



Richard T. Schaefer

Race  
and  
Ethnicity  
in the United States

E I G H T H   E D I T I O N

# Race and Ethnicity in the United States

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# Race and Ethnicity in the United States

**EIGHTH EDITION**

**Richard T. Schaefer**

*DePaul University*

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**PEARSON**

*To my grandson, may he grow to flourish in  
our multicultural society*

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# Preface

The first fifteen years of the twenty-first century have witnessed significant changes. The Latino population has overtaken the African American population with the Asian American population growing faster than either. Meanwhile, the population of White non-Hispanic youth has actually become a numerical minority when compared collectively to the other racial and ethnic groups. Yet alongside these demographic changes has been a series of events that serve to underscore the diversity of the American people.

People cheered on May 1, 2011, upon hearing that Osama bin Laden had been found and killed. However, the always patriotic American Indian people were very troubled to learn that the military had assigned the code name “Geronimo” to the infamous terrorist. The Chiricahua Apache of New Mexico were particularly disturbed to learn that the name of their freedom fighter was used in this manner.

Barack Obama may be the son of an immigrant and the first African American president, but that is not the end of his ethnicity. On an official state visit to Ireland, the president made a side trip to the village of Moneygall in County Offaly from where his great-great-grandfather Falmouth Kearney, a shoemaker’s son, came to the United States in 1850.

Race and ethnicity are an important part of the national agenda. Thirty years ago, when the first edition of this book was being written, it was noted that race is not a static phenomenon and that, although it is always a part of the social reality, specific aspects change. At that time, the presence of a new immigrant group, the Vietnamese,

was duly noted, and the efforts to define affirmative action were described. Today, we seek to describe the growing presence of Salvadorans, Haitians, Tongans, Somalis, Hmong, and Arab Americans.

Specific issues may change over time, but they continue to play out against a backdrop of discrimination that is rooted in the social structure and changing population composition as influenced by immigration and reproduction patterns. One unanticipated change is that the breakup of the Soviet Union and erosion of power of totalitarian leaders in the Middle East have made ethnic, language, and religious divisions even more significant sources of antagonism between and within nations. The old ideological debates about communism and capitalism have been replaced by emotional divisions over religious dogma and cultural traditions.

## Changes in the Eighth Edition

As with all previous editions, every line, every source, and every number in this edition have been rechecked for their accuracy. We pride ourselves on providing the most current information possible to document the patterns in intergroup relations in the United States.

Relevant scholarly findings in a variety of disciplines, including economics, anthropology, law, and communication sciences, have been incorporated. Previous users of this book will notice the Spectrum of Intergroup Relations has been given new representation, and appears in five of the book’s six chapters.

## What's New in the Eighth Edition

The eighth edition includes the following additions and changes:

### CHAPTER 1

New opening examples

- New Jeff Parker cartoon on changing racial and ethnic landscape
- Latest American Community Survey 2010 data with updated statistics
- New census data now allows listing of Arab Americans among major racial groups.
- Table of metropolitan segregation data for African Americans, Hispanics, and Asian Americans
- 2012 map of minority population by counties
- Proposed census changes for racial/ethnic categories for 2020
- Racial and ethnic population projections for 2060 including data for Arab and Biracial Americans

### CHAPTER 2

- New opening example on impact of racial names on allocating public assistance
- **Research Focus:** Virtual Prejudice and Anti-Prejudice
- **Speaking Out:** Gangsters, Gooks, Geishas, and Geeks, by Helen Zia
- 2012 data on police profiling in New York City
- New section on avoidance of racial and ethnic groups via the Internet
- New cartoon on workplace diversity
- 2012 data on foreign-born workers

### CHAPTER 3

New opening examples

- Figure on hate crimes (updated to 2012 release)
- Map of voter identification laws illustrates institutional discrimination
- 2013 HUD study of housing discrimination
- Tables and figure on income by race and sex, holding education constant, updated through 2013 Census reports

- Wealth inequity data updated through the recent economic slowdown
- **Research Focus:** The Unequal Wealth Distribution
- Implications of *Fisher v. University of Texas* 2013 decision outlined
- **Speaking Out:** Arab Problem, by Moustafa Bayoumi
- Recent changes in Craigslist policy on discriminatory advertisements

