

Race After WW II

Anthropology, Brown v. Board, U.S. Census Categories, Color-Blind Post-Racialism

Post-War Years Saw Interest in Race

- Many works by anthropologists and geneticists trying to understand race in the post-eugenic age
- Two United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization committees to make statements about the nature of race
- Intensification of the civil rights struggle in the U.S. with Brown vs. Board of Education decision by SCOTUS ruling against Jim Crow

Post war work on Race and Genetics

- 1948 *Human Ancestry: From a Genetical Point of View*, by R. Ruggles Gates
 - Mix of eugenic and polygenic thinking
 - Argued races didn't exist because the races were actually different species, with a hierarchy of abilities
- 1950 *Genetics and the Races of Man*, by Robert Boyd
 - First use of genetic data to map distribution of races
 - 6 race system
 - None of the genes he mapped followed his racial divisions

Races: A Study of the Problems of Race Formation in Man
Coon, Garn, and Birdsell (1950)

- All were students of Hooton at Harvard
- Attempt to explain the origin of races in a synthetic evolutionary framework (adaptation of populations)
- Races as populations adapted to different environmental conditions
- 30 races collected into 6 "stocks" (Not the same 6 that Boyd used)
- Chapters dealt with adaptation to excess light and heat under different degrees of humidity, to dry cold, and to cool, damp cloudiness

1950 Cold Spring Harbor conference on the “Origin and Evolution of Man”

- Sherwood L. Washburn
- Hooton student
- Taught at Columbia Medical School where he exchanged ideas with Dobzhansky and Ashley Montagu
- Taught me at U.C.

- Theodosius Dobzhansky
- Russian geneticist, went to Cal Tech
- Key figure in the Modern Synthesis
- Studied fruit flies to understand evolutionary processes
- Anti-racist through his collaboration with Boas and Dunn at Columbia



Washburn and Dobzhansky (1950) Origin and Evolution of Man

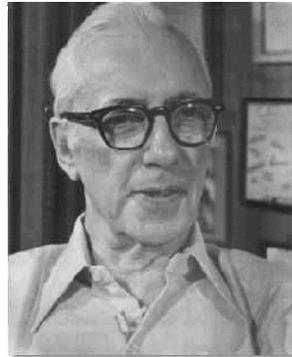
- Cold Spring Harbor conference on the Origin and Evolution of Man
 - Emphasize significance of evolution as opposed to race for answering anthropological questions
 - Among the participants: Boyd, Hooton, Coon, Montagu
- Sought to understand human variation in the context of the “new” evolutionary synthesis
- Proposed to study human variation as the result of adaptation in **populations** instead of **race**



Ashley Montagu

1905-1999

- 1937 PhD at Columbia with Boas, Benedict
- 1942: Man’s Most Dangerous Myth;
 - 6th ed. Issued in 1996
 - Debunks biological basis of race
 - Calls for using **ethnic group** to emphasize cultural categories
- Drafted the first official UNESCO Statement on Race in 1950



UNESCO Statement on Race

UNESCO Statement on the Nature of Race and Race Differences

- First statement (1950) asserted biology supports ethic of human equality in opportunity and law
 - Race a social fact, not a biological one
 - All meaningful human traits (IQ, morality, etc.) not racial in nature
- Second Statement (1951), physical anthropologists and geneticists reasserted that intellectual and emotional traits could vary according to genetic distance between races
 - Denied biology supports human equality

Brown v. Board of Education

(1954)

- 1930s and 1940s, the LDEF of the NAACP began to file briefs to desegregate education using sociological and anthropological research
- 1944 Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma* is published using anthropological concepts to study "the Negro problem"
 - Detailed what he saw as obstacles to full participation in American society that American Negroes faced as of the 1940s

Brown v. Board of Education

(1954)

Chief Justice Earl Warren:

"In the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' [from Plessy v. Ferguson] has no place"

