ETHNICITY IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES
A view and a review of the literature on ethnicity

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Between 1983 and 1985 he was Chairman of the Department of Anthropology and Sociology, Universidad de las Americas-Cholula, Puebla, Mexico, where he was engaged in teaching for the graduate programs in clinical psychology, industrial psychology and anthropology, and also, at the undergraduate level, in the areas of sociology, education and communication.

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Since 1986 he has been a doctoral researcher at the Sociology Department, Uppsala University, writing on topics dealing with ethnicity and rural development. He is a regular contributor to the Scandinavian Journal "Invandrar och Minoritet," and a writer and member of the editorial board of "Hoja Latinoamericana" (sponsored by CETAL, an Uppsala-based working group on Latin America). Occasionally, he works as a resource person at the training centre of the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), on topics related to intercultural communication and Latin America. In May-June 1989 he taught a seminar on the psycho-linguistic methodology of Dorothy Lee at the Department of Cultural Anthropology, Uppsala University. In the period 1989-1991 he has been guest editor for the journal Economic and Industrial Democracy (EID), on a special issue on Latin America. He is also a member of the international editorial board of EID. Recently, he was elected to the Board of the Minority Rights Group (MRG)—Swedish section and to the Board of CETAL.
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This work is dedicated to Caterina, Tatiana and Eduardo Aliosha, my beloved children.
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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION: A VIEW IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF RACE AND ETHNIC RELATIONS

The term ethnicity has become established in recent times as one of the most important concepts in the social sciences. This theoretical development corresponds to the realization that ethnic phenomena considerably permeate and influence the main social events of our times. News charged with ethnic content is daily reported by the mass media around the world. Moreover, according to Rex (1986), it is due to its attributed adverse and conflictual traits that the ethnic question has nowadays become a public issue and an acknowledged contemporary social problem.

Ethnicity results from inter-ethnic relations, whenever two different groups or societies come into contact and establish various modes of spatial, political-economic, cultural and social relations. It is closely linked to migratory, conquest and coercive phenomena, between and within national states.

Often, inter-ethnic relations originate in the aftermath of military and political conquest, establishing a "dominance" type of social relation between the conqueror and the conquered group(s). Then, it is the "ethnicity" of the subdued group which is made salient and "objectionable," when compared with the "normalcy" (a-ethnicity) or ethnic "superiority" of the elite and its "higher" (mainstream) culture.

Typically, conquest and coercive processes entail attempts at legitimation by means of a "justificatory" ideology. In turn, the victor's perspective often assumes its racial/ethnic superiority and a civilizatory and/or religious salvation function.

The various hegemonic social groups tend to be interrelated, thereby constituting a complex social network of power and privilege (a class/ethnocratic/male-dominant structure of social relations). Analogously, the social conditions of subordinate immigrant, ethnic and indigenous minority groups are "caste-like," i.e., coloured and ethno-cultural minority groups continue nowadays to occupy the lowest class/ethnic echelons of Western societies.

As a major socio-structural dimension, ethnicity significantly affects international, intergroup, and interpersonal relations and also, last but not least, the psychological developmental process known as personal (ethnic) identity.

The claim could be introduced here that most current ethnic problems and conflicts historically result from asymmetrical inter-ethnic relations. Such unequal social relations commonly entail economic exploitation, political domination, social discrimination, cultural prejudice and psychological oppression, which are exerted by a privileged and dominant ethnocratic elite over one or more subordinated ethnic minority group(s).

The institutionalization and social reproduction of asymmetrical inter-ethnic relations are usually treated in the literature as ethnic discrimination. In turn, ethnic discrimination conveys a complex set of prejudicial social attitudes, policies and practices, ranging from racism to ethnicism. While distinguishable in some respects, racist and ethnicist discrimination usually blend in practice. Nowadays, the term ethnic discrimination subsumes both forms of social discrimination.
In response to the resurgence of xenophobia since the 1970s and the current spread of racial violence (see Parekh, 1987: 10), new initiatives are emerging to counter-act these negative social forces. International and national organizations concerned with human rights issues are beginning to coordinate actions against the rise of racist/ethnic discrimination (refer to SIM, 1987). Social scientists are often called to assist in anti-racist efforts with their assumed expertise.

Both research and action programmes related to contemporary ethnic issues problems have much to gain from conceptual clarification. The conceptualization of ethnicity remains today as elusive as it is notorious as a public topic. This work is organized around the following objectives and corresponding chapters:

1. In the second chapter an attempt is made to account for the emergence and changing meaning of ethnicity in contemporary social science.

2. In the third chapter the aim is to outline, systematize and discuss the main theoretical dimensions of ethnic phenomena, as abstracted from the various existing approaches in the vast literature on ethnicity.

3. The final chapter is an overview of this work together with some concluding remarks.

The perspective used in this work to address the above objectives is that ethnicity constitutes one of the major forms of social differentiation and structural inequality in society. While this particular form of social differentiation is based on social definitions of "physical" and/or psycho-cultural differences between ethnic groups, inter-ethnic relations are at the same time closely related to the other major social cleavages and relations, namely, between nation states, classes and genders.

One may contend that inter-ethnic relations predate the formation of nation-states and class relations. However, as the latter develop in time as hegemonic social formations, ethnicity interacts with these dimensions as a constitutive structural feature. The majority of modern states are in fact multi-national and multi-ethnic. Analogously, inter-class and intra-class relations are impregnated with ethnic content.

Hence, the process of overcoming ethnic problems is intimately bound to the resolution of the more general processes of social equality, democratization and human rights in our increasingly globalized yet polarized world. In turn, the implementation of such goals assumes an identification of the political will of the state with the plight of those seeking equal rights and/or the struggle of the latter to guarantee and enforce their attainment.

Given my research and familiarity with Mexican American people, some illustrations and examples used in this work are derived from that experiential context.

My Particular Stance on the Ethnic Question

My general approach to the topic of race and ethnic relations may be summarized as follows:

1. It is concerned with ethnic inequality and oppression. In that regard it identifies with world-system, internal colonial and Chicano perspectives, which seek to articulate colonial and class views.

2. It may be characterized as ethno-developmental, blending the following concerns: (1) socio-economic and political equality, (2) multi-culturalism, and
(3) voluntarism. It articulates claims and demands for self-determination, which emanate from both the ethnic group and also from ethnic individuals.

3. It has an interventionist concern related to the quest for decolonizing ethnic identity.

4. It constitutes an attempt to develop an integrated social science approach to the above topic, in at least four ways: (1) by integrating macro, mezzo and micro levels of analysis, (2) by integrating various disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, social psychology and psychology, (3) by incorporating historical, demographic, socio-economic and other sorts of background information, and (4) in attempting to bridge concerns of theory and social practice.
Chapter 2

ETHNICITY AS A MAJOR CONTEMPORARY CONCEPT

This section contains an account of how ethnicity became established as one of the major concepts in contemporary social science. Next follows an outline of the reviewed subjects:

1. Ethnicity as a controversial public issue.
2. Ethno-nationalism as a current source of conflict and mobilization.
3. The colonization and decolonization of ethnic identity.
4. Political linguistics: the shift from the term "race" to "ethnicity".
5. Ethnicity and popular political culture.
6. The paradigmatic crisis concerning ethnic issues.
7. Ethnic movements and the changing social agenda.
8. The ambiguity surrounding the concept of ethnicity.
9. From acculturation to ethnicity and ethnic identity in anthropology.
10. On the changing meaning of ethnicity in sociology.
11. The "ethnic looking-glass" and the complexity of ethnicity.

Ethnicity as a Controversial Public Issue

Ethnic issues have acquired a growing importance in contemporary world affairs and also in recent theoretical accounts in social science. Ethnicity constitutes both old and new phenomena. It is as old as the strife that took place among the first tribes that populated our planet in pre-historic times. Ethnicity is also "intimately and organically bound up with major trends of modern societies" (see Glazer and Moynihan, 1974: 39).

The recent manifestations of racist and ethnicist discrimination around the world make of contemporary ethnicity not only a controversial public issue but also an acknowledged social problem calling for corrective policies and effective action.
Ethno-Nationalism as a Current Source of Conflict and Mobilization

"...In one of the most perplexing trends of the second half of the 20th century governments are being hounded, cajoled, and defied by minorities within their societies - by ethno-nationalism..." (Shiels, 1984, in Hettne, 1987: 4) Ethno-nationalism constitutes nowadays, together with class and gender, one of the main structural axes of socio-political mobilization. There exists ample evidence that ethnicity lies in the background of several of today's major conflicts (Hettne, 1987: iii). Furthermore, some authors maintain that the frequency and intensity of inter-ethnic conflicts have increased in recent decades (refer to Glazer and Moynihan, 1975: 5).

Ethnic conflicts are not exclusively of the industrialized capitalist world. They occur in socialist and in third world countries as well. Nowadays there is discussion about a "fourth world," in reference to the oppressive conditions experienced by indigenous peoples (ICIHI, 1987). In short, all existing social systems, independently of political regime or level of development, exhibit, to variable degrees, conflictual inter-ethnic relations.

The Colonization and Decolonization of Ethnic Identity

"The worst result of the colonial experience was the destruction of self-regard and sense of dignity of those living under the conditions of ethnocentrism. The restoration of this self-regard and dignity for minority group members has become a paramount task." (Kothari, 1974)

Many subordinate ethnic group members nowadays experience an ethnic identity dilemma. Given the extent of ethnic discrimination in contemporary society, ethnic identity is often associated with oppressive and conflictual features.

Ethnic oppression commonly implies ascribing stigmatized ethnic attributes to individuals, who come to feel forced to develop their personal identities in terms of often "negative" ethnic features. This external process of ethnic identification frequently results in psychological patterns of internalized ethnic oppression, and in corresponding modes of subordinated/colonized ethnic identity.

In recent years, UNESCO and other international agencies concerned with the issues of ethnic identity and human rights postulate the need to "decolonize" ethnic identity, in order to help restore ethnic dignity to ethnic minority group members.

Political Linguistics: The Shift From Race to Ethnicity

The concept of ethnicity itself and related terms such as "ethnic group" and "ethnie" are neologisms, which have been recently produced in the context of western social science. According to Stavenhagen (1986: 3), these terms are used to address situations characterized by ranked racial/cultural stratification. Ethnicity is a concept linked to various communalistic forms of affiliation and identification.

Race

As a term in the scientific literature, the notion of "race" precedes that of "ethnicity". Beginning with Linnaeus, it was an effort to define race in physical anthropological terms, on the basis of colour, skull shape, hair and the like. For Bell (1975: 155), race as "common blood," was a predominant theme in the 19th century, together with nation and class. It designated "people who had some common descent."

Racism: Race as Ideology
"Any set of beliefs that organic, genetically-transmitted differences (whether real or imagined) between human groups are intrinsically associated with the presence or the absence of certain socially relevant abilities or characteristics, hence that such differences are a legitimate basis of invidious distinctions between groups socially defined as races. Three conditions...must be simultaneously present to constitute racism, namely, the use of physical criteria, the belief that cultural, moral or intellectual differences correspond to the physical differences, and social actions (of a discriminatory nature) based on those beliefs." (Van den Berghe, in Kuper, 1975: 14)

The concept of race was extrapolated from its intended anatomical, physiological and taxonomical comparative purposes in the 18th century, to its misuse as "scientific racism" in the past two centuries (see Kuper, 1975: 14-17). Racism as the ideological use of the term "race" for racist purposes was fostered by several writers, who claimed Aryan superiority over other white and all of the coloured races.

The Persisting Appeal of the Term "Race"

Some authors and people in the popular political culture still prefer to use "race" and related terms such as "nationality", "people" or "tribe", rather than "ethnicity". For instance, Chance (1970) used the term "social race," to distinguish it from racist associations with the biological notion of race. This author tried to underline in that manner the strong correlation that continues to prevail between phenotype and social stratification, both north and south of the Rio Grande.

The Decline of the Term "race" in the Social Sciences

The atrocities linked to nazi-racism account for the discredit and disrepute of "race" as a term in the social sciences. Consequently, a linguistic shift towards "ethnicity" replaced "race" as a concept, noticeably after the Second World War. It is not difficult to understand the post-war aversive reaction against the usage of "race" in justifying ethnic genocide. UNESCO's campaigns against racial discrimination, within the context of the United Nations' actions to combat racism, may have been one of the most influential forces affecting this terminological change (refer to Kuper, 1975).

Nevertheless the debate on whether to use the terms "race" and "racism" persists nowadays (see Stavenhagen, 1987: 27 and Banton, 1988). For instance, Mullard (1988: 23) argued that in its current usage "racism" refers to and should be replaced by "ethnicism".

Ethnic Ideologies and Popular Political Culture

On the right of the political spectrum, minority ethnic groups are viewed and treated through prejudiced eyes. Ethnic prejudice is manifested in practice through various forms and intensities of ethnic discrimination, ranging from stigmatization and marginalization to exile and elimination (in its genocidal versions). At the opposite extreme of the political spectrum, orthodox Marxists view ethnic claims with annoyance, as cumbersome relics from the past complicating the tasks of internationalization, organization and mobilization of the working class. In the political "middle," liberals often treat ethnic issues with assimilationist/ethnocidal views.

Both liberals and orthodox Marxists share a similar "modernization expectancy," assuming that through industrialization and "progress" ethnic phenomena would vanish. The renewed presence of ethnicity in the contemporary scene attests otherwise, thereby revealing the limitations of the competing ideologies and popular political culture of our times on the ethnic question.
The Paradigmatic Crisis Concerning Ethnicity

Even though ethnicity constitutes one of the most dynamic and troublesome issues in society, theorization in this domain still leaves much to be desired. The established academic models on ethnic issues have also been shown to be insufficient.

The functionalist and conflict schools of sociology, which were the dominant views at the macro-structural level up to the so-called "paradigmatic crisis" in the social sciences, continue to be reductionistic in their approach to ethnic phenomena.

Ethnicity was nearly a forgotten dimension in functionalist analysis. Even when dealing with a related phenomenon such as migration, traditional functionalist demographic analysis emphasized the "function" or mutual advantage to both the sending and recipient countries (see Bonacich and Cheng, 1984: 1). That emphasis led to the neglect of several problematic and conflictual aspects of migration and ethnicity, later discussed.

On the other hand, the dominant conflict model of ethnicity was also lacking. For instance, as earlier mentioned, it shared with functionalism the belief that ethnicity would diminish with modernization, something that, contrariwise, has not significantly occurred.

The above macro models either ignored or minimized ethnic conflicts in the former case, or subsumed ethnic conflicts as class-determined in the latter. Meanwhile, interactionist approaches to ethnicity traditionally focused on assimilative and micro processes, neglecting its historical, structural and conflictual features.

Ethnic Movements and the Changing Social Agenda

Human agency was required in the form of social movements to help reverse the prevailing patterns and hegemonic views on ethnic inequality. Oppressive inter-ethnic relations motivated the collective discontent and ethnic protest of the late 1960s, which partially redressed the socio-structural inequality inherited from the colonial past.

Where ethnic movements succeeded the most was in granting ethnic issues the public and academic attention they get today. This public notoriety may foster in time the urgently required corrective measures to foster social equality and multiculturalism as contemporary human rights.

The Ambiguity Surrounding the Concept "Ethnicity"

"...the state of the art' as far as the research on race and ethnic relations is concerned is best described as a theoretical and empirical chaos." (Lange and Westin, 1985: 1)

The systematic use of the term "ethnicity" is recent in sociology and even more so in anthropology (Melville, 1983). It is derived from the Greek "ethnos," meaning tribe or race, but today it often connotes "ethos" or custom.

