

**ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS IN MULTICULTURAL  
SOCIETY**

by  
**HACI KURT**

**EXIT PAPER**  
as a substitute of  
**MASTER'S THESIS**

Presented to the Graduate Faculty of  
The University of Texas at San Antonio  
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
for the Degree of  
**MASTER OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION**

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**THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT SAN ANTONIO**  
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on

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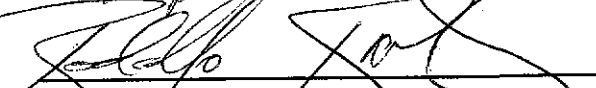
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## ABSTRACT

*Presented to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Texas at San Antonio, by Haci Kurt, in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Public Administration, in May 1997.*

One of the main concerns of public administration and public policy is effective usage of scarce financial and human resources, but this depends heavily on social peace, adequate education of the population, closing gaps among social groups on income, housing and other determinants of socio-economic status. Therefore, choosing policies and implementation of these policies requires a better understanding of society as a whole and the special problem areas.

In this study, I have focused on administrative dimension of multicultural cities and societies.

The purpose of proposed investigation of multiculturalism is to understand main reasons for socio-economic inequalities in ethnically diverse societies in general, but especially in the United States, and to define administrative policies to reduce disadvantages of minority groups. Therefore, following sub-problems have been inquired in this study: To establish the framework of the current political system, to establish the historical background of ethnic inequalities, to analyze the disadvantages of minorities in education, to investigate effects of racial segregation in housing, to establish the factors which let to income inequalities, to analyze minority political participation and its results, to establish interrelationships among different racial issues.

In American society, the ethnic issues is one of the key problems, and there should be great importance given to this subject in order to keep social peace, economic development, and welfare of society. The complexity of ethnic problems complicates finding solutions through government intervention and some legal efforts within a period of time After

generations and continuous efforts to eliminate the ethnic inequality in every part of life and society, there is still a big gap between the economic, social and political situation of minorities and the majority. Although every ethnic group in the United States has its own specific problems as a result of its historical background, in general similarities among the different ethnic groups' problems are greater than the differences.

In this study, I have made a basic description of democracy, pluralism and multiculturalism, in addition to utilizing definitions of public policy and public administration, in order to underline the kind of problems ethnically diverse societies face, and to propose the kinds of policies that can be used in diverse societies with pluralist democratic systems to reduce the extent and magnitude of the problems associated with race.

Second, I have emphasized the educational problems, employment, economic inequalities, political participation, ethnic polarization and housing. The first objective of this investigation is to diagnose social, economic, political and administrative problems as a result of ethnic diversity. The second objective is to find the interrelationships between ethnic disadvantages and social polarization, poverty and education, and major deficiencies of public administration and public policies related to these problems.

Finally, what kind of administrative and public policy methods can be useful to decrease the ethnic inequalities and its consequences and how can we integrate cultural – ethnic minorities and diversities into main stream of society have been evaluated.

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## INTRODUCTION

The United States always has been and will remain ethnically and culturally a diverse society. Until late in the 19th century, migrants to New World were overwhelmingly Europeans with the exception of uprooted black population. Until the late 19th century, there were only considerable Chinese immigrants who were mostly on the Pacific coast, working in California and Oregon. Almost all of the Chinese at that time were mining workers and they were isolated with an invisible control in mining fields (Scott, 1968, p.138-140). Another important non-Christian immigrant population were the Jewish people. Most of them, however, were previously living in different European countries and they absorbed many aspects of Western christian culture (Glazer and De Rosa, 1986, p. 203-213). Most other migrants, although coming from different countries, at least shared common cultural backgrounds. They were European, white, Christian, and their languages belonged to the Indo-European language family. These common values among migrants made it relatively easier to create a “melting pot” in the New World. However, in the 20th century and especially in the post World War II era, with the help of modern communication and transportation technologies, the world has become more and more a “global village”. Therefore, the population of the United States has been a much more diverse collection of the world’s population and this trend is

continuing. Maybe this is one of the reasons why American culture influences the world culture affecting virtually every country from language to fashion.

