalized slavery in the American social system were diverse forms of violence. Economically-based, it was carried over from the historical traditions of the oppression of non-white peoples in the New World by the European empires. This violence was embedded in the persisting thefts of the material resources

of these non-white peoples: the lands of the native tribal groups, the labor of the transported slaves. Only those classes who could afford to 'own' these victimized peoples could profit from the thefts of their labor. Only those classes, strata willing to confront and kill native peoples could materially benefit from such brutality.<sup>2.</sup>

Quarles gave a graphic depiction of some aspects of the overt violence brutally imposed on some of the African peoples by American and European slave traders:

...Africans were marched...hundreds of miles...  
...suffering from thirst...hunger...exhaustion  
...shackled...on the ships...together...packed  
tightly in oven-like holds...lying in their own  
defecation...many went insane...3.

The survivors of such agonies were subjected to further violence at the end of these journeys. They were sold as objects into degraded and totally-controlled life situations. Filler noted that relatively small numbers of Americans were directly involved in the repression imposed upon these African peoples since it

...directly affected only about...one-  
fourth of the Southern white population  
...the vast majority of Southerners did  
not own slaves...had only a tangential  
...economic stake in perpetuating their  
inferior status...4.

All Southerners benefitted indirectly from the thefts of the labor of these brutally-oppressed people since it assisted in maintaining the distinctive Southern economic, social systems in unacknowledged ways. At the time that the Southern colonies became states, their economic systems had become very much dependent on the production of cotton that ultimately almost fully required the theft of enslaved labor. These economic processes assisted the upper-class plantation owners in their political and cultural dominance of the region throughout the slavery decades. The slave trade persisted even after the legislation outlawing it in 1808 as

...more Africans...were forcibly transported...smuggled in...until 1860...5.

While the labor of the differing European peoples who migrated to the social system in the same era was exploited by the structured economic processes of the expanding social system, it was not literally taken from them as was the labor of the enslaved. Lacy has pointed out that the 'free' Africans found themselves in similar situations:

...the non-slave Negro in the South  
...the North shared a very similar

experience...simply because they were Negro  
...color indicated condition...if one had a  
dark skin...it was up to him to prove he was  
..not a slave...6.

The majorities of the European immigrants were not directly involved in the structured violence of slavery but were indirectly involved in terms of the material benefits produced by it. Access of the immigrants to the diverse economic opportunities created or linked to the surplus value taken from the slaves by their victimization is an indirect form of involvement. So is the lack of competition for those economic opportunities that the exclusions from the free labor market meant for those engulfed in an  
7.  
enslaved status. Lacy contrasted the relative insignificance of slavery in the Northern colonies before they became states:

...in the Northern colonies...(slavery)  
played a marginal role in the economy...  
in the Southern colonies...the situation  
was quite different...the economy had been  
firmly rooted in a type of production...  
that required a labor force...that could  
not be made up of free men...it became  
stable...rigid...8.

### Puerto Rico

The Spanish colony of Puerto Rico had been extensively involved with American business interests well before its annexation in 1898. American trade with the colony had begun as early as 1815 and by the 1880's

...Puerto Rico had become the tenth market for American goods in the South American...hemisphere...with a favorable balance of trade of nearly \$2.5 millions...9.

The abrupt manner of the extension of American political authority over the island, the prior subordination of its impoverished residents by Spain were the results of complex political and economic processes that the penniless and victimized Puerto Rican people had little or no control over. The American subordination of the island grew out of its prior systemic empire-building expansions that had begun at its formal creation. La Feber has commented that

...the United States did not set out on an expansionist path in the late...1890's in a sudden spur of the moment fashion...the overseas empire it controlled in 1900...was not a break in its history...but a culmination of it...10.

In the Spanish domination of the Caribbean area, the ruling classes of Spain had never concerned themselves with the empirical effects of the processes of colonialism

on the different oppressed peoples of the region who had been culturally depicted as well as treated as innately inferior objects by Spain. Hardly any human or legal rights for them were acknowledged by Spain in the many decades of its domination of the area. At the point of the American annexation of the island, similar rationalizations and reasoning about the innate inferiority of its residents were overtly embedded in the processes of the conquest. Carrion characterized it as a

...coarse way of dealing with the...  
island...its one million residents...  
as a banknote...(it) was an indication  
of the way Puerto Rico would be treated  
...for the next 70 years...11.

He concluded that much of the underlying motivation for its conquest and subordination by the elite groups of both Spain and the United States were essentially the same: to allow full and easier economic access to the material resources of the entire region. Although Puerto Rico is relatively small in size, it was and still is considered to be militarily strategic.

Once the Hawaiian Islands had been conquered in 1893, cultural and political rationalizations for further movements into the Caribbean and other overseas regions

increased. Structural processes of industrialization gave added encouragement for business leaders to extend their activities in acquiring more material resources at as little cost to themselves as possible. As the leading industrializing social system in the last decade of the the nineteenth century, structured processes and events had been set in motion to further extend and create markets wherever possible. In that era Admiral Alfred Mahan expressed one variation of the processes of American empire-building. He urged American business leaders to set the United States

...on a course that would put it in a class with the other great imperialist powers...navies...colonies...markets... all went together...to make a nation more powerful...whether they will or no...Americans must begin to look outward...13.

In that era, political leaders like Theodore Roosevelt, Henry Cabot Lodge, President McKinley along with different writers and editors echoed similar sentiments. Such cultural presumptions and urgings assisted in leading the United States into the Spanish American War although  
14.  
other things were also involved. Carrion has asserted that one of the major things involved in the adventure was that "...an imperialist elite had decided that the

15.  
time had come to kick Spain out of the hemisphere..."

At that time, a cultural coalescence about American national supremacy, widespread beliefs about extending its economic and political power everywhere assisted the involuntary incorporations of diverse peoples into the social system. These groups had not been previously involved in freely migrating to the social system in a manner similar to the European ethnic groups.

16.

2. At the points of their original inclusion experiences into the American social system; the humanity of the Afro and Puerto Rican peoples was pervasively denied by dominant cultural processes in diverse ways. They were generally regarded as innately inferior, non-human species.

#### Afro-Americans

As the processes of subordination and enslavement were carried over into the major social institutions of the newly created American social system so were the cultural processes that had reduced the majority of the African peoples in the former British colonies to literal objects. These processes greatly assisted in rationalizing the recreation of slavery as an overt and legalized contradiction to the stated values of the new social system. The different forms of the cultural rejection of the humanity of the African peoples were inseparable from the equally diverse violence implicit in those systemic processes maintaining slavery. Marable has emphasized that the recreation of specific characteristics of cultural processes within the major social institutions of any social system are necessarily

related to prior historical processes, chains of events:

...culture does not arise outside of the historical process...but in conflict...or in harmony...with...the political and economic structures...17.

Changing cultural processes in any society may distort or make murkier the objective effects of the perceived conflict or harmony of these diverse processes on the human beings directly or indirectly affected by them.

The cultural distortions as to the effects of the violence of slavery on the enslaved were also assisted by ideologies that effectively denied the basic humanity of all African or depicted 'nonwhite' peoples. Higginbotham has noted that throughout the nineteenth century within American society

..courts...state legislatures...public servants...tried to decide if blacks were people...if so...whether they were a species apart from white humans...the differences justifying separate treatment. 18.

This systemic and persistent questioning of the basic humanity of a specific denoted nonwhite ethnic group assisted in setting them apart from the dominant white majority groups: symbolically, physically. Identification as white became the unquestionable standard for being

regarded as human. While the different European immigrant groups had also confronted cultural labelling as inferior during their initial inclusion experiences, they were still culturally identified as 'white' and, therefore, human. Cultural processes generally acknowledged their rights to participate in the social system while those of perceived nonwhite peoples were overtly rejected.<sup>19.</sup>

Genovese emphasized that the reductions of slaves to literal objects had been traditional in those social systems that had legalized slavery in its structural processes. Cultural differences in the details of slavery in different societies were meaningless since in all of them

...slavery rested on the idea of a slave as an instrumentum vocale...a chattel...thing... possession...an...extension of his master's will...

...Southern slave society grew out of the same...historical conditions that...produced the other slave regimes...20.

Filler clarified the reductions of slaves within American society to non-human things by pointing out that throughout the slavery era "...slaves were denied their humanity  
21.  
...they did represent property..."

Some of the early American political leaders effectively depended on slavery for their own personal fortunes, lifestyles. As slaveowners, leaders such as George Washington and Thomas Jefferson had no real interest in extending the stated ideals of the Declaration of Independence to those people whose stolen labor was the basis for their high-level status in the social system. Jefferson sometimes wrote variations of one of his apparent rationalizations for his involvement in slavery by arguing that

...blacks were inferior to whites in the endowments of body...mind...this...unfortunate difference of color...faculty...is a powerful obstacle to the...emancipation of these people...22.

Jefferson is effectively equating skin coloring to be somehow definitively indicative of an innate mental capacity. The biologically irrelevant relationship between perceived skin coloring and the mental capacities of entire ethnic groups was also involved in some legal interpretations during the 19th century. As late in the slavery era as 1857, Chief Justice Taney wrote for the majority of the Supreme Court in affirming that

..at the time of the Declaration of Independence...when the Constitution was adopted...blacks had no rights... that the white man was bound to respect...23.

Such a racist interpretation was culturally symbolic of the object status of Africans in the social system as well as to other denoted 'nonwhite' peoples. It was similar to any number of legal interpretations that assisted in upholding slavery as a social institution as well as legitimizing beliefs about the innate superiority of white people.

Ringer emphasized that such cultural denials of the human rights of Afro-Americans, the major political documents of the new social system and its legal structures, processes routinely oppressed Afro-Americans, other non-white peoples throughout the nineteenth century. These structures and processes routinely entrapped them in formally controlled life-situations and throughout the century

...the nonwhite races...blacks...Indians... were not only excluded from the Constitution their treatment continued very much in...the manner of America's colonialistic past...as conquered subjects...pieces of property...24.

The Constitution itself provided no legal alternatives

for possibly ending their oppressed status nor could it simply abolish or end the racial ideologies and economic processes that upheld the formal institution of slavery. The Amendments that followed the Civil War abolished it legally but had little realistic effect on the cultural ideologies that insisted on the innate inferiority of non-white peoples. The legal interpretations based on the Amendments in later decades were effectively meaningless in terms of ending the repression of the freed slaves.  
25.

Williams has commented on the economic basis for the recreations of slavery up to the Civil War, in upholding racial ideologies about African peoples:

..the origin of slavery was economic not racial...it had to do not with the color of the laborer...but with the cheapness of his labor...

...the features of the man...hair color ...alleged subhuman characteristics... were only the later...rationalizations ...to justify a single fact...the colonies ...states needed cheap labor...Negro labor was cheapest...26.

Fredericksson referred to the underlying economic processes in a comment on the cultural basis of ethnic stratification throughout the nineteenth century:

...the struggle for scarce resources was a major component...land hunger...territorial ambitions gave to whites...a practical incentive...to differentiate between basic rights...privileges they claimed for themselves...what they considered to be just treatment for savages...27.

Fredericksson's comment emphasizes the persistent underlying economic struggles within the social system for access to the ownership of different forms of material resources by different classes and ethnic groups within American society. To some extent it gives an indication as to how Africans and other perceived nonwhites were culturally singled out for pervasive exclusion from equitable participation in the same types of economic struggles that the majority white ethnic groups were involved in. The persisting question that very often dominated social relationships between African peoples and these majority ethnic groups was summarized by him:

...if blacks could be perceived as...inferior...uneducable...venal...it might be less...self-condemnatory to relegate them to a subordinate role...either for their own good...the good of society...28.

Whether in an enslaved or free status, Afro-Americans throughout the nineteenth century seemed to be not only

generally regarded as innately inferior but also as some kind of potential threat to the welfare of the social system.  
29.

Such results were generally indicative of the pervasive labelling processes that came to be routinely applied to all depicted nonwhites in that era. They were indicative also of structured social processes that have formally required different kinds of subordinated labor for the ultimate benefit of specific elite groups within the social system.

