A History: The Construction of Race and Racism

Dismantling Racism Project
Western States Center
**Defining Ethnicity & Nationality**

(These terms are often confused with race)

Ethnicity refers to particular groups of people that share some common ancestry, traditions, language, or dialect.

Before the world was made up of distinct nation-states or countries, certain pieces of land were associated with ethnic groups. Some examples are:

- Anglos and Saxons – England
- Maori – New Zealand
- Mayan – Southern Mexico/Central America
- Greeks – Greece
- Masai – the Great Rift Valley of East Africa
- Pueblo – New Mexico

As some countries were made up mostly one ethnic group, people began to conclude that nationality (the country which a person is a citizen of) was the same as ethnicity, i.e., a person from Denmark is a Dane or Danish. But more often the name of the country doesn’t refer to the ethnic origins of its citizens. A person from Spain would be thought of as “Spanish”, although their ethnicity could be Basque, Catalan, Gallego or Gitano. Many countries like Spain are actually made up of diverse ethnic groups. The United States is a perfect example of this reality.

Many people like to make ethnic distinctions as well as national distinctions to hold on to their ethnic culture and identity.

- Italian-American – (Ethnicity is Italian and nationality is US American)
- Mexican-American
- Chinese-American – (Ethnicity is Chinese and nationality is US American)

Of course, ethnicity becomes more confusing in the process of immigration and assimilation. As an example, we know in the case of China there are many, many ethnicities and that diversity gets lost often in how people identify their ethnic identity to non-Chinese people here in the U.S. So although a Chinese-American’s specific ethnicity may be Han, Manchu, Yi or another of the over 50 ethnicities in China, here in the United States those differences get subsumed as being “Chinese.”

**What is this thing called Race?**

Race is a false classification of people that is not based on any real or accurate biological or scientific truth. In other words, the distinction we make between races, has nothing to do with scientific truth.

Race is a political construction. A political construction is something created by people; that is not a natural development; is constructed or created for a political purpose.

The concept of race was created as a classification of human beings with the purpose of giving power to white people and to legitimize the dominance of white people over non-white people.
Now we are going to take some time to prove these points by looking at the history of the development of race and racism. The history of the construction of racism is very long so this is not a comprehensive history lesson. We will provide a broad overview of how various aspects of white society were involved in the construction of race and racism: religion, science, medicine, philosophy, government, etc. We will also be jumping around a bit in time, but will always try and make time periods clear.

**Historical Constructs**

**Religion as a Justification for Racism:**

During the reformation (16th Century [1500s] & 17th Century [1600s]), a key question among Christian religious hierarchy was whether Blacks and “Indians” had souls and/or were human. In this time period, Europeans were exposed more frequently to Africans and the indigenous people of North and South America, and the church vacillated between opinions. The Catholic and the Protestant churches arrived at different answers to the question at different times, which created significant differences between the two systems of slavery. The Catholic Church was the first to admit Blacks and Indians had souls, which meant in many Catholic colonies it was against the law to kill a slave without reason. The Protestant-Calvinist Church wanted to separate and distinguish themselves from Catholicism, and therefore was much slower in recognizing the humanity of Africans and Indians.

With the increasing importance of slavery, religion was used as a means to justify racist divisions, classifying people of color as ‘pagan and soulless’. However, “As substantial numbers of people of color were converted to Christianity, and as religion itself lost much of its power as a legitimizing agent, justifications for the brutality of slavery changed.”

The slave-based economy in the south necessitated a racist exploitative system, which led to the development of biological, zoological and botanical theories to ‘explain human difference and to justify slavery.’

*Slavery Ordained of God – 1857 – an example of many articles using religion to justify slavery*
Social Science/Pseudo-Science

CONTEXT

In 19th Century (1800s) Europe, science and social sciences developed as never before. Associations of scientists were created, universities held conferences and debates, and dialogue between researchers increased dramatically. In England, in the early 1800s, the Ethnographic and Anthropological Societies were first established. Not only did the amount of “scholars and thinkers” multiply, they were in increasingly in conversation with each other and focusing on similar themes, such as what happens when races meet and mix. Africa, Asia, Australia and the South Pacific were rapidly being colonized as European Americans were engaged in their colonial expansion, which brought them into brutal contact with Native Americans. As a result of colonization, native people around the world were disappearing. The most extreme cases, found in Tasmania (an island south of Australia) in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, Tasmanians were literally wiped off the earth, while the Maori population of New Zealand was reduced by more than half in a period of a few decades. Their extinction was in large part due to disease. European thinkers were fascinated by this, particularly due to the lack of understanding of the role of germs, viruses and bacteria.
The Construction of Race & Racism

Science as a Justification for Racism:

During the 19th century, Darwin published On the Origin of the Species (1859), his book documenting the process of evolution. Darwin believed in a natural order to the development of species; the weak die off and the strong survive. Although evolutionary theory is not racist, philosophers and social scientists, used Darwin’s theory in pseudo-scientific ways to justify genocide and racism. This thinking was later called “Social Darwinism” and had brutal implications.

