Ethnic Conflicts of the Have-nots: Emergent Hispanic Ethnicity

Sangcheol Kwon*

This paper explores the inter-ethnic conflicts between Blacks and Hispanics focusing on the emergent Hispanic ethnicity that reveals situational character in the US contexts. In the US census categories, major groups are identified by race and ethnicity in which the Hispanic origin is a category based on their common language while diverse in nationality. The census defined Hispanic category extends conveniently to acquiesce Affirmative Action and other government resource distribution. Internally, Hispanics have established numerous organizations to coalesce and assure their interests. The achieved dual language program and jurisdictional revision to represent language minority work as leverages to their cohesiveness. Under diminishing public resources and welfare payment, it is more difficult sharing burdens than benefits between minority groups. Blacks are not comfortable with the benefits Hispanics receive from the civil rights achievement without having had to struggle for it. The ethnic conflicts of the have-nots have become a new ethnic phenomenon attributable to the emergent Hispanic ethnicity.

Key Words: ethnic category, Hispanics, situational ethnicity, conflict

1. Introduction

The increasing number of new ethnic immigrants during the recent past decades now constitutes the majority of population coupled with Blacks in some large US urban areas. Despite sharing similar low social and economic position, they tend to see each other as competitors, and the increasing tensions and conflicts between minority ethnic groups have now become a new ethnic phenomenon. The new ethnic realities in large US cities are characterized by the presence of the competing and visible ethnic groups that makes their solidarity difficult and becomes dismal under economic recession.

Among the ethnic minority group relations, most intense are the tensions between Hispanics and Blacks, the two dominant minority groups. Their relations have evolved into a conflictual one despite the persistent concerns to coalesce with each other. While several voices urge to unite against "divide and conquer tactics" that exacerbate frictions among the minority groups (May, 1991), the Black-Brown solidarity is left as a myth since organizing people around sharing burdens is a lot more difficult than around sharing benefits. The interactions among ethnic minority groups now become an important research agenda because their similarities in the bottom of the social stratification system should lead to cooperative rather than contentious relations. The emergence of new ethnicity has been called a "new ethnic frontier" in contemporary US urban areas intensifying group boundary that was not

* Full-time Instructor, Department of Social Education (Geography), Cheju National University

previously significant enough to compete with the existing minority group, Blacks (Oliver and Johnson, 1984). In such a new ethnic reality, however, previous studies largely focus on the majority and minority relations, Blacks and Whites. Studies on the minority relations pay attention in fragmented manner focusing either on global or local circumstances.

This paper explores the inter-ethnic conflicts between Hispanics and Blacks focusing on the emergent Hispanic ethnicity with respect to the role of the state, internal group formation, and economic circumstances. It first discusses the US race/ethnic categories with respect to fixed primordial and non-fixed situational perspectives. And then the emergence of Hispanic ethnicity is considered as situational which is established from the institutionally constructed group identity, internal coalition building to pursue their interests, and recent economic circumstances facilitating tensions and conflicts with Blacks. Finally, Blacks' response to the emergent Hispanics is presented to understand the fundamental causes of their conflicts. Ethnic conflicts of the have-nots in the US are a multi-faceted phenomenon interwoven the institutionally constructed ethnic boundary with internal coalition under scarce economic circumstances. The frequency and intensity would reveal local variations depending upon such factors as group size and local circumstances.

2. Race and Ethnic Categories

Racial and ethnic groups are generally categorized following commonly possessed physical and human characteristics. They are diverse in size and form ranging from smaller primordial kin to larger units sharing one or two common attributes. There is, however, no satisfactory definition for group identification or categorization (McKay, 1982; Yinger, 1985). Considering the emergence of ethnic groups with the status of state development, ethnicity in developing states tends to be identified in primordial kin units with common descent and in primary group identity with common territory or religion. Under these circumstances, the most persistent type of group identification is

ascriptive distinction following physical or cultural characteristics in which the boundaries are static preexisting and cannot be modified. Ethnic boundaries are thus regarded as genetic defined by primordial belongings. This type of ethnic group identification is likely to demise while the state is turning into a nation building process (Yinger, 1985).

However, ethnic group identification or the emergent ethnicity in the developed state tends to rise in certain circumstances rather than demise as posited. The tendency is considered as situational ethnicity that is established to pursue group interests. Contrary to the primordial perspective emphasizing the genetic and static categorization of an ethnic group that is incapable of being changed, the situational perspective takes an open position to ethnic groups where ethnic boundaries are formed or dissolved depending upon particular circumstances. It emphasizes the dynamic aspects of ethnicity as a mobilized interest group identity that has received much attention as an alternative (Cornell, 1996; Jenkins, 1994). Rather than conceiving ethnic identity and organization as the natural outgrowth of primordial division, the situational ethnicity stresses its non-fixed character, and thus, the strategic nature of ethnic identity as an interest group. A key concept is the notion of interests that are pursued effectively by an ethnic group with affective ties (Yinger, 1985; Glazer and Moynihan, 1975). Regarding ethnicity as an interest group identity, the pursuit of interests through ethnic cohesion rather than by some other form of social solidarity is regarded as a strategic efficacy in which ethnic mechanisms are utilized for pursuing their interests.

