

Lecture 16

What they Bring



Review of Previous Chapter

- In lecture 15, we stressed that identity construction is energized when groups encounter new forces or altered circumstances that encourage them to re-think their identity.
- In this lecture we focus on the populations involved, or the people whose identities are being created, re-produced or transformed.

Chapter Summary

- This chapter is about what the groups contribute (both conscious and unconscious) to the making of their own identities
- Reminder: a start for classifications might begin with culture for ethnicity and physical traits for race, but the main component is the **significance or role people give to these distinctions**

What they Bring

- The factors that influence how groups change their identities are complex and numerous, but the book focuses on 6 factors
- **1.) Pre-existing identities; 2.) population size, 3.) internal differentiation; 4.) social capital; 5.) human capital; 6.) symbolic repertoires**

Group Factor <u>Increase</u> Salience of Identities	Group Factor <u>Decrease</u> Salience of Identities
Preexisting identity	No Preexisting Identity
Large population	Small population
Equal sex ratio	Unequal sex ratio
Large proportion first gen.	Small proportion first gen.
Similar classes	Diverse classes
High social capital	Low social capital
Chain migration	Individual migration
Different culture	Similar culture
Large symbolic rep.	Small symbolic rep.

Pre-existing Identities

- The construction of any particular collective identity is a process through which that identity joins other consciously held identities, or replaces, overshadows, disrupts, or otherwise alters them.
- In other words, people can rethink and change their identities depending on their situations

Pre-existing Identities and Assignment

- As discussed in previous lectures, the dominant culture may turn diverse ethnic groups into one category (Italian Example)
- Recall how Native American identity was shaped somewhat by outsiders

Comanche Identity

- The Comanche were nomad buffalo hunters, constantly on the move, cultivating little from the ground, and living in skin tipis.
- They have, or still remember, 12 recognized divisions or bands and may have had others in former times. Of these all but 5 are practically extinct. The Kwahari and Penateka are the most important. Following, in alphabetic order, is the complete list as given by their leading chiefs:
Detsanayuka or Nokoni; Ditsakana, Widyu, Yapa, or Yamparika; Kewatsana; Kotsai; Kotsoteka; Kwahari or Kwahadi; Motsai; Pagatsu; Penateka or Penande; Pohoi (adopted Shoshoni); Tanima; Tenawa or Tenahwit; Waaih.

Comanche Identity

- The Comanche bands engaged in a long often violent struggle to keep their lands and bison herds.
- This struggle, and other processes eventually led the Comanche band to see themselves as one group.
- Eventually, they also began to see themselves as “Native Americans” due to definitions imposed by outsiders



Preexisting Identities and Assignment

- On some occasions, people may actually give more weight to the collective identities that they already carry

Example:

West Indians and Black Americans

Identity construction is not static; people can either form weak identities (“I am Irish”) or they can create an identity that organizes much of their daily life.

Generations and Preexisting Identities

- Immigrants bring with them “cognitive cargo” that can be used to structure and re-structure their identities.
- Children of immigrants may have much less of this because they do not have memories and experiences in the homeland.
- **MAIN IDEA:** once established, identities become a part of the ways in which people look at the world and part of how they see themselves within it.

Population Size

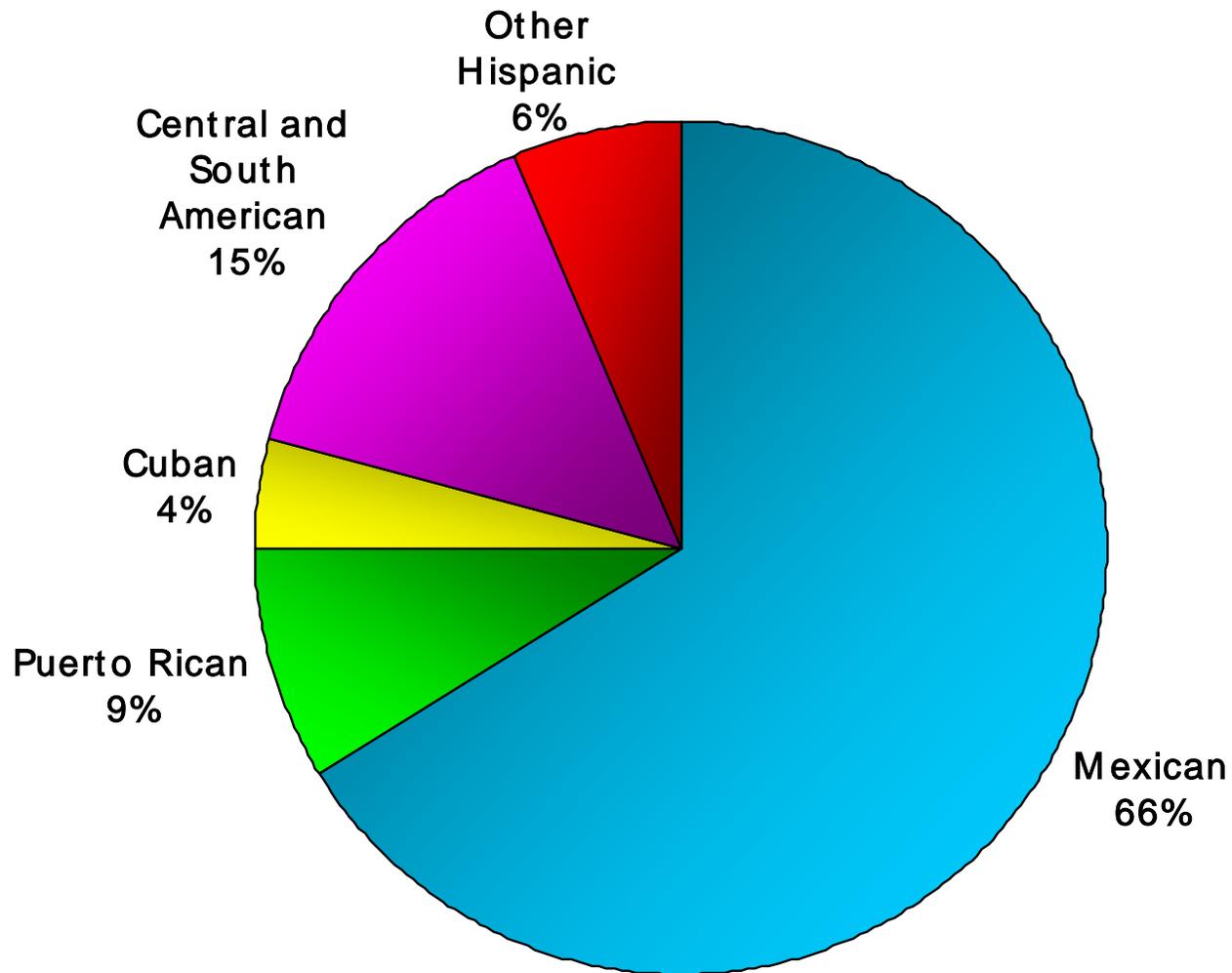
- Numbers matter for a variety of reasons
- Having a large population can make outmarriage unnecessary and can keep important institutions such as churches full.
- **Vibrant ethnic institutions (as influenced by large populations) prevent groups from having to cross social boundaries**