This extreme cultural and ethnic diversity gives America tremendous opportunities internally and externally. However, this diversity is also a source of many problems to solve. Poverty, polarization, underclass, overclass, hostility, discrimination, inequality as a result of or related to ethnic and cultural diversity remain main subject to discussion for scholars and problems to resolve for government at the national and local levels. After W. J. Wilson (1978) first popularized *The Declining Significance of Race*, some people have begun to think that, with the growth of a black middle class, race is no more a main issue of American political and social life. More importantly, race is not the reason for poverty and inequality. In fact this is a direct result of economic structure and the underclass has remained disadvantaged as a result of contemporary changes in economic and social life such as suburbanization, isolation in the inner city, and the shift from a manufacturing-based to a service-based economy. However, in the 1990s, race was a main subject again and many prominent scholars have contributed important research to race-related areas and have claimed that racial separation, poverty, hostility, discrimination and other race-related problems are still in America's social and political agenda. Some scholars even argue that, despite attempts through public policy and administration to narrow the gap, over the last twenty years the gap between whites and

minorities, especially African-Americans and Latinos, has not closed but rather has increased in income, jobs and education.

Indeed we should accept that many policies, legal improvements, continuous social commitment, economic and educational programs have made significant changes and improvements in minorities' economic and social life. However, as the recent O. J. Simpson court case accidentally showed and as the "Ebonic" discussion surfaced it, race is still a hot topic and though inactive most times, is still a hot volcano in the United States. These cases have shown that there are very important differences among the races about their interpretation of the same subjects and same reality. Therefore, many contend that consciously or subconsciously, the majority of society has deep skepticism against other races, and their conscious perceptions, interpretations and rationales work quite differently when many race-related issues surface.

Like any other country and society, currently America has political, economic, educational and social problems to solve. President Clinton has set his and government's main mission for coming years as "Building the bridges to the 21st century". I believe that probably one of the most important jobs, when this "bridge" is being built to the 21st century, will be to build new bridges and to strengthen current bridges among ethnic communities. As Jenings (1994, p.1) says, one of the three most important systemic challenges for the United States and American cities in coming decade(s) will remain "Resolving and managing effectively social and political tensions between blacks,

Latinos, and Asian-descent populations within a context of continuing racial problems at the national and local levels.” Government will direct policies towards these areas, and public administrators and policy analysts and implementors will be expected to manage them and effectuate change.

The most commonly used definition of public administration is “the organization and management of men and materials to achieve the purposes of government.” (Waldo, 1994, p.4)

The main objectives of public policy analysis are to search for the causes and consequences of public policies, to develop explanations that fit more than one public policy and case study over time. (Dye, 1995, p.6)

Therefore, choosing policies and implementation of these policies requires a better understanding of society as a whole and the special problem areas. However, public policy and public administration problems are usually complex, feedback is scattered everywhere, to collect overall impact and feedback is not possible immediately. Second, to measure the economic gain in dollar from a social or administrative policy is not possible. Moreover, the possible economic gain is not the primary objective of an administrative policy. In some cases, without economic gain or even with economic losses a policy can be chosen in order to fill a basic value of society. (Quade, 1989, p.52-53)

Public administration is a scientific, planned and organized attempt to solve the social problems, keep public order and increase the society's well-being. Therefore, first of all public administration and policy analysts should find the right diagnosis about social problems in order to correct them.

“The central idea of public administration is rational action, defined as action correctly calculated to realize given desired goals. Public administration both as a *study* and as an *activity* is intended to maximize the realization of goals.” (Waldo, 1994, p.12)

Although public administration and public policy are different study areas, both of them have very close relationships and common concerns. “The term public policy always refers to the actions of government and the intentions that determine those actions. Making policy requires choosing among goals and alternatives, and choice always involves intentions.” (Cochran, 1996, p.1) These major points in public policy are parts of public administration also. Although, both public administration and public policy target to solve issues of public concern, they always operate in a given political, social, financial, legal and ethical framework.

In this society, the ethnic issue is one of the key problems, and there should be great importance given to this subject in order to keep social peace, economic development, and welfare of society. The complexity of ethnic problems complicates finding solutions through government intervention and some legal efforts within a period of time. After generations and continuous efforts to eliminate the ethnic inequality in

every part of life and society, there is still a big gap between the economic, social and political situation of minorities and the majority. Although every ethnic group in America has its own specific problems as a result of its historical background, in general similarities among the different ethnic groups' problems are greater than the differences.