The situational perspective of ethnicity emphasizes that ethnicity can be transformed into a favored organizational strategy and a perceived expedient and efficacious design for resource acquisition. In certain circumstances, the flexible ethnic boundaries may originate from forces outside the group to be ascribed and from the forces inside the group to be strategic along with the ascriptively delimited ethnic boundaries on certain ethnic attributes. Ethnic boundaries depend on the extent of unifying

structures as well as commonality of interests within the group. As such, ethnic emergence can be defined as the process by which a group organizes along ethnic lines in pursuit of group interests (Nagel and Olzak, 1982). The coincidence of these two forces of ascriptive and strategic becomes an especially powerful impetus to the emergence of new ethnicity.

As a new basis for the pursuit of group interests, ethnicity becomes an instrument in economic and political competition between minority groups. In competitive economic and political relations, ethnic mobilization resulting in conflicts between ethnic groups is due to the conscious efforts of individuals and groups mobilizing ethnic symbols in order to obtain access to economic and political resources. The resources pursued might be the domination of occupational opportunities and collective access to political offices (Neuwirth, 1969). In particular, the ethnic groups of the have-nots with subordinate positions in the social and economic structure of the US, and their perceptions of ethnic discrimination, see their ethnicity as a strategic efficacy in their struggle for economic and political advancement with limited alternative upward mobility paths.

The white and black distinction is based on the physical characteristic, but its consensual recognition and its wider applicability to ethnic distinction lie in the historical discrimination and deprivation commonly experienced by Blacks, which have consequently provided an underlying coalition force (Lee, 1994). With the size and proportion of the population, they easily turned into a mobilized group to demand their compensation in the political and economic arena. The group distinction based on physical or human attributes works as a trigger for group identity and a mobilizing force to pursue their interests. Ethnic group formation and mobilization in developed states differs in its character from the primordial tie or kinship dominance in the underdeveloped states (Yinger, 1985). The significance of the criteria to distinguish ethnic groups thus could be better evaluated by the circumstances rather than the suitability of the criteria itself. It calls attention to the flexible ethnic identification defined

dialectically from external and internal forces.

To examine the new ethnic reality in recent US urban areas, the emergent Hispanic ethnicity is considered from the situational perspective as an establishment to pursue their interests, which ultimately led to conflicts with existing minority Blacks. Then, in what circumstances ethnicity that has not previously existed emerges as the basis of group identification and how does such a choice provide economic or political advantage, and cause conflicts between minority groups? Ethnic boundaries could be considered to be established by external forces, and when such definition is coincident with internal interests commonly shared by members, the boundaries are easily turned into an important new ethnic identity to pursue their interests effectively. In the following, institutional construction and group organization are considered as external and internal bases and then economic circumstances of new ethnic emergence are elaborated relevant to the case of emergent Hispanic ethnicity.

3. Emergent Hispanic Ethnicity

The coincidence of the influx of Hispanic immigrants and ethnic consciousness around the late 1960s suggests the general circumstances of the emergent Hispanic ethnicity. As a new ethnic phenomenon in inter-ethnic relations, it has led to dismal conflicts between the have-nots even though they constitute numeric majority in large US urban areas. The growing tensions and conflicts between Hispanics and Blacks can be attributed to the increasing visibility of Hispanics as an emerging ethnic minority in terms of their size and ethnic consciousness.[1]

While diverse explanations have been proposed for the circumstances in which ethnic mobilization is likely to occur in international contexts, three propositions seem to be appropriate for the current emergent Hispanic ethnicity in the US contexts: first, the relation to the state, second, internal coalition building, and third, declining economic opportunities. In particular, the combination of economic competition under declining economic opportunities with growing ethnic group

consciousness is the recent US urban setting where ethnic groups are more likely to compete against each other.[2] The relation to the state considered here is the state's power to ascribe ethnic boundary and attach incentives to it. In conjunction with the formalized ethnic boundaries, the growth of Hispanic organizations with the increase of population stock through immigration is considered as the internal ethnic solidarity. The external and internal bases reinforce each other, whichever first prompted group interests. Elaborating these propositions, Hispanics are examined as an emergent ethnic group competing with the existing group, Blacks.

1) Institutional Construction of Ethnicity

The emergence of ethnic group identity often takes place from the role of the state since central government is the most powerful ascriptive force in modern ethnic policy formulation. In other words, the main reason for the rise of ethnic group formation can be traced from where political policies are structured on the basis of ethnic groups and such arrangements

are available to politicize ethnicity and to transform it into interest groups (Nagel, 1986). There exists a strong likelihood of ethnic emergence on the basis of the designated identity when official ethnic categorization is implemented. The catrgorization recognizes and institutionalizes ethnic differences. In particular, it is of utmost importance to consider census categories of race and Hispanic origin for separate counts in US contexts.

In the US census categories, Hispanics were first recognized in the 1970 census though on the long-form questionnaire distributed to 5 percent of the country's population. By 1980 the Hispanic origin question was on the short-form distributed to the entire population. In the 1970 census, race category distinguished White, Black or Negro, Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, and Korean etc., and the Hispanic origin category distinguished Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central/South American, and other Spanish. These two categories formed the backbone of group identification that continued in 1980 and 1990 censuses with more detailed incumbents for each category (Table 1).