Population Size and Composition

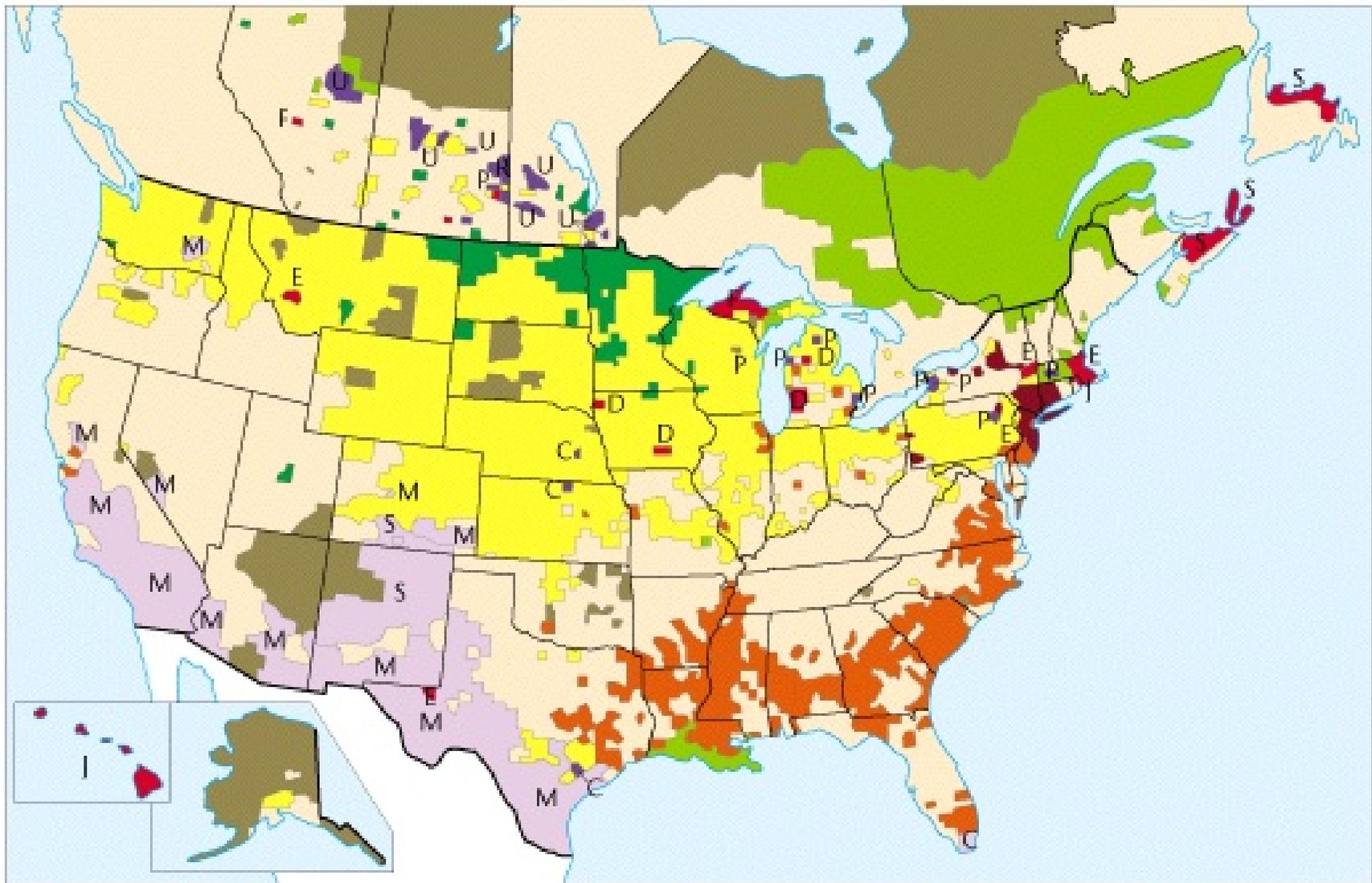
In March 2000, 32.8 million Hispanics lived in the United States.

