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**YES:** Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., from *The Disuniting of America: Reflections on a Multicultural Society* (W.W. Norton Co., 1992) 4

**NO:** Michael Walzer, from “What Does It Mean to Be an ‘American’?” *Social Research* (Fall 1990) 14

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., historian, asserts that America needs a common identity. In that context, he views multiculturalism as an attack on the basic values that have made America what it is today. For him, Western-rooted values, whether we like it or not, form the fabric of American society. The values of democracy, freedom, rule of law, human rights and so forth are unfairly challenged under the guise of multiculturalism. He makes the argument for continuing the assimilation creed. Michael Walzer, professor at the Institute for Advanced Study, makes the pluralist argument that America cannot avoid its multicultural identity. He explores the ways in which citizenship and nationality are compatible with the preservation of one’s ethnic identity, culture, and community.

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**NO:** Lawrence Auster, from “How the Multicultural Ideology Captured America,” *The Social Contract*, vol. 14, no. 3 (Spring 2004) 41

Henry A. Giroux is an author on multiculturalism and related topics and current Chair of Communication Studies at McMaster University, Ontario, Canada. He emphasizes the need to focus on the cultural categories (black vs. white) that are promoted within multiculturalism and diversity in order to understand power relations and other issues that are reflective of racialized identities in society. For Giroux, one significant way to get to the problem of inequality is through identity politics. Lawrence Auster is a conservative writer and blogger. He has written extensively on issues pertaining to national identity and ethnic diversity, including *The Path to National Suicide: An Essay on Immigration and Multiculturalism* (American Immigration Control Foundation, 1990). He sees that multiculturalism and diversity have gained popularity as an ideology based on a set of false propositions. For Auster, diversity and multiculturalism are really attacks on European-based culture.

**Issue 3. Is an American Melting Pot Identity Possible? 48**

**YES:** **Stephen Steinberg**, from “The Melting Pot and the Color Line,” in Tamar Jacoby, ed., *Reinventing the Melting Pot* by (Basic Books, 2004) 50

**NO:** **Leo R. Chavez**, from *Covering Immigration: Popular Images and the Politics of the Nation* (University of California Press, 2001, pp. 1–8) 58

Stephen Steinberg is professor of sociology at Queens College in New York City and author of *The Ethnic Myth* and other books dealing with race and ethnicity in America. He extends the idea of assimilation emerging from sociologist Robert Park and argues that inevitably, some time in the future, assimilation will occur in American society. Leo R. Chavez is an anthropologist at the University of California, Irvine, and author of *The Latino Threat: Constructing Immigrants, Citizens, and the Nation* (Stanford, 2008). He argues that today’s immigrants threaten the singular assimilationist vision of America because they are different and the country has resisted them and the “multiculturalism” they bring.

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**NO:** **Melissa V. Harris-Lacewell**, from “Black by Choice,” *The Nation* (May 3, 2010) 71

Alvin Poussaint, a professor of psychiatry at the Harvard Medical School, has authored many books on child psychiatry with emphasis on African American children. Poussaint uses the election of Barack Obama as the president of the United States as a historical moment that may be the beginning of a post-racial era. Melissa V. Harris-Lacewell is a professor of politics and African American studies at Princeton University. She is the author of *Barbershops, Bibles, and BET: Everyday Talk and Black Political Thought* (Princeton University Press, 2004). Harris-Lacewell uses President Barack Obama’s selection of black as his race in filling out the census to argue that we are not ready for a post-racial society.

**UNIT 2 CHANGING AMERICAN IDENTITY 77****Issue 5. Is the Emphasis on a Color-Blind Society an Answer to Racism and Inequality? 78**

**YES:** **Ward Connerly**, from “Don’t Box Me In,” *National Review* (April 16, 2001) 80

**NO:** **Eduardo Bonilla-Silva**, from *Racism without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2003) 83

Ward Connerly is a strong critic of all attempts at racial classification and believes that in order to achieve a racially egalitarian, unified American society, the government and private citizens must stop assigning people to categories delineated by race. To achieve this goal, Mr. Connerly is supporting the enactment of a “Racial Privacy Initiative.” Eduardo Bonilla-Silva argues that “regardless of whites’ sincere fictions, racial considerations

shade almost everything in America” and, therefore, color-blind ideology is a cover for the racism and inequality that persists within contemporary American society.