Table 1. Race and Ethnic Categories Used in Selected Decennial Censuses

Census	1960	1970	1980	1990
Race	White	White	White	White
	Negro	Negro or Black	Black or Negro	Black or Negro
	American Indian	Japanese	Japanese	American Indian
	Japanese	Chinese	Chinese	Eskimo
	Chinese	Filipino	Filipino	Aleut
	Filipino	Hawaiian	Korean	Chinese
	Hawaiian	Korean	Vietnamese	Filipino
	Other	American Indian	Asian Indian	Hawaiian
		Other	Hawaiian	Korean
			American Indian	Vietnamese
			Other	Japanese
				Asian Indian
				Other
Hispanic		Mexican	Mexican-American	Mexican or Chicano
Origin		Puerto Rican	or Chicano	or Mexican-Amer.
		Cuban	Puerto Rican	Puerto Rican
		Central/So. American	Cuban	Cuban
		Other Spanish	Other Spanish/Hispanic	Other Spanish/Hispanic

Source: draws on O'Hare (1992) and Short (1996)

Government policies have the ability to designate particular ethnic boundaries and provide the rationale for the selection of ethnicity as the basis for ethnic mobilization while the Hispanic category was added after a great deal of lobbying, primarily by Mexican-American leaders. When members of the group perceive economic and political advantages to be derived from such designation, they emphasize that particular boundary instead of nationalities, for example minorities instead of Puerto Rican or Chicano and political refugees instead of Indo-Chinese or Vietnamese etc. (Padilla, 1984; Hein, 1991).

It is especially powerful when such designation carries advantageous implications for an ethnic group. Important in US contexts is that such categories are extended to political structural arrangements that emphasize a particular boundary or affiliation such as the reliance on census data for special treatment of affirmative action. The designation of the "protected groups" under Affirmative Action[3] and the identification of "language minority" in the revised Voting Rights Act in 1982[4] render them legitimate and encourage affiliation and organization consistent with the official designation rather than with the culturally or traditionally relevant units such as Hispanics as opposed to Mexican-American or Puerto Rican (Nelson and Tienda, 1985). Especially when resource distribution policies are determined according to the official designation for economic and political acquisition, the special treatment groups tend to evolve into conflictual relations since redistributive policies are in most circumstances zero-sum games with distinct winners at the expense of losers (Bell, 1975).

In terms of strategic organization for competitive advantage, the distribution of politically controlled resources according to the designation is an immensely powerful factor in ethnic group emergence. As a basis for asserting claims against government in particular, "the strategic efficacy has its counterpart in the seeming ease whereby government employs ethnic categories as a basis for distributing its rewards" (Glazer and Moyhihan, 1975, p. 10). The mobilization of a single ethnic group is more likely to serve as a catalyst for the similar mobilization of others. As one group demonstrates that it can secure tangible benefits from an ethnic strategy, it spawns imitators demanding their share as well. Considering the heavy reliance of the have-nots on public sectors for employment and governmental and social policy, economic competition over scarce resources is subsumed to the role of the state as the basis of inter-ethnic minority conflicts. This is partly supported by the empirical finding that job competition between immigrants and natives are not substantial in general labor market circumstances (Reischauer, 1989). In such a situation, normal urban issues such as housing, education, law enforcement, and social welfare take on an ethnic coloration, leading to the magnification of ethnic conflict and increased demands upon the urban political system (Ross, 1982).

The inter-ethnic conflicts of the have-nots depend in large part on the institutional arrangements for ethnic category and associated policy formulation. It supports the idea that ethnicity is not a primordial or genetic in character, but a politically constructed entity for the case of Hispanics. Along with the external force to construct ethnic boundaries, internal coalition building should be considered as well to pursue their interests effectively.

2) Internal Coalition Building

Hispanics have historically avoided political involvement due to their insignificant numbers and escaped from direct confrontation with other groups (Deloria, 1981). In the late 1960s, however, more active Hispanic identity was developed with increasing numbers, organizations, and legislative support (Totti, 1987; Cohen, 1982; Arce, 1981; Estrada et al., 1981). The most important factor was that of demographic change that allowed Hispanics to transform into an emergent ethnic group. Hispanics, with the already existing population stock, have grown to a larger minority group through the increasing number of legal and illegal immigrants. Such a new wave of mass immigration since the elimination of national origins quotas in 1965 has provoked fears of the

overwhelming number of immigrants and its consequent increase of demand (Fuchs, 1991).

Not only do Hispanics have a large population base, but they have a growing number of professionals such as attorneys and lawyers who have sought to protect Hispanic interests. Formal Hispanic organizations have grown in number and evolved from self-protective and mutual-aid associations to active participation in economic and political arenas. Large Hispanic organizations such as the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC)[5], Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF)[6], and National Council of La Raza[7] etc. came into being during the 1960s. All these organizations were established primarily by Mexicans, but they grew, later encompassing other Hispanic origin groups, to enhance solidarity and advocate their interests. Their central concerns are employment opportunities, education, and the civil rights movement to achieve a greater economic and political share promoted largely by their increasing size and proportion of the population.

The newly founded Hispanic organizations called attention to the problems of Hispanics. In particular, they made claims on equal employment enforcement agencies for Hispanics to be included in the protected group under affirmative action. While ethnic leadership is certainly necessary to gather, motivate, and organize ethnic movements, these leaders can paradoxically reinforce the minority group's lower status that may jeopardize the future integration of Hispanics into society as has been experienced by Blacks. At any rate, the rationale for the formation of MALDEF, one of the most important contemporary Hispanic organizations, dictates the emulation of Blacks, "Above all, there has been no cadre of Mexican-American lawyers trained to handle civil rights cases as Black lawyers have done" (Vigil, 1988, p. 17). Using the black civil rights movement as an example, Hispanics emphasized that they have shared disadvantages with Blacks while not making similar gains from compensatory policies for gaining equal opportunity protection that was primarily enacted for the compensation of Blacks' historical deprivation.