- **12% of the U.S. population is Hispanic.**
- **People of Mexican origin comprise approximately 66% of the U.S. Hispanic population.**

Percent Distribution of Hispanics by Type: 2000







- | | | | | |
|--|--|---|--|---|
|  English |  French |  German |  Slavic |  Other |
|  Hispanic |  Amerindian, Aleut,
or Inuit |  Scandinavian
(Dane, Norwegian,
Icelander, and
Swede combined) | Czech = C | Finnish = F |
| Mexican = M |  African | | Polish = P | Dutch = D |
| Spanish = S |  Italian | | Ukrainian = U | Japanese = J |
| Cuban = C | | | Russian = R | Scottish = S |
| | | | | Irish = E |

Internal Differentiation

- Categorization is cognitive process in which people tend to emphasize the similarities among “them” and their differences from “us”
- Cognitive studies show that people tend to assume more homogeneity within out-groups than among in-groups

Categorization through Cognitive Schema

- **BENEFITS:** Reduces the amount of information to be dealt with and reduces the complexity of the social world.
 - **COSTS:** Leads people to underestimate the differences within groups, overestimate the differences between groups
- 1.) **Perceived Similarities and Differences:** Out-group homogeneity Effect and Own-race bias

1.) Out-group Homogeneity Effect

The assumption that members of an outgroup are “all the same.”

When the group is our own we are more likely to see **diversity**. Out-groups (those outside our groups) are **homogenized**.

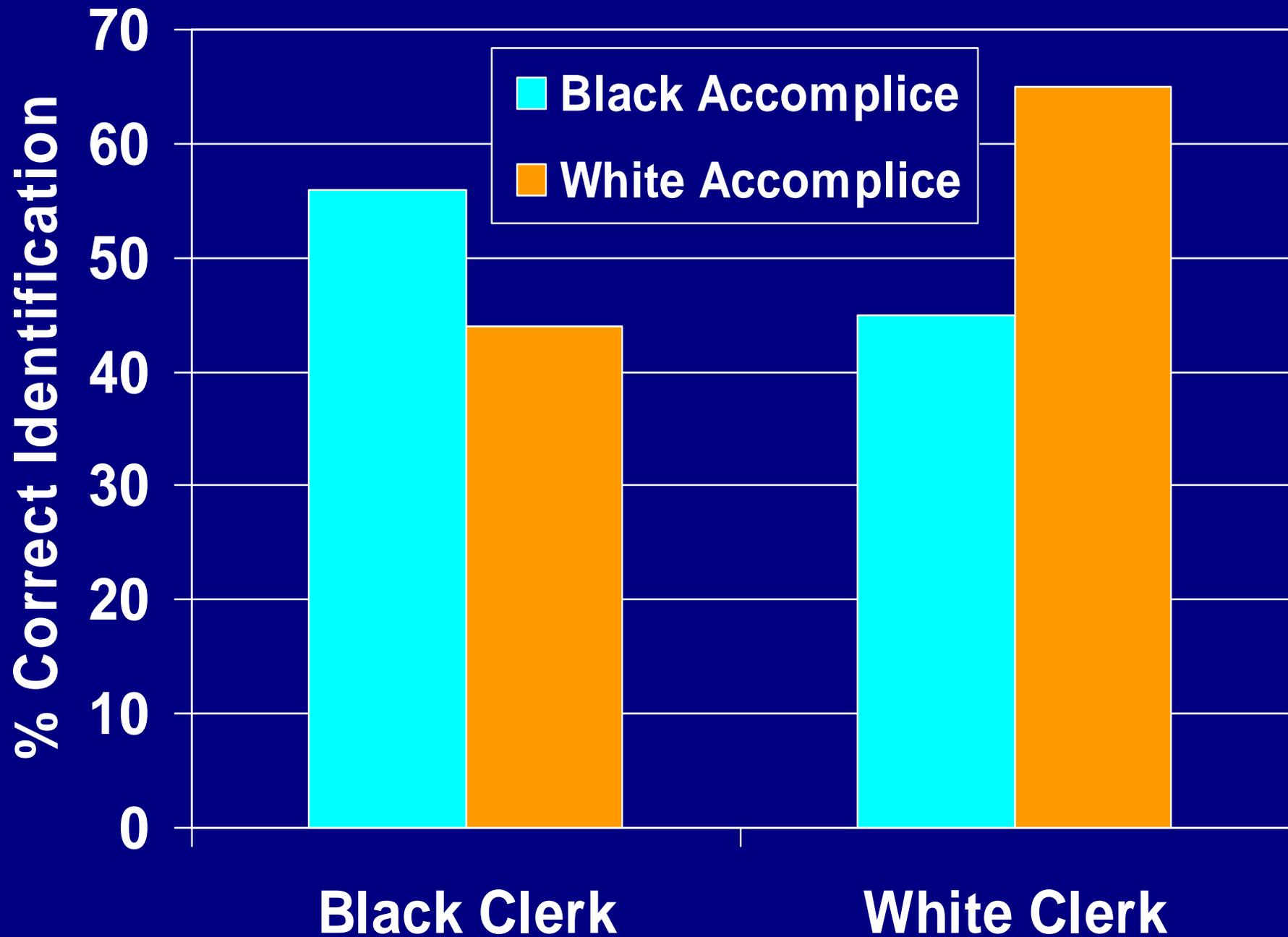
Examples:

a.) Europeans view of the Swiss b.) “Latinos” as one category c.) other sororities as less diverse