Recent treatises and research on ethnicity are characterized by their multiplicity of approaches, with confusion as a result. The complexity and dynamic nature of ethnic phenomena, together with their strong emotional appeal to ideological partisanship, makes it difficult to attain conceptual clarity on this controversial topic. Nevertheless, the literature pertaining to ethnicity as an area of inquiry is extensive, since ethnic minority issues are crucial for social philosophy, the competing ideologies and the social sciences.
In spite of the rhetoric and acknowledgement of ethnicity as a major contemporary social issue, one finds it still neglected by the social sciences (for similar claims, refer to recent appraisals by Stavenhagen, 1984, and Fishman, 1985). It seems that the contemporary social sciences are still struggling to make sense of and adequately address ethnic issues in the late 1980s.

Summarizing, even if increasing numbers of social scientists appear to address the topic of ethnicity, conceptual ambiguity still constitutes the prevalent picture.

From Acculturation to Ethnicity and Ethnic Identity in Anthropology

For Rex (1986: 83), ethnicity as an anthropological problem "arises from the ending of a period in which ethnology sought to study tribes in isolation." That period in time also corresponds to the demise of the structuralist-functionalist anthropological emphasis on integrative processes (see Melville, 1983: 274). Commonly, that approach was applied to isolated and distant cultures.

The reason why sociology precedes anthropology in its treatment of ethnicity lies partially in the history behind both approaches, as illustrated by the following quote from Wallman (1986):

"Relative to other social scientists, anthropologists are seldom professionally concerned with vertical relations between ethnic groups and macro-state structures and they rarely undertake studies of official policies (or lack of them) for minority groups, or of social stratification and minority status as such" (in Rex, 1986: 91).

The seminal anthropological work of Barth (1959, 1969) on ethnicity marks what De Vos (1983: 140) and Melville (1983: 274), among others, consider to be a revolutionary change of the anthropological paradigm.

Among the uses of ethnicity in anthropology one may detect the following contemporary developments:

1. The change from the traditional anthropological "etic" or trait approach to the more psychological, subjective or "emic" perspective. This shift is present in Barth's interactive work on "ethnic boundary-maintaining" mechanisms. There, Barth wrote that "the differences between cultures and historic boundaries have been given much attention, yet the constitution of ethnic groups and the nature of the boundaries between them have not correspondingly been investigated." Even when two groups share basically similar cultural traits, ethnicity remains of importance to classify people according to "origins and background," beyond the level of clan and kinship.

De Vos (1983: 135) relates the above linguistic shift to changes in the use of the concept of culture from one depending on the categorization of behavioral or material traits toward a concern with cultural 'identity' as a subjective continuity in the minds of men."

The traditional method of appraising "acculturation" by the adoption of cultural traits belonging to the immigrant's new cultural environment (in the host country), or by measuring the retention of previous traits (from the sending country), is no longer considered a useful approach to get at the hearts and minds of ethnic group members. Instead, De Vos (1983: 135) suggests a "psycho-cultural" approach to understanding social belonging, as a vantage point to study their (ethnic) social behaviour.
2. The transfer from the concern with cultural socialization in simpler societies to the examination of complex and multi-national societies (see De Vos, 1983: 135).

3. The change from the discrete and categorical which characterize ethnographic work to a relational, dialectic and historical perspective, concerned with the dynamics of social inequality (see Melville, 1983).

4. A changing concern from symmetrical to asymmetrical or conflict perspectives in anthropology, as exemplified in the works of Kuper (1975), Huizer (1979), Melville (1983), Stavenhagen (1986) and Hettne (1987), among others.

On the Changing Meaning of Ethnicity in Sociology

The notion of "ethnic group" precedes that of ethnicity in sociology. It was Weber (1978: 389) who first attempted to characterize this particular type of social group. Among its attributes, ethnic groups maintained a collectively held belief in their common origin and heritage. This communality could be related to a similar phenotype and/or customs, and also, it could be linked to historical memories of colonization and migration. Those shared beliefs by ethnic group members were also considered of importance for the propagation of the group.

Nevertheless, Weber, like Marx, preferred to use the concept of "nationality." M"rner (1990: 30) reminds us that both were heirs of 19th century European nationalism, which disregarded ethnic groups within the emerging modern national states, as vestiges from the past and obstacles to nation-building and progress.

Bell (1975: 157) accepted the common designation for an ethnic group as "a culturally defined 'communal' group." Similarly, Stavenhagen (1986: 4) defined an ethnic group as a collectivity which defines itself or is identified by others, in cultural terms. For this author, the most common criteria to distinguish ethnic groups are: language, religion, tribe, nationality and race.

Glazer and Moynihan (1974: 33) traced the first modern sociological use of the word "ethnicity", to a 1953 work by David Riesman. It was used in the sense of "the character or quality of an ethnic group." Since that early sociological definition much has been written on ethnicity.

The above authors nowadays contend that the concept "ethnicity" is as crucial for the understanding of today's world as that of social class.

"...something new has appeared. A reader of the early 19th century, encountering the assertion that industrialization was shaping distinctive social classes, could well have shrugged it on the thought that there had always been social ranks, always different ways of earning a living. Yet to have done so would have been to miss a big event of that age. Similarly, we feel that to see only what is familiar in the ethnicity of our time is to miss the emergence of a new social category as significant for the understanding of the present-day world as that of social class itself." (Glazer and Moynihan, 1974: 33)

Those sociologists who came to view the primacy of ethnicity as a major feature of our times are occasionally referred to as advocates of a "new ethnicity" (see Brady, 1990: 2). However, one may also distinguish between two main ideological/theoretical orientations among ethnicists, namely, those of a liberal and those with a more critical/radical outlook. Basically, the former viewed ethno-mobilization from a tension-management perspective, while the latter considered ethnic liberation movements as social forces leading to the enhancement of social equality and structural opportunities in society.
From a minor to a major concept in sociology
(From "marginal" and "immigrant" to "structural" ethnicity)

One may detect a conceptual shift in the sociological usage of the term "ethnicity", from the traditional understanding of ethnic groups as...

"...minority and marginal subgroups at the edges of society - groups expected to assimilate, to disappear, to continue as survivals, exotic or troublesome to major elements of a society" (in Glazer and Moynihan, 1975: 5).

Together with the change in sociological focus from "marginal" to "structural" ethnicity, another significant change took place, shifting from "immigrant" to structural concerns with "ethnic minorities" and "ethnic inequality." The changes in the sociological meaning of ethnicity appear to reflect significant changes in social reality, which are entertained at a later stage.

Critical and radical perspectives on ethnic inequality

"What 1968 did was to break the total control over the world university system by the heirs of nineteenth-century thought and restore the university to its role as an arena of intellectual debate." (Wallerstein, 1988: 27)

After the 1960s, critical and radical views became the theoretical perspectives which most explicitly addressed the problems of social inequality and oppression in contemporary society. These perspectives also deal with the nature and dynamics of racism and ethnic discrimination, and with the efforts to overcome their structural determinants.

In recent years, considerable creative work is being developed from the above scope of ethnic relations. This work occurs in various disciplines, focuses on different regions of the world and is implemented at different levels of analysis. Bonacich (1980: 12) includes among these approaches theories of labour migration and immigration, dependency theory, dual labour markets, split labour markets, internal colonialism, theories of middleman minorities, labour aristocracy theories, world systems theory, and more. One could also include in this long list the so-called Chicano perspective(s) in the social sciences, blending internal colonial and class approaches. Some of these views are treated in the next chapter.

The "Ethnic Looking-Glass" and the Complexity of Ethnicity

The preeminence of ethnic phenomena in our age, alongside other crucial world concerns such as war and peace, social inequality between and within states, social change, ecology, population, development, human rights and other important aspects of human existence, makes it also necessary to consider the contemporary social agenda under the light of the "ethnic looking-glass."

The above review of the literature is meant to shed some light on the biography and meaning of ethnicity, as a major contemporary concept, in both the social sciences and in popular culture.

The complexity of ethnic phenomena may be roughly illustrated by allusion to a recent attempt by Rex (1986: 26) to classify ethnic situations. By intersecting race, ethnic and class features, Rex obtained 256 theoretical categories of ethnic situations, which could readily be expanded.

Next follows an outline and discussion of selected dimensions and concerns with ethnicity.
"...The sociology of ethnic relations is a minefield, the selection of any topic of enquiry is almost certain to be ruled out of court by somebody." (Cherns, 1987: 74)

The following discussion is not intended as an exhaustive and in-depth analysis of competing theories. Rather it seeks to cover broadly the state of the art in the field of ethnic relations. The main objective in this chapter is to outline, systematize and comment on the basic dimensions of ethnic phenomena.

To attain some semblance of order out of an abundant literature, one may distinguish selected sorts of concern and entry on the topic of ethnicity. Initially, two points need to be made: firstly, that the chosen criteria do not need to exclude each other, and secondly, that the "polarities" may be more apparent than real. Authors tend to exaggerate on certain preferred emphases. Consequently, one still finds a persisting fragmented vision of the study field of ethnicity.

1. Value concerns on the "goodness" or "badness" of ethnicity.
2. Concern with types of ethnic situations according to their degree of "malignancy:" "benign" versus "malign" ethnicity.
3. Concern with the "basic nature" of ethnicity: primordial versus contextual kinds of ethnicity.
4. Concern with the centrality of emotions in ethnic phenomena: "rational" versus "irrational" ethnic motivation and behaviour.
5. Concern with the degree of self-determination in the process of adopting an ethnic identity: ascribed (enforced) versus achieved (voluntary) ethnicity.
6. Concern with the "historicity" of ethnic situations: "historical" (colonial) versus "circumstantialist" (conjunctural) ethnicity.
7. Concern with the quality of historical ethnicity: "natural history" versus "social history."
8. Concern with immigrant versus structural ethnicity (ethnic minorities).
9. Concern with the nature of ethnic affiliation and identification (the so-called "ethnic" versus "class" controversy).
10. Concern with the intersection of ethnicity with gender and age: "isolated ethnicity" versus "interrelated ethnicity."
11. Concern with the cultural or political nature of ethno-mobilization: ethnic revival versus ethno-politics.
12. Concern with the direction of ethno-political mobilization: "prospective" versus "regressive" ethno-politics.
13. Concern with various levels of analysis: macro, mezzo and micro.
14. Concern with differing macro approaches to inter-ethnic relations: "cultural adaptation" versus "structural inequality."
15. Concern with the ethical and political aspects of research on ethnic issues and problems.

A Perspective on the Various Dimensions of Ethnicity

The vantage point to address the following review of the literature on ethnicity is that most concerns are not mutually exclusive even though they might exhibit contrasting emphases and polarities. While all of the above "entry points" into the realm of ethnicity shed light on the various dimensions of the ethnic mosaic, the last two criteria are emphasized here, on structural ethnic inequality and on socially relevant research.

The above is the case given two considerations: (1) that ethnic inequality and ethnic discrimination lie in the background of most contemporary ethnic problems, and also, (2) that ethnic research should acknowledge the recent
increments of racial and ethnic discrimination, and contribute effectively to the efforts to eradicate them as structural features of contemporary society.

A Review of the Main Concerns and Dimensions of Ethnicity

The various concerns about ethnicity convey different ideological viewpoints, theoretical emphases, methodological approaches, research, applied and ethical questions, entertained next.

On the assumed "goodness" or "badness" of ethnicity

"Cultures may contain many glorious elements, but they may also be encumbered by the flotsam and jetsam of the historical passage." (Yinger, 1985: 55)

While some scholars hailed the new upsurge of ethnicity as a positive development in human affairs, others like Yinger, above, reminded us of the ambivalence of ethnic phenomena.

On the bright side, Fishman (1985: 352), for instance, argued that ethnic group experience holds positive value for the individual, given:

"(Its) being purposefully rational, comforting, reassuring, orienting in culturally meaningful time and space and, therefore internally stabilizing rather than primarily irrational, manipulative, combative, or externally destabilizing,..."

Analogously, Stavenhagen (1984: 159) considered that allegiance to an ethnic community provides a sense of belonging and meaning as an intermediate level of relation between the individual and the bureaucratized political society. This author suggests, in other words, that the revival of ethnic identity nowadays may be an adaptive response to the increasing alienation of individuals in mass societies. On the other hand, there are the negative or "malign" aspects of ethnicity, treated in the next section.

In my view, ethnicity potentially carries both positive and negative features. On the positive side, as a reference group, ethnic minorities provide a material and/or an affect-laden ethnic support network, for ethnic identificational purposes. The latter is significant against the background of an increasingly massified/impersonal and bureaucratized social environment.

On the negative side, one may consider, among other adverse consequences of racism/ethnic discrimination, the damaging psychological effects on the social/personal identity of ethnic minority group members, such as the internalization of ethnic oppression. As earlier mentioned, ethnicity's salience as a public issue and social problem is largely due to its negative and conflictual or malign features.

Contending views on the "goodness/badness" of ethnicity are also present in the debate on modernization and development. Apter (1965), in the liberal tradition, viewed ethnic identity as a romantic vestige from the past and as an obstacle to nation-building, progress and development. Contrariwise, Nerfin (1978) and Sachs (1980) asserted that ethnicity, state modernity and development could perfectly coexist and support each other (refer to Stavenhagen, 1984: 159).

The discussion on the "goodness" or "badness" of ethnicity is based on value premises. "Good" ethnicity connotes life-supportive social experience and vice versa, "bad" ethnicity implies damaging social experience. This value dimension is closely linked to the next discussion on two basic types of ethnic situations, classified according to their degree of "malignancy."
On "benign" and "malign" types of inter-ethnic relations

As earlier mentioned, "race" as a term was displaced by "ethnicity" for historical reasons already on record. However, that linguistic change did not take place without a loss. The reaction against genocidal racism did not only lead to the dismissal of the term "race" but also to "negate" persisting "ugly" facts of current ethnic reality.

Awareness of the above situation led Rex (1982, 1986) to distinguish between "benign" and "malign" forms of ethnicity. The former would adequately refer to symmetrical or horizontal forms of inter-ethnic relations, traditionally studied in anthropology, while "malign" ethnicity would refer to "race and relations situations" (social relations marked by racism and ethnicism).

Benign types of inter-ethnic situations may be described as symmetrical "we/they" dichotomies, along cultural lines (see Melville, 1983: 275) and/or along horizontal ethnic boundaries (refer to Barth, 1959, 1969). They mostly refer to constructive aspects of human life, which involve positively appreciating one's own social roots without necessarily disparaging other ethnic or social groups (see Marmor, 1977: 8).

The experience of white European immigrant and ethnic groups in the so-called "immigrant countries," such as the United States, Australia and Canada, may illustrate "benign" types of inter-ethnic relations. In terms of long-standing inter-ethnic relations, it could be claimed that "consociational" democracies such as Switzerland, Holland and Canada qualify as "benign", insofar as their white national minorities are concerned. When dealing with more recent and often "coloured" immigrant groups, these countries exhibit various degrees of race/ethnic discrimination.

Malign ethnicity refers to ranked or asymmetrical ethnic situations, which entail conditions of exploitation, discrimination, oppression and conflict. This sort of ethnic situation implies group prejudice and ethnocentrism, manifested as a tendency to consider one's own group as better than all others. In short, it characterizes "race and ethnic relations situations," plagued by racism and ethnicism.

While most real-life inter-ethnic relations lie between benign and malign types of ethnic situations, the still prevalent "colour line" exemplifies the latter.

On the primordial or contextual nature of ethnicity

Another argument surrounding ethnicity alludes to an assumed polarity between the "primordial" nature and the "contextual" determinancy of ethnic behaviour.