Along with the organizational growth, the cultural and political interests of Hispanic groups were more expanded by the growth of legislative support of bilingual education. Bilingual education is not only an important educational device in promoting educational achievement of Hispanics, but also an important weapon strengthening the power of their own ethnic group. The Spanish language was seen as the main way to unite the different sections of the Hispanic group. In dealing with state programs such as education and affirmative action, organizing collective action to demand rights and benefits from the state has become the way Hispanics can mobilize their ethnicity and gain recognition as a distinguished ethnic group entity.

As the fastest growing minority group and with the legislative support of affirmative action quotas relying on numbers and rigid statistical formulas as governing mechanisms (Skerry, 1989), Hispanics have been able to demand the right to make claims for a fair proportion of appointments to public sector employment and political offices. Bilingual education policy has produced political mobilization of linguistically Hispanic groups. Language demands, however, cannot be inferred from the nature of language groups. These groups tend to make demands only when mobilization offers competitive opportunities and values (Chavez, 1991; Nagel, 1986). Hispanic ethnicity has been constructed from the dialectical process of internal coalition building in accordance with the ascribed ethnic boundary that reinforces effective pursuit of their interests.

3) Economic Scarcity

The current ethnic competition and conflicts between Hispanics and Blacks are relevant to be viewed by the economic scarcity perspective in which ethnic groups are competing to access scarce economic opportunities (Olzak, 1986).[8] The instances of ethnic competition and conflict are particularly relevant to the diminishing public spending and welfare in the current US urban contexts (Longoria, 1995; Gaffikin and Warf, 1995).

The impact of increasing flows of immigrants

and strengthening distinct ethnic identities might intensify Hispanics to compete with existing minority groups to the extent that economic expansion does not follow. The economic scarcity perspective on ethnic conflicts implies that the size and rates of immigration strongly shape levels of "perceived" competition from the reaction of an existing minority (Nutchinson, 1991).[9] However, the intensity of competition between ethnic minorities depends on structural changes in the labor market that have differential impacts on different ethnic groups (Figure 1).

The significant case for the minorities is that ethnic conflicts are stronger when they compete in the same secondary labor market and the stagnant training, government and welfare sectors. The worst cases are when enough economic opportunities are not created in public and private sectors as a whole or by immigrants themselves. Relevant to the latter is the lack of ethnic enclave economies as a self-help strategy of minority ethnic groups in which the majority of Hispanics lacking ethnic economies intensify competition for the remaining opportunities with Blacks. Furthermore the cutbacks of welfare and social assistance during the 1980s aggravated conflicts between the have-nots.

The situations are that large numbers and rates of immigrants entering urban labor markets

Source: modified from Jaret (1991)
Figure 1. The Segmented Labor Market and Other Sectors

would initially produce rising levels of ethnic competition in those sectors. Effects of increasing immigration on current economic contraction where jobs and wages decline, become stronger and ethnic competitions are intensified. With the current heightened level of immigration and stagnant economies in the US, inter-ethnic conflicts between Hispanics and Blacks revolve around economic issues such as job opportunities and other government-provided medical services and housing (Oliver and Johnson, 1984). The effect of the incoming low-skilled immigrants into large urban areas and their collective action to compete with the existing minority group depend on the availability of jobs or housing in immediate urban environments.

The huge inflow of immigrants is close to equaling the nation's largest immigration wave which occurred during the first decade of the twentieth century. Hispanics have the largest proportion of new mass immigration and they have relatively low skill and educational levels (Portes and Truelove, 1987; Nelson and Tienda, 1985). The size and nature of the recent Hispanic immigration suggests the most likely conflicts with existing minority group, Blacks, over scarce resources. The economic scarcity perspective understands inter-ethnic conflicts due to the fact that increasing numbers and rates of immigration interacting with worsening economic conditions intensify ethnic competition for economic resources and ultimately evolve into ethnic conflicts. In situations when labor markets are slack and recessions occur, economic competition would be more intense. Furthermore, the expanded government sector had been a social goods provider to minority groups, but its shrinkage might hurt the labor market prospects of native minority workers during a period of high unemployment and cutbacks of social welfare (Faist, 1995; Magill, 1985). Economic contraction reduces the available number of jobs, thereby aggravating ethnic competition between unskilled newcomers and existing minorities.

Considered previously, the role of the state to delineate ethnic boundaries and internal coalition building as the major roots of emergent Hispanic
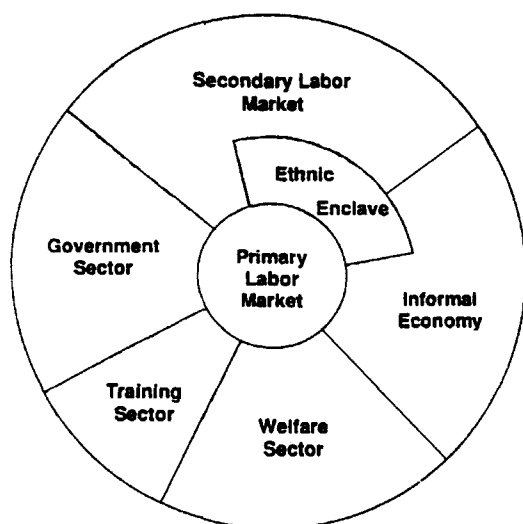
ethnicity and its implication for conflicts with existing minority group Blacks, the economic scarcity perspective suggests the importance of concrete local contexts where new ethnic groups large in number and experiencing relative deprivation claim their interests in employment, housing, education and proclaim their rights.