### **Issue 6. Do Recent Immigration Trends Challenge Existing Ideas of America’s White Identity? 95**

**YES:** Charles A. Gallagher, from “Racial Redistricting: Expanding the Boundaries of Whiteness,” in Heather M. Dalmage, ed., *The Politics of Multiracialism: Challenging Racial Thinking* (State University of New York Press, 2004, pp. 59–76) 97

**NO:** Ellis Cose, from “What’s White, Anyway?” *Newsweek* (September 18, 2000) 112

Charles A. Gallagher, author and sociology professor at Georgia State University, argues that America is currently undergoing a “racial redistricting” in which the boundaries of whiteness are expanding to include lighter-skinned people of color (i.e., Asians and some Latinos). Ellis Cose, an African American journalist, argues that the traditional boundaries that determine race and skin color are not what they once were. Although he does not specifically cite ethnicity, Cose furthers the claim that American identity today is an expanding category. The boundaries of whiteness have expanded and are no longer hard and fast.

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**NO:** Tim Wise, from “The Absurdity (and Consistency) of White Denial: What Kind of Card Is Race?” <http://www.counterpunch.org/wise04242006.html> (April 24, 2006) 126

Paul Kivel, a teacher, writer, and antiviolenace/antiracist activist, asserts that many benefits accrue to whites based solely on skin color. These benefits range from economic to political advantages and so often include better residential choice, police protection, and education opportunities. Tim Wise, an author of two books on race, argues that whites do not acknowledge privilege. Instead, whites are often convinced that the race card is “played” by blacks to gain their own privilege, something that whites cannot do. Hence, whites simply do not see discrimination and do not attach privilege to their skin color.

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**NO:** Alexander Cockburn, from “The Ho Industry,” *The Nation* (April 30, 2007) 146

Weston Kosova, former writer for *Newsweek* magazine, recently joined *The Washington Post* as national politics editor. He asserts that the powerful media industry reached its limit of tolerance when a popular radio host used a racial and gender slur. The overt and subtle employment of racial and ethnic stereotypes has been, more or less, a constant in the business. However, for Kosova, this one event may signal a shift in acceptable on-air behavior. Alexander Cockburn is a critic, author, and

editor of many books. He writes the regular “Beat the Devil” column in *The Nation* and is coeditor of the political newsletter, *CounterPunch*. Cockburn argues that the music industry benefits from controversial radio hosts who occasionally use racial and ethnic stereotypes. He asserts that “we live in a racist, profit-driven culture that is getting more degraded by the hour.”

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**NO:** **Gordon W. Allport**, from “The Young Child,” *The Nature of Prejudice* (Perseus Books, 1979) 162

Herbert Blumer, a sociologist, asserts that prejudice exists in a sense of group position rather than as an attitude based on individual feelings. The collective process by which a group comes to define other racial groups is the focus of Blumer’s position. Gordon W. Allport, a psychologist, makes the case that prejudice is the result of a three-stage learning process.

### Issue 10. Is Racism a Permanent Feature of American Society? 177

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**NO:** **Dinesh D’Souza**, from “The End of Racism,” in *The End of Racism: Principles for a Multiracial Society* (Free Press, 1995) 187

Derrick Bell, a prominent African-American scholar and authority on civil rights and constitutional law, argues that the prospects for achieving racial equality in the United States are “illusory” for blacks. Dinesh D’Souza, John M. Ohlin scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, believes that racial discrimination against blacks has substantially eroded within American society and that lagging progress among them is due to other factors, such as culture, rather than racism.

### Issue 11. Is Racial Profiling Defensible Public Policy? 198

**YES:** **Scott Johnson**, from “Better Unsafe Than (Occasionally) Sorry?” *The American Enterprise* (January/February 2003) 200

**NO:** **David A. Harris**, from “American Life under the Regime of Racial Profiling,” in *Profiles in Injustice: Why Police Profiling Cannot Work* (The New Press, 2002), pp. 1–15 203

Scott Johnson, conservative journalist and an attorney and fellow at the Clermont Institute, argues in favor of racial profiling. He claims that racial profiling does not exist “on the nation’s highways and streets.” Johnson accuses David Harris of distorting the data on crimes committed and victimization according to race. For him, law enforcement needs to engage in profiling under certain circumstances in order to be effective. David A. Harris, law professor and leading authority on racial profiling,

argues that racial profiling is ineffective and damaging to our diverse nation. He believes it hinders effective law enforcement.