### Puerto Rican Americans

In a manner sociologically similar to the decades-long domination of Afro and Native American peoples within American society, the annexation of Puerto Rico drew relatively little dissent from the majority of Americans. They seemed to generally go along with the stated reasoning of the military and public officials directly involved in the implementation of the takeover. Some of these officials openly expressed variations of rationalizations insisting that the conquest was trying to "...extend to savage and backward peoples...the immense benefits of (American) civilization..."<sup>30.</sup> Hispanic peoples in what came to be regarded as the 'American' hemisphere seemed to be culturally regarded as obstacles to American progress. Some of the public officials directly involved in the domination of the entire Latin America region felt that "...the empire of weaker...disorganized...nations must be absorbed...by the stronger...organized nation..."<sup>31.</sup> The many variations of these racist ideologies generally excluded Spain from the stated 'white-man's burden' in bringing the benefits

of white civilization to the nonwhite peoples of the world. These benefits were ultimately dependent on the objective theft of or control over a major source of all material resources: the lands of victimized and militarily vulnerable peoples. Such thefts or control also usually included the near-total usage, exploitation of the labor forces of the native residents of these conquered lands. These processes of imperialism throughout the nineteenth century effectively resulted in hiding the true goals, purposes of imperialism behind diverse proclamations about religious missions to the depicted underdeveloped nations of the world. The expansions and growth of European as well as processes of American imperialism were basic aspects of the military conflicts they became involved in and by the latter nineteenth century

..North American capitalism...had as its motivating force...the pressing need to expand its influence...or face crises of over-production. 32.

Global expansions of capitalist social systems always require constant needs for more diverse kinds of material resources as well as cheap labor. They also require potential reserve labor forces that economic elite groups can utilize as cheaply as possible. In that latter nine-

teenth century era of expansion, the links between overtly racist reasoning and the pervasive domination of militarily vulnerable peoples were periodically expressed publicly by some public officials. For example, a member of the diplomatic corps in that era asserted a variation of the many cultural rationalizations for the extension of U.S. military power beyond the formal but changing borders of the social system:

...I should be glad to see our...common race and blood...spread over Africa... India...as they ought to be to see it spread over the Western hemisphere... 33. probably...that was the plan of Providence.

The reference to 'our' in the above was to the British and French empires and reflects dominant cultural assumptions about the innate superiority of the Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic peoples often found in the media as well as in the lectures of some academic leaders of the era. Other variations of such themes were sometimes stated by John Burgess, a former teacher of Theodore Roosevelt:

...the Teutonic peoples can never consider that the exercise of political power is a right of man...(they) have shown a capacity for political organization...this...power is based on the capacity to fulfill... political duty...they are the best entities ...to determine when...where this capacity exists...34.

As Maldonado-Denis has put it, in that era

...it was not necessary...to hide the  
iron fist of world domination...behind  
a veneer of equivocal language...35.

At that time, the American government and most of its higher-level public officials had little experience in actually governing distant overseas territories. Despite this, the presumed rights to the political domination of these territories and its native residents were reflected by some of the statements of Senator Foraker at the time of the takeover of Puerto Rico:

...Puerto Ricans have not been prepared  
for any kind of experience in government  
...they differed from any other peoples  
for whom...we have legislated...they've  
had a different experience in government  
...36.

Foraker is referring here to the historical non-democratic processes of colonialism imposed upon the Puerto Rican people by Spain. The fact that they never really had any opportunities whatsoever to participate in any form of self-government is totally ignored by such reasoning. If it had been followed by political leaders involved in the American Revolution, the United States would never have come into being. Another political leader directly involved in the annexation referred to the Puerto Rican people as

...a hodgepodge...with gloom as part of their personalities...the landscape had helped to shape their character... their geography was soft and feminine..37.

Frank Bonilla referred to a similar comment in a report sent by a high-level public official on the island to one of his superiors in Washington at the annexation claiming that the Puerto Rican people were a

...gently...uncomplaining lot...living in ignorance...polite...willing to work ...in a plodding way...docile...but grateful...for anything done for them...emotional,...lazy...dirty...but also...sharp... cunning...38.

Such derogatory stereotyping assisted in putting the Puerto Rican people into a highly ambiguous political status in relationship to the federal government. While the different European immigrant groups who had previously migrated to the social system had confronted stereotyping and discriminatory treatment at their inclusion experiences, none were so often formally and openly depicted as children or wards of the United States as entire ethnic groups by public officials and others.

3. As entire ethnic groups, the Afro and Puerto Rican peoples had little or no material resources of their own at their inclusions into the social system.

The conception of material resources as it is being used here will not only refer to the actual material resources actually possessed by different ethnic groups at their initial inclusion points. It will refer also to the possibilities for individuals or entire ethnic groups within the social system to the opportunities to future access to acquiring material resources of their own in the future. The objective means to the acquisition of material resources change over time as the nature of dominant cultural, economic and political processes within the social system change. For example, in the 1980's era some knowledge of the different kinds of computer technology seems to have become much more important if not an actual necessity for obtaining better-paying, higher-level jobs as compared to twenty or even ten years ago.

The U.S. social system has been previously denoted as a possessive-market social system from its very creation. However, not all empire-like societies throughout world history have exhibited the structural characteristics

of those types of societies. Macpherson has clarified the significant characteristics of possessive-market social systems:

...labor...land...and capital...as well as...products become subject to the determination of the market... prices are set by...competition between buyers...sellers...the market puts a price on everything...40.

In later comments on these societies, Macpherson further emphasized the pervasive extent to which human beings as well as their social relationships are directly affected by the constant competition within such social systems:

...the market permeates the relations between individuals...all possessions ...including men's energies...are related as...possessors of marketable commodities ...including their own powers...all must continually offer commodities...(in the broadest sense) in the market...in competition with others...41.

His depiction of the social systems is another example of a pure type analytical model since no social system in objective reality actually fits all the stated characteristics of such societies to the same degree or extent. In these societies, highly inequitable processes of social stratification are characteristic of them as are the objective shares of political power that different strata, classes or entire ethnic groups may actually possess or

have access to at any point in time. Macpherson summarized the significant characteristics of this abstract social system:

1. There is an authoritative allocation of work --as well as authoritative provisions of material rewards for such work.
2. There is a legal definition, enforcement of contracts. All individuals must try to rationally maximize their opportunities for the acquisition of personal material resources.
3. An individual's capacity to labor is his own. Land and other types of material resources can be bought, sold and personally owned by individuals.
4. Some individuals desire larger amounts of power and wealth than they already have and may have more personal skills, material possessions than others. 42.

While the above depiction may seem to be fairly accurate in terms of the empirical characteristics of the U.S. social system, it applies more fully and completely to the historical experiences of its dominant white ethnic groups. It doesn't refer to the purposeful exclusions from the labor force by routine systemic processes imposed upon specific ethnic groups, other strata for different reasons. Whatever its limitations, the model seems to be sociologically adequate for the fuller clarification of the historical

and modern experiences of the nonwhite ethnic groups being focussed on in this essay.

### Afro-Americans

Any number of social scientists have referred to the demands of the developing nineteenth century social system, the elite groups within it for more land, cheap labor and other kinds of material resources. Such demands became more intensive and extensive as the decades went by and the social system geographically expanded. Those expansions did not have to take place as they did although it now seems to be assumed that they did by any number of public officials, educators and others. Neither did the social system or its elite groups have to partially meet the growing demands for more land, labor or a reserve labor force by the subordinations of native peoples on the continent or by extending the legal institution of slavery. Foner has commented that one major means that diverse upper-class groups developed for the acquisitions of labor resources was by actively encouraging poverty-stricken European immigrants to come to the social system throughout the nineteenth century. In distinct contrast to the enslaved as well as the denoted 'free' Africans, these

differing white immigrants were generally culturally expected to actively participate in 'free' labor market processes.<sup>44.</sup>

Realistically, only a very small number of the white immigrants were ever able to accumulate significant or large amounts of personal material resources or became millionaires. While the involvements in labor market processes were generally encouraged by the different levels of government, contradictory processes were also at work at the same time. One writer noted that

...while we have welcomed strangers to live among us..we have also...scorned...abused...immigrants...minority groups who have deviated...from the dominant culture...45.

The above is a brief reference to some of the stereotyping effects of the cultural racism that the majorities of the penniless European migrants were confronted by in the New World. It doesn't refer to the structural barriers to the objective accumulation of almost any material resources of their own that the majorities of the African peoples were subjected to at their forcible inclusions into the social system. For example, in distinct contrast to the life-situations of the immigrant groups in the slavery

era slave codes forbade

...bondsmen to...acquire...inherit property  
...to be parties to...or to engage in  
certain trades...46.

Such a formalized structured barrier for a distinct group contradicts the life-situations that all laborers in the pure-type of possessive market social system should have been able to become involved in voluntarily. These restrictions on the objective possibilities for basic access to the means to acquire personal material resources of their own had highly negative consequences for the enslaved as well as for denoted free Africans in the Southern states who were often forced to prove they were not slaves to whoever insisted on such proof. Members of the European migrant groups were never subjected to these institutionalized restrictions or degrading confrontations by others. They were indicative of hindered and ambiguous relationships within the social system, to the labor force. The enslaved did not even formally own their capacities and rights to labor: their masters did.

Berry and Blassingame noted that even when the freed slaves attempted to be reincluded into the social system in their different legal status after the Civil

War, many were often singled out by dominant cultural processes for complex forms of repression similar to those that had maintained slavery in prior decades. Many were often forced to work

...on two...three jobs to make a living...some signed long-term contracts with employers...for subsistence only, a practice that made them virtual slaves...48.

The majority of these emancipated slaves became related to the labor force in an effective caste-like manner since

according to the most predominant white opinion...the most suitable place for blacks...was as dependent ...agricultural workers...domestic servants...49.

These freed slaves were put into sociologically 'caged' life-situations that tended to reinforce other cultural barriers to their equitable interaction in the social system. They had objectively more diminished personal access to the means for the personal accumulation of personal resources as compared to the overwhelming majority of the dominant white population for the indefinite future.

### Puerto Rican Americans

At the point of the American annexation of Puerto Rico, the economy of the Island had been traditionally geared to the changing needs of the Spanish ruling classes and those directly or indirectly representing them. The predominantly agricultural nature of the economy of the island meant that for the overwhelming majority of its native residents, their access to the objective accumulation of large amounts of personal material resources was blocked in a manner similar to that of the majority of the Afro-American people on the American mainland. The exploitation and usage of the resources, land and labor of the Puerto Rican native residents necessarily differed in details as compared to the Afro-American population. As a separate geographical entity at the point of the U.S. takeover

...Spain supplied...one-third of the value of Puerto Rico's imports...the United States about one-fourth...England ...over one-fourth... 51.

By 1898, just about all of the coffee, sugar and tobacco plantations on the island were owned by non-Puerto Ricans. The Puerto Rican labor force had traditionally only been

intermittently employed on them at subsistence-level wages. Their overall life-situations were routinely continued at the U.S. annexation point: it didn't mean that their dominated economic situations would change very much if at all. At that point, Gordon Lewis depicted the majority of the native residents of the island as a largely

...defenseless...labor population that the ruling class could use at will...subject to a poverty of...terrible dimensions...52.

The takeover meant that in terms of the island's economy

a decadent...inefficient capitalism was replaced by an efficient...dynamic capitalism...(that) worked for the producer...the exploitation of the island's resources 53. became more...systematized...routinized...

Opening up further access to alternative economic opportunities for the accumulation of more personal resources by the exploited laborers were the very last priorities of the economic elite groups on the island as well as on the U.S. mainland. The more pervasive economic domination of the Puerto Rican labor force was a further extension of subordinating economic processes that had previously singled out native and African peoples for sociologically similar subordinated relationships to the means of production of the social system and its labor force. The takeover had

not been one of a militarily more powerful social system invoking its power over a smaller and vulnerable society that it had no prior contact with. By the end of the century

...most of its wheat came from the United States...as did the hog products...the Puerto Rican sugar industry was increasingly dependent on the U.S....market...by the 1880's... it was purchasing close to 80%...of the island's ...sugar exports...the bulk of its manufacturing commodities came from Europe...the United States.<sup>54</sup>

After the conquest, many of the American businessmen involved in the domination of the island's economy in prior decades decided that they could

...obtain a larger profit...in the resuscitation of the sugar industry...the decline of the small man was inevitable.<sup>55</sup>

The economically 'caged and entrapped' relationships of the majority of the Puerto Rican labor force became even more rigid by such decisions and even more sociologically similar to the situations of the majority of Afro-Americans on the mainland.

4. At the points of their similar inclusion experiences, Afro and Puerto Rican peoples were physically isolated. They were routinely set apart from equitable social interaction with dominant majority white ethnic groups.

Implicit in this enforced structural segregation was their vague, uniquely unclear but similar ambiguous political status in relation to the social system: especially with respect to citizenship or potential citizenship within it.

#### Afro-Americans

Even a very brief and incomplete review of the Afro-American experience within the social system should make the above generalization self-evident. The assertion is not implying that at the formal creation of the U.S. social system or thereafter that all or a majority of the members of the different white ethnic groups in the social system or who later migrated to it had full or relatively unhindered access to processes of equitable social interaction. There seems to be little doubt that women in the social system have historically had their access to this interaction restricted and limited to variable degrees. The most fully open and complete access to these interaction opportunities have generally been historically available to specific groups and classes within the social system. Generally, they've been most fully available to upper-

class white Protestant males throughout all of American  
56.  
history.