4. Blacks Response and Conflictual Relations

The most frequently expressed concern with ethnic conflicts is resource competition such as job and housing opportunities, and these are often regarded as one of the direct causes of ethnic conflicts of the have-nots (Oliver and Johnson, 1984). But a more fundamental cause of their conflicts is found in Blacks' response to the emergent Hispanic ethnicity.

Ethnic mobilization among Blacks has achieved the allocation of politically controlled jobs and resources. The historical gains of Blacks for civil rights, equality of opportunity and participation in the social, economic and political institutions through their political solidarity and mobilization might influence the mobilization of Hispanics. Such gains not only produce mobilization among designated groups but also lead to inter-ethnic conflict in the form of "backlashes" against the existing officially recognized groups. The frequent cases are the "demanding" conflicts over such common issues as housing, school and jobs especially for the ethnic conflicts of the have-nots in US urban areas (Dreyfuss, 1979).

The fundamental source of inter-ethnic conflicts is that extending benefits intended for Blacks to newly arrived immigrants and even to illegal immigrants makes little sense to Blacks (Hein, 1991; Fuchs, 1989). Encountering demands for "proportional representation" in public employment and political clout supported by the increasing number of Hispanics, Blacks accuse them of benefiting from the civil rights movement without having had to struggle for it. The views of Blacks may be best summed up in the words of one lobbyist for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)[11] who told Hispanic leaders, "Blacks were dying for the right to vote when

you people couldn't decide whether you were Caucasians" (Holmes, 1991, p. E4). Few Blacks can take comfort from the fact that the contemporary Hispanic struggle for equality has its roots in the Black struggle for historical deprivation.

The top of the political rivalry is that Blacks struggle to maintain hard-fought gains and Hispanics struggle to win a greater share. The critical matter of the conflicts between Hispanics and Blacks is the affirmative action protection for Hispanics in the political contexts. The unexamined assumption of placing Hispanics and Blacks in the same minority designation is the real source of the conflicts. Do Hispanics merit affirmative action protection given that they are mostly immigrants and their numbers are increasing by continuous immigration? Substantial proportions of Hispanics are either themselves immigrants or the children of recent immigrants who have not experienced the same deprivation as Blacks experienced. The tensions and conflicts between Hispanics and Blacks who are entitled to the legally protected groups under affirmative action have been inevitable as the number of Hispanics benefiting from such programs increases and as they are growing to be dependent on such protection by emphasizing newly defined Hispanic ethnicity.

Conflictual ethnic relations between minority groups reveal the dilemma of the affirmative action state under the shrinking government assistance and economic recession. It could be further traced from the ethnic category definition as a founding stone for the inclusion of the protective group under affirmative action. Referring to the dilemma of the affirmative action state and immigration, Skerry (1989) notes that "In today's post-civil rights political culture," governing by numbers and counting by race based on the self-reported census figures, "many groups have enormous incentives to depict themselves as suffering some version of the racial oppression experienced historically by Blacks. New immigrant groups are further encouraged to do so by the breadth of the civil rights legislation that Congress passed before the great upsurge of immigration after 1965" (p. 88). Minority groups tend to rival each other for a

larger share of public resources under economic recession, in particular the shrinkage of public sector employment and their heavy reliance on the secondary sector of segmented labor market.

In this perspective, the emergent Hispanic ethnicity while based on the common language origin could be examined as situational ethnicity contextually formed in the US. The contexts are summarized into a framework for the emergent Hispanic ethnicity and conflicts with Blacks (Figure 2). The emergent Hispanic ethnicity is considered with respect to the institutional construction of the Hispanic group category and the concomitant internal coalition building with increasing number of Hispanics, in which the economic circumstances varying across urban areas either facilitate or constrain ethnic emergence. The consequent conflicts between Hispanics and Blacks also vary according to the size and proportion of each group in particular urban areas.

Blacks have recently experienced the shrinkage of public resources due to the increase of Hispanic immigrants, but their anger does not stop at such concrete conflicts as housing and jobs in local levels. Rather, the fundamental causes of the conflicts of the have-nots lie in the delineation of ethnic group census categories, and its extended application to the rigid, formulaic logic of affirmative action and other government programs. It is an important

characteristic of direct ethnic policies that belonging to a minority group can serve as a basis upon which individual claims to the state can be made. Hispanic as a label is a combination of strategic efficacy with an affective tie closely influenced by the government definition of ethnic boundary and its inclusion into the affirmative action beneficiary in the US. Ethnic policies of the state and internal coalition building have ultimately contributed to the ethnicization of minority groups. The opposition of Blacks to Hispanic participation in affirmative action protection can be expected to increase. The intensity and frequency of the conflicts of the have-nots will depend upon the economic circumstances and diversity in issues according to local contexts.

5. Conclusion

As a new ethnic phenomenon in large US urban areas, Hispanics are emergent as a new ethnic group demanding a larger share of economic and political resources, that ultimately lead to competition with the existing minority group, Blacks. This paper explored the uprising of Hispanic ethnicity and its resulting conflicts with Blacks with respect to the situational or circumstantial perspective of emergent ethnicity. It considers ethnicity not formed following primordial ties, but as an identity established dialectically from the external and internal process, that turns into a strategic efficacy to pursue their interests. Presented for the case of Hispanic ethnicity are the relation to the state, internal group coalition, and economic scarcity to understand its resulting conflicts with existing minority group Blacks.