1.) Own Race Bias

Brigham et al. (1982) had accomplices (either Black or White) enter a convenience store and make a purchase in a way sure to draw attention.

Later, the experimenters, posing as law interns, asked the clerks (either Black or White) to identify the accomplice from a photo lineup of 6 Black and 6 White individuals.



Internal Differentiation

- Regardless of cognitive processes that homogenize ingroups, most groups contain differences among the members that influence identity
- We will talk about sex, generation, and class.
- These internal divisions do influence identity, but in complex ways that is not always easy to predict.
- In general, more internal division will lead to more need to cross social boundaries: **more internal differentiation = less ethnic/racial salience**

Internal Differentiation: Sex

- Sex ratios are often skewed among immigrant populations. Often individuals from one sex (usually male) journey to distant areas in search of work.
- Common result of imbalanced sex ratios is a tendency to find marriage partners outside of one's group; this can reduce ethnic/racial boundaries

Demography of Asians and Blacks in Seattle

	1900	1910	1920	1930
Japanese (men/women)	2,886/47	4,988/740	3,932/2,030	3,047/2,047
Chinese (men/women)	399/12	789/49	1,041/95	773/185
Filipino (men/women)	-	-	-	1,529/29
Black (men/women)	186/152	1,256/776	1,492/1,033	1,560/1,218
Citywide (men/women)	43,477/ 21,045	113,337/ 77,200	133,208/ 113,606	149,058/ 142,560

Internal Differentiation: Generation

- First generation people often have the strongest connection to the homeland. Some immigration streams are cutoff, and the few first generation people enter the population.
- Overall, ethnic and racial identities are weakened when the population has a smaller proportion of first generation immigrants.