- Referenced Myrdal's work explicitly in supporting this decision—thereby using anthropology to overturn the legal basis of Jim Crow
- Next year the Montgomery bus boycott started and the civil rights movement was off and running
- Civil Rights Timeline:
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Timeline_of_the_African-American_Civil_Rights_Movement_\(1954%E2%80%939368\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Timeline_of_the_African-American_Civil_Rights_Movement_(1954%E2%80%939368))

Resistance to Brown v. Board

- Virginia: political campaign to avoid integration of schools
 - Many schools and one school system were shut down rather than integrate
 - Prince Edward county schools stayed closed for 5 years!
- White Citizens' Councils formed two months after decision
 - Used economic and political tactics
 - Published names of integration supporters, causing many to lose jobs
- July 16, 1956, the Louisiana State Legislature passed a constitutional amendment mandating racial segregation in nearly every aspect of public life

Meanwhile, in the scientific community, the adaptive paradigm succeeds

- The adaptive and evolutionary model to explain patterns of human biological variation took off in the 1950s and began to replace the race concept
- Sickle cell anemia – Malaria association worked out in the mid 1950s
 - In two papers published in 1954 Allison convincingly demonstrates that sickle cell heterozygotes have an advantage in resistance to malaria
 - Geographic relationship between the frequency of the Hb^S allele and the distribution of malaria
 - Tested Ugandan tribesmen by direct exposure to malaria

Frank B. Livingstone

- 1958. Anthropological implications of sickle cell gene distribution in West Africa. *American Anthropologist*, 60:533-562.

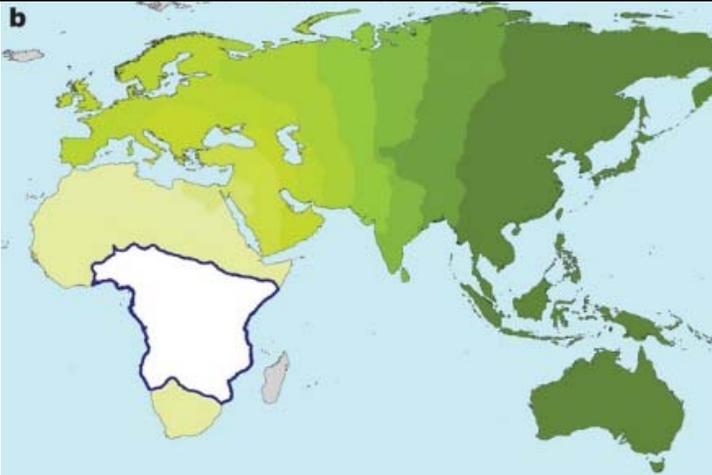


- Most widely read and cited paper in the history of Anthropology
- Argues that the frequency of Hb^S varies locally in a pattern that was best understood in terms of the distribution and historical duration of malaria and that this was determined by the history of the spread of agriculture
 - **Culture** was responsible for the selection on this gene

Clines not Races

- The sickle cell work firmly established the CLINAL model as an alternative to the racial model for analyzing human variation
- By 1962, Livingstone published “On the Non-existence of Human Races”

“If a central problem of physical anthropology is the explanation of the genetic variability among human populations—and I think it is—then there are other methods of describing and explaining this variability which do not utilize the concept of race. **This variability can also be described in terms of the [concept] of cline ...**”



So Race Disappeared from Anthropology, Right?



- Carleton Stevens Coon
- Followed in Hooton's footsteps of racial taxonomy
 - Divided Europeans into 10 races and 9 subraces in 1939
- Published about the biological basis of race, *The Origin of Races*, the same year Livingstone was publishing “Clines not Races” (1964)
 - Divided humans into 5 races
- 3 years later published again on living races!