In this paper I will make a basic description of democracy, pluralism and multiculturalism, in addition to utilizing definitions of public policy and public administration, in order to underline the kind of problems ethnically diverse societies face, and to propose the kinds of policies that can be used in diverse societies with pluralist democratic systems to reduce the extent and magnitude of the problems associated with race.

Second, I will emphasize the educational problems, employment, economic inequalities, political participation, ethnic polarization and housing. The first objective of paper is to diagnose social, economic, political and administrative problems as a result of ethnic diversity. The second objective is to find the interrelationships between ethnic disadvantages and social polarization, poverty and education, and major deficiencies of public administration and public policies related to these problems. Finally, what kind of administrative and public policy methods can be useful to decrease the ethnic inequalities and its consequences.

**Statement of Purpose:** The purpose of proposed investigation of multiculturalism is to understand main reasons for socio-economic inequalities in

ethnically diverse societies and to define administrative policies to reduce disadvantages of minority groups.

### **Sub-Problems**

*Sub-problem I.* To establish the framework of the current political system.

*Sub-problem II.* To establish the historical background of ethnic inequalities.

*Sub-problem III.* To analyze the disadvantages of minorities in education.

*Sub-problem IV.* To investigate effects of racial segregation in housing.

*Sub-problem V.* To establish the factors which led to income inequalities.

*Sub-problem VI.* To analyze minority political participation and its results.

*Sub-problem VII.* To establish interrelationships among different racial issues.

### **Significance of the Study**

Students of public administration and public policy, and people who are concerned with cultural diversity, will find this study significant because ethnic diversity is a main part of this society, and the direct and indirect consequences of ethnic problems effect every person in some way whether he/she is a minority or majority.

One of the main concerns of public administration and public policy is effective usage of scarce financial and human resources, but this depends heavily on social peace, adequate education of the population, closing gaps among social groups on income, housing and other determinants of socio-economic status. Minority groups in the United

States increasingly becoming more diverse in addition to their relatively faster growth rate. However, despite an obvious increase of their income, home ownership, education level and political gains in absolute numbers they still well behind the whites in proportional share, even this gap is becoming larger in some areas such as income. These disadvantages of the minority population require a better redistribution of national wealth. However, public administration and public policy operate in a social and economic environment. Therefore, any serious attempt to change the main established social and economic structure and relationships will be controversial for a big part of the population. For this reason, creating a consensus about solving ethnic problems requires understanding the seriousness of the problem and its importance for the future of the country by a large portion of the population.

Objectives of minorities today are much more than equality under the law. The equality under the law largely was gained and secured through long struggle, however, changing social conditions and perception of equality brought new objectives to gain by minorities which basically require additional and strong efforts to make up the negative effects of previous discriminations to bring full equality for minority groups in every part of the life. Although, current political system, as a pluralist democracy gives equal opportunity to every individual and groups to effect political decision making processes existing inequalities of these groups make it difficult for a meaningful effect in political processes. Despite these obstacles, in the last few decades minority groups have

accomplished important political and administrative success in local politics. The way is open to more gains in politics for black, Hispanic and other minority groups through coalitions and constructive policies.

Education has been a main obstacle for minorities to increase their fair share of political and economic sources of the country. An increase in the education level of minorities has been accompanied by an increase of political accomplishment, in addition to an increase in minorities securing professional jobs. A positive change in education level of minorities will cause similar changes in the socio-economic status of minorities.

Racial segregation of communities are also effected by education level, income level and racial prejudices against minorities. Therefore, among segregation, education, income, underrepresentation of minorities are closely intermingling to each other. As a result of this interdependency policies about any individual problem such as education or poverty must consider these interrelationships.

## DEMOCRACY, PLURALISM AND MULTICULTURALISM

Democracy is a government system in which people rule. However, this simple description of democracy does not help to fully convey what democracy really is. Although everybody agrees that democracy is rule of people by people, there are different kinds of democracies such as liberal democracy, social democracy, and many others. Even the meaning of democracy has changed greatly from the ancient Greeks to modern time. For example democracy in its birthplace, ancient Greece, was not and can't be described as democracy in today's meaning since it was based on a large slave population and a small number of "citizens".

In today's world, just free election of administration by people can't make a political regime a democracy even in a multi-party election. At the edge of the 21st century, to describe a political regime as a democracy it must have many essential conditions such as the rule of law, equality in law, free speech, free and equal right of determination of the their own lives for individuals, the rule of political majority but at the same time the protection of the rights of minorities, etc.