Primordial ethnicity

Primordial views emphasize the primacy of ethnicity, close to kinship, in its impact on the psychological make-up of individuals. This approach to ethnicity is associated with the views of Geertz (1963: 109), quoted below:

"By a primordial attachment is meant one that stems from the 'givens' or more precisely, as culture is inevitably involved in such matters, the assumed 'givens' of social existence: immediate contiguity and live connection mainly, but beyond them the givenness that stems from being born into a particular religious community, speaking a particular language, or even a dialect of a language, and following particular social practices. These congruities of blood, speech, custom and so on, are seen to have an ineffable, and at times, overpowering coerciveness in and of themselves. One is bound to one's kinsman, one's neighbour, one's fellow believer, ipso facto, as the result not merely of
personal attraction, tactical necessity, common interest or incurred moral obligation but at least in great part by virtue of some unaccountable absolute import attributed to the very tie itself."

Similarly, Gordon (1978: 73) argues for the primordial ethnic perspective:

"...because it (ethnicity) cannot be shed by social mobility, as for instance social class backgrounds can, since society insists on its inalienable ascription from cradle to grave, becomes incorporated into the self."

The primordial view is at best a partial account of ethnicity. It places emphasis on one important and often neglected aspect of ethnic reality, namely, the affective or emotional ethnic bond, which is frequently associated with ethnic identity. However, this emphasis is done at the expense of dissociating ethnicity from relevant structural and socio-political considerations, later discussed.

Contextual ethnicity

In contrast to the above, contextualist views maintain that ethnic motivation and behaviour are structurally determined and correspond to objective and adaptive socio-economic interests. Patterson (1975: 307) illustrated this view with reference to black Jamaicans and black Puerto Ricans. These people, who commute periodically between their countries and the United States, he claimed, could consciously manipulate their ethnicity. They could be members of the elite in their home countries, and blacks and Puerto Ricans in the United States. His point was that while the colour attribute remained unchanged, ethnicity changed by changing the social context.

One may argue that primordial and contextual features are but two contrasting and complementary aspects of ethnicity. Support for this view is found in Glazer and Moynihan (1974: 37), who contend that explanations for the persistence, revival, and creation of ethnic identities tend to waver between two poles of analysis: the primordialist and the "circumstantialist" or contextual.

The argument of primordial versus contextual ethnicity is related to two different universes of discussion: the nature (heredity) versus nurture (environment) debate on the one hand, and to the discussion of how "rational" or "irrational" (emotional) is ethnic motivation and behaviour, on the other.

Ethnic relations may be appraised as a "primary group/relation" kind of experience, primary in time and in psychological impact. In that light, one does not need to endorse a "primordial" view, so strongly reminiscent of hereditary (irreversible) conditions. Also, as in other dimensions of social life, early background conditions such as ethnic experience actively interact with environmental factors. Individuals are influenced and also help to shape their life (ethnic) conditions.

Emotions, the next topic, are closely related to the preceding discussion. On "rational"/"irrational" ethnicity and the role of emotions

"...we also contend that it is incumbent on the social scientist to make also a psycho-cultural analysis, since, to understand the behaviour of particular groups, we need to know their psychological states and their continuing, culturally embedded beliefs, as well as the simple fact of political and economic exploitation." (De Vos, 1983: 142)

The above statement endorses a view regarding affection/emotions as significant factors of sociological analysis, when addressing ethnic issues. The role of
emotions and sentiments remains a controversial subject in relation to the topic of who begins action and social change.

For instance, converging with the psychoanalytic outlook, Pareto (1963) viewed "sentiments" as the main motivation for social action. For Pareto, much of social action was of a non-logical kind. Rather than first setting our goals and then proceeding to choose logical ways to attain them, we begin action motivated by certain sentiments that seek expression, and later offer verbal accounts as rationalizations of such actions. These rationalizations he called residues.

Recently, the implications of Pareto's theory of "sentiments" for the study of race relations have been reconsidered by Rex. "...instead of assuming that consciousness determines action, we should assume that individuals engage in interaction with other individuals or quasi-groups for reasons to do with conflict, exploitation and oppression, and in the course of so doing give an account of their action. Our task is to see through the rationalization and to discover the constants which determine such action..." (Rex, 1986: 99-103)

In other words, Rex re-evaluated the role of psychological processes derived from socially oppressive experiences. One of the main psychological consequences of ethnic discrimination is what could be called ethnic hurts.

Bell (1975: 169) recognized the role of emotions in recent ethnic mobilization. For instance, Bell noticed an "...emergent expression of primordial feelings chosen by disadvantaged people as a new mode of seeking political redress." (in De Vos, 1983: 142)

For De Vos (1983: 142), the above acknowledgement is insufficient and barely constitutes a theoretical point of departure. Furthermore, De Vos includes emotions in the realm of sociology:

"He (Bell) does not seem to think it within the province of sociological analysis to delve into either the psychological or cultural-historical reasons for the how or why of psychological processes involved in human behaviour."

In short, De Vos suggests an integrated social science approach on emotions, which integrates sociological and psychological perspectives. As with previous assumed polarities, ethnic phenomena blend both rational and irrational features. In that sense, De Vos (1983: 140), while acknowledging Patterson's claim about the existence of "...rational, expediential usages of a political and economic nature in many groups," argues that the former instrumental behaviour does not constitute the total picture since the "irrational" factor is missing. A quote from this author illustrates the above point.

"...on the other hand, there are certain irrational features which can be demonstrated to go counter to the group's immediate or ultimate best interests. It is precisely the fact that there is this tension between the rational and the irrational that creates internal conflict in many individuals." (De Vos, 1983: 40)

De Vos takes the same example as Patterson, above, and shows that some Jamaicans and Puerto Ricans do not "adapt," but rather become militant in ethno-politics. It is this diversity of ethnic options which prompted De Vos to suggest that ethnic allegiance both of group and individual nature be addressed as a variable for research. The latter view would exclude a-priori versions of primordial/irrational or instrumental/"rational" ethnicity.
"New Left" Perspectives on Ethnicity and Emotions

"The subjective side of the revolution is not only a matter of consciousness, and of action guided by knowledge; it is also a question of the emotions." (Marcuse, 1980: 41)

Traditional Marxist sources have disregarded both the importance of ethnicity as a source of affiliation and motivation, and also the relevance of psychological (affective) processes for social reproduction and social change. Alienation theory is, however, an attempt to deal with the above in terms of "false (irrational) consciousness," assuming the primary "rationality" of class interests.

The contention that emotions have been neglected by orthodox Marxism is illustrated in the following quote:

"I have argued above that mystified consciousness is not only a set of false ideas or illusions but that it includes patterns of feelings and modes of behaviour to which people have become accustomed, attached and even 'addicted.' The notion of attachment or addiction is intended to call attention to the affective component in the constructs of ideology and false consciousness." (Sherover-Marcuse, 1986: 135)

R.D. Laing (1967: 12) discussed in his "Politics of Experience," how is it that the condition of alienation or internalized oppression induces a state of disconnection or estrangement from one's feelings or emotions, namely, from oneself:

"We are born in a world where alienation awaits us. We are potentially men, but are in an alienated state, and this state is not simply a natural system. Alienation as our present destiny is achieved only by outrageous violence perpetrated by human beings on human beings."

Similarly, Paulo Freire (1970) wrote about the victims of oppression:

"They are one and at the same time themselves and the oppressor whose consciousness they have internalized. The conflict lies in the choice between being wholly themselves or being divided between ejecting the oppressor within or not ejecting him."

Significant advances have been made in recent decades to grasp the devastating effects of colonial oppression on the psyche of the colonized. For instance, Fanon (1963, 1967) described the mental pathology derived from French colonialism in Algeria and North Africa. Also Memmi (1965, 1968) dealt with the compulsive complicity which binds the colonized to the colonizer.

Sennett and Cobb (1972) analyzed the adverse consequences of classism or social discrimination at the class level. These authors depicted the "hidden injuries" that working people derive from classist oppression in capitalist societies, where to "own more" connotes "to be worthy," and vice versa. The authors described the internal conflicts that afflict the hearts and minds of blue-collar workers in the U.S., where the latter lowly rate their own sense of personal worth against those that have "made it" in society, such as owning-class members.

Another consequence of social oppression is depression. Recently, Salgado de Sneider (1986) documented that the immigration/acculturation of Mexican women to the United States constitutes sociogenic sources of psychological depression. It stands to reason, and personal experience suggests, that the more psychological distress people suffer, the more they appear to increase their frequency and severity of mental pathology.
Summarizing, two points stand out from the above review of societal and internalized oppression:

1. Its conditioning, confusing and hurtful nature, which produces "negative" learning, rigid thinking, distressed feelings and corresponding habitual and compulsive behaviour.
2. It also implies a conditioning to oppress oneself and others. When oppressed groups and individuals are hostile to each other, it results in intra-class, inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic divisiveness.

Moreover, three levels of oppression appear to be interlocked: societal, interpersonal and intra-personal. Ethnic identification and mobilization constitute both highly ideologized and emotional phenomena. In my view, psychological processes are central in any meaningful discussion of ethnic behaviour.

On ascribed and achieved ethnicity: an issue of self-determination

"Those who wish to assimilate should be allowed to do so. Those who prefer to retain their separate culture should also be allowed to do that. Neither a forced process of multi-culturalism nor a forced process of assimilation is acceptable. We are dealing with one stage in the history of majority-minority relations and the important point is to create the kind of society in which all people may choose their cultural affiliations." (Rex, 1986: 134)

Contemporary ethnic mobilization helped to establish the link between the process of self-determination and the quest to decolonize ethnic identity. Traditionally, most social identities including ethnic identities continue to be ascribed or socially enforced.

And yet, it is nowadays to some extent possible to choose one's ethnic identity and attachment. Such gains in the process of ethnic democratization largely resulted from the anti-colonial and civil rights struggles of national and ethnic liberation movements, in the post-war period. Up to recent times, most kinds of ethnic identities were ascribed. If today it is possible to "...choose one's identity or attachment in a self-conscious manner" (Bell, 1975: 153), it is due to advancement in the process of democratization.

In sociological terms, ethnic identity has moved from the condition of being an ascribed identity, towards the enhanced condition of being potentially an achieved identity (refer to Bell, 1975: 153).

On circumstantial and historical ethnicity

"...there is no doubt an underlying continuity in the underpinnings of racism between the 'old' and the 'new'..." (Stavenhagen, 1987: 23)

Two views on ethnicity are contrasted in the ensuing discussion according to their implied historical outlook: (1) circumstantialist, with an emphasis on conjunctural or current conditions, and (2) historical, addressing the colonial origins of the prevailing patterns of inter-ethnic relations.

Circumstantial ethnicity

Some authors distinguish between older and newer forms of ethnicity. For instance, Glazer and Moynihan (1975: 11) contend that the two main features behind the development of contemporary ethnicity are:
"...the evolution of the welfare state in the more advanced economies of the world and the advent of the socialist state in the underdeveloped economies."

In contrast to the conjunctural view, Rex (1982, 1986), Melville (1983) and Wallerstein (1988), among other authors, propose instead a historical approach to ethnicity, underlining the colonial origins of current inter-ethnic arrangements in the world system, illustrated below.

Historical ethnicity

One way to evidence the historicity of ethnic phenomena is by reference to migratory phenomena, a necessary pre-condition of inter-ethnic contact and further ethnic relations.

On the origins of various types of immigration and ethnic relations

Van den Berghe (1978: 14) outlined four ways in which migration historically correlates with existing patterns of inter-ethnic relations:

1. Military conquest, in which the victor (often in the numerical minority) establishes his political and economic domination over an indigenous group...
2. Gradual frontier expansion of one group which pushes back and exterminates the local population...
3. Involuntary migration in which a slave or indentured alien group is introduced into a country to constitute a servile caste...
4. Voluntary migration when alien groups move into the host country to seek political protection or economic opportunity.

Next follows an attempt to apply these four "ideal types" to a concrete historical case. Given my familiarity with Mexican American people, this exercise is grounded in their experience.

On Mexican American immigration and ethnicity: by way of illustration

It appears that the four historical/migratory types postulated by the above author roughly apply to the Mexican American experience. The first type is evidenced in the U.S.-Mexican War of 1846-1848, through which the United States conquered over 50 percent of Mexican territory and its native inhabitants.

In the second case, under the aegis of the doctrine of "manifest destiny," Anglos gradually expanded their Western frontier, confiscating the traditional land and pastures of the Mexican and Amerindian people. Even though extermination of Mexican Americans did not take place as in the case of American Indians, Anglo ethnocidal policies did hinder the traditional style of the people, such as the language, culture, history and religion.

Thirdly, subordinate involuntary migration and related labour conditions apply to many of the women and children who were forced to follow their emigrating mates/fathers.

Fourthly, the "voluntary" migration type applies to millions of Mexican immigrants who sought refuge from the political havoc associated with the 1910 Mexican Revolution, and also to those who have recently and massively responded to the demand for Mexican cheap and docile labour, in the 1970s. Nowadays, recent Mexican immigrants constitute over 50 per cent of the Mexican American community.

In my view, the circumstantialist view carries a "presentist" bias, with a corresponding disregard for the historical antecedents of present-day ethnicity. It also tends to neglect the contribution of the ethnic struggle of the late
1960s-1970s to recent changes in contemporary inter-ethnic relations. Analogously, it often disregards one crucial feature of contemporary ethnicity: growing racism and ethnic discrimination in the United States and Western Europe. As mentioned earlier, increasing racism is one of the main features behind the contemporary saliency of ethnicity. It seems to be occurring mostly in reaction to increasing labour migration and the supplementary arrival of political and economic refugees from repressive and impoverished Third World countries.

On "natural" and "social" historical approaches

Two main traditions stand out in the attempt to abstract historical patterns of inter-ethnic relations. These traditions are: (1) The Parksean "natural history" tradition of inter-ethnic cycles, reflecting influences from social-Darwinism, and (2) The social approach to history, reflecting the influence of Marxist dialectical views of history, social change and the contribution of human actors to the former processes.

The naturalistic approach to recurrent inter-ethnic cycles

The views of Shibutani on the cyclical nature of inter-ethnic relations are illustrative of the above approach. Considered as one of the foremost living interpreters of symbolic interactionism on the ethnic question, and a heir to Parks, Shibutani (1965: 572-578) described the following sequential social processes: (1) differentiating, (2) integrative and (3) disjunctive.

Early ethnic differentiating processes are traced to conquest and domination. The resulting ethnic cleavages become institutionalized as ethnic stratification, becoming a "moral order." As ethnic persons increase in numbers and power, "disjunctive processes" (such as collective discontent, protest and social movements) emerge, with the potential to bring about social change. The latter feeds back into a new "integrative process," which in turn becomes the new ethnic "moral order." Then, assimilative patterns tend to persist until another conquest or subordinate immigration triggers the whole cycle again.

Shibutani claims that each sequential inter-ethnic stage corresponds to different types of ethnic identity. For instance, during "integrative" stages, assimilationist types of ethnic identity orientation would be expected to prevail. Shibutani points at the correspondence between social norms and individual values, between social and self-control, between culture and personality and, finally, between ascriptive ethnic identification and personal ethnic identity.

Social history, ethnic inequality and social change

Briefly, the above perspective maintains that under conditions of ethnic inequality, commonly associated with class exploitation, a considerable number of ethnic minority group members are prone to become disaffected and may engage in organized collective action to improve their lot.

Moreover, under a particular combination of objective and subjective conditions, the discontented population may become aroused and develop ethno-political movements challenging the prevailing ethnic/social "order." Ethno-mobilization and confrontation may succeed or not in attaining the desired socio-political aims.

Next follows an attempt to exemplify a class analysis approach to immigration and ethnic inequality, based on the historical patterns of immigration to the United States since the 1800s.

The commoditization of immigrants: class origins of ethnic inequality
Bustamante (1976), reputedly one of the best Mexican scholars on migration to the United States, used class analysis to address the historical relationship assumed to exist between the United States as a capitalist society, Mexican immigration and immigration policies. Within this perspective, migration is understood simply as self-transportation of labour power conceived as a commodity, to such places as the owner of capital requires.