The Origin of Races

- Reignited the racial debate within physical anthropology
- He maintained that *Homo erectus* came out of Africa and settled in five locations throughout the world giving rise to 5 races of man:
 - Africa (Congoids/Negroids), Southern Africa (Capoids), Asia (Mongoloids), Australia (Australoids), Europe (Caucasoids)
 - In each of these regions they evolved into *Homo sapiens* at different rates
- Emphasized the appearance of large brains in the fossil record as being the signature of the various races achieving modern status
 - Europe and Asia first, Africa and Australia later
- Viewed Caucasoids and Mongoloids as superior to other races

Biological race concept in Physical anthropology textbooks, 1932 - 1999

Period	Exists	Total	%
1932-69	13	18	72%
1970-79	12	38	32%
1980-89	1 ^a	15	7%
1990-99	1 ^a	17	6%

Agreement among anthropologists with the statement that "There ARE biological races in the species *Homo sapiens*"

	1985	1999
Cultural	30%	14%
Physical	50%	24%
Combined	39%	18%

Race in High School Textbooks Today

- Race as a social construct appears only in anthropology and sociology textbooks
 - Only anthropology texts discuss why race is cultural not biological—sociology texts are equivocal on race
 - Psychology texts define and use race in biological terms
 - Biology texts present race as a valid biological classifying system for humans
 - High-school students today are more likely to be familiar with the attribution of certain diseases to certain races than they are that racial boundaries have changed markedly over time

RACE AND THE U.S. CENSUS

Race changes as culture changes

- Race is neither a static biological certainty nor a reflection of our genes
- Instead, race is an historical and cultural phenomenon—an analysis of **human biological difference** mediated by the **politics, culture, and economics** of a **given historical moment** and by the individual or society in that moment

• Yudell, Michael (2014). Race Unmasked: Biology and Race in the Twentieth Century (Kindle Locations 359-361). Columbia University Press. Kindle Edition.

Census History

- 1790 First Census
 - Federal marshals conducted first census by going door-to-door through the 13 states plus districts of Maine, Vermont, Kentucky, and the Southwest Territory (Tennessee)
 - Recorded name of every householder and count the occupants in each house
 - Free white males at least 16 years of age
 - Free white males under 16 years of age
 - Free white females
 - All other free persons (by sex and color)
 - Slaves
 - Slaves counted as three-fifths of a person
 - American Indians, who did not pay taxes, were excluded
- 1850 separate questions for free persons and slaves
 - White, black or mulatto

Census History

- 1870 Add in Chinese and American Indians
- 1890 Question labeled Race, not just color
- 1930 Multiracial people labeled by hypodescent
 - Only census where Mexican is listed as a race
- 1960 first effort to get self-enumeration
 - Census forms mailed to urban households to be completed and mailed back
- 1970 primarily mail-in forms
 - For the first time, respondents asked to check off whether they are of Spanish or Hispanic origin or descent
- 1990 Pacific Islanders still part of Asians
 - Must choose just one box

1997 revision of the OMB Statistical Directive 15 defines a minimum of 5 racial groups

- American Indian or Alaska Native. A person having origins in any of the original peoples of North and South America (including Central America), and who maintains tribal affiliation or community attachment.
- Asian. A person having origins in any of the original peoples of the Far East, Southeast Asia, or the Indian subcontinent including, for example, Cambodia, China, India, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Pakistan, the Philippine Islands, Thailand, and Vietnam.
- Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander. A person having origins in any of the original peoples of Hawaii, Guam, Samoa, or other Pacific Islands.
- Black or African American. A person having origins in any of **the black racial groups** of Africa. Terms such as "Haitian" or "Negro" can be used in addition to "Black or African American."
- White. A person having origins in any of the original peoples of Europe, the Middle East, or North Africa.

2000 Census

- Revived racial politics
 - Racial categories: big policy debate over the choice between multiracial category and multiple categories
 - AAA supported choosing more than one
 - Also supported ethnicity (cultural) over race (biological) categories
 - Implications of people's choices determine where the money goes
 - More people choosing multiracial or multiple categories means less money for specific minority projects
 - Congress went with the ability to choose multiple categories

2010 Question 8

→ NOTE: Please answer BOTH Question 8 about Hispanic origin and Question 9 about race. For this census, Hispanic origins are not races.