### CHAPTER 4

- Opener on the success of Dr. Alfredo Quñones-Hinojosa
- Two figures and map on immigration updated through 2012
- **Speaking Out:** Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, by Judy Chu
- Table on immigrant adaptation to the USA
- **Research Focus:** The Hispanic Dairyland
- Updated figure on languages most frequently spoken at home from 2013 census report
- Cartoons on bilingual language and “borderline schizophrenia”
- Table on refugees updated to 2012

### CHAPTER 5

- Opening on Little Italy and Chinese Americans in Manhattan's Little Italy
- **Speaking Out:** The Next Americans, by Tomás Jiménez 153
- Head “Studying Whiteness” rephrased
- More states enact “moment of silence” as a stand-in for prayer in schools
- Romanian language newspaper persists

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- Updated comparison of schooling, health, and income measures
- Figure: Changes in Minority Population under Age 18, 2000–2010

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### Features to Aid Students

Several features are included in the text to facilitate student learning. To help students review, each chapter ends with a conclusion and summary. The key terms are highlighted in bold when they are first introduced in the text and are listed with corresponding page numbers at the end of each chapter. The Spectrum of Intergroup Relations first presented in Chapter 1 also appears in Chapters 3, 4, 5, and 6 to reinforce major concepts while addressing the unique social circumstances of individual racial and ethnic groups.

In addition, there is an end-of-book glossary with full definitions referenced by page numbers. This edition includes both "Review Questions"

and "Critical Thinking Questions." The Review Questions are intended to remind the reader of major points, whereas the Critical Thinking Questions encourage students to think more deeply about some of the major issues raised in the chapter. An extensive illustration program, which includes maps and political cartoons, expands the text discussion and provokes thought.

### Ancillary Materials

The ancillary materials that accompany this textbook have been carefully created to enhance the topics being discussed.

#### FOR THE INSTRUCTOR

**Instructor's Manual and Test Bank (ISBN 020521634X).** This carefully prepared manual includes chapter overviews, key term identification exercises, discussion questions, topics for class discussion, audiovisual resources, and test questions in both multiple-choice and essay format. The Instructor's Manual and Test Bank is available to adopters at [www.pearsonhighered.com](http://www.pearsonhighered.com).

**MyTest (ISBN 0205216366).** This computerized software allows instructors to create their own personalized exams, to edit any or all of the existing test questions, and to add new questions. Other special features of this program include random generation of test questions, creation of alternate versions of the same test, scrambling question sequence, and test preview before printing. The MyTest is available to adopters at [www.pearsonhighered.com](http://www.pearsonhighered.com).

**PPTs (ISBN 0205216374).** The Lecture PowerPoint slides follow the chapter outline and feature images from the textbook integrated with the text. The slides are uniquely designed to present concepts in a clear and succinct manner. They are available to adopters at [www.pearsonhighered.com](http://www.pearsonhighered.com).

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# About the Author

**R**ichard T. Schaefer grew up in Chicago at a time when neighborhoods were going through transitions in ethnic and racial composition. He found himself increasingly intrigued by what was happening, how people were reacting, and how these changes were affecting neighborhoods and people's jobs. In high school, he took a course in sociology. His interest in social issues caused him to gravitate to more sociology courses at Northwestern University, where he eventually received a B.A. in sociology.

"Originally as an undergraduate I thought I would go on to law school and become a lawyer. But after taking a few sociology courses, I found myself wanting to learn more about what sociologists studied and was fascinated by the kinds of questions they raised," Dr. Schaefer says. "Perhaps most fascinating and, to me, relevant to the 1960s was the intersection of race, gender, and social class." This interest led him to obtain his M.A. and Ph.D. in sociology from the University of Chicago. Dr. Schaefer's continuing interest in race relations led him to write his master's thesis on the membership of the Ku Klux Klan and his doctoral thesis on racial prejudice and race relations in Great Britain.

Dr. Schaefer went on to become a professor of sociology. He has taught sociology and

courses on multiculturalism for 30 years. He has been invited to give special presentations to students and faculty on racial and ethnic diversity in Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, North Carolina, Ohio, and Texas.