In 1838 JC Prichard, a famous anthropologist, lectured on the “Extinction of Human Races” He said it was obvious that “the savage races” could not be saved. It was the law of nature. In 1864, W. Winwood Reade, an esteemed member of both London’s geographical and anthropological societies published his book called Savage Africa. He ended the book with a prediction on the future of the black race.

“England and France will rule Africa. Africans will dig the ditches and water the deserts. It will be hard work and the Africans will probably become extinct. “We must learn to look at the result with composure. It illustrates the beneficent law of nature, that the weak must be devoured by the strong.”

Throughout the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, people used different terms to explain racial differences. The classification shown below was used for well over a hundred years. The classification lacks any obvious logic and defies scientific precepts. Two of the words - Mongoloid and Caucazoid have linguistic bases that refer to geographic areas. But the last word- Negroid - refers to color. “These were not based on genetic differences, but rather on European and European American stereotypes of cultural differences and (mis)measures of physiological characteristics.”

In 1866, Frederick Farrar lectured on the “Aptitude of Races” which he divided into 3 groups.

- **Savage** (All Africans, indigenous people, people of color with the exception of the Chinese)
- **Semi-Civilized** (e.g. Chinese – who were once civilized but now their society was in arrested development)
- **Civilized** (European, Aryan and Semitic peoples)
In 1850, Robert Knox in The Races of Man: A Fragment took popular prejudices and formed them into “scientific conviction” that race and intelligence are linked and hereditary. Robert Knox was a famous English anatomist. Knox concluded that people of color were intellectually inferior, not because of brain size but rather because of brain texture and lack of nerve endings. Later it was found that his conclusion was based on the autopsy of only one man of color.

Knox’s studies and others were taken very seriously, which can be seen as the origins of the 20th Century Eugenics movement.

Elements of the American eugenics movement were models for the Nazis, whose radical adaptation of eugenics culminated in the Holocaust.

The United States took Eugenics and ran with it, making it part of mainstream society. By 1928, 376 separate college courses, which enrolled 20,000 students focused on Eugenics. And an analysis of high school text books from 1914 to 1948 indicates that the majority presented Eugenics as legitimate.
Immigration: Between the 19th & 20th Centuries over 600 separate pieces of anti-Asian legislation were passed limiting Asians from citizenship. Non-citizens had almost no rights. Whites could kill Asians with impunity because they could not testify in court.¹⁰

Inter-racial marriage: Eugenics provided a new set of arguments to support existing restrictions on inter-racial marriage. By 1915, 28 states made a marriage between “negroes”, asians, “indians” latinos and a white person illegal. 6 states included such prohibitions in their constitutions. Virginia’s Racial

Over 600 separate pieces of anti-Asian legislation were passed limiting Asians from citizenship.
Inter-racial Marriage was forbidden in many states and an object of scientific concern.

Integration Act of 1924 stands out among these laws. This law included racial registration certificates as well as defining what “white” was. Within ten years similar laws were found in Nazi Germany sorting citizens by their percentage of Jewish blood. Virginia’s Racial Integrity Act was not successfully challenged and struck from the books until 1967. It took Alabama until November 2000 to strike a law banning inter-racial marriage.
Sterilization: Eugenics also promoted sterilization. A man by the name of Harry Laughlin promoted the model sterilization law in Virginia in 1914.

The Model Eugenical Sterilization law proposed the sterilization of the “socially inadequate” - people supported in institutions or “maintained wholly or in part by public expense.” The law encompassed the “feeble minded, insane, criminalistic, epileptic, inebriate, diseased, blind, deaf, deformed and dependent” including “orphans, tramps, the homeless and paupers.” By 1914, 12 states passed sterilization laws.\(^12\)

Clearly, Eugenics in its conception and implementation involved an intersection of oppressions: sexism, classism, and abelism, but what constitutes the most successful and widespread eugenics program in the history of the United States (and the most unknown) targeted Puerto Rican women.

The US Government, the medical community, and local government of Puerto Rico sterilized 1/3 of Puerto Rican women from the 1930s to 1965. This was done by a massive campaign of public mis-education and promotion, manipulation, and subsidizing the operation. Part of this was the result of racist and ignorant fears about overpopulation as well as US industries wanting to encourage the development of a cheap workforce of Puerto Rican women freed from childcare for employment.\(^13\) This is an incredibly sad story which is also incredibly well documented. Note, Puerto Rican women, particularly in government housing projects, were also the guinea pigs for testing the contraceptive pill in 1956. These pills were 20 times stronger than pills on the market by the 1980s.

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\(^{12}\) Chart illustrated the rapid growth of eugenical sterilization in the early 20th century.