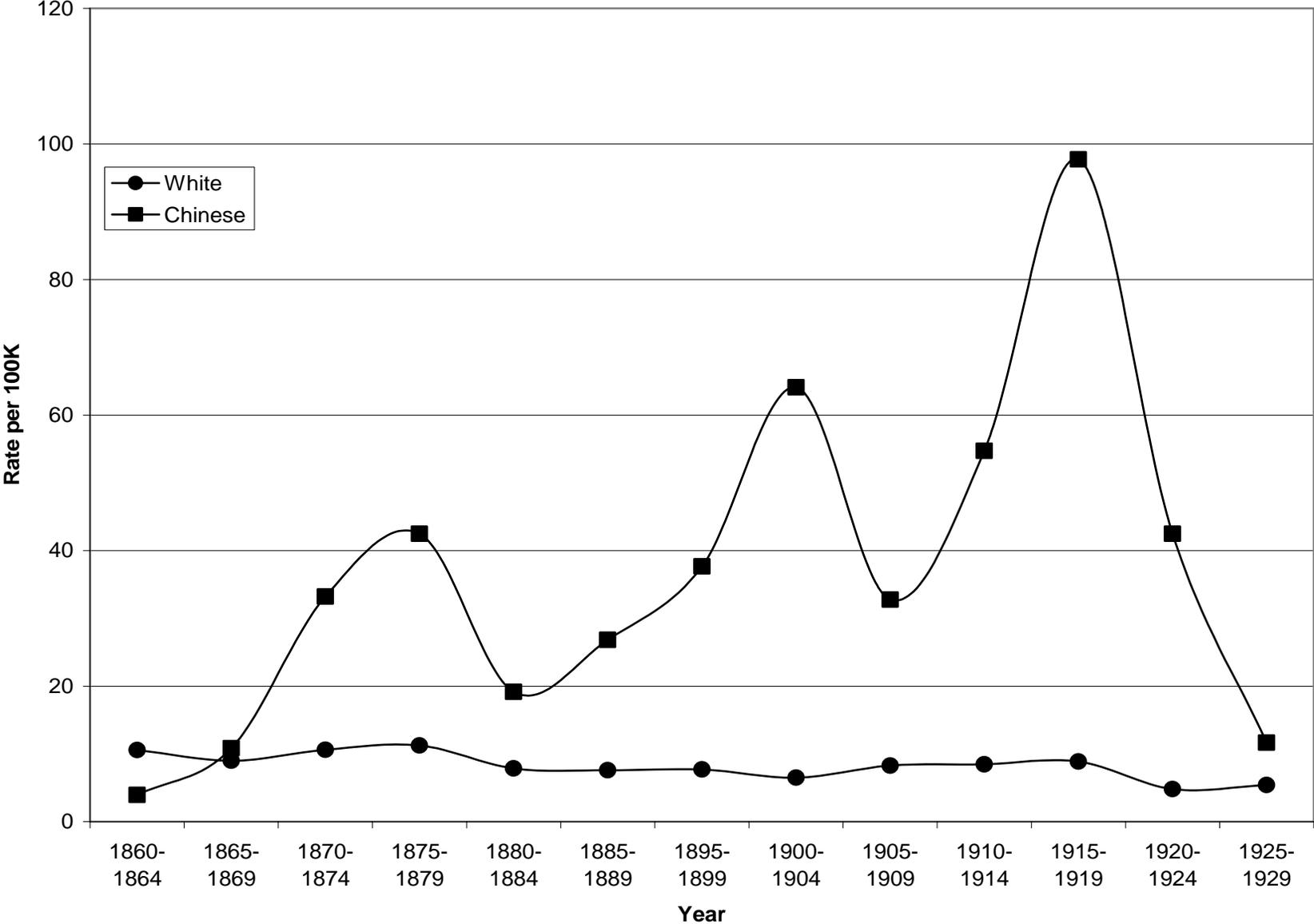
Internal Differentiation: Class

- Class differences refer to the socioeconomic differences as well as ideological differences.
- Example: Filipinos came in waves of immigration corresponding to different types of immigrants.

Chinese Violence in San Francisco 1850-1900

- Disputes among ethnic groups from rural China transplanted to China (Power struggles between different class groups)
- Violence was a source of power for smaller and poorer organizations (conflicts between rich and poor)
- Later, the class boundaries were reduced, and groups such as the Chinese Peace Society negotiated peace between the groups.
- Chinese identity became more salient through time, especially after the violence ended.

San Francisco Data

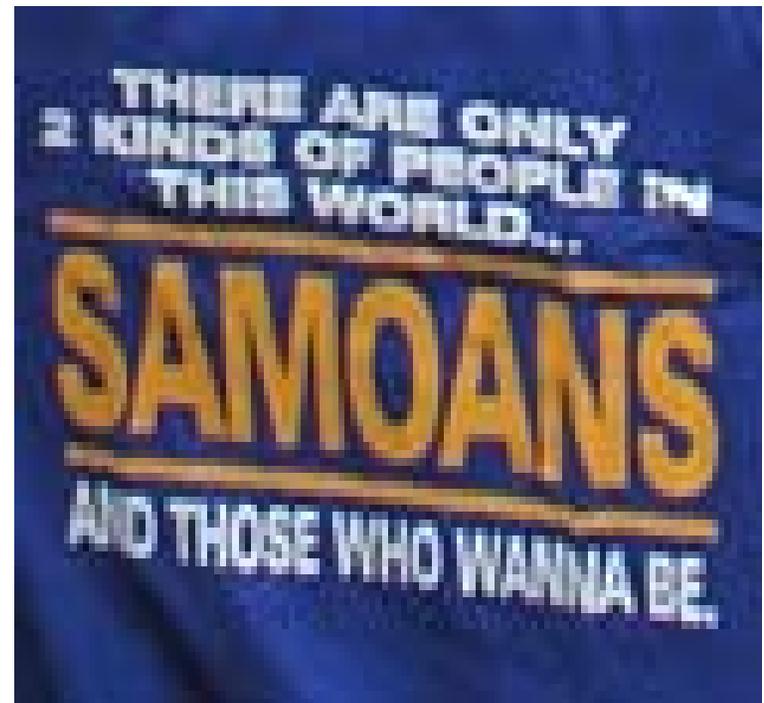


Social Capital

- Social capital refers to relationships among persons (interpersonal networks, sets of obligations, shared norms, or mutual trust)
- Social capital is fungible: the relationships can be turned into other things such as cooperation for desired goals.
- Social capital is a resource for individuals and groups that can be used to accomplish desired goals.
- **Those who can solve their problems with social capital have less reason to cross social boundaries: more social capital = greater ethnic/racial salience**

Samoans Migrate to New Zealand

- First immigrants were often single males.
- Later immigrants were entire families that resulted in very large extended families.
- Large extended families form a tightly knit set of relationships that can be used for many purposes.



Institutional Completeness

- Extended families brought Samoans “institutional completeness”; they could use these resources to satisfy needs of education, work, food, and social assistance.

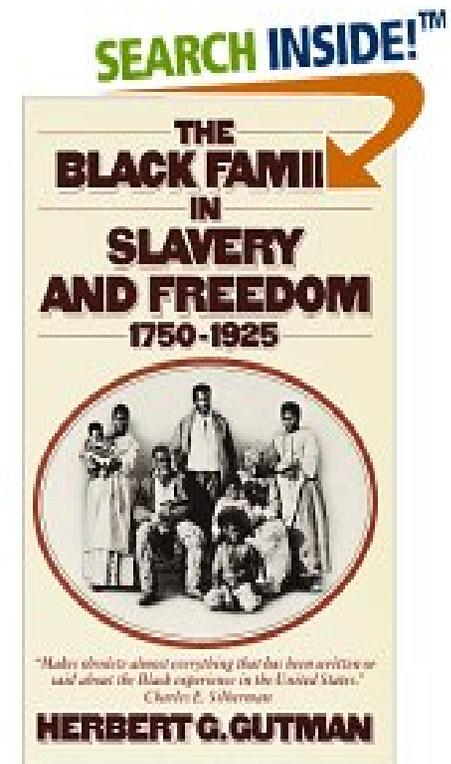


Institutional Completeness

- When institutional completeness is high, groups satisfy their own needs.
- When it is low, groups create new ways to satisfy their needs.