Dr. Schaefer is the author of *Racial and Ethnic Diversity in the USA* (Pearson 2014) and *Racial and Ethnic Groups*, fourteenth edition (Pearson, 2014). Dr. Schaefer is the general editor of the three-volume *Encyclopedia of Race, Ethnicity, and Society* (2008). He is also the author of the thirteenth edition of *Sociology* (2012), the eleventh edition of *Sociology: A Brief Introduction* (2015), the third edition of *Sociology: A Modular Approach* (2015), and the sixth edition of *Sociology Matters* (2013). Schaefer coauthored with William Zellner the ninth edition of *Extraordinary Groups* (2011), which, in 2014, was translated into Japanese. His articles and book reviews have appeared in many journals, including *American Journal of Sociology*, *Phylon: A Review of Race and Culture*, *Contemporary Sociology*, *Sociology and Social Research*, *Sociological Quarterly*, and *Teaching Sociology*. He served as president of the Midwest Sociological Society from 1994 to 1995. In recognition of his achievements in undergraduate teaching, he was named Vincent de Paul Professor of Sociology in 2004.

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# Chapter 1

# Exploring Race and Ethnicity



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## Learning Objectives

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### RANKING GROUPS

**1-1** Explain how groups are ranked.

### TYPES OF GROUPS

**1-2** Describe the different types of groups.

### DOES RACE MATTER?

**1-3** Explain what is meant by race being socially constructed.

### BIRACIAL AND MULTIRACIAL IDENTITY: WHO AM I?

**1-4** Define biracial and multiracial identity.



## SOCIOLOGY AND THE STUDY OF RACE AND ETHNICITY

**1-5** Describe how sociology helps us understand race and ethnicity.

## THE CREATION OF SUBORDINATE-GROUP STATUS

**1-6** Restate the creation of subordinate groups.

## SPECTRUM OF INTERGROUP STATUS

**1-7** Use the Spectrum of Intergroup Relations.

## THE CONSEQUENCES OF SUBORDINATE-GROUP STATUS

**1-8** Restate the consequences of subordinate groups.

## RESISTANCE AND CHANGE

**1-9** Articulate how change occurs in racial and ethnic relations.

Lewiston, Maine, was dying. Now Lewiston is thriving, even in the midst of a national recession. This city changed its future. In 2000, the community of about 36,000, of which 96 percent were White, mostly of French and Irish descent, was going nowhere. The textile mills were shuttered and massive social welfare programs were created locally to meet the needs of the people. It was little wonder that a nearby resident, Stephen King, often chose its abandoned mills and other buildings as inspiration for his suspense novels.

In February 2001, Black Africans, originally from Somalia and of the Muslim faith, began to settle in Lewiston from other areas throughout the United States. With few job opportunities and well-known long, cold winters, it seemed an unlikely destination for people whose homeland was hot and mostly arid. Better schools, little crime, cheap housing, and good social welfare programs attracted the initial arrivals. Once a small group was established, more and more Somalis arrived as the first group shared their positive experiences with friends and relatives. Not everyone stayed because of the winters or unrelated explanations, yet they continued to come.

The numbers of arrivals ebbed and flowed—the increased immigration regulations after 9/11 made entry difficult for Arab Muslims such as the Somali immigrants. One mayor in 2002 issued a public letter encouraging Somalis not to come; his actions were widely denounced. Another man threw a pig's head into a local mosque during evening prayers. Muslims by tradition cannot touch, much less eat, pork. Politicians continue to make unwelcoming comments, but they are quickly drowned out by those who are supportive of the 6,000-plus Somali community. For their part, the Somalis have settled in and are raising their children, but they are concerned that their sons and daughters identify more with being American than with being Somali. Despite their limited resources, as a community they send about \$300,000 a month to friends and relatives in Somalia who continue to face incredible hardship.

For over ten years, they have come to Lewiston—10 to 30 *every week*. Lewiston is thriving in a state that continues to face many challenges. A decade is not a long time to reach conclusions about race, religion, and immigration. Somalis, who now account for about 15 percent of the population, have graduated from the local community college, run for office, and opened up dozens

of previously shuttered businesses. Others commute the 20 miles to L. L. Bean warehouses to work (Canfield 2012; Cullen 2011; Hammond 2010; Huisman et al. 2011; Tice 2007).