Cultural processes carried over from the British colony status into the new American social system tended to further institutionalize the formal rights of white people to objectively isolate Afro-Americans and restrict their freedom of physical movement within the social system. While the processes of exclusion imposed on them were not as objectively severe as the structured total exclusions of native peoples by planned extermination attempts, they were sociologically similar. Since the labor of the enslaved Africans was needed by the social system, formal policies of genocide were precluded.

Myrdal has emphasized the cultural contradictions involved in the exclusions of Afro-Americans from equitable interaction opportunities. He's emphasized that such processes were formalized and fully sanctioned by the social system by the very same political documents that separated it from England. This is the essence of what he has characterized as the 'American Dilemma': by the stated values, goals of the Declaration of Independence or the Constitution, slavery or involuntary servitude should

have been prohibited. Political and economic inequities had existed in just about all known social systems prior to the creation of the United States. But as Berry and Blassingame have commented

...in none of them did the fundamental documents...philosophies...unequivocally assert that slavery was a violation of ...divine law...a glaring contradiction ...in their belief in freedom. 57.

The entire lives of the enslaved were fully and completely dominated by the needs and demands of their masters and their families. The literal 'minute-by-minute' existence of the slaves was determined by these changing needs and demands. Depending on place and time this also included being watched over by mounted patrols that prohibited either enslaved or free Africans from being on the streets at  
58.  
specific times.

The State vs. Mann Supreme Court decision in 1823 was only one of many decisions following it that assisted in justifying myths about the divine inspiration of slavery. In it the Court decided that the slave

...had no will of his own...the power of the master must be absolute...he had uncontrolled authority...there is no... appeal from his master...such dominion is essential to public tranquility...59.

This subordinating reasoning carried over to some extent to free Africans also. It didn't simply vanish from dominant cultural processes of the social system after the Civil War Amendments.

The essential vagueness of the legal and political status of Afro-Americans in the early nineteenth century decades is implicit in the Mann Decision of the Supreme Court in 1823 quoted above as well as in the fact that throughout the Southern states in the slavery era

...the testimony of a Negro...slave or free was inadmissible...in any court of law...slave marriages were...not a matter of public record... 60.

The structural denial of the recording of the marriages of slaves had serious social consequences for the children of such marriages. It was yet another cultural expression of the ambiguity of the legal status of all Afro-Americans within the society. Such a formal denial effectively denied the existence of slaves as human beings with rights to a legal, culturally acknowledged union that might produce children. Essentially, the

children of the enslaved had no legally-recognized parents.<sup>61.</sup>

As an entire ethnic group, Afro-Americans tended to become legally and politically 'invisible'--as Ralph Ellison has symbolically characterized the entire existence of them in the United States.<sup>62.</sup>

Puerto Rican Americans

The essence of the inclusions of the original 1 million Puerto Rican people into the social system at a single point in time was one of complete military domination. It could not possibly open opportunities for political freedom for its residents. Military conquests of one nation by another have rarely done so. The first of the 4 military governors of the Island, Nelson Miles, promised changes in the dominated political status of its native residents if they accepted a political subordination similar to the one imposed upon them by Spain:

...the primary effect of this occupation will be the immediate transition...from... your former government...desiring that you accept with joy...the system of the government of the United States... 63.

Miles and the other military governors did exactly the opposite of what was promised. They implemented a transition to further political powerlessness for the native people. At the annexation of the island there were no formal or informal colonial offices in the

government structure similar to those in France or Spain. Neither the government, the Congress or any American President had ever acknowledged that the United States had ever been involved in processes of colonialism. At that point neither the government or the Congress were willing to consider the possibility of statehood or eventual statehood for the island. Some of the reasons seemed to be that its residents were depicted as inferior nonwhites.<sup>64.</sup>

The takeover further segregated the entire population from all Americans beyond the Island's borders. It was an implicit effect of the nature of the annexation. The government was unclear as to just what type of political status the Island and its residents would have in relation to the United States at that point or in the future. Just after the occupation President McKinley added to the uncertainty of the political status of the Island and its residents by openly defining them as "...dependencies of the United States."<sup>65.</sup> Carrion has stressed

that at the occupation the Puerto Rican people as  
an entire ethnic group were overtly

...denied their rights to self-government  
...they would only have the rights that  
their tutors...the Congress would choose  
...to give them...

...the Jeffersonian philosophy of govern-  
ment by consent...based on inalienable  
rights as set forth...in the Declaration  
of Independence...was conveniently  
shelved... 66.

Such a shelving of the basic values, goals and ideals  
of the major political documents for an entire ethnic  
group was similar to the structured and traditional  
shelving of the same rights for the Native and Afro-  
American peoples. Such denials can also be viewed  
as a form of symbolic separation from the social  
system arbitrarily imposed on the Puerto Rican people  
in their own homeland. There were no appeals allowed  
from this oppressive form of political domination  
and from the legal ambiguities it introduced into the  
lives of the already impoverished Puerto Rican people.

The Foraker Act of 1900 that ended the initial

military occupation formally defined the Island as an unincorporated territory. This action formally extended the uncertainties of the legal and political status of the Puerto Rican people in relationship to the Federal government. It denied to them legal rights to participation in democratic processes of the social system for the indefinite future. Charles Allen, the first civilian governor of the Island, was appointed by the President. The 'House of Delegates' that was instituted was only nominally democratic. Any legislation it passed was subject

...to Congressional veto...the Island's Resident Commissioner ...in the House of Representatives had no vote...the Court of Boston had jurisdiction over it...67.

Governor Allen did not seem to be interested in extending political or economic opportunities to the native residents of the island during his tenure. He seemed to be primarily interested in assisting specific businessmen on the mainland.<sup>68</sup> The legality of the Act was

challenged in the Supreme Court but its Constitution-  
ality was upheld. In his dissent Chief Justice Fuller  
referred to what he viewed as the legal and political  
contradictions within it. He asserted that the Act  
didn't grant any clear political rights to the entire  
Puerto Rican ethnic group wherever they have resided  
or would reside in the future and felt the consequences  
for them were negative. They were effectively captured  
by the United States in a subjugated position and vague  
relationship to the dominant social system since

...they belonged to but were not part  
of the United States...to be governed  
...by the Congress...under the territ-  
orial clause of the Constitution...Puerto  
Rico was left...like a disembodied...shade  
...in a stage of ambiguous existence...69.

The depiction above is coincidentally similar to that  
of different descriptions of the status of the Afro  
and Puerto Rican peoples at their inclusions into the  
social system.

5. As a result of the processes and circumstances depicted above, the Afro and Puerto Rican ethnic groups were confronted by and included into the social system in a unique and rigidly dominated social status that structurally limited their access to the objective means of social mobility to variable degrees, extents.

#### Afro-Americans

It should be obvious from the above that throughout the slavery era neither slaves nor their children had rights to become involved in the social system's labor force as free persons. Similar to the oppression imposed on Native peoples throughout their inclusions, this was a persistent structural barrier to what might be the major means to become involved in social processes that might lead to social mobility in the future. It is a necessity for expanding social systems to acknowledge the legal rights for groups or individuals to become involved in the economic processes that might lead to future social mobility in order for them to do so. If the formal structured processes of the social system overtly deny or doubt the rights to such participation for individuals then there are

no objective possibilities for them to achieve such mobility.

Within Macpherson's possessive market types of societies, individuals and groups must also have access to relative freedom of physical movement in order to pursue different economic opportunities that might arise within the social system. As was noted, the processes of expansion throughout the nineteenth century restricted and limited the movements of the Afro and Native Americans. In contrast, dominant cultural ideologies tended to encourage the movements of members of the white working classes to the areas and regions of the country where their labor was needed or might be needed in the future. Many of these ideologies asserted that the willingness of these groups to move would assist them in finding economic opportunities that might increase their personal material goods and property.<sup>70.</sup>

Cox has commented that within developing capitalist social systems

...the worker's place in the system  
...has been primarily related...to  
production...he has been regarded as  
an item of cost...a necessary...import-  
ant factor of production...but he should  
be paid only so much...sufficient to  
keep him alive...able to labor...at a  
subsistence wage...71.

Such a persisting economic principle within the develop-  
ment of American society seems to have more pervasively  
affected some ethnic groups more than others. The  
traditional subordinate and dominated places for Afro-  
Americans in the social system should be clear from the  
prior generalizations. For the majority of them, these  
places were effectively outside of the labor force in  
the sense that the majority of them literally had most  
objective opportunities to access to the means of social  
mobility routinely taken from them. While the European  
immigrants had their labor exploited at their inclusion  
points, they were not persistently and almost completely  
placed at the very bottom of the economic hierarchy simply  
72.  
on the basis of their ethnic identity.

Afro-Americans and other nonwhite peoples were not  
part of those cultural ideologies insisting that material  
success for free individuals was one of the most significant  
aspects of the American social structure that made it

different from other kinds of inequitable social systems. That the unique barriers to any significant social mobility for the overwhelming majorities of the African people at their inclusion experiences was directly related to the unique nature of the development of the social system throughout the nineteenth century should also be clear from the prior comments.

Puerto Rican Americans

The basic nature of the economic, political and cultural domination imposed on the native residents of Puerto Rico by Spain had objectively blocked their access to the innovations and industrializing processes that had begun to more significantly affect the diverse non-Spanish empires in the latter decades of the nineteenth century. Roberta Johnson depicted Puerto Rico in that era as a feudal-like social system ruled by proclaimed

...divine right...an absolute...  
monarchy...designed to endure...but  
not to change...73.

The invidious and negative economic as well as political consequences on the Puerto Rican people that the domination resulted in was generally ignored by the majority of the Spanish population who had little interest in distant colonies being dominated by Spanish elites who were also ultimately oppressing them as well. These diverse elites had little or no interest in providing for the participation of the Puerto Rican people in democratic processes or for relieving their traditional impoverishment. Neither did the American elite groups directly involved in the implementation of the annexation. An historian at that

time depicted the American military subordination as being designed by mainland elite groups for the

...establishment of order...(what was) most important for the willingness of capital to enter the country...74.

After its conquest, some minor material improvements in Puerto Rico were begun in education, health and sanitation. But Lopez has noted that such improvements should be evaluated in terms of the overall purposes of the Federal government that

...drafted...implemented a series of policies shrouded in the rhetoric of benevolent paternalism but designed primarily...to facilitate... the penetration of the Island by North American capital...the operations of the dozens...of U.S. companies that established...themselves on the island...in the early...part of the century...75.

Within the first two decades after the annexation

...commercial relations between the United States...Puerto Rico grew rapidly...the Island quickly became one of the metropolis' most important overseas markets...

there was a growing concentration of property...in the hands of a few families... absentee N. American...corporations...creation of a monoculture economy whose lifeblood was sugar...the...emergence of a rural proletariat ...whose wages were low...who ordinarily spent part of the year unemployed...76.

- 1 -

In a manner similar to the prior confrontations of the Afro and Native Americans with the expanding social system, the annexation did not provide any sort of 'haven' for the native residents where they might find any kind of political relief from the oppression that had been traditionally imposed on them by Spain. This was not a goal of the Federal government or of the different interest groups involved in its domination.<sup>77</sup>

It seems helpful at this point to clarify the uniquely similar outcaste status of the Afro and Puerto Rican peoples at their inclusion experiences into the social system.

Afro and Puerto Rican Americans As Colonized Outcaste  
Groups: A Summary Depiction

In the same era that the United States was expanding its political and economic power into the Caribbean area, W.E.B. Du Bois summarized some aspects of the political processes of domination being imposed on the African people on the American mainland:

...laws disenfranchising the Negro...  
were being passed in all the Southern  
states...between 1890 and 1909...they were  
being supplemented by 'Jim Crow'...travel  
laws...other enactments making color caste  
...legal... 78.

The empirical details of the processes restricting the lives, political and social status for the overwhelming majority of the Afro-American people differed from the processes of domination that the native residents of Puerto Rico were subjected to. However, both ethnic groups were initially confronted by the social system in their own homelands and were systemically restricted from exercising very basic political rights and liberties routinely allowed to the male European immigrants. The inclusion of the island and its native residents under the political authority of the United States was yet another expression of the contradictions inherent in the American

Dilemma previously referred to. The structurally unclear and uncertain political status of the Puerto Rican people as a conquered ethnic group effectively blocked migrations to the U.S. mainland for the indefinite future.