The notion of migrants as commodities is then used to account for a persisting historical dual pattern of dealing with immigrants since the 1800s: on the one hand they were welcomed as cheap labour required by capitalist expansion demands. On the other they were labelled and treated as deviant outsiders. The latter was used ideologically to justify the assignment of immigrants to inferior status in the American social structure. Perhaps the colonial caste tradition of the slave society in the South patterned the discriminatory treatment of new immigrants since the 1800s.

The 1830s marked the beginning of this contradictory pattern. It was first applied to the Irish and then subsequently to Germans, Italians, Eastern Europeans and Jews; then more harshly to the Chinese (the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act), the Japanese, the blacks, and nowadays to Mexican immigrants.

The 1830s also signalled the onset of capitalist mass industrial production in the United States, mass immigration (Irish), and the origin of Anglo "nativist" movements. The latter reflected the general attitudes and public opinion of the older white immigrant population, which regarded themselves, by that time, as natives, similar to "Afrikaners" in South Africa.

One could speculate that under the stressful conditions of rapid industrialization and alienation, added to the sudden and abrupt coexistence of peoples of various nationalities, races, cultures, religious and political affiliations, older and newer immigrants may have been drawn to use projective defense mechanisms ("scapegoating") as collective coping strategies, in trying to adapt to their violently changed life circumstances.

The notion of an impersonal external norm of supply and demand is assumed to rule the relations of production. As a consequence, it is a "natural law," and not the employers' interests, privileges and power, which is seen as the determinant of people's living conditions. In this reified reality, immigrants were perceived with distrust and aversion, as competitors who increased the supply of labour, and who therefore lowered salaries as the price of labour.

Powerless late immigrants were then blamed by older ones for the prevailing exploitive and poor working conditions, according to the American scholars Daniels and Kitano (1970). This constitutes one of the historical sources of "working-class racism" and of the reproduction of ethnic/social inequality in contemporary society.

By way of summary, the contrast between "natural/reified" history and "social" history may be illustrated by reference to market "explanations," as opposed to class explanations of ethnic inequality. The former assume that the norm of supply and demand is a "natural law," which determines the unequal standards of living between established and immigrant groups. Class analysis explains ethnic inequality on the basis of historical and socio-structural interests/power of privileged groups in society.

On immigrant and structural ethnicity

As earlier indicated, some researchers address early inter-ethnic contacts and situations such as immigrant ethnicity. Other authors approach instead ethnic
minorities and structural ethnicity, when ethnic inequality and stratification have become an institutionalized feature of a society.

Immigrant ethnicity

However inadequate, much recent work on the adaptation of immigrants to their host societies is predicated upon the assimilation experience of white Europeans in the United States, a process known as "Americanization," basically in the 1800s and throughout the 1900s. That analogy conveys the expectancy that adequate acculturative and structural assimilation "naturally" occurs in due time. In that view, immigrants are seen as varying in their degree of willingness to become properly re-educated/resocialized into the cultural ways of their "tolerant" hosts. Such an "ideal" or idealized pattern of immigrant adaptation could overall be characterized as a "benign" immigrant ethnic situation, mostly applicable to white folk immigrating into societies dominated by a privileged white ethnocratic elite.

However, and in spite of some inter-group and intra-group variability, the above analogy does not commonly hold for subordinated "coloured" immigrants. In the latter case, acculturative and structural assimilation have not significantly taken place as in the above case, even if assimilation was the aspired aim for some immigrant. What stands in the way of their adequate adaptation is racism as the "colour line," defining "race relations situations," and ethnicism or the "ethno-cultural" line defining "ethnic relations situations." Both of the latter could be characterized as "malign" immigrant ethnic situations.

Structural ethnicity: the national state and internal colonialism

Barrera (1979), among other authors, discusses ethnicity as a structural concern, showing that racial/ethnic inequality has become a persisting feature of contemporary society. It points towards the association that exists between phenotypical and/or cultural attributes and socioeconomic status, at the level of the national state.

Stavenhagen (1986: 3) mentions that nowadays there exist an estimated 5,000 distinct ethnic groups, relatively incorporated in only about 160-odd countries, within a contemporary world system made of nation-states. Given the above ethnic group/country ratio, it is difficult to conceive of granting a national state to each ethnic group, on the basis of the dictum imputed to Napoleon: "To each nation a state, in each state one nation" (in Stavenhagen, 1984: 147).

The above political orientation marked the emergence of the national state as the historical beginnings of the modern era. However, there are few cases when nation and state correspond. Most countries continue to be multi-national and pluri-cultural in their ethnic reality. These countries constitute heterogenous societies, whose inter-ethnic structures and relations are mostly characterized by their asymmetry, malignancy and ethnocratic features.

The above situation is called "internal colonialism" by Stavenhagen (1969), and largely corresponds to the life conditions of "coloured" ethnic minority groups of both immigrant and indigenous origins. This ethnocratic social formation may adopt a multiplicity of forms, but generally implies differential ethnic access to positions of power and privilege. It is also associated with various sorts of discrimination and segregation in all spheres of social life.

There exist severe limitations in the models which extrapolate the experience of white European immigration in the United States to the current conditions of international migration. Whenever a preceding experience and related explanatory model are applied to a novel situation, the implied risk is to generalize beyond that which is warranted by existing evidence.
Immigrant ethnicity transforms into structural ethnicity in the course of time, as immigrant groups and individuals increasingly partake in the processes of social differentiation, nation-building, national "integration," class formation, social stratification, social reproduction and social change. What originated as variable immigrant conditions readily tend to become historically structured as benign/malign sorts of ethnic situations.

Most governments, in the name of national integration, foster a nationalist ideology. From that nationalist perspective, several derived policies are meant to assimilate, marginalize and even "eliminate" ethnic minorities in their midst. This elimination is mostly ethnocidal but has also become at times documented genocide. Ethnocide implies the intentional destruction of minority cultures by ethnocratic regimes. In that way it differs from "natural" processes of acculturation.

Cultural policies and the structural mistreatment of national, ethnic and indigenous minorities continue to be an international controversial issue. For that reason the United Nations' Commission on Human Rights created the Subcommission for the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, after World War II.

It is only in recent times that the rights of minorities have been acknowledged by international legislation on human rights. Meanwhile, the quest for ethnic/national self-determination remains a lively and troublesome issue (see Stavenhagen, 1986 and Hettne, 1987).

On ethnic communalism and class sources of affiliation

This discussion is usually framed in terms of an "ethnic versus class dilemma," or between what one may call "ethnicist" and "class" perspectives. In the former case, ethnicists assert the pre-eminence of ethnicity as the main contemporary source of social cleavage and social action. In the latter, neo-Marxist authors, while acknowledging the neglect of ethnicity in orthodox Marxist sources, argue that class analysis still holds more comprehensive explanatory value than ethnicist views.
Ethnicism: ethnic minorities as communalistic interest groups

"Throughout the world today, the largest and most important category of group membership (particularly in its ability to rouse emotional feelings) is that broad set which we call 'communal'-individuals who feel some consciousness of kind which is not contractual, and which involves some common links through primordial or cultural ties. Broadly speaking, there are four such ties: race, color, language, ethnicity." (Bell, 1975)

Glazer and Moynihan (1974: 34) claim that ethnic groups are nowadays behaving as interest groups more effectively than class groups. They reason that the efficacy of ethnic groups is partly derived from their small size vis-a-vis the "larger but more loose aggregates such as workers and peasants."

Bell (1975: 157-169) points at the strong association that exists nowadays between ethnic reference groups, ethnic identity and ethnic politics. From that perspective, the kinds of sociological units which are referential for psychological identification and group action acquire particular importance. For Bell, the major ethnic categories linked to "communalistic" feelings are: nation, religion, communal, class and sex.

From a political interest on the bases of social cohesion, social cleavage and mobilization, Bell concluded that contemporary ethnicity had become effective in blending material interests and subjective/emotional attachments. By the same token, contemporary class appeals, for reasons already exposed, have diminished its subjective hold on the working class.

Class views: economic and political sources of affiliation

The following citation illustrates a radical perspective which views class solidarity as an alternative to communalistic affiliation based on ethnic solidarity ties.

"Ethnicity and race are 'communalistic' forms of social affiliation, sharing an assumption of a special bond between people of like origins, and the obverse of a negative relation to, or rejection of, people of dissimilar origins. There are other bases of communalistic affiliation as well, notably, nationality and "tribe." For the sake of this discussion, I would like to treat all these as a single phenomenon. Thus, ethnocentrism, racism, nationalism, and tribalism are similar kinds of sentiments, dividing people along lines of shared ancestry rather than other possible lines of affiliation and conflict, such as common economic or political interest. Obviously there are other important bases of affiliation besides communalism. One important alternative form of solidarity is along class lines." (Bonacich, 1980: 9)

The above class approach to social affiliation leaves open to question the manner in which communalistic and class forms of affiliation intersect.

Ethnicism, or the view of ethnic minorities as interest groups and sources of affiliation/identification, and class views on alternative (economic and political) sources of affiliation are but partial explanations of the complex ethnic gestalt. Both explanations neglect what Rex (1986: 28) describes as:

"the interplay between class, ethnicity and race, and the oppression and exploitation of racial and ethnic groups as its primary concern"

The major societal reference groups for identification purposes are not mutually exclusive as modes of emotional attachment. The multiple existing interest groups such as nation, class and ethnie generally intersect with each other.
Crucial from a concern with social change is the nature of the interrelationship between the ethnic and class dimensions, and their historical connection through the colonial experience, interacting with prevailing conjunctures. For instance, Bonacich (1980: 13) refers to the "super-exploitation" of typically dark-skinned workers as the double-layer of classism. The latter refers to an articulation of class exploitation and racist discrimination.

The intersection of ethnicity with gender and age

One could extend the above discussion on the interconnection of nation, class and ethnicity to comprehend also the major social categories of gender and age.

According to Stone (1985: 122), "Only recently have the gender and age dimensions of ethnic stratification been considered in detail." For instance, Melville (1980) refers to the situation of Chicano women as being "twice a minority." Similarly, Bacal and Braga (1986) described the situation of Peruvian peasant women as suffering from four layers of oppression: (1) as third world poor and "dismayed citizens" (see Friedmann, 1989: 3), (2) as rural peasants, (3) as ethnic indigenes and (4) they also often experience a psychological process of "internalized oppression," derived from the various external sources of social oppression. One derived consequence is that such women often engage in the process of self-oppression, and also may oppress their peers and other oppressed people.

If we add to sexism or gender oppression the notion of ageism or age oppression of both the elder and the young (see Bacal, 1982), one starts to comprehend the complex and dynamic interrelationship that exists between the various levels and forms of societal oppression. By the same token, each and all levels of oppression entail particular forms of contradiction, resistance and self-determination.

Furthermore, one could argue that gender as a source of social differentiation and inequality, assumedly derived from biological/phenotypical features, constitutes the first historical inter-ethnic relation between two "sexual tribes" or socio-biological ethnies. Eisler (1987) suggestively attempts to reinterpret the history (and the future) of humankind from a perspective on gender partnership.

On cultural and political sources of ethno-mobilization

Two main perspectives collide on this point: (1) cultural, with an emphasis on cultural and expressive mobilization, and (2) political, dealing with socio-economic and political issues. The former is commonly discussed as "ethno-revival," and the latter as "ethno-politics," "ethno-nationalism," and "ethnic protest."

Ethno-cultural revivalism

Authors in this perspective are interested in the symbolic and expressive aspects of ethno-mobilization. Related claims are stated in terms of cultural and linguistic rights and ethnic identity. Common denominations associated with this sort of social movement are: "ethnic awakening," "ethnic boom," "ethnic revival," and "sidestream ethnicity." The following quote illustrates an ethno-cultural depiction of the ethnic events in the United States, from the late 1960s onwards.

"...increases in non-English mother tongue claiming..., increases in the number of ethnic community mother tongue periodical publications..., increases in the number of ethnic community local religious units utilizing languages other than English in some part of their total effort..., increases in the number of radio stations and television channels broadcasting in languages other
than English, all of the former increases involve 1960-1970 comparisons, as well as increases in ethnic studies (courses, departments) at American colleges and universities..., ethnic awareness on the part of minority leaders and community members..., ethnic pageants and festivities..., and, not least of all, increased ethnic concerns in the mainstream press and other mass media, as well as increased ethnic 'sensitivity' on the part of the mainstream political parties. An 'Ethnic Heritage Act' was passed by the Federal Government (1974), and an ethnic heritage question was asked by the Census Bureau (1979). Within a period of ten to twelve years, sidestream ethnicity became a more publicly visible and openly presentable aspect of local and national life, whether in advertising, entertainment or education." (Fishman, 1985: 311)

Due to his culturalist bias, Fishman selectively neglected the political role of the civil rights struggle in the ethnic mobilization of that period.

Ethnicity as a symbolic refuge

When a territorial base is not an issue, then the ethnic plight is presented in terms of identity and cultural rights, as a sort of "symbolic refuge." The latter may be exemplified in the case of the Jews in the Diaspora (refer to Stavenhagen, 1984: 159) and with some Amerindian indigenous groups in Latin America (see Barre, 1983).
Ethno-politics

Glazer and Moynihan (1974: 37) claim that there is nowadays a shift in the nature of ethnic goals, from cultural, linguistic and religious to socioeconomic and political. This form of ethnic politics implies at times confrontation and revolt. It may adopt various forms of non-violent and violent struggle, and it may be urban and/or rural, among other relevant considerations. Finally, it may be more or less associated with economic issues. For instance, Connor (1988) is critical of analyses that stress economic factors as the key explanation of ethnic conflict. He claims instead that current demands for enhanced political autonomy better explain contemporary inter-ethnic conflicts.

Ethnic irredentism

Having or not having a territorial base makes a difference for the particular type of ethnic striving. When ethnic minorities have and/or claim a territorial base ("irredentism"), ethnic identity tends to be linked to demands for regional political autonomy. This case is illustrated with reference to the experience of the Quebecois, the Basques and the Kurds, among others. Most real-life occurrences of ethno-mobilization blend, in practice, ethno-political and ethno-cultural claims.

On directionality in ethno-politics: regressive and prospective

The following argument refers to whether ethnicity is politically "regressive" or "prospective." Ethnicity does not necessarily imply a progressive force in history, as evidenced by its fascist/nazi versions, or more recently, in the sort of Islamic fundamentalism expanding in the Middle East.

Historically, prior to the Second World War, many organizations of national minorities in Central Europe were of rightist persuasion. This is still the case with the Croatian "ustakis" in Yugoslavia. On the other hand, Mayan Amerindians in Guatemala illustrate the case of a common struggle with urban workers against class and racial/ethnic oppression in their country.

Regressive ethno-politics

Regressive forms of ethno-political orientation are often manifested as nationalist chauvinism and enhanced ethnic discrimination, which may be differentially expressed by the bourgeoisie and by a segment of the white working-class.

Many white people nowadays feel threatened by the recent substantial immigration from third world countries. This is the case, for example, with Mexican immigrants in the United States and with Turkish gastarbeiters in Western Germany. White people of both high and low class membership converge in their nativist/racist populist views, which used to be identified with the extreme right of the political spectrum. I quote from an earlier paper on this contemporary political development:

"...there seems to be in emergence a nation-wide conservative Anglo-populist mood in the U.S., with xenophobic overtones, against 'alien' workers...The above situation is reminiscent of the ongoing clash between the White population and the "gastarbeiter" in the affluent countries of Western Europe. How come?" (see Bacal, 1978: 1)

Several examples of white nativistic movements have recently erupted in most industrialized societies. For example, the National Front in England, Le Pen's Front Nationale in France, Svenska Partiet and "Ppet Forum in Sweden, and the Ku-Klux-Klan, the American Nazi Party and the so-called "Moral Majority" in the United States.
Ethno-politics may be seen as regressive when they collude with the inequalitarian long-range interests of the owning class/ethnocratic elite. Correspondingly, the short-range intra-class racism of white workers may be characterized as regressive ethno-politics.