The struggles of racial, ethnic, linguistic, and religious minorities have often required their organized efforts to overcome inequities. Not only significant White support but also organized resistance typically mark these struggles. The various groups that make the United States diverse do not speak with one voice. For example, the Somalis of Maine are made up of different ethnic or tribal groups. Most are Bantu, who were targeted during the 1991 civil war, fled to refugee camps in Kenya, came to the United States, and resettled in Maine. They still see themselves as different from other ethnic groups from Somalia.

One aspect of the struggle to overcome inequality is the continuing effort to identify strategies and services to assist minorities in their struggle to overcome prejudice and discrimination. Among the beneficiaries of programs aimed at racial and ethnic minorities are White Americans, who, far from all being affluent themselves, have also experienced challenges in their lives.

The election and reelection of the nation's first African American president (who incidentally carried three states of the former Confederacy) presents the temptation to declare that issues of racial inequality are past or racism is limited to a few troublemakers. Progress has been made and expressions of explicit racism are rarely tolerated, yet challenges remain for immigrants of any color and racial, ethnic, and religious minorities (Massey 2011).

The United States is a diverse nation and is becoming even more so, as shown in Table 1.1. In 2010, approximately 40 percent of the population were members of racial minorities or were Hispanic. This represents one out of three people in the United States, without counting White ethnic groups or foreign-born Whites.



Lewiston, Maine, a town undergoing difficult economic times over the last 20 years, received a boost from the arrival of Somalis from Africa who have now established a viable community.

**Table 1.1** Racial and Ethnic Groups in the United States

Classification	Number in Thousands	Percentage of Total Population
<b>RACIAL GROUPS</b>		
Whites (non-Hispanic)	195,371	60.3
Blacks/African Americans	37,686	12.2
Native Americans, Alaskan Natives	2,247	0.7
Asian Americans	15,553	5.0
Chinese	3,347	1.1
Asian Indians	2,843	0.9
Filipinos	2,556	0.8
Vietnamese	1,548	0.5
Koreans	1,424	0.5
Japanese	763	0.2
Pacific Islanders, Native Hawaiians	1,847	0.6
Other Asian Americans	1,225	0.5
Arab Americans	1,517	0.5
Two or more races	9,009	2.9
<b>ETHNIC GROUPS</b>		
White ancestry		
Germans	49,341	16.0
Irish	35,664	11.6
English	26,873	8.7
Italians	17,486	5.7
Poles	9,757	3.2
French	9,159	3.0
Scottish and Scotch-Irish	9,122	3.0
Jews	5,425	1.8
Hispanics (or Latinos)	50,478	16.4
Mexican Americans	31,798	10.3
Puerto Ricans	4,624	1.5
Cubans	1,785	0.6
Salvadorans	1,648	0.5
Dominicans	1,415	0.5
Guatemalans	1,044	0.3
Other Hispanics	8,164	2.7
<b>TOTAL (ALL GROUPS)</b>	<b>308,746</b>	

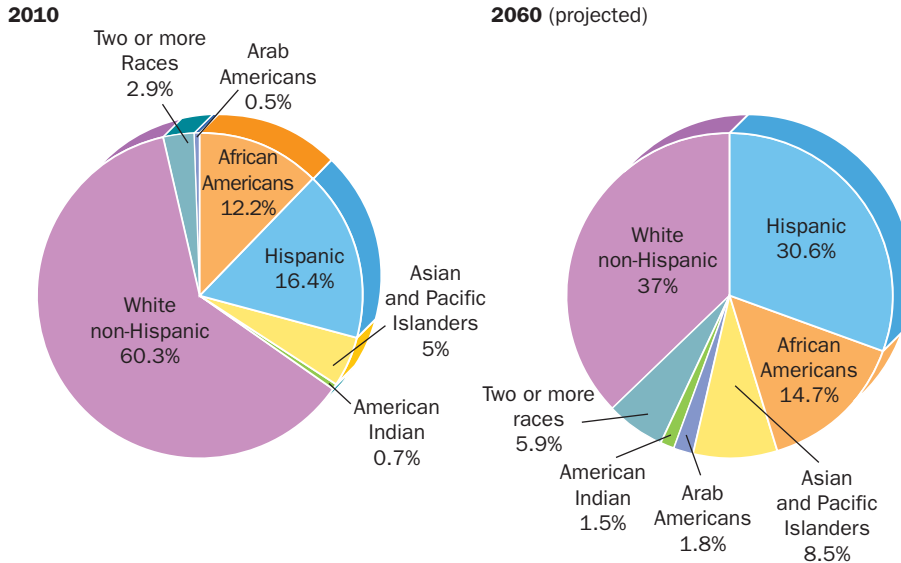
*Note:* Arab American population excluded from White total. All data are for 2010. Percentages do not total 100 percent, and when subcategories are added, they do not match totals in major categories because of overlap between groups (e.g., Polish American Jews or people of mixed ancestry such as Irish and Italian).