8. Is Person 1 of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin?

- No, not of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin
- Yes, Mexican, Mexican Am., Chicano
- Yes, Puerto Rican
- Yes, Cuban
- Yes, another Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin — *Print origin, for example, Argentinean, Colombian, Dominican, Nicaraguan, Salvadoran, Spaniard, and so on.*

9. What is Person 1's race? Mark one or more boxes.

- White
- Black, African American
- American Indian or Alaska Native — *Print name of enrolled or principal tribe.*

Result of a very powerful Asian/Pacific Islander lobby in Congress

- Asian Indian
- Chinese
- Filipino
- Other Asian — *Print race, for example, Hmong, Laotian, Thai, Pakistani, Cambodian, and so on.*
- Japanese
- Korean
- Vietnamese
- Native Hawaiian
- Guamanian or Chamorro
- Samoan
- Other Pacific Islander — *Print race, for example, Fijian, Tongan, and so on.*

- Some other race — *Print race.*

Uses of Race Data

- Assess racial disparities in health, medical services, and environmental risks
- Identify minority language groups that require voting materials in their own language or to allot funds to school districts for bilingual services
- Assess fairness of employment practices
- Determine if financial institutions meet the credit needs of minorities in low- and moderate-income areas
- Legislative redistricting (Alabama 2015 Gerrymandering)
- Meet guidelines mandated in 1997 for the classification of Federal data on race and ethnicity

Allocation of multiple race responses for use in civil rights monitoring and enforcement

- Responses that combine one minority race and white are allocated to the **minority** race
 - Check white and black = black
 - Check white and Asian = Asian
 - Check white and Native American = Native America
 - I.e., hypodescent
- Responses that include two or more minority races are allocated to the race that alleges the discrimination
 - Or allocate the individuals to each minority group to assess discriminatory patterns or disparate impact

Future Races?

- Many Latinos don't consider themselves black or white
 - Only half of 48 million "Hispanics or Latinos" in the 2010 census chose a recognized racial category
- The Census Bureau provides an estimate of Arabs in the U.S.: ~1.8 million
 - Since there's no Arab category on the main census form, figure is based on a question about "ancestry or racial origin" on much smaller American Community Survey
 - Need better count to track discrimination and hate crimes since 9/11/2001

What is your race or ethnicity? Mark all boxes that apply AND print your specific ethnicity in the spaces below. Note, you may report more than one group.

White – Print specific ethnicities, for example, German, Irish, English, Italian, Polish, French, etc.

Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin – Print specific ethnicities, for example, Mexican or Mexican American, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Dominican, Salvadoran, Colombian, etc.

Black or African Am. – Print specific ethnicities, for example, African American, Jamaican, Haitian, Nigerian, Ethiopian, Ghanaian, etc.

Asian – Print specific ethnicities, for example, Chinese, Filipino, Asian Indian, Vietnamese, Korean, Japanese, etc.

American Indian or Alaska Native – Print specific ethnicities, for example, Navajo Nation, Blackfoot Tribe, Muscogee (Creek) Nation, Mayan, Deyon, Native Village of Barrow Inupiat Traditional Government, etc.

Middle Eastern or North African – Print specific ethnicities, for example, Lebanese, Iranian, Egyptian, Syrian, Moroccan, Algerian, etc.

Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander – Print specific ethnicities, for example, Native Hawaiian, Samoan, Guamanian or Chamorro, Tongan, Fijian, Marshallese, etc.

Some other race or ethnicity – Print specific race(s) and/or ethnicities

Is the U.S. Becoming Postracial?

Colorblindness in the Age of Structural Racism

Because of improvements in equality of opportunities for education, housing, health care, and labor since the civil rights movement successfully won cases like Brown vs. the Board of Education and passage of the 1964 and 1968 civil rights laws; the best approach in all of these venues is to adopt a colorblind policy (ignoring race).