Prospective ethno-politics

One could call ethno-political mobilization prospective, when articulated with liberation movements of exploited workers and other oppressed groups in society. Ethno-political mobilization is nowadays one of the main vehicles to express socio-economic, cultural and political claims and grievances by both the hegemonic/ethnocratic and also by subordinate/oppressed groups.

In the past it may have been easier to associate regressive forms of ethno-political mobilization with rightist and fascist politics, and vice versa, prospective ethno-political mobilization with leftist claims towards ethnic/social equality.

Ethno-political mobilization is more difficult to assess nowadays. The traditional distinctions between "right" and "left" concerning inter-ethnic relations have become more blurred. One finds increasing episodes of nationalism, as opposed to "international proletarian solidarity," between and within contemporary socialist states. The news provides evidence of racism and ethnicism in these same countries, which are constitutionally committed to social equality. Finally, in recent times, one is amazed to find that the French communist party has publicly endorsed racist positions and policies against immigrant workers, making Marchais sound much like Le Pen (see Stone, 1985: 109).

The above seems to corroborate some earlier points made in this work, about the precedence of ethnic loyalty in cases yet to be better understood, over national and class loyalties. It is not only that social structures are "normally" slow to change, because of the vested interests of the privileged and the alienated complicity of the oppressed. We are also witness to the close interrelationship existing between ethnic and cultural phenomena. For Wallerstein (1988: 11), "...the word 'culture'...indicates a phenomenon that is slow to change..." Even if slow, socio-historical structures and cultures do change, even if changes are difficult and painful.

On macro, mezzo and micro approaches to ethnicity

De Vos (1983: 139) postulates an integrated multi-level approach for the study of ethnic issues:

"...I make a plea for a multi-level approach, in which the experiential level on which identity is understood has to be seen in interaction with structural levels governing behavior, but these structural levels are to be found in the direction of psychological structure, as well as in a concept of a social structure existing prior to the individual" (De Vos, 1983: 155-156)

A similar view is expressed by Rex (1982: 173-174), who suggests that the phenomenology of microsociological associations (such as racial typing and labelling in interpersonal situations) and the formal aspects of intergroup ethnic processes (such as assimilation, absorption, integration, etc.) need to be related to their historical, political and economic structural contexts. Macro-perspectives on ethnicity commonly deal with issues of socioeconomic, cultural and political structures, providing models on socio-cultural adaptation (assimilationism-vs-cultural pluralism) and models addressing ethnic inequality. At the opposite extreme, a large portion of "ethnic" psychology continues to deal with isolated ethnic individuals as its study units. Somewhere in between,
anthropological and social-psychological studies handle issues of ethnic socialization, acculturation, and identification, at the mezzo level of analysis.

On cultural adaptation and ethnic inequality

One finds two main macro approaches in the literature on inter-ethnic relations. One addresses the problem of cultural adaptation while the other places emphasis on features of structural ethnic inequality.

AN OUTLINE OF MACRO PERSPECTIVES

1. On the main approaches to cultural adaptation
   A) Cultural assimilationism
      (i) One-way assimilation to the host culture (ethnocide and "national integration")
      (ii) Melting-pot assimilationism (Turner, Vasconcelos)
      (iii) Interactionist assimilationism (the Chicago school: Park, Burgess, Wirth, Hughes, Shibutani)
   B) Cultural pluralism (Kallen, Drachsler, Berkson, Fishman)
      (i) The limits of assimilation
      (ii) Assimilationism as ethnocide
      (iii) An alternative view: ethno-development
   C) A critical appraisal of cultural adaptation theories

2. On the main approaches to ethnic inequality
   A) Deficiency theories
      (i) Biological deficiency theories ("scientific racism")
      (ii) Socio-cultural deficiency theories ("pathological families," "culture of poverty" models)
   B) Explanations based on racial prejudice (Myrdal: The American dilemma)
   C) Social-structural theories
      (i) Caste theories of ethnic inequality (Warner et al: the black/caste barrier in the United States)
      (ii) Theories of colonialism and ethnic relations:
         a) Marxist: colonial societies as feudal or pre-capitalist.
         b) The plural society model (Furnival, Smith, Kuper).
         c) The world-system view (Wallerstein).

          Colonialism and ethnic relations
          On neo-colonialism

          The world-system approach to ethnic identity and inequality
The linkage between the class and ethnic dimensions of households

Racism as "justification" for the persistence of social inequality

A historical overview of the world system

The social power to define reality

The social power to define class identity

The ethnocratic power to define ethnic identity

The process of decolonization and ethnic identity

d) The internal colonial model (Blauner).

e) Chicano perspectives (Ornelas, Munoz: The particular experience of Mexican Americans)

(iii) Class approaches to ethnic inequality

a) The "national question" (Marxism-Leninism).

b) Racism functional to capitalism (Cox).

c) Racism disfunctional to capitalism (Baran and Sweezy, Genovese).

d) Labour market segmentation and dual labour market (Edwards, Reich and Gordon).

e) "Class fractions" (Poulantzas).

f) Ethnic minority groups as "ascription class segments" (Barrera: The left or class-colonial model).

1. On the main approaches to cultural adaptation: assimilation and pluralism

Two views are contrasted in their ways of handling cultural relations between dominant and subordinate ethnic groups: assimilationism and cultural pluralism (see Hayes-Bautista, 1974: 7). Thirdly, and finally, a critical appraisal of cultural adaptation theories completes this section.

A) Cultural assimilationism

Typically, assimilationist approaches to acculturation and ethnic identity correspond to social-psychological perspectives, at the mezzo level of analysis. Chicago interactionism exerted a major theoretical and methodological influence within this overall perspective up to recent times. The following review is divided into the following sections: (a) unilateral assimilation, (b) melting-pot assimilationism, and (c) interactionist assimilationism.

(i) Unilateral assimilationism

These theories often assume that immigrant and ethnic minority groups seek to and/or should conform to pre-established and hegemonic socio-cultural patterns. This belief historically corresponds to the United States in the 19th century, when the preponderant immigration came from northern Europe.
Gomez-Quinones (1971: 19) calls this approach "Anglo-assimilation" or "Anglo-conformity."

(ii) Melting pot assimilationism
Taking the United States as a parameter, since most modern views and studies on immigration and ethnicity originate there, one notices a transition from unilateral to "melting pot" assimilationism. In the late 1800s and early 1900s there was a shift to "darker" southern and eastern European immigrants. This period corresponds to the "melting pot" model of assimilation. Turner (1920) advocated the notion of an American vigorous hybrid breed as a result of the melting of the various European immigrant races and cultures. Both assimilationist ethnic perspectives tend to be associated, in practice, with ethnocidal views and policies.

(iii) Interactionist assimilationism
As mentioned earlier, much of the sociology of race and ethnic relations comes from North American sociology, and in turn, much of the latter was profoundly influenced by the Chicago school of sociology.

Early American sociology was concerned with the Americanization of new immigrants. Park (1924) made an early attempt to develop a comprehensive theory of society based on his assimilationist views on inter-ethnic contacts (see Shibutani, 1965: 12). As a pioneer in this field, he developed what amounts to the first model of ethnic identification in American sociology. Park (1950: 161) considered that these contacts were patterned as cycles in four sequential stages: competition, conflict, accommodation and assimilation.

Together Park and Burgess (1924), Wirth (1945: 356), Hughes (1952) and others, they constituted the Chicago school of urban and ethnic sociology. These sociologists studied the ecological, economic and social patterns of city growth. One of their main assumptions about patterns of city growth was that they reflected the continuing waves of European immigrants. In turn, the latter resulted in ethnically segregated residential neighbourhoods.

The Chicago school view of assimilation as the ultimate adaption heavily influenced Redfield's (1936) folk-urban continuum model of acculturation, within the realm of anthropology (see De Vos, 1983: 139).

According to Stone (1985: 111), Park's notion of a race relations cycle and his assimilationist view influenced several leading analysts of British race relations during the 1950s and early 1960s. This came to be known as the "stranger" hypothesis (see Patterson, 1963 and 1968). It assumed that West Indians would be converted to British citizens in a manner similar to the previous absorption of Jews and Irish, merely by learning British ways.

Assimilationist perspectives were also apparent in France and the Netherlands in the post-war period. Dignan (1981: 137-52) referred to France as "Europe's melting pot." Similarly, the Dutch followed an "integrationist" migratory policy (see van Amersfoort, 1982).

Assimilationism as the disappearance of ethnic identity:
"...whenever social distance is reduced, individuals recognize their resemblances. The basic differences between ethnic groups are cultural, and conventional norms serve as masks to cover the similarities. Whenever men interact informally, the common human nature comes through. It would appear, then, that it is only a matter of time before a more enlightened citizenry will realize this. Then, there will be a realignment of group loyalties, and ethnic identity will become a thing of the past." (Shibutani et al, 1965: 589)
Assimilationist perspectives claim that ethnic identities are bound to disappear in the course of time, as illustrated by the above quote.

B) Cultural pluralism

The notion of "multi-culturalism" (or cultural pluralism) was early advocated by Kallen (1924). The latter validated the uniqueness that each culture had to offer and feared a loss from the cultural flattening he associated with Anglo ethnoidal pressures. Among other advocates of multi-culturalism one finds Drachsler (1920), Berkson (1964), and more recently, Fishman (1985) and UNESCO, among others. One of the main tasks of UNESCO is to promote respect for, and to spread information on, all historical and existing cultures.

C) A critical appraisal of cultural adaptation theories

"They say this is the melting pot. I wonder who invented the melting pot. Horrible term. You melt a people down, God. It shouldn't be that way. Our country should be a place where the individual is sacred. We have so many sorts of people. Everyone has his own heart. Who gives you the right to cut a man's heart and put it in a melting pot."

(Valdez, in Steiner, 1969: 337)

(i) The limits of assimilation

I discuss next two processes that indicate the bi-directionality of assimilative processes: non-assimilation and dis-assimilation.

Non-assimilation: the resiliency of ethnic identity:

By the 1960s it became evident that sidestream ethnicity persisted as a significant social feature in the United States. Glazer and Moynihan (1963) maintained in "Beyond the Melting Pot," that ethnic membership groups remained the most important source of identification and affiliation for large numbers of immigrants and native-born Americans. Moreover, the ethnic revolt of that decade made patent the limitations of the assimilation paradigm.

Dis-assimilation: the reversal of ethnic identity:

By "dis-assimilation" is meant the process experienced by a person who has supposedly assimilated, and yet begins to grow disaffected from the larger group. Hayes-Bautista (1974: 9) studied the process of dis-assimilation among contemporary Mexican Americans as one aftermath of the Chicano movement. Using a methodology which relied on ethnomethodology and the "grounded theory" approach of Glaser and Strauss (1967), this author assessed his approach as an intermediate path between assimilation and cultural pluralism. This view was based on the observation that not all Mexicans in the U.S. have significantly assimilated to Anglo ways, nor have all assimilated Mexicans experienced the decolonization and dis-assimilation associated with the Chicano ethnic identity path.

(ii) Assimilationism as ethnocide

Often, in this view, upward social mobility is predicated upon ethnic assimilation. Moreover, there exists a tendency to assess mobility in individual rather than in ethnic group terms. This appraisal of social mobility as individuals "passing" the colour barrier is consistent with the Anglo ideological individualistic ethos. It is also closely related to the "modernization" approach to developmental problems, claiming that ethnic
saliency and diversity would diminish with the growth of industrialization and modernity (see De Vos, 1983: 141 and Stavenhagen, 1986: 9).

One problem with the above theory of ethnic stratification is that the enlightenment of the citizenry may take longer than anticipated by liberal expectancies, "too long" for oppressed ethnic members to wait for. Moreover, even if one accepts Shibutani's assertion that the basic differences between ethnic groups are cultural, it does not follow that informal interaction fosters the realization of a commonly shared human nature. Other features are required for that realization to come about, for instance, that interacting individuals feel "safe" enough in the inter-ethnic encounter situation. It may also entail awareness of one's prejudices and correct information about their origins, among other required conditions leading to the breakdown of ethnocentric barriers and rigidities.

Social/ethnic inequality, as a persisting structural feature, appears to be the main obstacle for the reduction of existing social distance between ethnocentric and subordinated ethnic groups. Ethnic privilege and vested interests in the status quo carry a tendency to exclude awareness of common humanity with those oppressed. Racism, therefore, operates as an ideological justification of racial/ethnic inequality. The various forms of ethnic discrimination and residential segregation guarantee that social distance remains inherent to the vertical stratification system, blocking people from finding their common human interests.

Historically, oppressed groups have learned that social equality is not given; that is, it entails struggle. In my view, social/ethnic equality is a pre-condition for the reduction of social distance and the enlightened realization of our common humanity. The privileged position of liberal academics may be related to their tendency to "wish away" the structural violent features of society, and also, to their expected "tempo" for enlightened change to come about.

While, seemingly, liberal and traditional Marxist sources seek to "universalize" the human condition via assimilation, in practice assimilation has implied conformity and self-denial rather than "universal and equal." What assimilation often entails is the abandonment of one's cultural ways and submission to the dominant cultural patterns in the name of "progress."

(iii) An alternative view: ethno-development:

Recently, the term "ethno-development" has been employed by FLACSO (1982) and Stavenhagen (1983), among other authors, to integrate all dimensions of cultural relations, from a perspective based on self-determination. It is a view closely related to multi-culturalism, which asserts the cultural, linguistic and socio-political rights of minority group members. Moreover, Rex (1986) and Stavenhagen (1986), among several contemporary authors, advocate cultural pluralist views and policies in conjunction with social equality, in order to avoid the Afrikaner's "separate and equal" (Bantustan-like) "solutions."

The notion of ethno-development has been applied, for example, to the problems associated with rural development in indigenous areas of Latin America (see Bacal, 1984).

2. On the main approaches to ethnic inequality

Inequality in the lives of ethnic minority people indicates one of the basic conflictual and hierarchical features of contemporary societies. Current attempts to explain ethnic inequality vary from: (1) "blaming the victims" for their social conditions and problems, (2) prejudicial views, and finally, (3)
allusion to certain oppressive features present in the basic structure of society.

Based on the above sorts of explanatory views, one may distinguish between the three following types of theory: (a) deficiency theories, (b) theories based on racist/ethnic prejudice, and (c) social-structural theories.

A) Deficiency theories

The above theories address the "backwardness" of ethnic minority groups in terms of some deficiencies imputed to them. Based on Barrera (1979: 174-182), one could distinguish between two varieties of deficiency theories: (i) biological and (ii) socio-cultural.

(i) Biological deficiency theories

Perhaps the oldest and most pervasive form of deficiency theory is linked to biological/racial "explanations," within the western ideological tradition known as "social Darwinism". For instance, inferior intelligence and other moral or behavioural attributes are often predicated upon genetic racial differences.

These theories are related to the so-called bio-organismic and anthropo-racial social science theories (see Sorokin, 1928: 195-308), and to what is known as "scientific racism." The latter, as already mentioned, purports to show and justify the view that racial minorities occupy their inferior socio-economic and political status owing to an assumed biological (racial) deficiency.

In recent years, Jensen (1969, 1973), an educational psychologist, acquired public notoriety with his research on the differences between IQ scores of blacks and whites. He claimed that such differences were due to racial inheritance, therefore linking biology and genetics to intelligence.