### Issue 12. Is Affirmative Action Necessary to Achieve Racial Equality in the United States Today? 215

**YES:** **Robert Staples**, from “Black Deprivation-White Privilege: The Assault on Affirmative Action,” *The Black Scholar* (Summer 1995), pp. 2–6 217

**NO:** **Roger Clegg**, from “Faculty Hiring Preferences and the Law,” *The Chronicle of Higher Education* (May 19, 2006) 223

Robert Staples, an African American sociologist, views affirmative action as a positive policy designed to provide equal economic opportunities for women and other minorities. Roger Clegg, general counsel of the Center for Equal Opportunity in Sterling, Virginia and contributor to *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, argues against affirmative action, citing the 2003 Supreme Court decision. He makes the case for universities to hire the best-qualified faculty.

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**NO:** **Peter Brimelow**, from *Alien Nation: Common Sense About America's Immigration Disaster* (Random House, 1995) 239

Philippe Legrain is a journalist, economist, and author of *Immigrants: Your Country Needs Them* and *Open World: The Truth about Globalisation*. He makes the case that immigration contributes to a better America as well as a better world. His economic argument primarily emphasizes that the flow of immigrants within the global system brings both talent and labor to areas of need. Peter Brimelow, senior editor at *Forbes* and *National Review* magazines, argues that the United States is being overrun by a growing tide of aliens who are changing the character and composition of the nation in manners that are threatening and destructive to its well-being and prospects for future advancement.

### Issue 14. Is Today's Immigration Debate Racist? 245

**YES:** **Carlos Fuentes**, from “Huntington and the Mask of Racism,” *New Perspectives Quarterly* (Spring 2004), pp. 77–81 247

**NO:** **Samuel P. Huntington**, from “Immigration,” in *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (Simon & Schuster, 1996) 251

Carlos Fuentes, prominent Mexican writer and social commentator, argues that much of the current immigration debate is racist. For example,

he criticizes Samuel Huntington's assessment that Mexican immigrants exploit the United States and represent an unjust burden to the nation. This "mask" of racism appears under the guise of a concern with American national unity. Samuel Huntington, political scientist and Albert J. Weatherhead III University Professor at Harvard University, expresses the concern that Mexican immigrants and, by implication, other Latinos, are creating significant problems for America, specifically with reference to assimilation, as their numbers continue to increase within the population. In general, he believes that Latino immigration is a threat to America's national unity.

### Issue 15. **Is There Room for Bilingual Education in American Schools?** 257

**YES:** Kendra Hamilton, from "Bilingual or Immersion? A New Group of Studies Is Providing Fresh Evidence That It's Not the Language of Instruction That Counts, but the Quality of Education," *Diverse Issues in Higher Education* (April 20, 2006) 259

**NO:** Rosalie Pedalino Porter, from "The Case Against Bilingual Education," *The Atlantic Monthly* (May 1998) 264

Kendra Hamilton, editor of *Black Issues in Higher Education*, argues that the studies available for assessing the quality of such programs are inconclusive. She makes the argument that the outcomes of bilingual education programs are often jeopardized by the quality of the instruction provided. Thus, the significant question of the quality of the programs is being ignored. Rosalie Pedalino Porter, author of *Forked Tongue: The Politics of Bilingual Education* and affiliate of The Institute for Research in English Acquisition and Development (READ), makes the case against bilingual education. She presents a negative view of the contributions of such programs to the academic achievement of non-English speaking students. Also, she is greatly concerned that such programs retard the integration of such students within the larger, English-speaking society.