Examples:

- 1.) Fictive Kin in slave communities
- 2.) Rotating credit associations
(topic of next lecture)



Social Capital and Forms of Migration

- A variety of processes bring different peoples in contact with one another, but immigration is an importance source.
- Immigration researchers have found that migrations come in a variety of types and have a variety of outcomes to the groups

Immigration Basics

- **Immigration**

- Process by which millions of people left their home countries and moved to the United States. Process also includes the reaction to the immigrants by the U.S.

- **Push/Pull: Reasons why immigrants come to the United States**

- “Push”: People forced to leave their home country
- “Pull”: People drawn to the United States for many reasons



Chain and Individual Migration

- Individual migration: people come from areas of similar background, but are not intimately connected to form social capital
- Chain migration: involve communities or linked sets of persons.
- **Preexisting identities are more likely maintained in chain migrations, and greater social capital leads to greater identity salience among these groups**

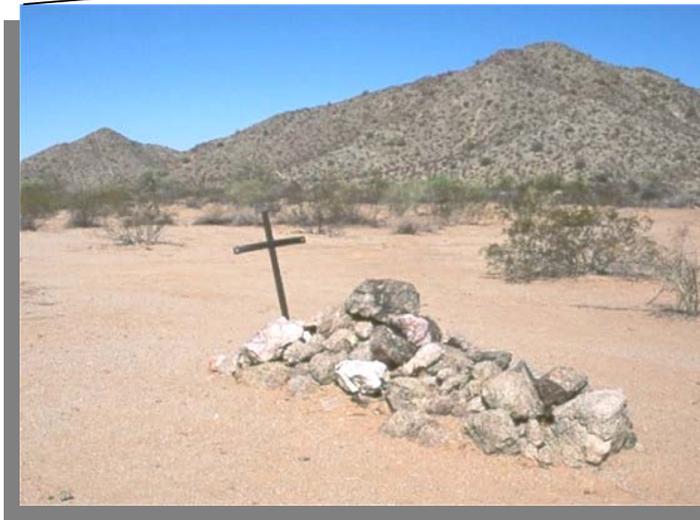
Human Capital

- Human capital refers to the kinds of assets or resources available to groups or individuals.
- Human capital refers not to sets of relationships, but to the knowledge and abilities people acquire through formal and informal education, experience, and training.

A thought experiment:

- Your task is to survive and raise your kids in the **Colorado Desert** of the American Southwest.

- You get 6 months of supplies—a little time to see what comes naturally.
- Then, I take away all industrialized products.
- **Will you make it??**

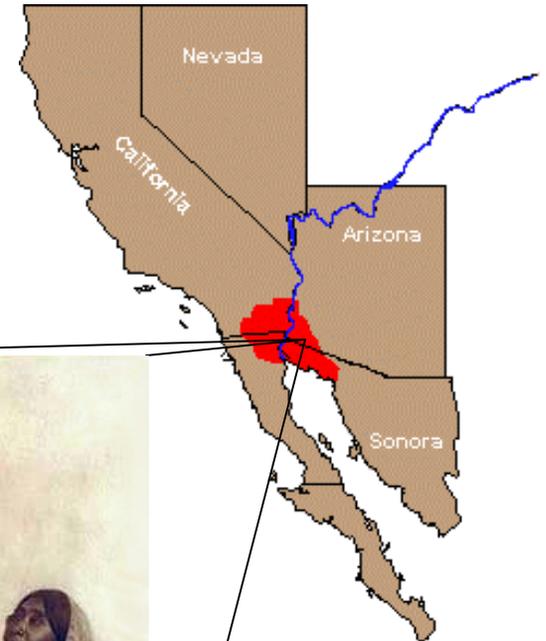


- I don't like your chances...

- This area was the best route from Mexico to California before the railroads.
- It was called *El Camino del Diablo*, and many tough, desert wise pioneers died trying to make the trip.

The Tohono O'odham lived where pioneers perished.