According to Georg Sorensen (1993, p.13) a government must meet the following three conditions to be viewed as a political democracy:

1- "Meaningful and extensive competition among individuals and organized groups (especially political parties) for all effective positions of government power, at regular intervals and excluding the use of force."

2- "A highly inclusive level of political participation in the selection of leaders and policies, at least through regular and fair elections, such that no major (adult) social group is excluded."

3- "A level of civil and political liberties - freedom of expression, freedom of the press, freedom to form and join organizations - sufficient to ensure the integrity of political competition and participation."

Robert Dahl and many other political scientists accept similar conditions for a democracy.

Dahl argues that voting equality, effective participation, enlightened understanding, control of agenda and inclusion are the main criteria for a democracy. In order to secure and satisfy these criteria, a democracy must have these institutions of poliarchy: elected officials, free and fair elections, inclusive suffrage, right to run for office, freedom of expression, alternative information, associational autonomy. In other words, all the institutions of poliarchy are necessary to the highest feasible attainment of the democratic process in government of a country (Dahl, 1989, p.221-222; Dahl, 1971, p.3-4).

In addition to these conditions, in reality a society must achieve a certain level of development in civilization, education and economic conditions. In this sense, it is not very easy to designate which country is a democracy and which one is not. There is a high consensus among political scientists that Western industrialized countries are democracies especially in the concept of political democracy. Beyond the conceptual description of democracy, they are more likely to have the adequate economic development and education than developing countries have. After the collapse of the eastern noncapitalist regimes, Francis Fukuyama described the Western democracies as “the end of the history” to describe Western liberal democracies as the ultimate point of humankind’s ideological evolution and the final form of human government. According to him, Western democracy first defeated monarchy, later fascism and as a result of the eastern block’s collapse liberal Western democracy has proven universally its full legitimacy. (The National Interest 16, Summer 1989, p.3-18 and 1992, p.1)

Despite this extreme optimism there is still much room for the development of Western democracy and different variations of government systems in Western industrialized countries.

The virtue of democracy is the acceptance and the encouragement of political pluralism. In the main framework of the system, the recognition of socio-cultural differences, facilitation of difference and representation of difference in all political and

administrative decision-making processes constitute essential characteristics of Western democracies.

Modern societies have been distinguished from traditional societies by having more diverse societies in terms of culture, ethnicity, class and other socioeconomic differences. Therefore more complex relationships have been established in modern societies. "As a consequence of diversity, however, political cleaves are multiplied, political conflict is an inevitable aspect of political life, and political thought and practices tend to accept conflict as normal and not aberrant feature of politics. ....the development of a set of political institution that taken together, distinguish modern representative democracy from all other political systems, whether nondemocratic regimes or earlier democratic systems. This kind of political systems has been called *poliarchy*" (Dahl,1989, p.222).

Another part of pluralism, in addition to political pluralism, is *social* pluralism in which many and different types of important social relations, many subcultures and multiple identities, are accepted as a given, natural and important part of society.

One challenge in Western democracies will be to achieve the improvement of political systems with socio-cultural pluralism and political pluralism in coming decades. Postmodern societies will be certainly more pluralistic in terms of political and sociocultural pluralism.

The traditional pluralism theory was structured on industrial society. The main contention of traditional pluralism theory was the complexity and interdependency of individuals and social groups in economic and social life in an industrial society. The individuals and groups were accepted to be well-informed. Social groups are the main units of interaction and socialization. In addition to this, in conventional pluralism the state was interpreted as a general manager which would provide a balance between competing interests and demands of different interest groups (McLennan, 1995, p. 34, 35, 36). In traditional pluralist theory, the state does not have a bias among different actors in society. It follows only the public good and therefore, like a referee, the state tries to find an equilibrium curve among many pressures and counter pressures from other actors.

With an assumption of the *nonbias states*, traditional liberal democracy demands a civic trust in a democracy and limited political knowledge from people. However, Marxist theory harshly criticized the traditional nonbias state hypothesis. Although traditional state and pluralism theorists continued to resist and reject other structural and classist propositions of Marxism, most of liberal political scientists eventually accepted that the theory of nonbias state is not a reality.