### Issue 16. **Does Latino Immigration Threaten African American Workers?** 272

**YES:** Douglas P. Woodward and Paulo Guimarães, from "Latino Immigration," *Business and Economic Review* (April 1, 2008) 274

**NO:** David C. Ruffin, from "Immigration: 5 Black Leaders Lend Their Voices to the Debate," *The Crisis* (July/August 2006), pp. 20–25 279

Douglas P. Woodward, director of the Division of Research and professor of Economics, and Paulo Guimarães, a Clinical Research Professor of Economics, both of the Moore School of Business at the University of South Carolina, in a strongly researched case study of the impact of Latino immigration on the workers of South Carolina, present significant statistical evidence that African American workers have lost both jobs and wages. David C. Ruffin, a writer and political analyst in Washington, D.C., interviews five black leaders who respond negatively to this question. It is their considered judgment that other factors including technological advancement and high rates of incarceration are major contributors to the lagging prospects of African American workers.

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**YES:** **Tim Lockette**, from "Unmaking Brown," *Teaching Tolerance* (Spring 2010), pp. 28–32 294

**NO:** **Ingrid Gould Ellen**, from "Welcome Neighbors?" *Brookings Review* (Winter 1997) 299

Tim Lockette, a freelance writer in Montgomery, Alabama, and former editor of *Teaching Tolerance*, demonstrates that through certain Supreme Court decisions, the elimination of bus programs, and flawed school choice programs, America's public schools are resegregating. The desegregation effects of the historic 1954 *Brown* decision have been reversed. Ingrid Gould Ellen, writer for *Brookings Review*, argues that neighborhood racial integration is increasing. She thinks researchers must balance their pessimistic findings of resegregation with increased integration.

### **Issue 18. Is There a Need for a Permanent Voting Rights Act? 307**

**YES:** **Richard M. Valelly**, from "Ballots in the Balance: Does the 1965 Voting Rights Act Still Matter?" *The Two Reconstructions: The Struggle for Black Enfranchisement* (University of Chicago Press, 2004). 309

**NO:** **Abigail Thernstrom**, from "Redistricting, Race, and the Voting Rights Act," *National Affairs* (Spring 2010). 312

Richard M. Valelly, the author of *The Two Reconstructions: The Struggle for Black Enfranchisement* (Chicago Press, 2004), is a professor of political science at Swarthmore College. Pointing to U.S. history, he fears that without key sections, especially Section 5, of the Voting Rights Act, the black vote will be suppressed. What happened in the 1890s to black disfranchisement can happen again. Abigail Thernstrom, a political scientist, is a Senior Fellow at the Manhattan Institute in New York. She has written extensively on race and voting rights. She argues that it is time to end race-driven districting and that certain sections, especially Section 5, of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 are no longer needed.

### **Issue 19. Is the Reservation the Sole Source of Community for Native Americans? 326**

**YES:** **Frank Pommersheim**, from "The Reservation as Place," in *Braid of Feathers: American Indian Law and Contemporary Tribal Life* (University of California Press, 1995) 328

**NO:** **Susan Lobo**, from "Is Urban a Person or a Place? Characteristics of Urban Indian Country," in Susan Lobo and Kurt Peters, eds., *American Indians and the Urban Experience* (AltaMira Press, 2001) 334

Frank Pommersheim lived and worked on the Rosebud Sioux Reservation for 10 years and currently teaches at the University of South Dakota School of Law where he specializes in Indian law. Additionally, he is currently providing legal services within India. Emphasizing the critical role played by land within Indian country. He develops the argument for the significance

of “measured separatism.” Susan Lobo, a cultural anthropologist and an expert on Native American studies, presents the case of Native Americans in the Bay Area in California. She demonstrates the richness of Indian community life that extends beyond the reservation.

**Issue 20. Do Minorities and Whites Engage in Self-segregation? 345**

**YES: Beverly D. Tatum**, from “Identity Development in Adolescence” in *Why Are All the Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria?* (Basic Books, 1997), pp. 52–74 347

**NO: Peter Beinart**, from “Degree of Separation at Yale,” *The New Republic* (November 3, 1997) 362

Beverly D. Tatum, an African American clinical psychologist and president of Spelman College, examines identity development among adolescents, especially black youths, and the behavioral outcomes of this phenomenon. She argues that black adolescents’ tendency to view themselves in racial terms is due to the totality of personal and environmental responses that they receive from the larger society. Peter Beinart, senior editor for *The New Republic*, examines the complexity of the issues of multiculturalism and diversity on the nation’s campuses, and he asserts that one examine how a broad spectrum of groups responds to the challenges of identity and “fitting in” within increasingly multicultural and diverse communities.

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