Civil Rights Acts

- 1964
 - Outlawed discrimination in voter registration procedures and segregation in education, public places, and employment
 - Weak enforcement
- 1968
 - Prohibited discrimination concerning the sale, rental, and financing of housing based on race, religion, national origin
- Did nothing to account for past abuses

Wealth Differential

- 1860: for every free black there were 8 slaves
 - Net worth of whites was about 7 times that of free blacks (close to what it was in 2000)
 - Slaves constituted approximately \$4 billion of wealth for white slave holders
 - Second largest category of wealth in the country after real estate

Wealth Differential

- Homestead Act of 1862
 - Government allocated 246 million acres of land for farm homesteads, much of it taken from Native Americans
 - ~1.5 million people, almost entirely whites took advantage of homesteading
 - Legal segregation (Jim Crow), mob violence, and lynching excluded free blacks from access to land
- Huge boost to white capital at the expense of Native Americans and Blacks

The New Deal

- National Housing Act, 1934
 - FHA established neighborhood grading criteria that grouped minority racial occupancy alongside pollutants like smoke and odors
 - Difficult to get mortgages in black neighborhoods so property values stagnated or declined
- Social Security Act, 1935
 - Excluded domestics and farm workers who were mostly Black, Indian, and Mexican
 - Over 95% of female black workers (domestics) excluded

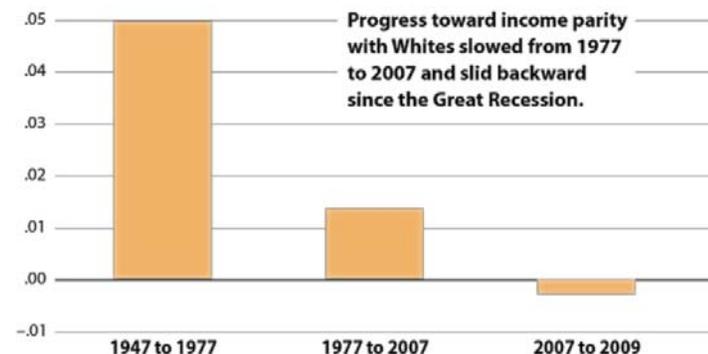
Post WW II

- 48% of blacks rejected for enlistment versus 28% of whites
 - Lower percent eligible for VA benefits
- Southern States applied veterans benefits unequally
 - White veterans got 86% of the **professional jobs** while Black veterans got 92% of the **unskilled jobs** filled by the U.S. Employment Service in Mississippi
 - Building white capital at the expense of Black wealth

Veterans benefits

- Very difficult for blacks to obtain mortgages
 - By 1950, 5% of black veterans got VA mortgages vs. 13% of white veterans (38% as likely)
 - Could only be used to purchase segregated housing!
 - FHA and VA subsidized mortgages accounted for 3% of black mortgages by 1960 but 42% of white mortgages
 - Building white wealth at the expense of non-whites

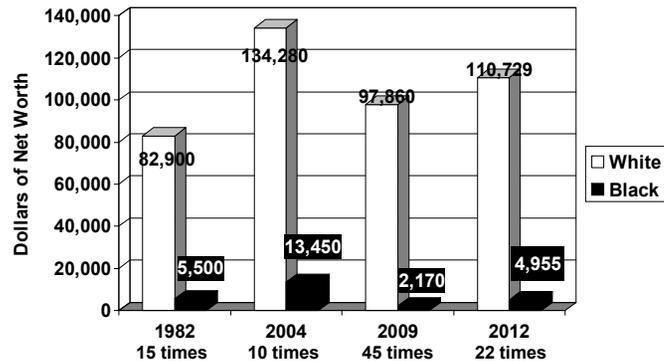
Gains in Median Black Income v. Median White Income



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Historical Income Tables, Table F-5 <www.census.gov/hhes/www/income/data/historical/families/index.html>. See Appendix for further explanation of racial data.

U. S. Families Median Net Worth

1860 White to Free Black wealth was 8 times



Blacks and Hispanics live in poorer neighborhoods

- <http://news.stanford.edu/news/2015/june/segregation-neighborhood-income-062515.html>
- Researchers at Stanford found that black and Hispanic families need much higher incomes than white families to live in comparably affluent neighborhoods
- As a result, middle-income black and Hispanic households are much more likely to live in poor neighborhoods
 - Have weaker schools, more crime, and bigger social problems than whites or Asians with the same income
 - Segregation may constrain upward mobility of black and Hispanic children compared with their whites and Asians

The New Jim Crow

Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness
Michelle Alexander (2010)

In the era of colorblindness, it is no longer socially permissible to use race, explicitly, as a justification for discrimination, exclusion, and social contempt. So we don't. Rather than rely on race, we use our criminal justice system to label people of color "criminals" and then engage in all the practices we supposedly left behind. Today it is perfectly legal to discriminate against criminals in nearly all the ways that it was once legal to discriminate against African Americans.