In the international post-war battle against racism, UNESCO and other specialized United Nations agencies continue to counteract the misinformation effect on the general public derived from such inconclusive academic sources (see Kuper, 1975). Jensen's controversial findings on innate racial differences in intelligence have been challenged by Klineberg (1975: 18):

"Innate racial differences in intelligence have not been demonstrated; that the obtained differences in test results are best explained in terms of the social and educational environment; that as the environmental opportunities of different racial or ethnic groups become more alike, the observed differences in test results also tend to disappear..." (in Kuper, 1975: 18).

For an extension of a similar criticism to the entire field of intelligence measurement refer to Barrera (1979: 175). Also, in that respect, Mercer (1972: 95) concluded:

"...what the IQ test measures, to a significant extent, is the child's exposure to Anglo culture. The more 'Anglicized' a non-Anglo child is, the better he does on the IQ test."

From the above, it is clear that the claim that coloured groups are less intelligent than white Europeans lacks sufficient evidence. But even if the scientific community as a whole does not credit the above claim, it does provide "scientistic" legitimacy and reinforcement to racist prejudices.
As the theories of biological/racial deficiencies increasingly lost ground in the academic community, they were replaced by theories that purported to "explain" racial/ethnic and other forms of social inequality, in terms of "deficiencies" in the social and cultural organization of minority groups.

The work of Moynihan (1965) on the "pathology" of the broken black family in the United States, and the works of Lewis (1959, 1961, 1966, 1966) on the "culture of poverty", based on his work on the marginal poor in Mexico City and Puerto Rico, illustrate socio-cultural deficiency theories. Socio-cultural deficiency theories, such as the "ethnic multi-problem family" and the "culture of poverty", have raised a prolonged controversy about what is considered to be cause or effect of these deficiencies.

On the one hand, critics of such theories like Barrera (1979: 180) contend that such syndromes might be seen as the results rather than as the causes of racial inequality. On the other hand, De Vos (1983: 144) and Yinger (1985: 42) point towards the negative impact, after several generations afflicted by poverty and discrimination, of certain problematic features institutionalized as socio-cultural patterns of minority groups. Matrilocal families and fatalist attitudes are indicative, in that view, of existing minority group deficiencies, which are transmitted from generation to generation.

Both views, above, are partially right. On the one hand, it appears likely that historical sources of social distress afflicted minority groups' members, as they tried to adapt to their oppressive conditions of inequality. On the other hand, some of these effects may have developed in time a sort of functional autonomy, operating as relative determinants in the recycling of racial/ethnic inequality.

From the above, it seems necessary to acknowledge the damaging structural consequences of racism and ethnic discrimination on people's psyches. It is also necessary to counteract such consequences. However, the latter does not imply "blaming the victim" for his current problems as "socio-cultural deficiency theories" appear to do.

B) Explanations based on racial/ethnic prejudice

Barrera (1979: 182) refers to this perspective as "biased theories" of racial inequality. This theoretical approach claims that the sources of this kind of inequality lie in the prejudice and discrimination held and practiced by the majority or ethnocratic group. The Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (the so-called Kerner report) (1968) exemplifies this theoretical approach. It blamed white racism for the ethnic violence that erupted in the United States during the 1960s.

Myrdal (1944) argued in his influential "An American Dilemma," that white people's prejudice against the American Negro resulted in racial discrimination. This, in turn, through the process of "cumulative causation" determined the unequal social situation of blacks. Moreover, the disadvantaged condition of the latter "provided evidence" to the prejudiced views of whites, bringing closure to the vicious circle of ethnic discrimination.

In his historical account of the origins of white racism, Myrdal acknowledged two main factors: (1) the vested interests that some groups and
individuals had in the slave-system, which were reflected in racial ideologies justifying the inferior status of blacks, and (2) some "caste-like" features of southern social structure in the U.S. Other secondary factors in Myrdal's eyes were the interests of employers in dividing workers and the fear of competition for scarce jobs among white workers.

A later elaboration of Myrdal's views by Clark (1972), combined the emphasis on racial prejudice and discrimination with a deficiency view of some "pathological" features of the black ghetto. In general, value explanations of ethnic/racial inequality are incomplete, since they tend to disregard the historical and structural origins of racial prejudice (refer to Barrera, 1979: 183-184).

C) Social-structural theories

Theories of ethnic stratification (Shibutani et al, 1965) and of structural (ethnic) discrimination (see Barrera, 1979: 184) emphasize various aspects of social structure to account for ethnic inequality. Often these theories attempt to explain the inter-relations between the main sources of vertical cleavage in society: class, race, ethnicity and also, occasionally, gender. Typically, these approaches incorporate notions of conflict and distribution of power and privilege between dominant and subordinated segments of the population.

The major varieties of ethnic stratification/discrimination theories of ethnic inequality considered in this work are: (i) caste theories, (ii) theories of colonial societies and (iii) class theories.

(i) Caste theories of ethnic inequality in the United States

This perspective on race relations in the U.S. is historically associated with the work of Warner et al (1936). This author distinguished between two ways of stratifying the white and black sectors of the population in U.S. society: "class" and "caste." Class, in Warner's view, constituted a type of status order where mobility allowed both whites and blacks to move upward in the social ladder, in reference to what he called low, middle and upper classes. But that mobility took place only within each caste or the coloured section of the population. Between blacks and whites a caste barrier effectively blocked the social mobility of blacks, even upper-class blacks, from entering the stratification order of whites.

Warner's caste depiction of the black situation in the United States does account for two modes of production and social relations which historically characterize American society: one based on slave plantation and the other based on the exploitation of free immigrant labour in the industrial sector (see Rex, 1986: 31).

However, the use of the terms "class" and "caste" by Warner remains descriptive, without much explanatory value. It both neglects the historical origins of the two socio-economic situations and disregards their relationship as social categories to the means of production and to social change (see Barrera, 1979: 186-188 and Rex, 1986: 29-31).

(ii) Theories of colonialism and ethnic relations

Several contemporary inter-ethnic problems and situations originate in the colonial experience. However, given the heterogeneity of colonial situations, it has been difficult to reach consensus on the definition of colonialism and on its implications for the understanding of racial/ethnic relations.
I briefly outline five theories of colonialism and ethnic relations: (a) Marxist, (b) plural, (c) world-system, (d) internal colonial and (e) Chicano perspectives.

These views are not mutually exclusive. The last three approaches, particularly, could be characterized as complementary and neo-Marxist re-evaluations of colonial and contemporary inter-ethnic relations.
a) A brief view of Marxist perspectives on colonial societies.

The traditional Marxist understanding considered that colonial societies correspond to "feudal" or "pre-capitalist" modes of production and social relations.

More recently, some neo-Marxist authors like Frank (1967) and Wallerstein (1974) regard colonialism and colonial societies as basic historical features of capitalist development (see Rex, 1986: 34-35). A more detailed elaboration of class approaches to ethnic inequality, including the debate on the "national question" within Marxism, is presented at the end of this section.

b) The plural society approach.

"If the 'plural society' is simply an injunction to different cultural groups to recognise and respect their legitimate differences, then it is a useful phrase. If, however, it tempts us to believe that inequalities in the distribution of a major resource can be eliminated by an application of a narrowly defined principle of equality of opportunity, then it is not only a useless but also a harmful fiction." (Smith, 1978: 9)

The theory of the plural society as applied to colonial societies can be traced to the works of Furnival (1939, 1968) and Smith (1965). Next follows an account of Kuper's theory of the plural (colonial) society, as abstracted by Banton (1983) and quoted by Rex (1986: 34):

"Societies composed of status groups or states that are phenotypically distinguished, have different positions in the economic order, and are differentially incorporated into the political structure, are to be called plural societies and distinguished from class societies. In plural societies political relations influence relations to the means of production more than any influence in the reverse direction.

When conflicts develop in plural societies they follow the lines of racial cleavages more closely than those of class.

Racial categories in plural societies are historically conditional; they are shaped by intergroup competition and conflict"

Kuper linked racial, economic and political features in his theory of plural society. This "plural society" model was explicitly set as an alternative to Marxist class views of colonial society.

One problem with the plural approach is that it disregards the role of class relations and exploitation, which lie in the background of and/or closely relate to ethnically segmented or plural societies. Nevertheless, the plural approach to ethnic relations has inspired some Latin American authors, like Stavenhagen (1972: 19), to describe the social conditions of the Amerindian population. A major difference lies in the linkage that Stavenhagen establishes between plural, internal colonial and class views.

c) The world-system view: neo-colonialism and ethnicity.

The aim under the above rubric is to explore colonialism and neo-colonialism as the historical sources of current inter-ethnic relations. Ethnicity is later defined in the light of the so-called "world-system" approach and linked with class phenomena.

Colonialism and ethnic relations
Barrera (1979: 193) defined colonialism as:

"...a structured relationship of domination and subordination, where the dominant and subordinate groups are defined along ethnic and/or racial lines, and where the relationship is established and maintained to serve the interests of all or part of the dominant group."

Analogously, Omvedt (1973: 1) dealt with colonialism as "the economic, political and cultural domination of one cultural-ethnic group by another."

On neo-colonialism

Neo-colonialism refers to the maintenance of the old colonial system of domination of the old colonies under a new format, as "the imperialism of free trade" (see Barrera, 1979: 192).

The question may be raised about the current rearrangement between the metropolis and the former colonies. The following quote, below, characterizes the nature of neo-colonialism in our times:

"It seems to me that we now live in a situation in which the various former colonies no longer have a direct political, or sometimes even a direct economic link with their old metropolis...but relate rather to the various capitalist corporations, which have their headquarters in and rely for political backing on a number of developed industrial countries..." (Rex, 1983: 186)

The world-system approach to ethnic identity and inequality

"I am using the term 'ethnic dimension' simply to refer to any form of social identity and identification socially framed by presumed 'ascribed' characteristics (whether biological or cultural) such as race (or skin color), language, religion, country of ancestral origin, etc." (Wallerstein, 1988: 7)

The so-called "world-system" approach (see Wallerstein, 1974) seeks to explain colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, ethnicity and underdevelopment as interrelated and constitutive features of capitalism, "which is the defining characteristic of the modern world-system, ...an inegalitarian system by definition" (Wallerstein, 1988: 5).

Wallerstein (1988: 6-7) locates all individuals in households, and the latter in national states, within the capitalist world economy. Such households are supposed to have two enduring characteristics: (1) their ordinal location within a class dimension and (2) their ordinal location along an "ethnic" dimension.

The linkage between the class and ethnic dimensions of households

Two questions are posed by Wallerstein (1988: 7): (1) what is the link between the class and ethnic dimensions of households? and (2) what is the link between the class and ethnic dimensions of households and their political rights?

In addressing the above questions, he finds a correlation between the class and ethnic dimensions of the households, across the world-system. He particularly points at the overlap between the lowest
class and ethnic strata. In his words: "It is this simple reality that is at the root of what we call racism."

In reference to the second question, Wallerstein again finds an empirical correlation between class and ethnic rankings and access to political rights. He contends that those at the bottom are excluded from political rights in either of two ways: (1) by their de jure exclusion from the "citizen" category and (2) by their de facto exclusion, by a mixture of coercive, persuasive and fraud mechanisms.

In that manner, the lowest stratum is denied access to full political and human rights. This exclusion most affects those who are lowest on both class and ethnic dimensions. Wallerstein designates the latter as the "class-ethnic understratum," analogous to Myrdal's "underclass" category.

The above author explains the existence of the class-ethnic understratum by reference to two main factors: (1) the intrinsic inequalitarian nature of the capitalist world and national economies, for "...it follows by definition that there must be understrata," and (2) the ethnic dimension of the understrata, since racism and/or ethnicism have become "...the only justification for the inequality...." against the background of the moral and political dilemma stated by Myrdal, between an egalitarian ethos (inherited from Christian and Enlightenment sources) and an inequalitarian practice and experience, as social/ethnic discrimination.

Racism as "justification" for the persistence of social inequality

"This is what racism is about. It provides the only acceptable legitimation of the reality of large-scale collective inequalities within the ideological constraints of the capitalist world-economy. It makes such inequalities legitimate because it provides theoretically for their transitory nature while in practice postponing real change for the Greek calends. The theoretical justification is subtle because it speaks simultaneously but differently to those who have the low status and those who do not.... The oppressed are told that their position in the social world can be transformed, provided that they are educated in the skills necessary to act in certain ways, said to be the ways that have accounted for the higher recompenses given to the higher-ranking groups. And the oppressors are told that they would benefit by an education in the presumed values of the state, the desirability of providing equality of opportunity for the oppressed. Thus both sides are exhorted to pursue their education, which is in some sense a prerequisite for abolishing the inequalities. In the present, there are always partial remedies, never definitive abolition of inequalities. The definitive abolition is always in the future. In the meantime, the correlation of low class status and low ethnic status persists...." (Wallerstein, 1988: 11-12)

In the absence of the ethnic dimension, the underclass might be treated like "Negroes." Racism operates as an ethnic justification for the persistence of structural inequality.

A historical overview of the world system

The world system refers to the international division of labour, historically derived from the capitalist expansion of Western European empires, into the first conquered and then colonized territories and peoples of Asia, Africa, Oceania and America, from around the 15th century onwards.

Most of the oppressive inter-ethnic structures, relations and conflicts existing today can be traced to that period in time. This system was first imposed by means of military violence and political
domination. Later it implied the colonial institutionalization of socio-economic exploitation, by means of oppressive social relations of production. The latter linked the incipient class structure and ethnic stratification within the context of the colonial system.

The colonial system which articulated the colonized society to the metropolis was cemented through the ideological social control of all spheres of social life, mainly the educational system and religion, which were intimately connected.

On other levels, it also determined the direction of the flows of capital, population, raw materials, manufactured goods and manpower, producing in the end what some dependency theorists label the "pattern of unequal development" in third world countries.

The above historical process resulted in the originally abrupt and later gradual incorporation of third world people into a common international stratification or world-system.

The colonial heritage compounded class with racial and ethnic stratification features in both the colonial metropolis and the colony itself, with continuing oppressive consequences. After the Second World War, the above process was further complicated by the massive migratory movement of "Gastarbeiter" from the former colonies and southern Europe. These immigrant workers mobilize geographically in response to the demand for cheap labour by the contemporary industrial and post-industrial metropolitan centres of our times.

The world system constituted a system of colonization and colonialism until the aftermath of World War II. More recently, it is often characterized by its imperialist and neo-colonial features. Although it is primarily organized through market mechanisms, it also articulates pre- and non-capitalist modes of production and exchange, imposing on them the dominant logic and demands of capital and technology, at different historical stages.

As earlier discussed, the world system was structured simultaneously along colonial, class, racial and ethnic lines of domination and differentiation.

The social power to define reality

The underlying motivation and prevailing interest of the world system continues to be profit. The overall international social arrangement, except for the socialist realm, remains economically, financially, politically and socially controlled by a relatively small transnational and mostly white eurocentric elite.

The latter is hegemonic on the world scale, in conjunction with allied native intermediary oligarchies in many neo-colonial situations. Together they own and control the means of production, the distribution of goods and services, and the means of political power.

Last but not least, they also control the means of communication and the corresponding power to define and impose their version of (social) reality. In defining social reality, one important feature to be typified is the characterization and evaluation of the various constitutive segments of the population. Thus, in class-stratified societies class identities are bound to be defined. Similarly, in ethnically-stratified societies ethnic identities are likely to be socially salient.

The social power to define class identity
Wolf (1974) extended the definitional/labelling power of the ruling class and/or ruling elite to encompass the power to define the social identity of working class people.

The social identification of workers and their families, as the main oppressed social minority, entailed the self-aggrandizement of owning-class members and associates as "superior" and "better" people, as the "good families/names" in "society." At the same time, it entailed comparing and stigmatizing workers as "inferior," "less smart," and as "objects/commodities" in the labour market.