**SOURCE:** American Community Survey 2011b: Table C04006; Asi and Beaulieu 2013; DellaPergola 2012; Ennis, Rose-Vargas and Albert 2011; Hixson, Hepler, and Kim 2012; Hoeffel et al. 2012; Humes, Jones, and Ramirez 2011; Norris, Vines, and Hoeffel 2012.

**Figure 1.1** Population of the United States by Race and Ethnicity, 2010 and 2060 (Projected)

According to projections by the Census Bureau, the proportion of residents of the United States who are White and non-Hispanic will decrease significantly by the year 2060. By contrast, the proportion of both Hispanic Americans and Asian Americans will rise significantly.

**SOURCE:** Bureau of the Census 2013b: Table 4, sources listed in Table 1.1, and author estimates.



As shown in Figure 1.1, between 2010 and 2060, the Black, Hispanic, Asian, Arab, and Native American population along with those identifying as biracial or multiracial in the United States is expected to increase to about 63 percent. Although the composition of the population is changing, problems of prejudice, discrimination, and mistrust remain.

This trend toward “majority-minority” got underway noticeably in 2011 when Latino and non-White babies outnumbered White newborns for the first time in the United States (Bureau of the Census 2012d).

## Ranking Groups

### 1.1 Explain how groups are ranked.

In every society, not all groups are treated or viewed equally. Identifying a subordinate group or a minority in a society seems to be a simple task. In the United States, the groups readily identified as minorities—Blacks and Native Americans, for example—are outnumbered by non-Blacks and non-Native Americans. However, having minority status is not necessarily a result of being outnumbered. A social minority need not be a mathematical one. A **minority group** is

a subordinate group whose members have significantly less control or power over their own lives than do the members of a dominant or majority group. In sociology, *minority* means the same as *subordinate*, and *dominant* is used interchangeably with *majority*.

Confronted with evidence that a particular minority in the United States is subordinate to the majority, some people respond, “Why not? After all, this is a democracy, so the majority rules.” However, the subordination of a minority involves more than its inability to rule over society. A member of a subordinate or minority group experiences a narrowing of life’s opportunities—for success, education, wealth, the pursuit of happiness—that goes beyond any personal shortcoming he or she may have. A minority group does not share in proportion to its numbers what a given society, such as the United States, defines as valuable.

Being superior in numbers does not guarantee a group has control over its destiny or ensure majority status. In 1920, the majority of people in Mississippi and South Carolina were African Americans. Yet African Americans did not have as much control over their lives as did Whites, let alone control of the states in which they lived. Throughout the United States today are counties or neighborhoods in which the majority of people are African American, Native American, or Hispanic, but White Americans are the dominant force. Nationally, 50.7 percent of the population is female, but males still dominate positions of authority and wealth well beyond their numbers.