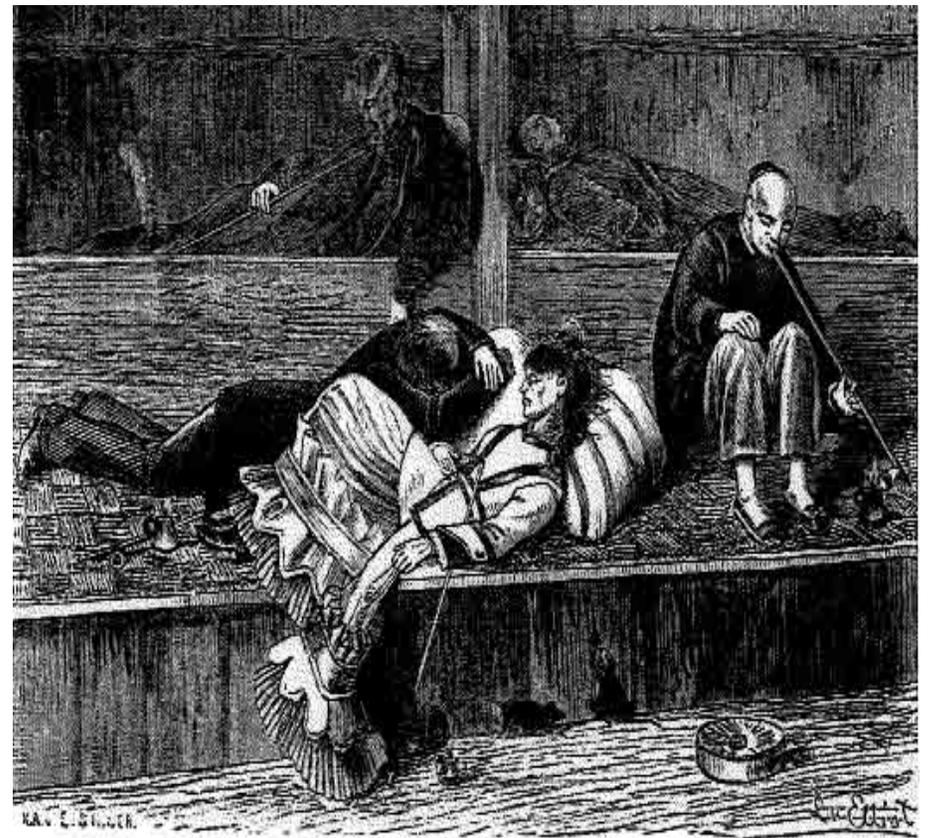
- With a few pounds of wood, stone and bone equipment, and a store of adaptive information.
 - Semi-nomadic, band social organization.
 - Foraging + rainfall horticulture.
 - Specialized technology
 - Extensive knowledge of desert.



⇒ People have psychological mechanisms that allowed Tohono O'odham to **acquire** information necessary to flourish in Colorado Desert.

Chinese Provisioning of Vice in Seattle and San Francisco

- As noted earlier, Chinese sex ratios were skewed in Chinatowns.
- Also, Chinese experienced discrimination that limited their opportunities.
- What did the Chinese do?
They relied on their human capital



In a Chinatown Opium Den

Cultural Capital: Chinese Social Organizations

- Chinese immigrants relied on various organizations upon arrival to the U.S.

Surname organizations: Membership to surname groups.

District organizations: Membership to people from common districts in southern China.

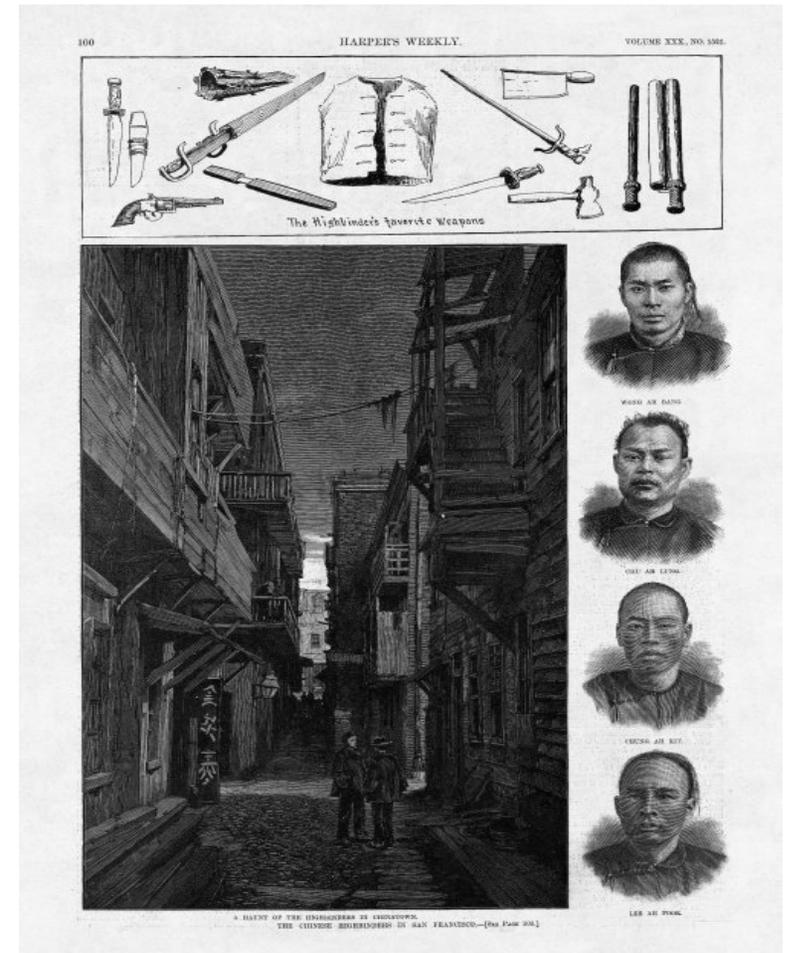
Tong (Triad) organizations: Fraternal “lodges” often incorporating men with few ties to other organizations. “Fighting tongs” and were involved in vice and protection



View inside a Chinese opium den.