This disregard for the humanness of working class persons prompted Herbert Marcuse (1964) to criticize their "uni-dimensionalization" in contemporary industrialized societies.

The ethnocratic power to define ethnic identity

The power of the ruling class/power elite to define social identity is not restricted to class identification. Since class, race and ethnicity are closely intertwined in contemporary capitalist societies, the social identification of colonized/subordinated ethnic group members follows a similar oppressive pattern.

"Ethnic identification" may thus be partially defined as a process of social identification of ethnic group members, mostly in terms defined by an "ethnocratic" out-group. In addition, the parental ethnic group functions as another reference (in-) group with its own identificatory claims on ethnic group members. This ascriptive process, as a relative social condition, implies a psychological pressure experienced by ethnic minority group members, to define themselves with ethnic attributes, namely, in terms of an "ethnic identity".

Historically, the anti-colonial struggle in third world countries and the insurgence of ethnic liberation movements in the advanced industrial countries brought about the process of "decolonization" and as a corollary the so-called "decolonization of ethnic identity," discussed below.

The process of decolonization and ethnic identity

"Now, one of the more interesting contemporary developments in the field of race relations concerns the right to define. Supporters of the black movement in the U.S. argue that the person who defines the issues thereby assumes the initiative, driving the opponent into a defensive position; power consists in originating definitions, and in making them socially effective..." (Kuper, 1975: 14)

After the Second World War, the struggles for national liberation brought independence to the new countries of Africa, Asia and the Caribbean area. The traditional European colonial powers collapsed, and the United States and the Soviet Union emerged as the new world super-powers. This newly acquired political independence, supported by the United Nations' decolonization programme, diminished the so-called "colour line" to some extent, fostering ethnicity and the quest for a renewed positive or decolonized ethnic identity, as new vital components of the international scene.

The whole question of "decolonization of ethnic identity" has become a political and socio-cultural issue at both the national and international levels. It is part of the contest among ideologies and their corresponding ethnic projects and policies. From another angle, it also entails practical and human problems such as human rights and an identity crisis.
situation for a large number of ethnic minority group members in the world of today.

d) The internal colonial model: an intellectual heir of the 1968 movement.

The ethnic movements of the late 1960s in the United States drew a parallel with the anti-colonial national liberation movements in the third world. This association was linked to the adoption of the internal or domestic colonial model of inter-ethnic relations, previously discussed.

Barrera (1979: 194) defined internal colonialism as

"... a form of colonialism in which the dominant and subordinate populations are intermingled, so that there is no geographically distinct 'metropolis' separate from the 'colony'."

This perspective commonly carries an ethno-nationalist orientation, a view of political organization along racial/ethnic rather than along class lines. Nevertheless, some Chicano internal colonial views, as later discussed, articulate class and ethnic mobilization.

Early leaders and intellectuals in these ethnic movements realized that, in order to mobilize people, they had first to overcome the psychological patterns associated with the "colonial mentality." The latter corresponds to what was earlier referred to as patterns of internalized oppression and ethnic alienation. The inspiration for that sort of ethnic conscientization originates in different political and academic sources.

The established sociological perspectives of the post-world-war period had failed, as earlier indicated, to anticipate the ethnic eruption of the 1960s. Consequently, a new and more critical literature emerged within and outside the context of the social sciences.

That literature was sceptical of the pluralistic and assimilation models of ethnic identity. The latter reflected, according to Makielski (1973), the widespread belief that society could solve its problems, without having fundamentally to change its political processes and economic order.

In the words of Blauner (1972: 2):

"These theories not only failed to predict and illuminate new developments - the shift from civil rights to group power strategies, the outbreak of rebellions in the urban ghettos, the growth of militant nationalism and ethnic consciousness... (but) actually obscured the meaning of these issues, making them more difficult to comprehend."

The notion of internal colonialism corresponded to the demand for a better conceptualization of inter-ethnic situations, where subordinate ethnic/racial groups continue to be subjected to systematic structural discrimination.

Rather than consensus, the theoretical focus lies on structural violence, racial oppression, economic exploitation, and ethnic discrimination. It constitutes a paradigm of ethnic relations under capitalist and colonial/internal colonial social conditions. It thus provides a comparative framework for the study of ethnic discrimination in the world system.
Prager (1972-73: 117) summarizes a view of the internal colonial model:

"Thus, the colonial theory postulates the presence of a system of racial subordination predicated on the benefits received by whites as a result of that system and upheld by a dynamic racist mechanism. The historical development of the American system is, therefore, unique, as a result of its colonialist-capitalist dimensions. Consequently, the colonial theory suggests that the alteration of the American system involves more than simply (sic) the process of overthrowing capitalism. The process of de-colonization becomes a key in uprooting the system."

The internal colonial model was linked to the emergence of "ethnic sociology." Severe charges were raised by the emerging cadres of "coloured" sociologists against "white" sociology and sociologists. "Tokenism" and "academic colonialism" were among the main criticisms against established sociology (refer to Harris, 1977; Montiel, 1970; Ornelas et al, 1975, among other authors).

One could list the following features among the various theoretical advantages of the internal colonial model of inter-ethnic relations: (1) it has a broad and historical scope, which enables comparative analysis of colonial, neo-colonial and internal-colonial situations, (2) it has a critical stance on structural discrimination as a severe contemporary social problem, and (3) it conveys valuable integrative, interdisciplinary and applied features.

Theoretically it articulates the notion of colonial society at the macro level, of colonial education/socialization/social identification at the mezzo level, and the notion of the "colonial mentality" at the psychological or micro level.

The above comprehensive approach suggests a multi-level strategy with corresponding paths of social practice: (1) de-colonization of the colonial identity, (2) de-colonization of the educational and other socializing institutions, including academic colonialism, and (3) ethno-political mobilization in conjunction with all prospective social forces and movements, to overcome the oppressive aspects of contemporary society.

The major contention of the colonial theory was aptly expressed in a note of self-criticism from Blauner (1972: 13):

"...It lacks a conception of American society as a total structure beyond the central significance that I attribute to racism. Thus my perspective tends to suffer from the fragmented character of the approaches to American race relations that I have just criticized. Conceived to a great extent within the confines of the middle ranges of theory, there is not systematic exposition of capitalist structure and dynamics; racial oppression and racial conflict are not satisfactorily linked to the dominant economic relations nor to the overall distribution of political power in America. The failure of Marxism to appreciate the significance of racial groups and racial conflict is in part responsible for this vacuum, since no other existing framework is able to relate race to a comprehensive theory of capitalist development" (in Barrera, 1979: 204).

Nevertheless, Barrera (1979: 2), while acknowledging the limitations of the internal colonial model due to its "neglect of the class dimensions in American society," found it of explanatory value when used in conjunction with class analysis. In his words: "an understanding of racial inequality is incomplete without taking into account class dynamics."
One important derivation of the internal colonial model was the Chicano perspective(s) in the social sciences, applied initially to the particular experience of the Mexican American people in the United States. Given its significant contribution and fresh theorizing on the overall ethnic question, these views are briefly mentioned below.

e) The Chicano perspectives in the social sciences.

"The Chicano perspective interprets the fundamental experience of the Mexican people in the United States, in terms of their entry condition and relations of an imposed subordination by the dominant population, first by force and later by institutional biases..." (Ornelas, 1975)

Initially, Chicano social science perspectives sought to interpret the socio-historical conditions of the Mexican American people in the United States. Later, however, these perspectives were enlarged, and addressed the general problem of racial and ethnic inequality (see Barrera, 1979).

The issue of whether there is a distinct "Chicano" perspective as such has been discussed within the increasing community of Chicano social scientists. The growing consensus among them appears to be twofold: (1) strategic and (2) integrated. In the former case, it refers to the need to grasp the particularities of the Mexican American experience. In that regard they usually articulate class and internal colonial views, from a strategic social practice concern. In the latter, at the general theoretical level, the prevailing thrust is to integrate the understanding of the Mexican American experience with that of all other oppressed groups in contemporary society.

(iii) Class approaches to ethnic inequality

In this section I briefly review the radical literature on structural ethnic inequality, under conditions of capitalist social relations of production. The very least one could say about this perspective is that it explicitly acknowledges and addresses the political nature of minority questions. The latter is commonly foregone in the more academic approaches to ethnic issues.

The "ethnic question" or the continuing oppressive aspects associated with ethnic relations, and the corresponding search for liberating political strategies, has been subsumed under the debate on the "national question".

a) The national question, roughly, corresponds in Marxist literature to the effects of the domination of an oppressed by an oppressor nationality. The focus of this debate is centred, on the one hand, on the relationship between national oppression and class exploitation, and on the conditions of national self-determination on the other.

The question of national self-determination is closely related to the former issue and refers to the historical "right" to secede from the oppressor nation. Since the student and ethnic movements of the late 1960s, self-determination has become an umbrella term comprehending all sorts of banners of social demands, such as class, racial/ethnic, gender, ecology and the like. Ethnic identity and national consciousness appear to play a significant historical and socio-political role in the collective mobilization and attainment of ethnic self-determination (see Gomez-Quinones, 1982: 79).

Given the vastness of this universe of discourse, I can only briefly review and assess the basic contributions of the radical debate on ethnicity. The traditional Marxist approach to the ethnic question has been theoretically vague and inadequate to deal with contemporary ethnic problems and issues.
Perhaps a certain amount of that confusion is due to the divisive separatism exhibited among some racial, nationalist and indigenist movements. Class reductionism or the oversimplified explanation of complex intersections between class and racial/ethnic issues in terms of mechanistic class analysis may be an overreaction to the perceived threat to a unified strategy to overcome all forms of oppression in society.

In their own version of the assimilationist expectancy, traditional Marxist sources anticipated that class solidarity would override national/ethnic sentiments as the main axis of social mobilization. For instance, Lenin (1939) argued that nationalist ideology was used by the ruling capitalist class to mobilize workers to support their own class-based "national interests." In his account of the imperialist stage of capitalism, Lenin considered that the contradictions between western European nations would become more conflictual, which become evident through the world wars of this century. Lenin claimed that workers would not fight in such wars, given their commonly shared class exploitation.

Theoretically, workers' rational interests were assumed to correspond to internationalist socialist revolution rather than to bourgeois nationalism. And yet, the vast majority of workers did participate under nationalist banners in both world wars: nationalist solidarity intensely persists in the face of class exploitation, and the extent of white workers' racism against their "alien" class comrades is nowadays evident.

All of the above would indicate that ethnocentrist, nationalist and racist feelings and prejudices are more difficult to overcome than anticipated by orthodox Marxist sources.

In response to the theoretical insufficiency found in Marxist sources on ethnic issues, Barrera (1979: 206-207) concluded that there was no available Marxist theory of minority inequality or race relations. He illustrated this contention by showing how American Marxist theorists reached diametrically opposed conclusions on the question of race.

b) Cox (1970) had argued that racial subordination served capitalists' interests both by providing cheap labour and also by weakening and dividing the working class along ethnic/racial lines.

c) On the other side of the argument, Baran and Sweezy (1966) and Genovese (1968), claimed that the members of the American ruling class viewed it in their interest to eliminate racial inequality, given its revolutionary threat potential.

Nevertheless, even though theoretically underdeveloped, one valuable contribution of Marxism to the ethnic question lies in its explanation of the social, economic and political context of ethnic relations.

d) Based on the notions of the "labour market segmentation" and "class fractions", Barrera (1979: 209-212) made the attempt to explain the incorporation of Mexican American workers into the political economy of the United States. I summarize Barrera's characterization of large segments of the Mexican American population, in the following lines.

The concept of labour market segmentation is closely related to the idea of a "dual labour market". Structurally high rates of unemployment among racial minorities are predicated upon the existence of two labour markets: a privileged "primary labour market", characterized by job security, good wages and working conditions, chances for promotion and career advancement, and a
"secondary labour market", with opposite conditions. Minority workers tend to be overrepresented in the latter and underrepresented in the former.

Edwards, Reich and Gordon (1975), among other authors, suggested that labour class segmentations had several dimensions, namely, race and sex. From a Marxist perspective, these authors considered that labour market segmentation was a ploy construed by employers to divide and weaken the working class in two class segments, privileged and secondary.

e) The notion of class "fractions" is generally associated with the work of Poulantzas (1975). This author argued that class fractions constitute the most important type of class divisions. He wrote (1975: 23):

"The Marxist theory of social classes ...distinguishes "fractions" and "strata" of a class...on the basis of differentiations in the economic sphere, and of the role...of political and ideological relations...(the significance of class fractions lie in that they can)...take on an important role as social forces, a role relatively distinct from that of other fractions of their class" (1975: 28).

Freedman (1975: 43) dealt with class fractions as "structural divisions...within a class," and states that such divisions are due to several factors, including race and sex.

Barrera (1979: 211) distinguished, in turn, between two major types of intraclass divisions in capitalist political economies, which he called "class segments": (1) structural class segments, based on the structure of occupations and (2) ascriptive class segments, based on the ascribed characteristics of persons. Within each of these class segments he differentiated two major subdivisions: one based on race/ethnicity and the other on sex. Against this background he defined an "ascriptive class segment" as:

"...a portion of a class which is set off from the rest of the class by some readily identifiable and relatively stable characteristic of the persons assigned to that segment, such as race, ethnicity, or sex, where the relationship of the members to the means and process of production is affected by that demarcation."

For instance, Barrera (1979: 214) has characterized the incorporation of Mexican American workers as a subordinate ascriptive class segment into the political economy of the United States. Historically, they have occupied that structural position at all class levels. Moreover, besides the relationship to the system of production, the class position of Mexican Americans is reflected in all institutions of society, political, educational and the rest.

f) Barrera's notion of "ascriptive class segment," derived from a combination of colonial, internal colonial and class perspectives on ethnicity, appears best to describe the structural location of coloured indigenous, immigrant and ethnic groups, under conditions of contemporary capitalist and industrialized societies.

ON THE ETHICAL AND POLITICAL ASPECTS OF RESEARCH ON ETHNICITY

"Sociologists concerned with the topic of ethnic and racial minority groups have perhaps, more than any of their colleagues, been drawn into a political debate at an international level about the area of their expertise. Racial discrimination, racial oppression, the propagation of racist ideas and genocide have all been topics of international concern and sociologists have been called upon to delineate their field and indicate the major causal factors responsible for these phenomena." (Rex, 1982: 173)
The concerns and dilemmas confronted by sociologists engaged in ethnic research have been aptly conveyed by Rex, above. Such concerns have become institutionalized within the academic community, as the focus of the Research Committee on Ethnic, Race and Minority Relations of the International Sociological Association.

Researchers in the realm of "race and ethnic relations," as previously reviewed, often confront conflicting demands and pressures, which derive from various interested publics with competing aims and outlooks.

One may distinguish between three main sources exerting influence on "ethnic researchers": (1) state agencies, (2) the academic community of scholars and (3) mobilized ethnic minority groups.

1. State agencies usually press for expedient "technical formulas" to deal with "the racist problem." As a matter of procedure, such agencies often induce cost-benefit appraisals of preferably "applied" forms of research. The power of state agencies lies heavily in their capacity as donors of research grants, setting the political-economic boundaries of the research game. In one way or another, their explicit and/or implicit norms weigh on the researcher's decision-making process, on what ethnic issues to investigate and how to proceed about them.

2. What could be called the established academic community takes pride in its hegemonic tradition of basic and quantitative research. Correspondingly, applied research may be frowned upon as a "lesser" sort of research. Academic peers and superiors constitute a powerful reference group for researchers. In that milieu, the tenet of "academic freedom" appears to remain an elusive aim rather than institutionalized practice.

3. Ethnic minority groups, mobilized and organized in recent times, have grown suspicious and hostile to governmental ethnic policies and also to what they often regard as self-serving academic researchers. An association has been established, rightly and wrongly, between some types of academic research and oppressive public policies.