A federal court decision was previously quoted to characterize the essence of the social status of the native American peoples in that latter nineteenth century decade. It can be paraphrased as a depiction of the social status of the Afro and Puerto Rican peoples at their inclusion experiences. Their status was sociologically

...unknown to (American)...common...  
civil law...they were neither...citizens  
...nor aliens...wards of the nation...  
yet little more than prisoners of war...  
while war did not exist...

Ch. 7. Footnotes

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### Ch. 3. Conclusions

It might help to briefly summarize what has been so far attempted.

In its Introductory chapter a major goal was to create an abstract model that could be used in further research on ethnic relationships in the United States or for social systems that may be similar to it in their history and development. In one form or another, variations of assertions about implicitly harmonious relations persist, depicting functional processes of integration, assimilation and cultural pluralism. These tend to distract attention from the inequalities and antagonisms that are historically involved with ethnic relationships and that are associated with but not defined exclusively by "class" and "imperialism".<sup>1.</sup>

The emphasis on the 19th century throughout this dissertation was not intended to imply that the complex structured processes of empire-building within a capitalist social system has no relevance to present-day life in the United States. The historical focus was meant to delimit the scope of the dissertation to those periods when the social system went to Native, Afro and Puerto Rican Americans in order to force

them into a degraded status within the social system in contrast with the majorities of the European migrants who voluntarily came to the social system in the same era. The emphasis on expropriation was aimed at clarifying the causes and consequences of the more brutalizing inclusion experiences of the non-Europeans.<sup>2.</sup>

The dissertation also attempted to clarify the significant economic and political processes, and the various strata and classes that were most directly involved in those involuntary and extra-legal inclusions.<sup>3.</sup>

Western capitalist social systems have historically depended on the militant acquisition of land, labor, and material resources for their expansion and development. In the ongoing development of the American empire it seems reasonable to conclude that the material resources of those groups that have involuntarily become part of it or come under its political authority have been more victimized than others. This is what the preceding chapters have tried to document, outline and explain. This chapter addresses the question of the relevance of inclusion experience to the present condition of minority groups in the United States.<sup>4.</sup>

Power and Powerlessness In The 1980's

Political inequalities in the United States are related to economic status and positions. On the other hand, prevailing ideologies tend to make these intractable differences obscure or easily managed. For example, Therborn has discussed dominant ideologies within capitalism that justify inequality by, paradoxically, an appeal to democratic values and Giddens puts ideology in the context of a theoretical debate.<sup>5</sup> Political and economic power tends to be rationalized as social theory. They are also given a special substance in the United States by the Constitutional basis of law.<sup>6</sup>

Jules Lobel has referred to limitations on the equitable distribution of power in the framing of the Constitution:

...our structure of government is fraught with contradictions. Representative elections and separation of powers provide for a valuable mechanism of popular input into government and important limits on the arbitrary use of government power. But, as various essays in this book have pointed out (Rabinowitz, Tuchnet, Mullin, and myself, among others), those same principles limit radical change and maintain capitalist rule. Indeed, they were designed by the framers to do just that. 7.

Similarly, Rabinowitz has also noted that less than half of the total adult population at the end of the 18th

century were legally eligible to participate in the political processes of the new nation. One result was that the Constitution gave male, white, property owners

...the opportunity to prevent anything that might upset their interests. 8.

Thus, U.S. law both recognized a basis for discrimination and posed serious limitations for the prospects for social change. As a result, law has consistently reinforced the power of the propertied classes. When this is seen in the context of the capitalist process of accumulating wealth, it becomes clear how intertwined politics and economic are in the "American system."

Arthur Kinoy has commented that the historical contradictions of Federal government have combined with other processes in the 1980's, to produce particularly invidious political processes and consequences. He describes

...an intense political crisis whose dimensions have not fully emerged...the most reactionary sections of the ruling establishment led by the present administration have been engaged in a conscious plan to experiment with the weakening of the most elementary limitations and mandates of the written Constitution including the Bill of Rights. 9.

Justice Thurgood Marshall traced inequality to the moment of the framing of the Constitution:

...the Constitution (and) its political structures also excluded poor whites who could not meet the property test for voting, (and it) was caught in the contradiction between guaranteeing liberty (and) justice for all...denying it to blacks and others...10.

Thus, it appears that American democracy promotes inequality as much as it seems to advocate equality: formal equality in the context of practical inequality.

C.T. Vivian asserts, in this regard, that

America for the most part does not seek democracy for itself...a genuine functioning democracy would require the consent, regular participation of its members (and) lines of mutual accountability, responsibility...it would require an ability for the body politic to design, obtain laws which served it (and) promoted its ends. 11.

Vivian's suggestion that wider participation in political processes avoids the point made by Marshall, Rabinowitz, and Kinoy, that the form of participation and the relation of economic to political power not only place limits on the effectiveness of participation for minority groups but may actually further inequality.

Traditionally victimized ethnic and low-income groups within the social system have no more access to more democratic power than other segments of the working class. Our question is: must they have less? Dolbeare has quoted Lipset and Schneider's comments about a culturally complex, pervasive, enduring lack of confidence in American political

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structures, institutions and processes in the modern era but especially in the 1980's decade. Obviously, any number of entwined and complex factors may be involved in such a widespread and enduring rejection by adult voters of the 'legalized and formalized' means of challenging the equally enduring and pervasive power of elite groups<sup>12.</sup> in the social system as a whole.

What this may or could mean in the lives of individuals designated as members of specified ethnic groups or of the groups being focussed on in this essay is indirectly relevant to the issues being focussed on. It is not possible to go into such issues to any great extent in the essay but the writer feels that such widespread apathy, and 'anomic' attitudes towards very basic structures of the social system that might lead to fundamental 'changes' or challenges to the power of these related elite groups obviously enhances their persisting control over the lives of 'average' Americans. This control both directly and indirectly challenges or makes even more meaningless the contentions by political leaders that the U.S. social<sup>13.</sup> system is objectively, a democratic one. In 1980 & 1984, the

number of votes cast for Ronald Reagan were less than the number cast in the past for some losing Republican candidates. Some polls showed that many Reagan voters were really voting against Carter rather than for Reagan.<sup>14.</sup>

In addition to this withdrawal of large numbers of people from the electoral process, Dolbeare referred to contemporary political polarization throughout the social system and to a reaction of large numbers of people to the inability of government to satisfy needs:

There is a substantial reaction among the poor, the elderly, and women against the unfairness of the redistribution that is under way. For those who are surviving on marginal resources, it seems simply outrageous to take from the poor and give to the rich. The electorate is not only deeply polarized but also highly volatile, with almost half of all eligible voters standing outside the electoral system and threatening to turn it upside down. 15.

Sheila Collins has reiterated many of these same themes in her The Rainbow Challenge. She emphasized the apparent widespread alienation from basic political processes of large numbers of eligible voters from local as well as Federal elections, noting also that the 1980's decade began when

The utopianism and cultural vitality that had characterized the mass movements of the 1960's was in eclipse by the end of the 1970's. Liberalism, as the dominant ideology of the governing elite, had given way to neo-conservatism, and on its right, to a virulent form of Cold War and political manichaenism. In such a climate, the black movement was demoralized, defensive and splintered along class and ideological lines while the white left, also fragmented, was either increasingly narrow-based or had settled for a kind of least-common denominator pragmatism. 16.

It's really somewhat confusing, unclear as to exactly just what Collins really means by her use of the 'liberalism' conception or whether an objective variation of it was actually what she has called the 'dominant ideology' of the governing elite groups in the decades just prior to the beginning of the 1980's or modern era. The usage of such terms, conceptions is almost always generally 'argumentative'--especially in those kinds and types of essays that are openly trying to put forward some kind of political 'message' aimed at structural changes in the society. While there have been shifts in cultural ideologies throughout the era, they may have been variations of traditionally conservative rather than liberal themes. Collins referred to the lack of participation in electoral processes in the 1980's and to ...the chaos engendered by the restrat-

ification of the workforce. Neither race, nor class, nor gender categories alone could now describe the experiences of most people who benefitted or suffered from the restratification, yet the movements were stratified along these old lines. The result was to confuse and fragment an already fragmented constituency for radical social change.

This confusion at the level of everyday experience explains the popularity of the simplistic message of the religious/political right for so many lower-middle class and working class whites in the late 1970's, and Ronald Reagan's election in 1980 by a minority of the potential electorate. 17.

Needless to say, any number of political observers came to similar kinds of conclusions throughout the 1980's decade although such views were not held or expressed by the overwhelming majority of the alleged 'white' ethnic groups. Dolbeare has characterized the loss of confidence and lack of political participation, impasse as an acute crisis of the social order:

The combination of political stalemate and institutional impasse may be generally unrecognized, but it is at least as portentous as the economic transformation with which it is so fully integrated. This is not an idiosyncratic judgement. Seasoned observers from all across the political spectrum have warned of the dangers we face from our current political incapacity. Some are concerned about the intentions

of impatient elites, others about the readiness of a frustrated electorate to institute a demagogue's solution, and still others about institutional breakdown. 18.

It might be useful at this point to briefly review some aspects of the economic processes of the social system in the 1980's era that seem to be related to the political processes noted.

### The Economics of The Crisis

When military spending continues to suppress governmental capacity to promote significant reforms, the working and lower-income classes; the traditionally victimized ethnic groups are further deprived of power and opportunity. This is undoubtedly connected with lower rates of political participation.

A National Council of La Raza report recently noted that even though President Reagan claimed that it was excessive government spending that was responsible for high inflation and unemployment, the budgets that he proposed and that were approved by the Congress objectively denied his claims that a major goal was to reduce the government's budgets. These budgets actually did provide for excessive government spending especially in those areas related to defense.<sup>19.</sup>

Again, any number of observers attempted to point this out in their writings, speeches but it seemed to go largely unnoticed by the majority of the population. For example, de Grassed noted that in 1981 the purchases of military goods and services represented almost 70% of the total approved Federal spending. He tried to emphasize that:

The employment created by military spending has a powerful influence on

our defense policy...

Military spending has strong regional and industrial constituencies in the few areas where the bulk of the work is done and the bases are located. The Defense Department's budget has remained high and relatively stable during the last three decades, except for substantial increases during the Korean and Viet Nam wars. It has fallen as a share of the entire gross national product (GNP) because the economy has grown. Pentagon spending is the largest Federal mechanism for directly stimulating the economy with purchases. 20.

Social systems that are not intensively and extensively involved in military operations or preparing for diverse kinds of military operations in the future would have no need for such 'routinized', incessant spending and related items. Weidenbaum has referred to the traditional high-level technological processes within the economic, social systems that are tied to Pentagon budgets. Processes of interlocking between the Pentagon, high-level technology corporations that are involved in these types of production is of much greater benefit in terms of employment to the highly skilled members of the labor force. Such spending and production policies have only a minute, unclear, limited and indirect impact on lower income members of the work-

force and in the long run may increase their difficulties. In this regard, Weidenbaum has pointed out that since the early 1970's,

...defense spending has been making a substantial contribution to technological developments of great importance to our economy...21.

These priorities--defense over the satisfaction of social needs--tend to distract attention away from any number of inter-related domestic problems and issues that seem to be affecting growing numbers of people and that help to account for the political crises discussed by Dolbeare and Collins. In fact, they seem to also exacerbate these problems:

Clearly, military spending is a limited counter-cyclical aid. It creates fewer jobs than most other industries. It employs highly skilled people who would have relatively little trouble finding jobs elsewhere. Military spending is also highly concentrated in only a few regions and industries. Moreover, military spending would not make us more prone to depression. Increasing civilian government programs and/or reducing taxes could replace the purchasing power lost by cutting the arms budget. 22.

For the most part, lower-income strata within

the working classes lack access to the financial resources required to organize and maintain effective political movements that might be able to challenge these public spending priorities. They also lack access to those culture-shaping processes, such as media, that influence popular opinion around alternative sets of priorities.

While there may be economic aspects of the ethnic conflicts that seem to have persisted throughout the decade, there are nevertheless common interests. This is especially true for lower-income, working class groups where the majority of non-white peoples are located. They share common interests in raising the minimum wage, establishing opportunities for adequate housing, increasing federal benefits for unemployment, public welfare benefits and funding for training programs that would make jobs accessible to lower-income groups otherwise lacking required

skills. These groups are nevertheless divided, often ideologically, and their capacity to articulate their interests are often undermined by a continuing mythology of American progressivism and severe restrictions on participation in electoral processes. Access to means of participation in formal 'democratic processes' have always been problematical for those with limited wealth and material resources, as Francis Piven and Richard Cloward recently noted in Poor People's Movements.<sup>23</sup>

Political stagnation, uncivil spending priorities, and powerlessness appear to be systematic features of United States society. This has to do with the nature and hegemonic character of its economy.