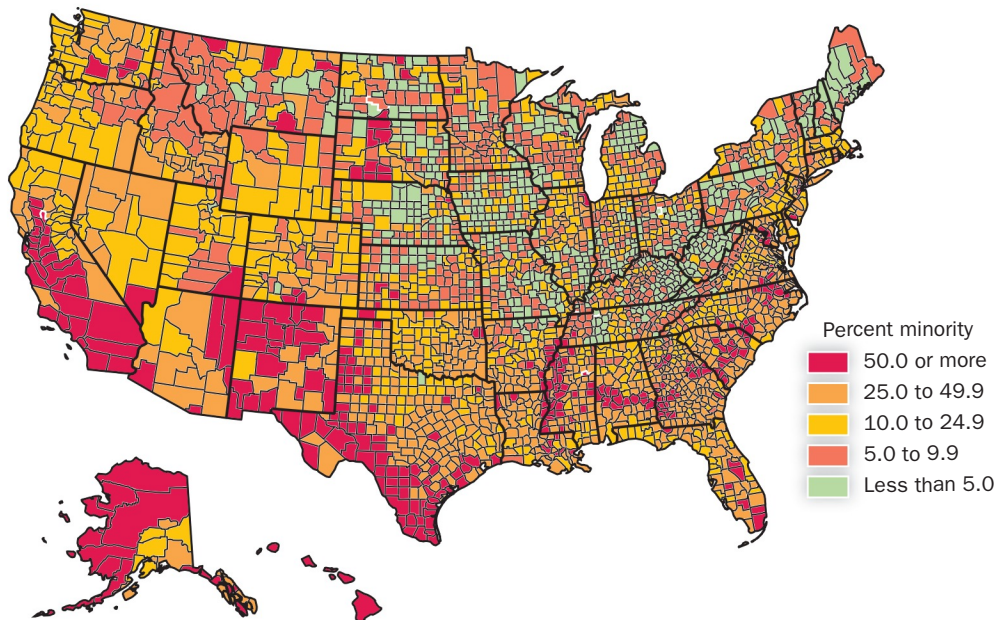
A minority or subordinate group has five characteristics: unequal treatment, distinguishing physical or cultural traits, involuntary membership, awareness of subordination, and in-group marriage (Wagley and Harris 1958):

1. Members of a minority experience unequal treatment and have less power over their lives than members of a dominant group have over theirs. Prejudice, discrimination, segregation, and even extermination create this social inequality.
2. Members of a minority group share physical or cultural characteristics such as skin color or language that distinguish them from the dominant group. Each society has its own arbitrary standard for determining which characteristics are most important in defining dominant and minority groups.
3. Membership in a dominant or minority group is not voluntary: People are born into the group. A person does not choose to be African American or White.
4. Minority-group members have a strong sense of group solidarity. William Graham Sumner, writing in 1906, noted that people make distinctions between members of their own group (the in-group) and everyone else (the out-group). When a group is the object of long-term prejudice and discrimination, the feeling of “us versus them” often becomes intense.
5. Members of a minority generally marry others from the same group. A member of a dominant group often is unwilling to join a supposedly inferior minority by marrying one of its members. In addition, the minority group’s sense of solidarity encourages marriage within the group and discourages marriage to outsiders.

## Figure 1.2 Minority Population by County

In four states (California, Hawaii, New Mexico, and Texas) and the District of Columbia, as well as in about one out of every nine counties, minorities constitute the numerical majority.

SOURCE: Jones-Puthoff 2013: slide 5.



Although “minority” status is not about numbers, there is no denying that the White American majority is diminishing in size relative to the growing diversity of racial and ethnic groups, as illustrated in Figure 1.2.

Using available population projects, which are heavily influenced by estimating future immigration patterns, the White population will be outnumbered by other racial groups and Hispanics somewhere between 2040 and 2045 or before the time people born now turn 30 years of age. The move to a more diverse nation—one in which no group is the numerical minority—will have a social impact on everything, including marriage patterns, housing, political party politics, health care delivery, and education (Bureau of the Census 2013b).

## Types of Groups

### 1-2 Describe the different types of groups.

There are four types of minority or subordinate groups. All four, except where noted, have the five properties previously outlined. The four criteria for classifying minority groups are race, ethnicity, religion, and gender.

## Racial Groups

The term **racial group** is reserved for minorities and the corresponding majorities that are socially set apart because of obvious physical differences. Notice the two crucial words in the definition: *obvious* and *physical*. What is obvious? Hair color? Shape of an earlobe? Presence of body hair? To whom are these differences obvious, and why? Each society defines what it finds obvious.