Cultural Foundation: Secret Societies

- Secret societies in China have a long history (960-1279)
- Triad societies emerged to the 1700s to overthrow the Ch'ing and restore the Ming dynasty.
- Rituals and organizational rules specified the importance of honor and loyalty
- Violence was an accepted method to achieve organizational goals or protect organizational honor



Cultural Foundation: Rules of Conflict

- Stage 1: Altercation between individuals or groups
- Stage 2: Councils of the respective groups consider if the insult reflects entire organization
- Stage 3: If vengeance is required, declarations of war are posted
- Stage 4: Peace negotiations



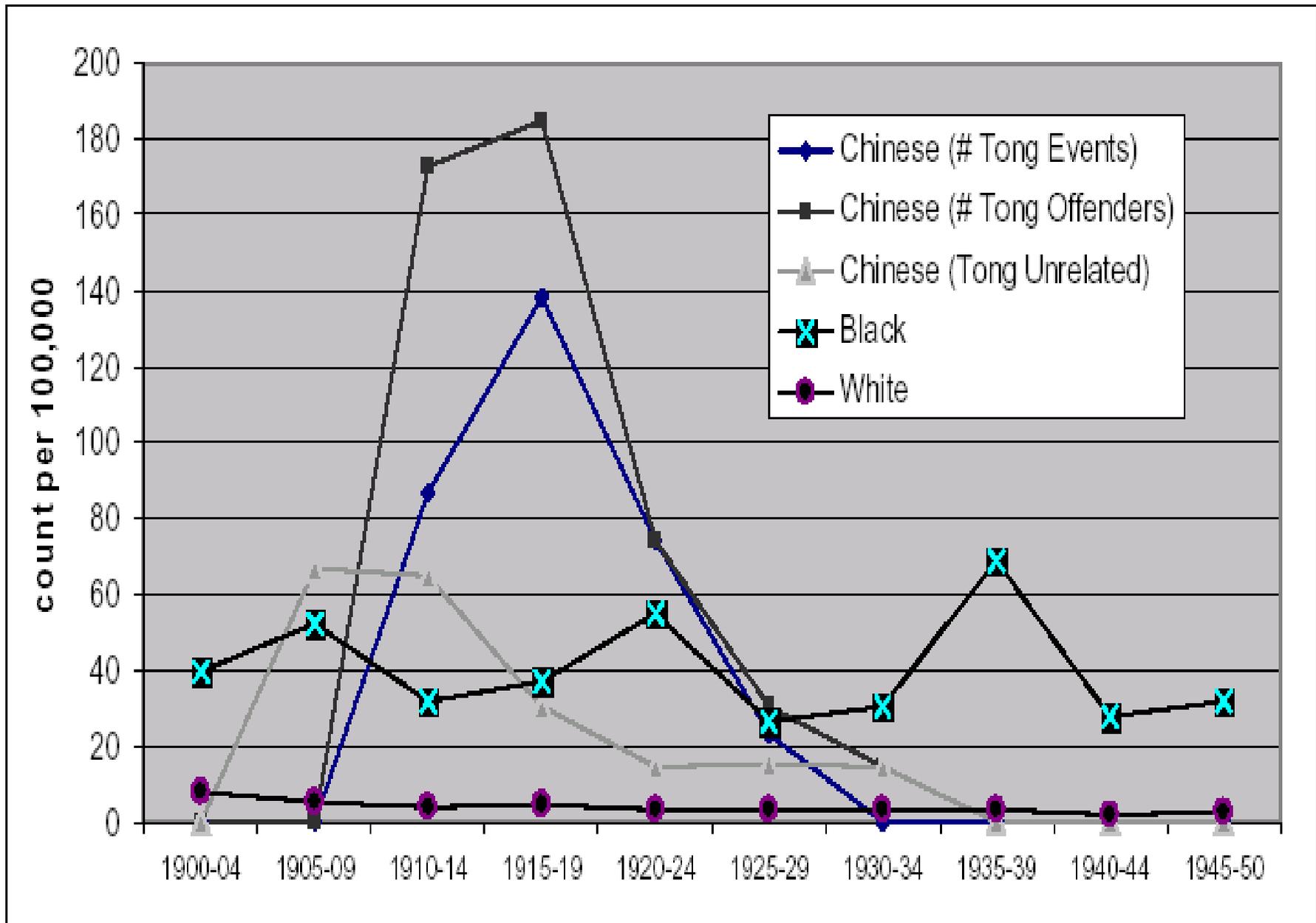
Rescued Chinese Slave Girls

Path Dependence: Character of Ethnic Violence

- Ivan Light (1972): Compared vice industry among African Americans and Asians (Chinese). Both groups supplied the demand for prostitution and drugs.
- Ethnic-specific social organizations influenced how vice was provided; Asians influenced by secret organizations (tongs), whereas Blacks likely did not have organized crime networks (churches and fraternal organizations important).

Character of Chinese Violence

- Total number of Chinese Cases N=28
- Tong-related cases (N=19, 69%)
- 88.9% of Chinese cases were intra-ethnic
- 11 of 19 tong cases involved multiple offenders (3 involved 3 offenders, 1 involved 5)
- Most cases occurred during the day in public settings with large caliber guns fired multiple times (assassinations)



Symbolic Repertoires

- Ethnic and racial identities 1.) help to make sense out of the social world and 2.) gives people's lives distinctive meaning.
- Symbolic repertoires are collective representations that groups have to communicate their social identities to one another.
- Examples: Afrikaner political elites had sets of symbols to communicate to the people with; Serbian elites could manipulate the battle of 1389 to frame history in a useful way.

Symbolic Repertoires

- Stories:
- Ritual and celebration
- Cultural practices
- The Use and Growth of Symbolic Repertoires

Summary: “All Else Equal”

- Study table on page 230 in depth.
- Realize that this is very crude and simple, but it does give us a place to start to make generalizations.

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