The U.S. Economy In The 1980's

Macpherson's concept of the possessive market society describes the most significant aspect of the United States economy so far as the contemporary condition of minorities is concerned:

Labor, land and capital, as well as products, become subject to the determination of the market...prices for all of them are set by competition between sellers and between buyers so that what is offered will be bought and what is wanted will be offered...

In the fundamental matter of getting a living, all individuals are essentially related to each other as possessors of marketable commodities, including their own powers. All must continually offer commodities (in the broadest sense) in the market, in competition with others. 24.

Ultimately, that this leads to a constant redistribution of public wealth to classes and strata who are in a position to control the distribution is both a problem for economic rationalization and politics.

It seems that some kind of politics is always implicated in the economic processes of capitalist

societies. However, different types of politics operate at different geographical and social locations and it is often difficult to establish which strata, classes, and ethnic groups may be benefitting from such state action. Marxian theory provides an account of these complex motions of the capitalist mode of production. One of Marx's much debated conclusions about capitalist social systems generally was that there was a tendency for the rates of the accumulation of surplus value to fall. This is manifested in what he called the crisis cycles of capitalist development and their relationships to aspects of exploitation, including the organic composition of capital and increasing discrepancy between price and value.

Paul Mattick has pointed out that Marx's model of capitalist production is

...imaginary only insofar as it abstracts from the changing market appearances of the unchanging social production relations, which assure the production of surplus value through the fetishistic value character of social production.<sup>25</sup>

Mattick emphasizes that Marx's

...theory of accumulation, as the theory of the tendential fall of the rate of profit, restricts itself to a contradiction inherent in capitalist production, which, although ever present, need not be visible in market events, as it can be counteracted by capitalist reactions for shorter or longer periods of time. 26.

More recently, Michael Brown has also referred to these cyclical crises in the context of this critique of the social consequences of the relatively unhindered accumulation of private wealth by relatively small economic elites. Within these social systems

...the economy must produce the kinds of goods necessary for its own stability and steadiness of growth: capital goods, goods that satisfy the social needs of the "society of the producers", goods that satisfy the administrative needs of capitalist enterprise... a product must provide a profit to its seller over the costs of its production, in particular the cost of the labor that went into it; and this must be realized as an investable surplus. 27.

As he puts it, "...the business cycle...represents the unreliability of the wage economy..."<sup>28.</sup> He goes further to assert that

The hostility of capital to society

is itself inevitable within the  
 contradictory mode of production  
 --the exploitive class relation--  
 that is capital's base. 29.

Similarly, the Editorial Collective of the Union For  
 Radical Political Economics depicted the period as

...not merely a recession but a crisis  
 in the structure of capital accumulation  
 itself, a structural crisis of the same  
 kind as that which occurred during the  
 Great Depression...capital is faced with  
 a significant rupture in its capacity to  
 accumulate at the levels of the post-war  
 period and this rupture can be repaired  
 only by significant institutional change. 30

They also criticized officially-inculcated, popular  
 ideological explanations for this dual crisis of  
 economy and society as little more than blaming the  
 victim. Reasoning and ideologies insisting that too  
 many women are in the labor force or the costs of  
 social services are too high tend to effectively  
 blame those who suffer the most for their persistent  
 oppression.

This blaming the victim ideology has been persistent  
 within the American social system from its earliest  
 creation. Instead of relying on such ideologies, writers  
 such as those within the Collective attempt to emphasize  
 social processes that are effectively far beyond the  
 control of individuals. They conclude here that

Crisis can only be understood by

understanding the purpose of capitalist production. And this purpose is the production of profit--any other outcomes which might involve the direct satisfaction of human needs are strictly subordinated to profit making. 31.

However, micro-analysis of crisis shows that the effects of crisis are unevenly distributed by class and situation. In the United States, 'minority groups' typically bear the brunt of capitalist instability, but because of a mythology of equal opportunity, this distribution of crisis effects is seen as incidental and manageable, despite the fact that the dominance of economy and society by massive corporations has destroyed whatever individualism that might once have overlaid that mythology. Indeed, the power of these corporations is inconsistent with the Constitutional idea of popular sovereignty itself. As Charles Lindblom has put it:

The large private corporation fits oddly into democratic theory and vision. Indeed, it does not fit. 32.

Carnoy and Shearer commented on Lindblom's

later, 'radical' assessment of the democratic potential of corporate capitalism:

...Lindblom has moved to a "radical" analysis: namely that business, particularly the corporate sector, converts economic power into political power and uses that power to block legislation and administrative reforms inimicable to business interests. America is a business society. Its dominant ideology is a business one, and the dominant group in America is business. The form of this business domination is important for any reform strategy. 33.

This failure of democracy plus sudden and vast movements of productive facilities, hence jobs, places severe limitations on the capacities of certain minorities to improve their lot. Noting a decline in the number of Americans living within central cities and migrations to suburban areas in the 1980's, Scott Lash and John Urry point out that

The proportion of manual workers has always been well under half, reaching a peak of about two-fifths in the inter-war period. The Proportion of white-collar workers has continued to increase in steady fashion from then until 1986, when they constituted over half of the labor force. 34.

Some ethnic groups are trapped in life-situations that restrict access to suburban communities and the newer technologically-oriented jobs. These tend to be precisely those groups whose original inclusion was the result of force and expropriation. At present, a threshold of opportunity seems to have been crossed, as economic inequality has increased beyond any foreseeable remedy.

A 1985 Congressional Research Service report focussed on the incomes of families with children between 1968 and 1984. They concluded that the highest proportion of income going to the lowest groups decreased. That this indicates a possible crossing of the threshold of opportunity is shown by the following facts. As measured in 1984 dollars, the average income of the lowest quintile declined by more than one-third from \$9,343 in 1968 to \$5,877 in 1984. At the same time, the highest quintile's average income increased from about \$47,800 in 1968 to about \$52,700 in 1984, about a 10% increase for the higher-income group.

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A Budget Office report released in 1986 came to similar conclusions. It also found that

...in 1986, one-fifth of all families composed of a single mother and her children had less than half the income needed to live at the poverty level... Furthermore, for all major family types, inequality grew between 1979 and 1986, while incomes of wealthier families rose sharply. 36.

Another government report has indicated that in the period 1980-86, inflation in the costs of living rose by at least 42%. Peter Passell compared the adequacy of the minimum wage for a family of four over a 20 year period:

...in 1968 a full-time worker getting the Federal minimum wage earned 94% of the amount needed to support a family of four at the poverty level...today the minimum wage amounts to barely 60% of the poverty line (1988). 38.

As Dolbeare points out,

The Reagan administration cutbacks in social programs have hit hard at the minorities, the poor, and lower paid working people generally. At the same time, they have greatly advantaged already wealthy people. It is not

being singled out for reductions in assistance that mean real family hardships--in unemployment, illness, lack of food and shelter--but the unfairness of it. 39.

Throughout the decade the formalized processes of political opposition have been generally ineffective in reversing systemic economic priorities since "Corporate priorities have dominated in recent versions of the Democratic coalition..."<sup>40.</sup> As a result, poverty is increasingly located in specific ethnic groups and the means for amelioration progressively weakening, consequently,

Programs that benefitted the black poor were cut the most. Between 1981 and 1987 the federal government slashed subsidized housing programs by 79%, training and employment programs by 70%, the Work Incentive Program by 71%, compensatory education programs for poor children by 12%, and community services block grants by well over a third.

The numbers of the poor increased by four million in the 1980s. The real income of the lowest fifth of the population, adjusted for inflation,

declined between 1979 and 1986 by \$663 per family. Meanwhile, the top fifth of the population gained \$12,218 in those years. 41.

These cutbacks took place in the same era that  
42.  
"...the Pentagon budget doubled...".

To be sure, this restructuring of poverty began as early as the 1960's when

The character of public welfare programs was changing. Instead of programs designed to serve only the poor, programs began providing benefits to greater numbers of lower-middle income persons. Instead of programs that were judged on how well they reduced poverty, programs also were judged on their consistency with mutual economic and political objectives. 43.

The ethnic character of this restructuring is indicated by a 1988 Census Report which emphasized that the 'Black and other races' categories were disproportionately represented among the poverty-level population. 44.

The remainder of this chapter attempts to show how the processes of inclusion into the social system for the Afro and Puerto Rican ethnic groups have

become involved with the vulnerability of these groups to the crises of capitalism and their singular lack of institutional political capacity.

### Historical Contradiction

In part, the dissertation documents how geographical expansion into the Indian territories eventually reduced those territories to effective colonial status within an American empire that claimed legitimacy for itself as defender of democracy. This mix of conquest and denial was fateful to the experience of the conquered groups.

This paradox--an imperialism that denied an imperialist intention--was noted by A.B. Hart in regard to the annexation of Puerto Rico in 1898. The United States had, according to Hart, always been a

...great colonial power without  
suspecting it. Americans have never 45.  
conceived of themselves as colonizers.

The original colonization persisted in both its effects on its victims and its denial by its perpetrators. Juan Garcia-Passalacqua has recently commented on the persistence of the colonial relationship of the United States to Puerto Rico. He has emphasized that even into the modern era, the

fact remains one of colonization:

...the massive structural superimposition of the U.S. social system on that of Puerto Rico signifies the present colonial relationship between the island (and) the U.S. 46.

Torres, Gonzalez and Ortiz reinforce this conclusion by referring to the nature of the citizenship imposed upon the Puerto Rican people by the Jones Act of 1917 as being essentially a second-class, degraded type of citizenship. 47.

Such a political status can be traced directly to the violence involved in the 1898 annexation. This status and the continued accompaniment of it by violence, economic and political, is referred to by Bonilla and Campos in their Industry and Idleness:

It is now well-established fact that Puerto Ricans as a people, wherever they may find themselves, disproportionately endure chronic poverty, massive unemployment and increasing dependence on U.S. poor laws for day to day survival. 48.

The same analysis holds for Afro-Americans. For example, Vincent Harding saw, at the beginning of

the 1980's, a

dangerous loss of hope among black people, hope in ourselves, hope in the possibility of any real change, hope in any moral, creative force beyond the flatness of our lives. 49.

These inequities can fully be understood in terms of what Phillip Wheaton has called the 'dialectical conflict' between the two practical paradigms that seem to have been persistent throughout American history:

...our democratic principles (and) our imperialistic practices. 50.

Afro and Puerto Rican Americans in the 1980's

The diverse conflicts embedded within structural processes of the social system have, do affect all Americans in one way or another. That many of them seem to have had more invidious consequences for some ethnic groups as compared to others was a major point that was hopefully clarified.

Before making a brief comparative comment on the inclusions of the Afro and Puerto Rican peoples, the relevance of those experiences to their status in the modern era, some background data about this status might be helpful.

In 1980, there were an estimated 2 million Puerto Ricans on the mainland United States, making up about 14% of the entire Hispanic population. There were also about 26 million Afro-Americans or roughly 26% of the entire U.S. population. Both the Afro and Puerto Rican ethnic groups have younger estimated median ages as compared to the entire U.S. population. In 1985 it was about 22 for Puerto

Ricans, almost 27 For Afro-Americans compared to a 31.5 estimate for the entire population. Such an age distribution can be viewed as a major reason for the higher fertility rates and estimated growth in the numbers of both groups in the 1980-85 era. By that latter date, the Census Bureau estimated about 29 million Afro, 2.6 million Puerto Ricans within mainland borders.<sup>51.</sup>

Census Bureau estimates of the population have traditionally been underestimates, especially for the groups being focussed on here. Richie Perez has pointed out that the 2 million Puerto Rican estimate for 1980 has been cited as being a 50% underestimate by academics, Puerto Rican community leaders.<sup>52.</sup>

While Afro-Americans can be found throughout the social system with a slight majority located in Southern regions, the Puerto Rican mainland population has been historically located in a relatively few metropolitan areas. In the 1988 State

of Black America report, David Swinton has referred to the continuing urbanization processes throughout the social system in the 1980's era as well as the increased locations of Afro-Americans in deteriorating inner-city areas. 53.

Perez made a similar reference in the 1985 Status of Puerto Ricans report cited above commenting that

Although Puerto Ricans reside in every state, 75% of all Boricuas are concentrated in America's inner cities. Our people's future is inextricably linked with what happens in the cities. 54.

Just about half of all mainland Puerto Rican Americans were estimated as being in New York State in the 1980 Census and Fr. Fitzpatrick has recently commented:

The Puerto Rican experience is no longer a predominantly New York experience as it once was. In 1950, 81.3% of all Puerto Ricans on the mainland lived in New York City. In 1970 it was 62%...in 1980... 42.7%...

...of Puerto Ricans coming from Puerto Rico, a larger number are going to other

cities of the nation, particularly  
in the Northeast. 55.