The previously non-existent Hispanic ethnicity has emerged since the new Hispanic origin category was established in the 1970 census. Coincident with the rising number of immigrants, the Hispanic census category instigated its visibility as a new ethnic group. The newly categorized ethnic group uprises intensely according to the convenient use of the category to the protected group status in governmental distributional policies and political representation of the language minority group.
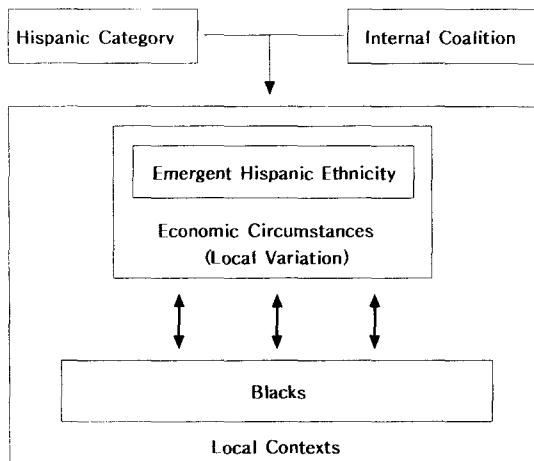

Figure 2. Hispanic Emergence and Conflicts with Blacks: A Framework

Numerous organizations come into existence with the influx of Hispanic immigrants to facilitate internal group coalition and to pursue their interests within the newly defined ethnic group boundaries. Recent economic recession and the reduction of social and welfare spending further intensify minority group competition demanding a larger share of economic and political resources where they tend to concentrate. While diverse conflicts have occurred in employment, housing, and education between Hispanics and Blacks, the fundamental cause of their conflicts is found in Blacks response against the inclusion of Hispanics involving large portions of recent immigrants into a protected group status. The protected group status which has been achieved to compensate Blacks historical discrimination allows Hispanics to claim a fair share of employment allocation and political offices enhanced further by the revised Voting Rights Act.

Contrary to the general expectations of minority group coalition for their upward mobility, the ethnic conflicts between the have-nots have become a new ethnic phenomenon in large US urban areas. The obstacles to Brown-Black coalition are diverse from their cultural differences, but the fundamental obstacle seems to lie in the ethnic policy of the state and the consequent emergence of a new ethnic group designated as a protected minority group to pursue their interests effectively. The conflicts of the have-nots are explored with the emerging Hispanic ethnicity competing with the existing minority group, Blacks. The resolution seems to be dependent on the ethnic policy of the state along with internal coalition building and economic circumstances. The frequency and intensity of their conflicts would reveal local variations depending upon such factors as group size, its proportion to the population and socio-economic environments.

Notes

1) Ethnic group size and its proportion of the population can be regarded as the threshold factor of ethnic emergence. Among the 20 largest US cities in 1990, several cities where ethnic minorities are the numeric majority of the population are: New York (57%), Los Angeles (63%), Chicago (62%), Houston (59%), Detroit (79%), Dallas (52%), etc. These proportions, while not disaggregated by each ethnic group, allow us to infer the local variations in the politics of ethnic mobilization depending upon the dominance of either Black or Hispanic.

2) In a broader sense of situational ethnicity, the poor and disadvantaged who have entered the segmented labor market can identify themselves as an ethnic group with common experiences. This sense of ethnicity underlies the expectation of minority group coalition, which is exemplified in the rainbow coalition led currently by Reverend Jesse L. Jackson. The purpose is to form a mighty coalition across barriers of race, gender, and religion; so that, all the minorities together can transform into the new majority. Refer to http://www.bin.com/assocorg/rainbow.

3) Affirmative Action in the US is a program to overcome the effects of past discrimination by giving some form of preferential treatment via prohibiting discrimination based on race, sex, national origin and religion in employment and education. The term is usually applied to those plans that set forth goals and time tables required to government contractors and universities receiving public funds. The Equal Employment Opportunities Act (1972) sets up a commission to enforce such plans. In the late 1970s, however, the establishment of racial quotas in the name of affirmative action brought charges of reverse discrimination that was accepted in the US Supreme Court for the case of University of California Regents versus Bakke. Refer to http://www.-scf.usc.edu.

4) Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act revised by Congress in 1982 requires jurisdictions with racial or language minorities nationwide to create single-member districts assuring the election of minority officeholders in proportion to each group's share of the total population. See newspaper articles: Roberts (1991), Pear (1991), Weintraub (1991), and Gray (1989) for the redistricting disputes and their reflections of ethnic politics.

5) LULAC is the oldest and largest Hispanic

organization in the United States. It's been working since 1929 to obtain the rights to seek justice and equality of treatment in accordance with the law: the right to vote, the right to sit on juries, equal access to employment, and the civil rights promised to every American. LULAC has been fighting ignorance, unemployment and discrimination and has won those basic American rights for Hispanics, in large part, through the years of struggle. Refer to http://www.hispanic.org/lulac.html.

6) The MALDEF is a private, non-profit organization founded in 1967 by a small group of Mexican-American attorneys who sought to create an instrument to protect, by legal actions and legal education, the constitutional rights of Hispanics (Vigil, 1981).

7) La Raza means literally "the race." The National Council of La Raza was formed primarily by Mexican-Americans, who still are the majority in the organization, in 1968 to promote the social and economic well-being of Americans of Hispanic descent in an all encompassing way to cover the people of Spanish-speaking countries including the multifaceted race created by the mixtures of Spaniards, Aztecs, Incas, Mayas, Tainos, etc. Personal communication with Javier Bustamante@clark.net. Also refer to http://www-scf.usc.edu.