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Current pseudo-science

Current day pseudo-science continues to be popular and influence policy-makers - It is important to point out in this history lesson that similar racist “scholarship” is unfortunately alive and well today.

Charles Murray and Richard Herrnstein in The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life. - 1990s Bestseller. In the Bell Curve they say:

- The high rates of poverty that afflict certain segments of the population are determined more by intelligence than by socioeconomic background.
- They call the poor the Cognitive Underclass
- They argue that the expanding inequities of our society, wealth distribution, success in school, access to good jobs are biologically determined.
- The Bell Curve naturalizes and excuses these inequities and turns them into the inescapable symptoms of biological class fate. Associating “cognitive underclass” with every form of “frowned upon” social behavior from crime to teenage motherhood.14

Policy Impact

- Charles Murray worked for the Manhattan Institute, a conservative think tank, which supplied many of Mayor Gullian’s policies.
- This thinking justifies harsh welfare reform policies, the criminalization of poverty - 2 million people are in jail in the U.S. (1/4 of the world’s 8 million total)
- Argues that poverty is caused by genetic inferiority.
- Restricts immigration, particularly of people of color.
- Conservatives pushing welfare reform are pushing welfare mothers to be temporarily sterilized with Norplant.

Norplant, a temporary sterilization drug, employed racist stereotyping in their advertising – adopting the conservative message that welfare mothers should be temporarily sterilized.
**Manifest Destiny**

Manifest destiny refers to the belief prevalent in 1800’s and much of the 1900’s that it was the God-given destiny of white US American’s to control and dominate the continent.

**The Acquisition of the Southwest**

In 1830, the Mexican government outlawed slavery and prohibited further immigration into Texas. White US Americans were outraged and continued to move into Texas and in 1836 fought against Mexican rule and eventually won.

1830, the same year Mexico outlawed slavery, the Indian Removal Act was passed by US Congress that essentially allowed the seizing and removal of Indians from their ancestral and sacred lands, slaughtering thousands in the process.

In 1845, Texas was annexed by the U.S., which lead to continued border skirmishes with Mexico. The US military soon invaded Mexico resulting in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in which Mexico ceded all of California, New Mexico, Nevada and parts of Colorado, Arizona, and Utah. Mexicans have a saying. We didn’t cross the border, the border crossed us. When the Treaty was signed Mexican property was simply taken.

One American Congressman wrote at the time:

“This continent was intended by providence as a vast theater on which to work out the grand experiment of republican government, under the auspices of the Anglo-Saxon Race.”

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*The Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo annexed California, New Mexico, Nevada and parts of Colorado, Arizona and Utah.*

*A flyer advertising stolen (expropriated) land for sale to whites.*
The term white emerged as a classification of people during the 1700s in the British colonies of North America. Europeans were immigrating to “the New World” for many reasons, some seeking prosperity while many people were escaping persecution, particularly religious and ethnic conflict. As Europeans arrived in America, groups such as Germans, Dutch, English, French etc. were brought into close proximity, most of them for the first time.

In the colonies, the European settlers in power were under considerable stress, attempting to maintain control of their African Slaves and their white indentured servants, while trying to protect themselves from the perceived threat from Native Americans. At this time, poor white indentured servants were building alliances and relationships with African slaves due to their similar state of oppression. "Whiteness is a constantly shifting boundary separating those who are entitled to have certain privileges from those whose exploitation and vulnerability to violence is justified by their not being white."

The term white was defined as anyone without a drop on African or Indian blood. The category white was created as a political construct that was used as an organizing tool to unite Europeans in order to consolidate strength, increasing their ability to maintain control and dominance over the Native Americans and African slaves, which in many places outnumbered Europeans. "Whiteness is a constantly shifting boundary separating those who are entitled to have certain privileges from those whose exploitation and vulnerability to violence is justified by their not being white."16
White is an artificial construct because the definition of white changes due to time and geography.

- Not everybody has been considered white at the same time. Irish, Jews, Italians for example went through a process of becoming white. This was a process of assimilation that required certain cultural losses in order to gain white privilege and power.
- Some people who may have been considered white where they once lived (South America for example) when they moved to the U.S. were then considered latino by white society.
- But just because race and whiteness are constructed, doesn’t mean that it doesn’t fundamentally affect our world in real ways.

For a large part of the 19th century, the Irish were not considered white. In the process of assimilation, the majority of Irish adopted pro-slavery, anti-black political positions.

The term People of Color

People of color’ is not a term that refers to a real biological or scientific distinction between people. People of color in the U.S. share the common experience of being targeted and oppressed by racism. Unfortunately, one of the ways racism operates is to keep people of color divided. Many people only think about their specific ethnic or racial group when discussing oppression or the need to build political power. By using the term people of color, we begin to push people to think more broadly. We need to build relationships with other groups of color. The term people of color has movement-building potential.
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