Within capitalist social systems, innumerable aspects of the lives of individuals or groups are invariably related to their economic status in one way or another. Charles Willie has referred to the relationship between family stability and income, pointing out that three-fourths of black as well as white households in 1982 with incomes above \$25,000 were husband-wife families. This comment is meant to emphasize some of the relationships between the vulnerability of the basic existence of persons or groups within capitalist societies and their material resources. 56.

William Wilson recently referred to the systemic increase in poverty from 1969 to 1985, from about 24 to 33 millions. Emphasizing central city poverty and minority groups, he commented that

Economic polarization and dislocations  
of the last 15 to 20 years have had a

disproportionate impact on racial minorities...trapped in low-wage, service sector jobs.

Blacks and Hispanics constituted 84% of the population that resided in these extreme poverty areas in 1980...the vulnerability of the minority poor has produced increases in joblessness, poverty and the related problems of single-parent households and welfare dependency. 57.

Echoing Wilson, David Swinton depicted a severe recession within urban Black communities as of 1986:

Poverty and unemployment rates for blacks are at their highest levels of the post 1964 period. Real income has been declining and is also at its lowest point in the past 15 years.

The severe economic recession that continues to grip the black population is a reflection of increasing difficulties in the labor market...black wage rates continue to be low absolutely and relative to white wage rates and the gap has been widening...blacks have been losing ground in gaining employment for the last decade. 58.

The 1987 National Congress For Puerto Rican Rights Status report referred to the Puerto Rican community

as generally being mired in an "Economic disaster  
59.  
of epic proportions."

More specific details of the economic disasters of the Afro and Puerto Rican communities will be referred to below.

One major structural aspect of the economy in the 1980's that has disproportionately affected the economic status of lower-income working classes has been the unchanged nature of the minimum-wage throughout this era. The Afro and Puerto Rican peoples have historically had disproportionate numbers of its labor forces literally trapped in such jobs or those similar to them in terms of wages. In their recent No Escape report, the Council of Economic Advisors tried to clarify the empirically invidious effects of these wage rates for those receiving them by citing the estimated 40% inflation rate in the basic cost of living for the 1980-86 period. The report further commented that the minimum wage for a full-time

weekly work schedule produced about 98% of the estimated 'poverty threshold' income in 1980, but the same wage produced only about 80% of this income in 1986. The cost of living obviously varies regionally but generally tends to be higher in urban areas where the Afro and Puerto Rican communities tend to be highly concentrated.<sup>60.</sup>

The comments above were meant to illustrate only some aspects of systemic social factors, processes that seem to be involved in the recreation of the overall status of specified ethnic groups at any single point in time. Other processes were not referred to. What might seem to be a surprising factor of the status of the Afro and Puerto Rican populations was briefly commented on in a 1982 Civil Rights Commission report:

...overeducation affects all groups but it especially affects minority males. In 1980 fewer than one-quarter of majority males (23.4%) were counted as overeducated.

By contrast, almost one-third of Hispanic males (31.2%) and over one-third of black males were in jobs

61.  
requiring substantially less education.

Walter Stafford referred to the above in commenting on the complexities of the diverse structured ethnic discrimination in the social system. Noting that in 1983 the unemployment rate for Black college graduates was actually higher than the rate for white high school graduates, he commented about the structured purposeful neglect of Federal affirmative action laws and policies in the first Reagan Administration that also seemed to have been involved in processes of employment discrimination.<sup>62.</sup>

The 1980's era may be a culturally distinctive one but it ultimately derives from structured political and economic inequalities embedded within historical social processes of American society. The original inclusion experiences of the first Afro-Puerto Rican ethnic groups brought into the social system throughout the 19th century have obviously been transformed over the decades. At those original inclusion points, the sociological similarities in

their dominated social status can be generally summarized:

1. Colonized outcaste ethnic groups were forcibly confronted by and involuntarily included in the social system.
2. Simultaneously, their humanity was denied by dominant cultural processes of the social system. They were generally regarded as inferior human species.
3. As entire ethnic groups, colonized outcastes had little or no material resources of their own --as well as limited access to such resources.
4. Colonized outcaste ethnic groups were systematically isolated and physically and culturally segregated from equitable social interaction with dominant majority ethnic groups. Their legal and political status in relation to the larger social system was ambiguous, uncertain and unclear.
5. The significant sociological results of the above-noted situations and processes was that the denoted ethnic groups were included in the social system in a uniquely rigid, dominated social status that severely limited their access to the means of social mobility.

The situations and processes mentioned above were separate and distinctive events that occurred at differing points of time in the 19th century. These events were interrelated within structured systemic processes of the expanding social system.

The violent, confrontational inclusions of the ethnic groups involved imposing a lack of material resources for defense and for personal welfare. These events, situations and processes were implicitly related to dominant cultural ideologies that justified discrimination and oppression. The following comparison of the social status of the Afro and Puerto Rican peoples in the modern era is made in the differing cultural context of the 20th century. The essay does not assert that the inclusions of the original Afro and Puerto Rican ethnic groups throughout the 19th century were the only determinants of their uniquely similar status in the 1980's. Other processes within the historical development of the social system since the 19th century have also been involved.

Changes have obviously taken place in the types of cultural domination that seem to be affecting the social status of the Afro and Puerto Rican

Americans as well as other ethnic groups in the 1980's. While the empirical details of these systemic changes necessarily differ from those that took place in the decades of the 19th century, it does not seem as if the essence of a structurally inequitable capitalist social system has significantly changed.

1. Colonized outcaste ethnic groups were forcibly confronted by and involuntarily included into the social system.

Overt and covert processes of systemic violence in the 1980's affecting the Afro and Puerto Rican peoples in a similar manner ultimately derive from structured economic and political inequities.

Lionel Rubinoff has noted that

What is most astonishing about the modern era, however, is the sophistication with which the performance of godless and violent acts of evil has become institutionalized and integrated into the normal routines of everyday living and working.

The very same language and the very same reasoning that produces ...culture produces as well the ideologies and alibis by means of which our energies have been employed toward the corruption of rationality. 63.

Sergio Cotta has pointed out that:

Violence hides in the antimonies of our ways of life, which are lawless and mass dominated, intellectualized and emotive, artificial and natural, torn apart between the pressing urge (often brought about artificially) for productive activism and a spreading desire for amusement and happiness ...

In this situation, public moral sense and private moral sense seem to be overwhelmed by the spreading of violence, which they oppose with ineffective talk or useless sermonizing, when in fact they are conquered by it and act as its agents. 64.

The formal legal processes that allowed the violence implicit in slavery for so many decades can be considered one major aspect of structured violence. So can the legal process that allowed for the annexation, takeover and domination of Puerto Rico by the American social system at the end of the 19th

century.

Violence can also refer to the implicitly or explicitly threatened use of force. In itself, the Commonwealth status of Puerto Rico in relation to the United States is an example of an explicitly threatened use of force. It is a contradictory colonial relationship that implies both a symbolic and an empirical recreation of the originally violent annexation of the island. Such a threatened use of force towards American citizens constantly and continually fundamentally implies that the entire ethnic group has been formally 'set apart' in a sense. They are culturally distinguished as uniquely differing American citizens who as an entire group cannot be fully and completely trusted and are therefore formally 'inferior' whose social, economic and political needs are not really important. They can be routinely neglected by the dominant social system. Such structural and largely unrecognized routinized neglect has become even more pervasive in the 20th

century since the majority of the Puerto Rican labor force have always been located within the low-income, semi-skilled members of the social system's labor force whose economic influence within dominant economic and political processes has been traditionally inconsequential.

Residents of overcrowded low-income urban areas such as Afro and Puerto Rican Americans, partly because of the above, are often just as routinely subjected to disproportionate levels of crime and violence as Lee Brown has recently concluded:

Adequate and decent housing have always been an integral component of any comprehensive crime control plan...On the one hand, research has shown that areas in transition, especially dilapidated low-income neighborhoods, have higher incidences of crime, including those serving as the residence of disproportionate numbers of people who commit crimes.

Clearly, a relationship exists among the quality of housing, density of the population, overcrowdedness and crime... we do know that the lack of affordable housing is getting worse and, in fact, has doubled over the last decade. 65.

Richie Perez has commented extensively on the complex, ongoing housing problems of large numbers of the low-

income working classes. With specific reference to minority groups in the social system, he cited a 1983 HUD report noting that:

Blacks and Hispanics are twice as likely to be either inadequately housed or overcrowded, even when they have similar financial resources. 66.

Jerome Manis has also made reference to the historically higher levels of violence that American minority groups such as the Afro and Puerto Rican peoples have been traditionally subjected to and that seems to have carried over into the 1980's decade in his Serious Social Problems. He specifically refers to the increased levels of violence in many low-income urban communities:

Minority group members suffer poorer health, shorter life expectancy, more violence, more crimes, and more personal troubles of mental disorders, alcoholism and drug addiction than other members of society...the high proportions of blacks Chicanos and Puerto Ricans in our prisons are the frequent victims of homosexual rape, assaults and homicide. 67.

Variable social scientists have echoed similar references in emphasizing the disproportionate levels of violence minorities are subjected to.

Cotta has referred to the 'violence that hides

in the antimonies of our ways of life...". The underlying causes of this routinized and structured violence result from complex, entwined processes that are difficult to clearly 'separate out'. That differing forms of racism are linked to the disproportionate violence routinely inflicted upon Afro and Hispanic Americans in the 1980's decade has been referred to by Hildamar Ortiz and Juan Gonzalez in this era in the 1987 Status of Puerto Ricans In The United States report:

One of the effects of the Reagan administration's non-enforcement of civil rights laws is the signal which is sent to individuals with racist inclinations that violence against Puerto Ricans and other people of color is, if not officially sanctioned, less punishable than other crimes of violence. This threat to the physical security of our people is deadly. 68.

Marable has also commented on the increased overt violence towards Black Americans in the 1980's era:

Simple recognition of the explosion in racially motivated random violence is no substitute for an analysis of the crisis. The current outbreak of racist attacks is a manifestation of a profound

and fundamental crisis within the political economy of monopoly capitalism.

Simultaneously, it represents the logical culmination and popular expression of cultural and social patterns of race relations that increasingly pits the petty bourgeoisies working class, and permanently unemployed of different ethnic groups against each other over increasingly scarce resources. 69.

Marable goes further by emphasizing that this rise in racially motivated violence can also be traced in part to structural processes of ethnic polarization within white working-class communities that often tend to accompany the types of economic restructuring that the differing approaches to capital accumulation seem to induce. To an extent, the anxieties within these white communities as to the uncertainties about their own economic status seem also to be involved in determining violence towards culturally identified outcaste groupings. Such processes assist in alienating and dividing differing segments of the white and nonwhite working classes to differing degrees, extents in differing regions of the country, differing urban areas, etc.

This is a further indication of structured underlying economic processes involved in producing

differing types of violence.

Marable has also quoted the 1968 report of the National Commission On Civil Disorders as indicating an institutional base of anti-Black violence that connects the original inclusion experiences with the experiences of today:

What White Americans have never fully understood--but what the Negro can never forget--is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it and white society condones it. 70.

One aspect of the structured violence implicit in what Marable refers to as the institutionalization of the bureaucratic walls that surround and "...maintain the ghetto.." was referred to by Bowles and Gintis in their comments on the public schools in the inner-city urban communities. They conclude that institutionalized violence is persistent and consistent across institutional boundaries, particularly within occupation and education. In their comments, they've emphasized that

Blacks and minorities are concentrated within school systems whose settings,

generally chaotic internal order, coercive authority structures and minimal possibilities for advancement mirror the characteristics of inferior job situations. 71.

In a recent Education Roundtable at the Center For Puerto Rican Studies, Elaine Ruiz commented on the actual legitimization of cultural assumptions about the alleged innate inferiority of Black, Latino and the Puerto Rican children in New York City. These assumptions underly indifference to the harmful consequences of actual placement within track-oriented special education programs. Ms. Ruiz noted that:

...97% of the seats in New York special education classrooms are occupied by Black and Puerto Rican children. Today school psychologists continue to legitimize the teacher's assumptions underlying the reasons for initiating the referral and validate their assessment instruments by locating a "disability" within the child. 72.

Such practices seem to have been common within the school system for decades and seem to continue. Ms. Ruiz then goes on to emphasize that such practices often relieve teachers and administrators of their actual professional obligations to implement more appropriate teaching and instructional strategies that might more

fully meet the needs of all school children. She points out that throughout the 1980's

...the psycho-educational instruments most widely used by the N.Y.C. Board of Education are the same instruments that were brought under serious scrutiny as inaccurate measures of identifying the academic potential and cognitive development of children who are culturally and linguistically different. 73.