8) This perspective is mostly from Olzak (1986) which dealt with inter-ethnic conflicts in the contexts of urban America between 1877-1889. But it provides relevance to examine the current inter-ethnic conflicts of the have-nots in American urban areas.

9) There has been a large body of empirical studies to examine whether immigrants are competing and taking jobs away from natives. Their empirical findings do not support such job loss of natives by immigrants as perceived. The possibilities, however, still remain plausible despite the empirical findings (see Jaret, 1991 and Reischauer, 1989 for reviews)

10) The NAACP was formed in 1909 by a group of black and white citizens dismayed at the injustices that some Americans suffered solely because of their race. It played a vital role in the passage of the Civil Rights Acts that were created to provided equality of all citizens regardless of race or color. The Acts forbid racial discrimination in public accommodations, voter registration, employment, housing and in any federally assigned programs. Securing full enforcement of the Acts is the major goal. Refer to http://www.bin.org/assocorg/naacp.

References

Arce, Carlos H., 1981, A reconsideration of Chicano Culture and Identity, *Daedalus*, Vol. 110, pp. 171-191.

Bell, Daniel, 1975, Ethnicity and social Change, In N. Glazer and D. Moynihan eds., *Ethnicity: Theory and Experiences* Cambridge, Harvard University Press, pp. 141-174.

Chavez, Linda, 1991, Hispanic Leaders Block the Bridge to Assimilation, *Wall Street Journal*, Oct. 22, A20

Cohen, Gaynor, 1982, Alliance and Conflict among Mexican Americans, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 5, pp. 175-195.

Cornell, Stephen, 1996, The variable ties that bind: content and circumstance in ethnic processes, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 19, pp. 265-289.

Deloria, Vine Jr., 1981, Identity and Culture, *Daedalus*, Vol. 110, pp. 13-27.

Dreyfuss, Joel, 1979, Blacks and Hispanics: Coalition or Confrontation? *Black Enterprise*, July, pp. 21-23.

Estrada, L., Garcia, C., Macias, R. and Maldonado, L., 1981, Chicanos in the US: a History of Exploitation and Resistance, *Daedalus*, Vol. 110, pp. 103-131.

Faist, Thomas, 1995, Ethnicization and racialization of welfare-state politics in Germany and the USA, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 18, pp. 219-250

Fuchs, L., 1990, The Reactions of Black Americans to *Immigration, In Immigration Reconsidered: History, Sociology, and Politics*, V. Yans-McLaughlin ed., New York, Oxford University Press, pp. 293-314.

Gaffikin, Frank and Warf, Barney, 1995, Urban Policy and the Post-Keynesian State in the United Kingdom and the United States, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol. 19, pp. 67-84.

Glazer, Nathan and Moynihan, Daniel, 1975, *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, pp. 1-26.

Gray, Jerry, 1989, Council District 21 Creates Angry Hispanic Majority, *New York Times*, September 30, A1.

Hein, Jeremy, 1991, Do "New Immigrants" become "New Minorities?": the Meaning of Ethnic Minority for Indochinese Refugees in the US, *Sociological Perspectives*, Vol. 34, pp. 61-77.

Holmes, Steven A., 1991, Minority Leaders See a Clash of Hues in a Rainbow Coalition, *New York Times*, June 16, E4.

Jaret, Charles, 1991, Recent Structural Change and US Urban Ethnic Minorities, *Journal of Urban Affairs*, Vol. 13, pp. 307-336.

Jenkins, Richard, 1994, Rethinking Ethnicity: identity, categorization and power, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 17, pp. 197-223.

Lee, Shinhaeng, 1994, Black Movements in America: Integrationism and Nationalism, *Area Studies*, Vol. 3, pp. 1-46. [Korean]

Longoria, Thomas Jr., 1995, The Latinoization of Urban Politics, *Urban Affairs Review*, Vol. 30, pp. 766-772.

Magill, Robert S., 1985, Ethnicity and social Welfare in American Cities: a Historial View, In L. Maldonado and J. Moore eds., *Urban Ethnicity in the US: New Immigrants and Old Minorities*, Beverly Hills, Sage Publications, pp. 185-209.

May, Lee 1991, Blacks urged to Unite with Other Minorities, *Los Angeles Times*, July 22, A13.

Nagel, Joane, 1986, The Political Construction of Ethnicity, In S. Olzak and J. Nagel eds., *Competitive Ethnic Relations*, New York, Academic Press Inc., pp. 93-112.

Nagel, Joane and Olzak, Susan, 1982, Ethnic Mobilization in New and Old States: an Extension of the Competition Model, *Social Problem*, Vol. 30, pp. 127-143.

Nelson, Candace and Tienda, Marta, 1985, The Structuring of Hispanic ethnicity: historical and contemporary perspectives, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 8, pp. 49-74.

Neuwirth, Gertrud, 1969, A Weberian Outline of a Theory of Community: its Application to the 'Dark Ghetto', *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 20, pp. 148-163

Nutchinson, Earl, 1991, Obstacles to Unity Multiply for Blacks and Latinos, *Los Angeles Times*, September 10, B7.

O'Hare, William, 1992, America's Minorities—The Demographics of Diversity, *Population Bulletin*, Vol. 47.

Oliver, Melvin L. and Johnson, James H. Jr., 1984, Inter-Ethnic Conflict in an Urban Ghetto: the Case of Blacks and Latinos in Los Angeles, *Research in Social Movements, Conflict and Change*, Vol. 6, pp. 57-94.