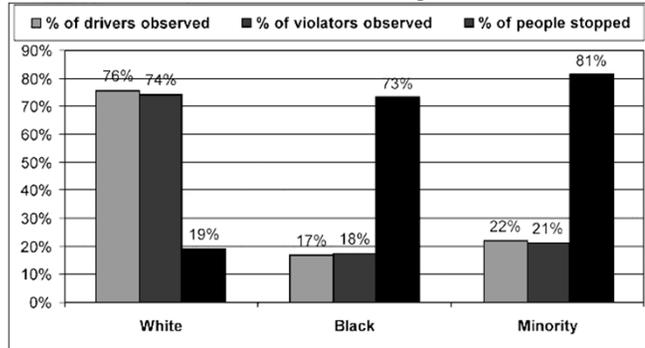
The New Jim Crow

Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness
Michelle Alexander (2010)

Once you're labeled a felon, the old forms of discrimination--employment discrimination, housing discrimination, denial of the right to vote, denial of educational opportunity, denial of food stamps and other public benefits, and exclusion from jury service--are suddenly legal.

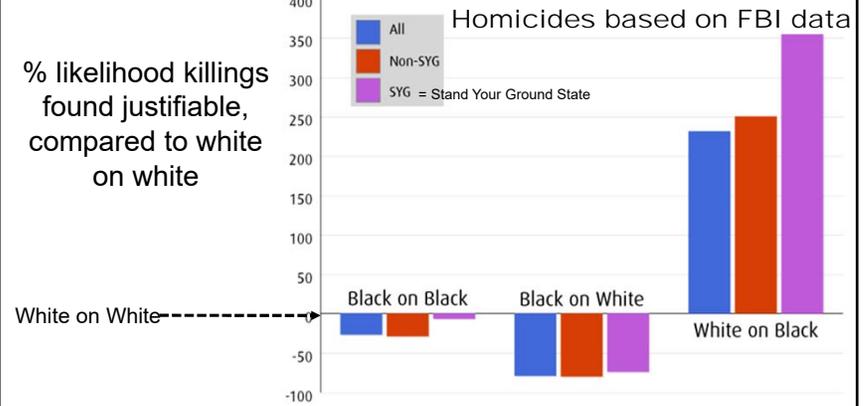
As a criminal, you have scarcely more rights, and arguably less respect, than a black man living in Alabama at the height of Jim Crow. We have not ended racial caste in America; we have merely redesigned it.

Racial Profiling: DWB



Maryland State Police Files, January 1995 to September 1996: Percentage of Drivers Observed, Percentage of Drivers in Violation, and Percentage of Drivers Stopped by Police

2005 - 2009 Justifiable Homicides based on FBI data



The figures represent the percentage likelihood that killings will be found justifiable, compared to white-on-white killings.

Rates of Lifetime Drug Use age 12+, 2006
Rates of State Prison Admissions for Drug Offenses, 2003

	White			Black		
	Male	Female	All	Male	Female	All
Drug Use, 2006			49%			43%
Prison Admissions for Drug Offenses, 2003	.042%	.009%	.025%	0.50%	0.04%	0.26%

Comparable usage, but 10 times greater incarceration!

Consider These Facts

1. The United States incarcerates a higher proportion of blacks than apartheid South Africa did
2. In America, the black-white wealth gap today is greater than it was in South Africa in 1970 at the peak of apartheid
3. America's racial wealth gap, pay gap, and college education gap have all widened in the last few decades

From: Nicholas Kristof's series in the *New York Times* "When Whites Just Don't Get It," November 29, 2014.

http://www.nytimes.com/2014/11/30/opinion/sunday/nicholas-kristof-when-whites-just-dont-get-it-part-5.html?_r=1