Thus, the systemic and deep aspects of the limitations placed on Puerto Rican and Afro-Americans are indicated by the consistency across institutions, by their reinforcement in the process of socialization in schools and by the quantitative extremity of their effects. The systematic and deep character of this oppression supports the hypothesis that the condition of Afro and Puerto Rican Americans is consistent with their original inclusion experience as described in this dissertation.

2. Simultaneously, their humanity was denied by dominant cultural processes. They were generally regarded as innately inferior human species.

Chapter 3 outlined some of the traditional theories and ideologies used to support the notion of distinct and gradeable human types. The emphasis on 19th century racial themes was meant to clarify some of the significant systemic processes that affected the inclusion experiences of the Afro and Puerto Rican peoples. While American society has clearly changed since that era, the complex systemic processes underlying racial themes have not significantly changed, although they may be relatively obscure, hidden or expressed in different ways.<sup>74.</sup>

Pinkney has commented in this regard that

...racial discrimination is deeply rooted in the structure of American institutions. In many cases those in power in these institutions profit from the maintenance of racial discrimination for it is to their economic advantage.<sup>75.</sup>

As evidence for the persistence of those processes, Pinkney notes that

there is every reason to believe that the best educated and most economically mobile blacks have as much difficulty in obtaining housing in most sections of the country as their low-income fellow blacks.<sup>76</sup>

Clara Rodriguez has referred to the ambiguities, irrationalities of racial ideologies that affect the Puerto Rican people:

...within the U.S. perspective, Puerto Ricans, racially speaking, belong to both groups; however, ethnically, they belong to neither. Thus placed, Puerto Ricans find themselves caught between two polarities and at a dialectical distance from both. Puerto Ricans are between Black and White; Puerto Ricans are neither white nor black.<sup>77</sup>

Throughout this era, the Urban League's yearly State of Black America reports refer to persisting cultural themes about the unchanging, innate inferiority of Afro-American people.<sup>78</sup> In its 1988 report, Charles Willie referred to the structural

"...false sense of superiority within some whites  
... (and) the preference for Caucasian ancestry." 79.

Bruce Ware has also referred to persistent cultural justifications for the locations of the majority of Afro-Americans at the literal bottom of the stratification structure:

The notion of biological (genetic) inferiority is an example of the "bad genes" explanation for the inferior social position of black Americans. A revised and more liberal, although equally devastating argument appeared with the emergence of cultural inferiority explanations. The justification of discrimination shifts the blame from the genes of the group to the culture of the group while 80. subtly retaining a victim-blame focus.

Joan Moore, Harry Pachon have referred to the traditional cultural confusions about the humanity of the differing Hispanic peoples into the 1980's era:

Cultural stereotypes have important social functions. Historically, they tended to permit Anglo-Americans to stifle any guilt feelings about the rapid conquest of Mexican and other Hispanic territories. Anglo-Americans

are superior beings. Hispanics (even the upper classes, but especially the lower classes) are inferior. 81.

In the 1980's decade, some of the variable publications of the Center For Puerto Rican Studies at Hunter College in New York City; the Centro Boletin, have also made reference to the diversity of the cultural reimpositions denying the humanity of the 'darker' peoples as an outgrowth of the similar cultural denials specific to working, other strata in the social system. 82.

While it was also historically true that the overwhelming majorities of the European immigrant groups migrating to the social system throughout the 19th, early 20th centuries were relatively impoverished; Afro, Puerto Rican peoples were more fully without material resources in a sociologically similar manner as the prior chapter tried to clarify. Other aspects of their similar status in the 1980's era will follow.

3. As entire ethnic groups, colonized outcastes had little or no material resources of their own --as well as limited access to such resources.

Prior comments attempted to outline some aspects of the relatively unchanging economic inequalities of the social system throughout the 1980's. As Macpherson and others have often emphasized in their writings: the 'material resources' available to groups or individuals within a possessive market social system may well be one of the most significant systemic factors affecting their overall social status and participation within it. 83.

The following discussion will make a prima facie case for the argument that the persistence of material deprivation in the cases of the Afro and Puerto Rican Americans expresses their original inclusion experience, the operation of ideologies that justify race-based oppression, and an underlying political economy of exploitation.

a. Poverty and Income

Nathan's 1986 study was based on a small sampling of the impoverished within the 100 largest cities in the United States. It indicated that, as of 1979,

The concentration of poverty in urban poverty areas was twice as great for Blacks as for whites. 83% of poor blacks lived in them as compared to only 41% of poor whites. About 11% of the white population in these areas were estimated as poor, compared to about 30% of the black population. 84.

In a 1984 report, Royal Shipp also referred to the traditional disproportionate percentages of the impoverished in the black population:

...the poverty rate for blacks has stubbornly stayed 2-3 times higher than the rate for whites. During the 24-year period for which we have data, the poverty rate for blacks declined by 55.1 percent to 30.3 percent in 1982, still very high. In 1982 nearly one third of all black households in the Nation had incomes below the poverty level. 85.

Thomas Gabe has made similar estimates of the disproportionate numbers of Black people among the poor:

Although the majority of the poor are white (68% in 1983), the poverty rate for blacks has been consistently higher than for whites over the years. In 1983, the poverty rate for blacks was three times that of whites (36.3% and 12.1%, respectively). Contributing to the high incidence of poverty among blacks is the large proportion of black children who live in single female-headed families. In 1982, about one-half of all black children lived in female-headed families and among these children, three quarters were poor. 86.

Such disproportionate numbers of the poor within the Afro-American population, especially among its children; seems fairly consistent with the fuller, pervasive poverty-stricken situation that their ancestors entered the social system in originally.

In the 1985 edition of his Puerto Rican Americans, Fr. Joseph Fitzpatrick refers to the endurance of poverty over time:

One puzzling feature of the Puerto Rican experience has been the continuing level of poverty of the population as a whole. large numbers are categorized as poor, despite the evidence of substantial improvement of the socioeconomic status of the second generation. Median family income for all

Puerto Rican families in the United States was reported in the 1980 census as \$9,900 per year in contrast to \$14,100 for all Hispanics and \$19,500 for all U.S. families. The percentage of Hispanics (mostly Puerto Ricans) in New York City living below the poverty level remains very high, 45 percent in 1982. 87.

Fitzpatrick also comments that as of 1985 almost 50% of all Puerto Rican families on the U.S. mainland were headed by a woman. These types of estimates about the social characteristics of the mainland Puerto Rican ethnic group were further emphasized in a report by the National Council of La Raza:

The March 1985 Current Population Report found that one-fourth of Hispanic families were below the poverty level. Stark differences, however, were found among the Hispanic subgroups as the following chart indicates; Puerto Rican families were far more likely to be poor than other Hispanic families, while Cuban families were less likely to be poor. 88.

There is little doubt that the underlying systemic causes, processes in the relatively 'routine' functioning of the social system are involved in these results. They seem to persistently 'single-out' the Puerto Rican people for uniquely invidious consequences and indicate a structural

exploitation within the social system that seem  
be even more pervasive for the Afro and Puerto Rican  
groups. In 1987, Lief Jensen and Marta Tienda refer-  
red to the similarities in the economic situations  
over a two-decade period noting that

...Puerto Ricans have become the  
Hispanic underclass during the past  
two decades and in many ways have  
become more similar to Blacks over  
time... 89.

Some reference to the estimated mean and median  
of the two ethnic groups in comparison to the white  
population might help the reader understand why  
writers like Jensen and Tienda have come to such  
conclusions. In the six-year period from 1980 thru  
1985, the mean or average incomes of the Black family  
population was an estimated two-thirds of the same  
estimates for the white population. For the period  
1976 thru 1985, median incomes for the Black  
population were persistently only between 50 and  
60% of the estimates cited for White families.<sup>90.</sup>

These enduring disproportionalities in income estimates between the Black and White family populations are indicative of the persistence of the various inequities that have confronted Afro-Americans ever since their forced and degraded entry into the social system amongst other things.

A Community Service Society report in 1966 estimated that roughly 40% of all mainland Puerto Ricans were located in New York City at that time and "...whatever the reasons, Puerto Rican New Yorkers appear to be at the bottom of the City's class structure..."<sup>91.</sup>

The data previously cited indicated that generalizations for the overall Hispanic population in the United States can be highly misleading if they are simply unthinkingly accepted as applicable to all the various hispanic peoples in such a classification. There seem to be significant differences in the poverty-level estimates cited for the differing

groups but it seems clear that the poverty estimates for the Puerto Rican group are the highest for any of the hispanic peoples cited. These similar material deprivations and enduring disproportionalities in estimated levels of poverty for the Afro and Puerto Rican groups are objectively linked to the relationships of the adults among them to the labor force and will be briefly commented on.

#### Employment and Unemployment

Swinton has tried to clarify some of the labor market difficulties among the Black population:

For example, the average annual unemployment rate for Blacks in 1986 was 14.5% versus 6.0 percent for whites, while Black teenagers had a 39.3 percent unemployment rate compared to only 15.6 percent for white teenagers. Since 1975 overall unemployment has averaged 15.2 percent for Blacks and 6.7 percent for whites. The ratio of black-to-white unemployment rates throughout this period has averaged well over the traditional two-to-one ratio...92.

The 1987 National Council of La Raza report cited similar two-to-one unemployment disparities for the Puerto Rican members of the labor force in comparison

to the total and white members of the labor force. over the six-year period from 1980 through 1985. In none of the years reported on were the white and total labor force unemployment rates over 10 percent while the rates for the Afro and Puerto Rican members were invariably close to 15 percent<sup>93</sup>. or more.

The types and kinds of employment that the Afro and Puerto Rican members of the labor force seem to be traditionally within is obviously relevant to their poverty-level ratios as well as to their overall economic situation in the modern era. In his Myth of Black Progress, Pinkney comments on the historical, ongoing nature of the differential representation of Afro-Americans in the labor force:

Historically, black Americans have been relegated to the lowest levels of the occupational structure. Although this has changed somewhat through the years, they have by no means reached occupational parity with whites. Whites continue to hold a disproportionate share of the better-paying jobs. 94.

Andres Torres has recently noted the historical 'insertion' of the Puerto Rican labor force into many marginal, lower-level types of jobs and occupations:

Despite the fact that Puerto Ricans evidenced a high degree of labor activity in the early postwar period, the community's insertion into the formal economy was from the beginning tentative. Although driven by their condition as migrants to seek all kinds of work, several factors existed which had the effect of imposing on Puerto Ricans a status inferior to that of the average (white) worker. 95.

In a reference to Census Bureau reports Manuel Borrero recently outlined some details of the differing historical path of the Puerto Rican community in relation to the labor force as compared to the white community in the early 1980's.. He estimated that in this era about 80% of the Puerto Rican labor force were concentrated in only 4 types of occupations: about 30% were operatives and over 60% were primarily located in the lower-level service, crafts and clerical<sup>96.</sup> occupations. This is an astoundingly high percentage for the members of the labor force for any specific ethnic group to be located in such lower level jobs.

The 1985 and 1987 Status reports of the National Congress For Puerto Rican Rights did not indicate

significant changes in the occupational distributions for the Puerto Rican labor force over that 2 year period. Neither have recent editions of the Urban League's State of Black America reports referred to significant changes in the lower-level distributions of the Afro-American labor force in the 1980's decade.<sup>97.</sup> In its 1988 State of Black America report, the Urban League cited a 1987 Federal Labor Dept. table as documentation for their assertion that

It is well known that blacks have traditionally had less favorable occupational distributions than whites. Blacks are more likely to work in low-income less prestigious occupations. The occupational distributions for blacks and whites are shown in Table 9. It is evident from this table that blacks are still less likely to work in the better occupations. For examples, both black males and females are less likely than their white counterparts to be in managerial, professional or technician or sales occupations, while they are more likely to be laborers, service workers and operatives. 98.

It should be more than obvious from the various comments and the data that has been quoted above that in the modern era, the Afro and Puerto Rican members of the labor force severely limited in their actual

access to the opportunities for the accumulation of personal material resources as compared to the majority of the white members of the labor force. This seems to be true despite ideological assertions by major political figures and much of the media throughout the modern era about the progress of both groups. Pinkney cites a study by James Smith and Finis Welch that could easily refer to the Puerto Rican ethnic group in the modern era:

These authors maintain that both blacks and whites are becoming more alike in the attributes producing higher wages, and they deny that blacks have been relegated to dead-end jobs. To their credit, however, they acknowledge that if the present rate continues, it will take thirty to forty years for the earnings of black men to reach those of white men. 99.