Olzak, Susan, 1986, A Competition Model of Ethnic Collective Action in American Cities, 1877-1889, In S. Olzak and J. Nagel eds., *Competitive Ethnic Relations*, New York, Academic Press Inc., pp. 17-46.

Padilla, Felix, 1984, On the Nature of Latino Ethnicity *Social Science Quarterly* Vol. 65, pp. 651-664.

Pear, Robert, 1991, Council Map Makers Argue It Mirrors New York 'Mosaic', *New York Times*, July 19, B1.

Portes, Alejandro and Truelove, Cynthia, 1987, Making Sense of Diversity: recent Research on Hispanic Minorities in the United States, *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 13, pp. 359-385.

Reischauer, Robert D., 1989, Immigration and the Underclass, *Annals of the Association of American Political Science*, Vol. 501, pp. 120-131.

Roberts, Sam, 1991, Redistricting Oddities Reflect Racial and Ethnic Politics, *New York Times*, May 7, B1.

Ross, Jeffrey A., 1982, Urban Development and the Politics of Ethnicity: a conceptual Approach, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 5, pp. 440-456.

Short, J. Rennie, 1996, *The Urban Order: an Introduction to Cities, Culture, and Power*, Cambridge, Blackwell Publishers.

Skerry, Peter, 1989, Broders and Quotas: Immigration and the Affirmative-action State, *Public Interest*, Vol. 96, pp. 86-102.

Totti, Xavier F., 1987, The Making of a Latino Ethnic Identity, *Dissent*, Vol. 34, pp. 537-542.

Vigil, Maurilio, 1988, The Ethnic Organization

as an Instrument of Political and Social Change: MALDEF, a Case Study, *The Journal of Ethnic Studies*, Vol. 18, pp. 15-31.

Weintraub, Daniel, 1991. Minority Groups Say

Remap Plan Leaves Them Split. *Los Angeles Times*, June 28, A25.

Yinger, Milton, 1985, Ethnicity. *Annual Review of Sociology*. Vol. 11, pp. 151-180.

미국 빈민층 민족집단간의 갈등: 남미계 이민집단의 등장을 중심으로

권 상 철*

최근 들어 미국의 대도시 지역은 새로운 이민집단이 계속적으로 증가하여 기존의 소수 집단인 흑인과 더불면 소수집단이 몇몇 대규모 도시에서는 백인보다 수적으로 우월하게 나타나고 있다. 이러한 변화는 일반적으로 이들 다수를 형성하게 된 소수 인종·민족 집단들이 미국 사회에서 백인에 비하여 낮은 사회·경제적인 지위를 공유하기에 협력자의 관계를 통하여 상승을 꾀할 것이라 기대된다. 그러나 이러한 기대와는 달리 소수 집단간의 관계는 기존에 존재하지 않던 집단간의 경계를 뚜렷이 하며 융화보다는 대립적인 갈등 관계를 보이고 있다.

본 논문은 기존의 민족집단간의 관계에 대한 연구가 백인과 흑인, 즉 다수 대 소수 집단의 관계에만 지나치게 집중되어 그다지 연구되지 않은 주제인 흑인과 남미집단간의 갈등을 남미인의 민족성 등장에 초점을 맞추어 살펴보았다. 우선 민족집단의 구분을 신체적 특성을 강조하는 선천적이고 고정적인 구분과, 효과적으로 이익을 추구하기 위하여 결집하는 상황적인 구분으로 구별지어 살펴보고, 남미인의 민족성 등장을 기존에 존재하지 않던 새로운 집단정체성이 이익을 추구하기 위하여 등장한 것으로 보았다. 남미집단의 민족성 등장의 배경으로 민족집단의 경계를 규정하는 정부의 역할—1970년도 인구조사에 새로이 등장한 남미출신 범주와 인종차별수정계획에의 포함—과 내부적인 결속력을 강화하려는 조직의 등장—1960년대 후반이후의 이민을 통한 남미계의 급속한 성장과 더분 조직들의 등장—을 서로 영향을 미치며 정체성을 강화하는 것으로 고려하고, 이러한 성향이 최근의 침체된 경제상황과 복지혜택의 축소 상황아래에서 더욱 심화된다고 살펴보았다. 마지막으로 이러한 남미집단의 정체성 등장에 대하여 흑인집단은 자신들이 역사적으로 경험하여온 차별에 대한 보상으로 획득한 인종차별수정계획의 보호대상으로 인정되어 무임승차하는 것으로 간주하여 반발적인 반응을 보이고 있음에서 소수민족집단간 갈등의 근본적인 원인을 찾아보았다.

흑인과 남미인간의 갈등은 새로운 소수집단간의 현실로 심화되어, 기존에는 그다지 중요하지 않았던 집단간의 경계를 뚜렷이 하는 새로운 현상으로 일컬어진다. 증가일로에 있는 이들 간의 긴장과 갈등은 남미인들이 민족성을 고양하며 기존의 소수집단인 흑인과 경쟁하며 새로운 집단간의 전선을 형성하는 양상으로 이해할 수 있다. 이들 소수집단간 갈등은 도시지역별 각 집단의 인구규모와 전체인구에서 차지하는 비중으로 나타날 최소요구치 그리고 지역경제상황에 따라 그 빈도와 강도가 다양하게 나타날 것이다.

주요어: 민족집단범주, 남미계, 상황적 민족성, 갈등

* 제주대학교 사회교육과(지리전공) 전임강사