In the United States, skin color is one obvious difference. People in the United States have learned informally that skin color is important. In the United States, people have traditionally classified themselves as either Black or White. There is no in-between state except for people readily identified as Native Americans or Asian Americans. Later in this chapter, we explore this issue more deeply and see how such assumptions about race have complex implications.

Other societies use skin color as a standard but may have a more elaborate system of classification. In Brazil, where hostility between races is less prevalent than in the United States, numerous categories identify people on the basis of skin color or tone. In the United States, a person is Black or White. In Brazil, a variety of terms such as *cafuso*, *mazombo*, *preto*, and *escuro* are used to describe various combinations of skin color, facial features, and hair texture.

The designation of a racial group emphasizes physical differences as opposed to cultural distinctions. In the United States, minority races include Blacks, Native Americans (or American Indians), Japanese Americans, Chinese Americans, Arab Americans, Filipinos, Hawaiians, and other Asian peoples. The issue of race and racial differences has been an important one, not only in the United States but also throughout the entire sphere of European influence. Later in this chapter, we examine race and its significance more closely. We should not forget that Whites are a race, too. As we consider in Chapter 4, who is White has been subject to change over history when certain European groups were considered not worthy of being considered White. Partly to compete against a growing Black population, the “Whiting” of some European Americans has occurred. In Chapter 5, we will consider how Italians and Irish for all intents and purposes were once considered not to be White by others.

Some racial groups also may have unique cultural traditions, as we can readily see in the many Chinatowns throughout the United States. For racial groups, however, the physical distinctiveness and not the cultural differences generally prove to be the barrier to acceptance by the host society. For example, Chinese Americans who are faithful Protestants and know the names of all the members of the Baseball Hall of Fame may be bearers of American culture. Yet these Chinese Americans are still part of a minority because they are seen as physically different.

## Ethnic Groups

Ethnic minority groups are differentiated from the dominant group on the basis of cultural differences such as language, attitudes toward marriage and

parenting, and food habits. **Ethnic groups** are groups set apart from others because of their national origin or distinctive cultural patterns.

Ethnic groups in the United States include a grouping that we call *Hispanics* or *Latinos*, which, in turn, include Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and other Latin American residents of the United States. Hispanics can be either Black or White, as in the case of a dark-skinned Puerto Rican who may be taken as Black in central Texas but may be viewed as Puerto Rican in New York City. The ethnic group category also includes White ethnics such as Irish Americans, Polish Americans, and Norwegian Americans.

The cultural traits that make groups distinctive usually originate from their homelands or, for Jews, from a long history of being segregated and prohibited from becoming a part of a host society. Once living in the United States, an immigrant group may maintain distinctive cultural practices through associations, clubs, and worship. Ethnic enclaves such as a Little Haiti or a Greektown in urban areas also perpetuate cultural distinctiveness.

Ethnicity and race has been long recognized as an important source of differentiation. More than a century ago, African American sociologist W. E. B. Du Bois, addressing an audience at a world antislavery convention in London in 1900, called attention to the overwhelming importance of the color line throughout the world. In “Speaking Out,” we read the remarks of Du Bois, the first Black person to receive a doctorate from Harvard, who later helped to organize the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Du Bois’s observations give us a historical perspective on the struggle for equality. We can look ahead, knowing how far we have come, and speculate on how much farther we have to go.

We also should appreciate the context of Du Bois’s insight. He spoke of his “color-line” prediction in light of then-contemporary U.S. occupation of the Philippines and the relationship of “darker to lighter races” worldwide. So today, he would see race matters not only in the sporadic hate crimes we hear about but also in global conflicts (Roediger 2009).

## Religious Groups

Association with a religion other than the dominant faith is the third basis for minority-group status. In the United States, Protestants, as a group, outnumber members of all other religions. Roman Catholics form the largest minority religion. For people who are not a part of the Christian tradition, such as followers of Islam, allegiance to their faith often is misunderstood and stigmatizes people. This stigmatization became especially widespread and legitimated by government action in the aftermath of the attacks of September 11, 2001.

Religious minorities include groups such as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (the Mormons), Jehovah’s Witnesses, Amish, Muslims, and Buddhists. Cults or sects associated with practices such as animal sacrifice, doomsday prophecy, demon worship, or the use of snakes in a ritualistic fashion