Many researchers motivated by egalitarian values of whatever origin, be they religious, an inheritance from the Enlightenment, political ideology and/or identification with the quest of oppressed ethnic minority groups, often experience personal conflicts in responding to the above three referential groups. In the end, their final response will be reflected in their own choice of research topic and style, and in their concern for the potential use of the resulting social knowledge.

Concerned international agencies, governments, non-governmental organizations, public and private agencies and organized ethnic minorities themselves continue to defy the menacing threat of contemporary racist and ethnicist oppression, in a variety of legal, political and educational ways. For example, Dummett (1987), among other authors, suggests that anti-racist efforts should foster action programmes geared towards overall social equality and democratic human rights, namely, towards a "just society."

One notion seems to gain terrain in this troublesome field of studies, namely, that minorities themselves must be involved in the research and policy-making processes, alongside scholars and members of the majority, if corrective measures against racism and towards an egalitarian society are to succeed.
Chapter 4

SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

Ethnicity has been shown to be of increasing saliency in public and academic pursuits. Inter-ethnic conflicts between and within national states, renewed forms of racism and ethnicism (ethnic discrimination), acculturative stress and ethnic identity conflicts illustrate the extent to which ethnic problems constitute nowadays important contemporary social issues. That review includes an account of the main historical and ideological features behind the linguistic shift from "race" to "ethnicity." The uses and changing meaning of the term "ethnicity" are appraised in the realms of anthropology and sociology. The notion of ethnic identity is shown to have displaced acculturation in the realm of anthropology, while in sociology the focus has changed from immigration and marginality to recognition of ethnicity as a major structural dimension of society. Finally, fourteen parameters of concern on ethnicity have been abstracted and discussed.

AN INTEGRATED VIEW ON ETHNICITY

"When power has been assembled by those who have grievances, then is the time when ideals and the social conscience can become effective." (Myrdal, 1957: 70, in Wallerstein, 1988: 32)

When asked for a solution to the "American dilemma," viz., the gap between an ideal egalitarian creed and the concrete inegalitarian and racist practice of American capitalist society, Myrdal answered with the above statement, which is endorsed in this work.

Ethnicity implies both structural (material) and cultural (subjective) features.

Structural ethnicity refers to the relative location of an ethnic group in relation to all other social groups in the stratification system, namely, as ethnic stratification. This ranked socio-historical condition, based on ethnic criteria, holds the determining influence in the distribution of life burdens and privileges among the various ethnic segments of the population.

In its cultural, social-psychological and psychological sense, ethnicity refers to a feeling of belonging to a group whose members share some phenotypical, cultural, linguistic, religious, national features, or a combination of some or all of these features. This psychological state of being has been characterized in the literature as a "consciousness of kind" (see Shibutani, 1965: 530 and Rex, 1986: 80), which is closely related to the notion of ethnic identity.

As a social phenomenon, ethnicity manifests itself as an expression of inter-ethnic relations. These relations have developed historically, blending colonial, racial, cultural and class dimensions, under complex circumstances. In turn, inter-ethnic relations involve a wide range of social conditions that vary in their degree of oppression. The latter is nowadays appraised in terms and degrees of ethnic discrimination (racism and ethnicism).

Ethnicity, as a social condition, lies somewhere in between family or primary group experience and participating as citizens in society at large. Inter-ethnic relations constitute the context for both external/ascriptive ethnic identification and also for the personal process of attaining an ethnic identity. Finally, the views of Melville (1983: 273), associating identity changes with changes in social structure are endorsed here, considering that "a shift in ethnic identity can occasion a shift in the type of interethnic relations, as well as the reverse."
The above review of the abundant existing literature of ethnicity is by necessity partial and selective, revealing the bias of the author. Nevertheless, care was exerted faithfully to portray the main approaches to the field. Hopefully, the reader will here attain an overall and somewhat ordered glimpse of the complex field of study going by the name of ethnicity.
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1. Social discrimination based on culturally defined "racial," colour and phenotypical group differences.

2. Social discrimination based on "ethno-cultural" differences, as distinct from "physical" attributes.

3. SIM stands for the Netherlands Institute of Human Rights, Studie-en Informatiecentrum Mensenrechten.

4. Otherwise, these terms would imply "de facto differential incorporation" (refer to Rex, 1986: 134).

5. Nowadays the quest for human rights in multicultural societies brings into question the freedom to adopt or reject ethnicity as a relevant dimension in one's own life.

6. At times such claims are complementary, at other times they are competitive.


8. These forms are reminiscent of T"nnies' "gemeinschaft" type of social relations. Even though the latter term is nowadays in disuse, Himmelstrand (1966) made use of it intersected with the notion of social class, to interpret the dynamics of modernization in Nigeria.


11. According to the above authors, "Ethnicism in essence represents an exchange of a largely racially determined set of ideas and beliefs (biological determinism) for a largely ethnically determined set of ideas and beliefs (cultural determinism) to justify specific practices and protect specific interests."


13. For convergent views on this matter of terminological confusion, refer to Bell (1975: 156), Lange and Westin (1981), Jacobson-Widding (1983: 13), Liebkind (1984: 23) and Rex (1986), among several other contemporary authors. Exasperation with this conceptual state of affairs led authors like Galaty (1982: 17, in Melville, 1983: 275) to suggest that we get rid of ethnicity as an analytic construct.

14. For Stavenhagen (1986: 4), it is culture, in the context of social relations, which confers "meaning" to otherwise irrelevant biological features.

15. In the 1972 supplement to the Oxford English Dictionary.

16. It refers to symmetric or horizontal inter-ethnic relations.
Asymmetric, racist/ethnicist and "race and ethnic relations situations."

Roughly, the "gemeinschaft" or primary type of social relation and experience.

With reference to the weight of environmental factors, and also to instrumental, secondary or "gesellschaft" sort of social relations and experience.

Ethnic discrimination appears to expand in the world, as evidenced in a publication by the Netherlands Institute of Human Rights (SIM). The latter was based on a seminar on "New expressions of racism" (Growing areas of conflict in Europe), organized by SIM and International Alert, in Amsterdam, October 19-21, 1987.

The term "consociational" was used by Lijphart (1971) and later by McRae (1974), among other political scientists, to describe balanced pluralist inter-ethnic arrangements in the above and other similar countries. This notion of consociational democracy stands in contrast to prevailing Anglo ethnocentric dominance in the United States.

Stavenhagen (1984: 159) indicated that the recent mobilization of some interested sectors of the Scottish minority in Great Britain reflects economic motivation, to attain greater control of the wealth produced by oil in the North Sea.

One may regard ethnic discrimination and oppression as "social distress experiences," bound psychologically to "hurt" individuals directly or indirectly exposed to institutionalized or episodic encounters with racism and ethnicism. One manifestation of "ethnic hurt" is known as "internalized ethnic oppression" or "ethnic alienation," when the oppressed individual psychologically internalizes the perspective of the oppressor. At times this phenomenon is referred to as ethnic self-hatred or self-disparagement. One could assume that one of the "constants" which determine ethnic behaviour, in Rex's terms, above, is structural racism and ethnic discrimination, mediated by psychological (emotional and cognitive) processes such as the internalization of ethnic oppression.

The notion of internalized ethnic oppression is crucial to this concern. Various counselling forms are being explored nowadays as resources to help people overcome their patterns of internalized oppression. Since colonized types of ethnic identity imply a process of oppressive conditioning, one is justified in exploring ways to intervene and counter-act patterns of internalized ethnic oppression. To the extent that people become aware and re-evaluate their accumulated distress experiences, they are likely to enhance their capacity for self-determination. The re-evaluation of one's ethnic self-identification experience enables the individual to choose more clearly his/her cultural affiliation and corresponding ethnic identity orientation.

Historically, democratic gains such as the Magna Carta were gained through struggle by oppressed groups, rather than being gracefully granted by enlightened power-holders.

These historical patterns refer to the assumed relations between order, conflict and change in society, regarding ethnicity.

"Moral order" roughly refers to "status quo," "folkways," "mores," "culture," and the like.
29. The interactionist tradition has significantly contributed to the understanding of the formation and dynamics of personal ethnic identity.

30. Mannheim (1936) used the term "utopia" to mean a social project which transcends the prevailing problematic social situation. It connotes a collective aspiration for change.

31. When such attempts fail the literature refers to them as insurrections. If they succeed they are dealt with as revolutions.

32. Consider, for instance, the forced internment of Japanese Americans in concentration camps after Pearl Harbor.

33. In fact, European immigrants to the United States in the 1800s and early 1900s often competed and came into conflict with each other. However, such inter-ethnic conflicts "within the colour line," between white European immigrant groups were constrained, in contrast to the racist violence exerted against coloured indigenous, immigrant and ethnic minority groups.

34. Even in Europe, according to Stavenhagen (1984: 166), more than 20 cultural minorities are demanding the right of separate statehood.

35. Portugal being one of such world rarities.

36. Many cases of ethnocide continue to be documented by several minority rights groups, such as the International Working Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) in Denmark, the London-based Minority Rights Group, and Cultural Survival in the U.S., among others.

37. In spite of the intended constitutional acknowledgement of national minorities in socialist regimes, current ethnic disturbances in Yugoslavia (Kosovo, Slovenia, etc), the Soviet Union (between Azerbaijanis and Armenians, the Baltic countries, etc), Rumania (the Hungarian minority in Transylvania), and China (Tibet) reveal how difficult a task it is to attain ethnic equality, even between and within countries politically committed to "equality" and solidarity.

38. Within the capitalist realm, even in Sweden, one of the most advanced Western industrial societies, there is a growing concern with the development of ethnic problems and conflicts (refer to Bergman, 1982 and Boye-M"ller, 1982). For that reason the Swedish Parliament appointed its first Ombudsman against Ethnic Discrimination in July 1986.

39. Class sentiment may be hindered by bureaucratized and corrupt trends in trade unions, which tend to reduce "class" arguments to wage-bargaining. The nearly exclusive focus on "economic" issues or interests partially accounts for the loss of traditional class lore and motivation.

40. Refer to Stone (1985: 122, footnote 57) for various sources on ethnicity, gender and ageing.

41. For this author, it is wrong to discuss the poor in Latin America within the labelling framework of poverty. I quote from Friedmann: "They are not so much poor as disempowered citizens of their own countries."

42. At the last conference of the International Sociological Association's (ISA) research committee on race, ethnic and minority relations, on "New Frontiers in Social Research" (Amsterdam, 1988), there
was an agreement to form a working group to discuss the gender and age features associated with racial and ethnic matters.

43. The first historical form of social division of labour appears to have been gender differentiation, later becoming the first major social cleavage and source of social inequality. Gender dominance may have set a pattern for ulterior social oppression based on inter-tribal, international, inter-ethnic, inter-class, inter-age and other forms of social superordination/subordination.

44. In my own research on the process of adopting an ethnic identity among Mexican American people, the attempt was made to develop such an integrated/multi-level approach to ethnicity.

45. This process is commonly known as the Americanization process.

46. Seemingly, Turner's views influenced Vasconcelos (1925), the Mexican advocate of the "raza de cobre" (the cosmic race). The latter was seen as a biological result of the mixing of Spanish/European and Amerindian folk. In Vasconcelos's eyes, the "Mestizo" Latin American race was the most promising human hybrid in the history of civilization.

47. From a social-evolutionary conflict perspective, he developed a typology of subordinate ethnic strategies: assimilation, pluralist, secessionist and militant (refer to Melville, 1983: 27), which may be regarded as corresponding ethnic identity options.


49. Luis Valdez, the famous director of the Chicano "Teatro Campesino," based in California, thus derided the notion of the melting pot.

50. Authors like Yinger (1981, 1985) argue convincingly that the study of assimilation is simultaneously the study of its antithesis. "To study the conditions under which cultural lines of division within a society are weakened is to study the conditions under which they are reinforced."

51. For many Mexican Americans multiculturalism implies the quest for Spanish/English bilingualism/biculturalism, particularly in those regions where they hold a significant presence, such as in the Southwest.

52. I roughly follow Barrera's (1979) taxonomical approach to theories of racial inequality.

53. I contrast the terms scientistic and scientific. The former refers to the manipulation and pretense of science for ideological purposes, while the latter entails a degree of critique and self-correction.

54. Myrdal, as a political economist with a historical perspective, was an exception to the a-historicity found in most "bias" theorists.

56. Other related works are by Davis et al (1941), to some extent by Myrdal (1944), and by Dollard (1957).
57. Author associated with "dependency" development theory.
58. Author associated with the "world-system" approach to the history of capitalist development.
59. Furnival, a British colonial administrator, considered that colonial societies were blatantly capitalist and also "plural", in the sense that their division of labour, in all social spheres, was based on racial/ethnic lines.
60. An anthropologist who developed the notion of the plural society to account for Caribbean society. For him, the state as the political order was the means to hold the separate racial/ethnic groups composing colonial society bound together. At odds with Furnival who emphasized market factors, Smith maintained that the source of inter-ethnic interaction was political rather than economic (in Rex, 1986: 33).
61. At times people confuse the plural society model with the "pluralistic" approach to society. While the former implies a conflict perspective, the latter corresponds to the liberal notion of the existence in society of a plurality of competing interest groups, which reach a balanced equilibrium as the resulting end.
62. This exclusion is "legally" based on the criteria of immigrant status, being children of immigrants or what Wallerstein calls "fictive" immigrants, as found, for example, in South African apartheid "law."
63. I refer to these people as third world or colonized people.
64. In the United States, the former process incorporated conquered indigenous groups such as Amerindians and Mexicanos, in what is nowadays the American Southwest. It also incorporated black slaves from Africa and coolies from Asia, to work as subordinated and cheap labourers for the European colonizers/settlers.
65. This is the experience, for example, of "Mexicanos" heading for the United States.
66. Gender lines were and continue to be important in that respect, but are not elaborated upon here, given our focus on ethnicity and due to time and space considerations. Yet, the notion of external and internalized sexist oppression is similar to the treatment given here to the problems of class and ethnic oppression.
67. The particular intersection of all these social groupings constitutes a complex network of social relations, which is most relevant for contemporary social knowledge and practice.
70. The U.S., among other advanced capitalist countries, still reproduces and reinforces the special exploitation of minorities. Almost 150 years since the Mexican Northwest became by force the American Southwest, and over 100 years after the abolition of slavery, racism and ethnic discrimination continue to oppress minority group members. Moreover, it remains a source of divisiveness within the working class and an obstacle in the path of prospective social change (refer to Bollinger and Lund, 1982: 2).


72. "The political essence of minority questions lies in the method of social struggle which will lead to the elimination of the particular oppressions — national, indigenous, racial and their various combinations. The political questions include: who is mobilized and around what analysis of the oppression and with what strategy for resolving the oppression? Who can be won to support the minority struggle, and whose interest do the continued relations of oppression serve? How does the struggle intersect with the class struggle, and what is the content of this intersection? At stake in these political questions are nothing less than the survival or extinction of native peoples, the persistence or ending of the social relations of racism, the success or failure of national liberation struggles as well as the advance or setback of socialist construction..."


74. Marx's account of Mexicans and the Mexican American War could be appraised as eurocentric and even chauvinistic (see Gomez-Quinones, 1982: 64).

75. Barrera (1979), Stavenhagen (1986) and Rex (1986), among several other authors, share this appraisal of Marxism and ethnic/racial relations.

76. Most inspiration on this score is due to Peter Ratcliffe and John Rex, from the Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations, University of Warwick, England.

77. Some forms of symmetrical and horizontal ethnicity do exist historically and have been mostly addressed in micro-anthropological studies. However, the emphasis in this work has been on "malign" or ranked ethnicity.