4. Colonized outcaste ethnic groups were systematically isolated; physically, culturally segregated from equitable social interaction with the dominant white majority ethnic groups. Their legal and political status in relation to the larger social system was ambiguous, uncertain and unclear.

The prior depictions of the inclusions of the original Afro and Puerto Rican ethnic groups into the U.S. social system linked their initial political powerlessness to the objectively similar processes of segregation forced upon them by the expanding 19th century social system. The cultural lack of consideration for them to become full, active participants in the society in the future was a major aspect of the coercive ambiguity of their legal and political status. Unlike the European immigrant groups who were culturally expected to become citizens in the future, an essentially flawed type of citizenship was involuntarily imposed upon the Afro and Puerto Rican peoples as a result of systemic economic, political or military processes of the dominant social system that were not related to any cultural or political goals that might be related to ending their persistent segregated social status in the society. This separate and implicitly unequal cultural status largely continues for the overwhelming majorities of these ethnic groups.

In the modern era, the persisting imposed political domin-

ation that both groups are still routinely subjected to is directly related to the historical segregation imposed on them at their inclusion points. In the 1980's era the majorities of both ethnic groups are primarily located within deteriorating inner-city areas. A recent Centro editorial referred to their similar positioning in the social system:

It is clear that generations of living side-by-side under common socio-economic conditions have figured prominently in this profound cultural convergence, but the ties also run deeper to the shared basis in Afro and Afro-Caribbean cultural resources.

Black Americans and Puerto Ricans in the United States have a congruent cultural history--slavery, colonialism, and mass migration within the metropolitan orbit--which has resulted in their very similar positioning by the dominant culture. 101.

A major aspect of this coerced placement of both groups in the social system has been that they have been persistently required to fight for cultural acknowledgement of basic civil rights denied to them by the social system at the times that their uniquely flawed citizenship was imposed on them. The legislation that created these atypical and degraded types of citizenship did not negate their political vulnerability in relation to dominant

legal and political processes of the social system that have been carried over in its development. This legislation could not simply erase or negate ideological processes or cultural assumptions about the innate inferiority of both groups. A major aspect of the still ambiguous political status of the Puerto Rican people that also derives directly from their initial inclusion into the social system is that the Island of Puerto Rico remains in its politically unclear and colonial-like 'Commonwealth' status. Such a legal status necessarily affects the Puerto Rican people wherever they may reside, has never been involuntarily imposed on any territory or entire ethnic group that has ever come under the authority of the social system. 102.

The physical isolation that systemic processes of segregation objectively mean for the majorities of both ethnic groups tends to objectively delimit their opportunities to become involved in activities or movements for basic change in the structural processes of the social system. It also restricts their educational opportunities that can be considered an aspect of a person or group's relationship to differing levels

103.  
of government. In the Brown decision of 1954, the Supreme Court decided that segregation education was both illegal as well as implicitly inferior and that it should end as soon as possible. Yet, nearly four decades later

In spite of favorable changes in our laws and much busing of children to distant schools, segregated schools remain prevalent in larger cities.104.

The institutionalized lack of enforcement of a Supreme Court decision that directly affects a significant area of the lives of nonwhite peoples is indicative of their politically marginal status within the social system. Such marginality is being constantly recreated in an era when the very basic processes of American democracy have become even more questionable doubtful. Afro, Puerto Rican and other minority groups cannot be realistically expected to redress the unique forms of political disabilities engulfing them all by themselves. Such a resolution is effectively dependent on a fuller, more objective acknowledgement by legal and political institutions that these groups also have the basic democratic rights guaranteed to all American citizens. The writer is pessimistic that such acknowledgements are forthcoming.

5. The significant sociological results of the above noted situations and processes was that the denoted ethnic groups were confronted by and included into the social system in a uniquely rigid, dominated social status.

The relatively enduring and structurally inequitable nature of the social system has been stressed and emphasized throughout the dissertation especially with regards to its more significant economic and political inequities. The social status of any specific groups within the social system is necessarily linked to the dominant structured inequalities of a capitalist social system that do not seem to have fundamentally "changed" since its initial formation. Structural processes have persistently emphasized expropriation and exploitation of land, labor and material resources within the social system primarily for the benefit of relatively small but powerful upper classes. It seems that as long as such changing, differing elite groups exist within the social system, then such expropriation will continue. Exactly how such an unfair and inequitable structural situation is to be non-violently altered in the future won't be attempted here.

In prior comments, no assertions were made nor were they intended that comparable percentages of poverty for the white' population were equitable. The rigidly

unchanged nature of what is called a 'minimum wage' throughout the decade is a major example of the oppressive economic and political structure of the social system. It represents a barrier to full participation in U.S. society for large numbers of the U.S. working class where the overwhelming majority of Afro and Puerto Rican peoples are objectively located. At this point there does not seem to be the types of political activities taking place in the social system that might lead to any effective change in the minimum wage in the near future.  
105.

Generalization three noted that the Afro and Puerto Rican members of the labor force were disproportionately restricted to lower-level types of employment in the modern era in comparison to the majorities of the white, total labor forces. The objective breakdown of the Brown decision has more than just political and educational consequences for the groups negatively affected by it. Formal and

more specialized education has become much more of a 'pressing' requirement in the 20th century as a means for individuals to gain personal economic success. Such formal education was not required for such success in the 19th century era. Bowles and Gintis have emphasized relatively unacknowledged characteristics of the educational system that have assisted in creating systemic inequities in the social system throughout the 20th century:

We take our stand with the critics. In this book, we shall focus our analysis on the educational system, maintaining that the range of effective educational policy in the United States is severely limited by the role of schooling in the production of an adequate labor force in a hierarchically controlled and class-stratified production system. Capitalism, not technology or human nature, is the limiting factor. 106.

They comment also on the equal opportunity myths that are effectively made meaningless by the persistence of racial ideologies throughout the social system and that continue into the modern era. The myths tend to avoid the class and racial ideologies affecting material success in the social system. 107.

Attainment of higher education can also provide persons with other types of knowledge, skills and awareness aimed at material success within a stratified and inequitable social system. It can also provide them with possible opportunities for more effective participation in social processes directed at altering inequitable structures of the social system. Racial ideologies depicting Afro and Puerto Rican Americans were a major objective aspect of their original inclusion experiences, as was noted. In differing forms, they seem to have carried over into the modern era along with the development of a capitalistic and exploitative social system that effectively uses and expropriates the labor of politically vulnerable classes and ethnic groups in differing ways. The elite upper classes of the social system seem to be the primary groups that tend to benefit from the persistence of these processes of the social system that effectively reincludes Afro, Puerto Rican and other

vulnerable groups and classes into the social system in a sociologically similar manner as compared to the original inclusions experiences of their ancestors. The ongoing systemic inequities of the social system tend to assist in reproducing such culturally pervasive racial themes. Obviously these cultural themes as well as the objective effects of them differ in specific details depending on structural changes in dominant and underlying processes of the social system.

One major aspect of the structured inequities being persistently imposed on the Afro and Puerto Rican peoples that are linked to the original inclusions of their ancestors are the levels of higher education being attained by these groups in the modern era. At the times of the inclusions of the original Afro and Puerto Rican peoples there were no cultural expectations that they should have access to any kinds of education whatsoever. At those times, both groups were oppressed agricultural workers. A 1987 Current Population Report indicates that in the 1980's

While the ratio of the proportions of whites to blacks who have completed 4 yrs. of college has decreased (in 1985 Whites were nearly twice as likely as blacks compared with almost 4 times as likely in 1940), the percentage point has widened.

In 1985, 20 percent of White adults and 108.11 percent of Blacks were college graduates.

Amongst the Puerto Rican population 25 yrs. and over in 1987, only about 54 percent had completed 4 years of high school or more as compared to about 75 percent of the entire population in the same age group. Only about 20 percent of the entire population had completed 4 or more years of college as compared to only about 8 percent of the Puerto Rican group. As an entire ethnic group, the Puerto Rican people have about four times the percentage of the population with only 5 or less years of formal education.  
109.

The accumulation of personal material resources in a capitalist social system is only one aspect of their improvement in their social mobility or to the changing access to it as is their relative amounts of formal education. If the Afro and Puerto Rican peoples actually were to achieve significant amounts of material resources or improved their achievements of formal education but

were also legally restricted to a specific area of the country or in urban areas then such 'improvements' would be objectively meaningless. At the times of their inclusion experiences, the Afro and Puerto Rican peoples were not culturally expected to have access to formal education beyond that necessary for their economic status as largely agricultural workers. The effective breakdown of the 1954 Brown decision is yet another reaffirmation of this apparent enduring cultural inequity directly linked to the development of an inequitable economic, <sup>110.</sup> political system.

A legally-instituted minimum wage is a result of Federal legislative action and reference to it necessarily refers to political power: the abilities of persons or groups to significantly influence or determine formal policies of the various levels of government that affect their daily lives. Since a disproportionate percentage of the Afro and Puerto Rican labor force seem to be still 'trapped' in these types of low-wage work within the secondary job market, their disproportionate levels of political powerlessness are also indicated by such a degraded relationship to the labor force.<sup>111.</sup>

For the most part, the working classes lack access to the financial resources required to organize and maintain effective political movements that might be able to reverse such systemic trends. They also lack access to organizing opportunities to reverse public spending trends throughout the 1980's era that have generally ignored many of their material needs. While there may be economic aspects to the conflicts that seem to have persisted throughout the decade, there are nevertheless common interests. This is especially true for the lower-income members of the working class groups whatever their ethnic identity might be as well as in raising the minimum wage, increasing benefits for public unemployment and welfare. They share interests in increasing funding for training programs that would make jobs accessible to lower income groups otherwise lacking required skills to compete effectively in the labor  
112.  
force.

The data, comments above are obviously incomplete and are primarily meant to clarify some of the significant aspects of the overall social situations of the Afro and

Puerto Rican peoples in the modern era. They are meant as a 'prima facie' summary of their situations in this sociologically complex period that seem directly linked to their inclusion experiences. The equally complex sociological 'linkage' from those initial inclusions to their modern-day status has been empirically provided by the ongoing development of American society in a particular manner. Some aspects of this development have hopefully been clarified and outlined: It is beyond the scope of the dissertation to provide fuller and more complete details of it.

The historical/modern day sociologically similar and 'precarious' status within the social system has tended to become involved with the vulnerability of these groups to the crises of capitalism, their similar and singular lack of institutional political capacity.

### Summation

The generalizations created and utilized in the above have hopefully made somewhat clearer aspects of the overall social status of the Afro and Puerto Rican ethnic groups at their inclusion experiences into the social system as well as in the modern era.

In a uniquely similar contrast to the inclusions of those variable original European ethnic groups who migrated to the social system throughout the 19th, early 20th century eras; the uniquely similar types of exploitation that the Afro and Puerto Rican groups were involuntarily confronted by and subjected to was emphasized throughout the essay. It was emphasized above that at the times of the inclusions of all these original ethnic peoples, less than half of the adult citizens within the social system actually had the right to vote. Despite the objective progress in the extensions of the formal right to vote to a larger percentage of the entire adult population, it was noted that less than half of all eligible voters have actually participated in Presidential and Congressional elections in recent years. A significant similarity in very basic political processes seems to have carried over into the modern era in a somewhat different manner.

Amongst other things, such realities provide some effective linkages to the status of the population in the modern era to the initial inclusion experiences of their ancestors. While the Afro and Puerto Rican ethnic groups are legal and formal American citizens, a fairly significant aspect of their effectively flawed citizenship is objectively indicated by the existence of largely unenforced affirmative action legislation originally created to outlaw discrimination against them, other depicted nonwhite peoples. The effective rejection of the 1954 Brown decision by the Supreme Court is one more aspect of this flawed citizenship.

It seems as if a great deal still needs to be done in order to more fully secure, implement and achieve very basic rights of citizenship for the Afro and Puerto Rican peoples that are supposedly guaranteed to all American citizens. Such objective implementation is ultimately dependent on a fuller clarification by legal institutions of the rights and liberties of all American citizens. If such a fuller clarification about the nature of American democracy and citizenship begins to take place on a more widespread and systemic cultural basis, then a fuller recognition of the uniquely similar political status and legal needs of the Afro and Puerto Rican peoples might

begin. This is not obviously guaranteed. If these acknowledgements and recognition begins, then the similar but atypical inclusions of these ethnic groups and their effects on their descendants in the modern era of these still largely marginal groups might also become more fully recognized throughout the social system. What would also be required would be a corresponding de-emphasis on those culturally induced mythologies and ideologies about separate and distinct human species that are implicitly bound up with the economic, cultural and political processes referred to above.

To this writer, it does not seem as if such needed clarifications, cultural emphases or de-emphases have started or are about to start in the near future.

Ch. 3. Conclusions

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