Therefore, there will be diverse interests in a diverse society. In this diversity lies the danger of extreme civil conflicts in society. Modern pluralist democracy provides a very fertile environment for this kind of ethnic, class or other internal confrontation. "Any dispute in which a large section of population of a country feels that its way of life

or its highest values are severely menaced by another segment of population creates a crisis in a competitive system. Whatever the eventual outcome maybe, the historical record argues that the system is very likely to dissolve into civil war or to be displaced by a hegemony or both” (Dahlia, 1971, p.105). The fast collapse of many newly established democracies in Italy, Germany, Austria and some other countries between World War I and world War II in Europe and many military coups in Latin America and other developing countries throughout the world provides several examples for this danger of extreme polarization and hostile confrontation in fragile democracies.

Despite these dangers of polarization in diverse societies, democratic systems have tremendous advantages to eliminate or reduce the danger of conflict as a result of its nature. According to Robert Dahl there are three major requirements for reducing the conflict in a society: First requirement: “conflict is more likely to be maintained at moderate levels if no ethnic, religious or regional subculture is ‘indefinitely’ denied the opportunity to participate in the government, that is in the majority coalition whose leaders from the ‘government’ or the administration. The second requirement for reducing conflict in a country with considerable subcultural pluralism is a set of understanding or engagements, not always codified into formal constitutional provisions, that provide a relatively high degree of security to the various subcultures. The third, the chances for a poliarchy are higher if the people of a country believe that a poliarchy is effective in responding to demands for coping with the major problems of the country as

these problems are defined by the population, or at least by the political stratum” (Dahl, 1971, p.115, 118, 119).

These requirements to reduce ethnic, cultural or class conflicts can be found in a democratic system only. This is because in, “*democratic pluralism* or *pluralist democracy*, the terms *pluralism* and *pluralist* refer to organizational pluralism, that is, to the existence of a plurality of relatively autonomous (independent) organizations (subsystems) within the domain of a state. In all democratic countries, some important organizations are relatively autonomous, if it is a democracy in the sense of poliarchy” (Dahl, 1982, p.5).

In traditional Western industrialized societies the acceptance of pluralist democracy and pluralist society were not interpreted as a threat for the future of societies. “Pluralism in the West signified the modern citizen’s membership of overlapping groups, equal access to political goods, and a general consensus over Values.” (McLennan, 1995, p.41). However, global migrancy after 1960’s and 1970’s put Western democracies face to face with new questions. Global migrancy has brought non-western people and cultures into the society, pre-modern people from former colonies, and job seekers from other developing countries into the traditional pluralist democracies. Therefore, the questions of integration of these newly arrived minority groups, or even whether there should be integration into the society, or a retention of socio-cultural heterogeneity, have arisen as new questions.

The problems associated with being an ethnically diverse society can be solved only in a pluralist democracy in Europe, in the United States or in any other democratic country. First of all, pluralism does not try to suppress differences among persons or different groups, but provides a certain degree of autonomy for individuals, groups or institutions. Second, political and decision-making processes are open to everybody. Pluralist democracy rejects the elite theory. Italian scientists Pareto and Mosca argued that every society and state in history has been ruled by an elite group whether religious, military or economic elite, and this is inevitable for any society whether they are modern or not, whether they are democratic or not. However, in a pluralist democracy, despite some individuals or groups having more power than others based on their economic power, background or class relationships in a country, theoretically and in most cases practically every person, group, class and institution has a chance to effect political and decision-making processes. In democratic pluralism different interests of different groups are recognized as a social reality, and therefore these groups try to find a consensus point among these confronting interests and values.

Another aspect of pluralist democracy is decentralization of power and control among regions, institutions and subsystems. Therefore uniformity versus diversity in a pluralist democracy. This is a natural result of recognition of diversity in a plural society. However, this decentralization and diverse power distribution are the way to secure national unity in a pluralist democracy. "Like poliarchies, authoritarian regimes exist in

countries with varying amounts of diversity. In some countries, notably in the Soviet Union, social and cultural diversity is enormous. Potential cleavages appear to exist along almost every kind of difference that is familiar in democratic countries: language, region, ethnic groups, race, religion, status, occupation, ideology... An extraordinary concentration of resources in the hands of the central leadership, extremely severe sanctions against opponents, and an overwhelmingly ( if not invariably successful ) effort to eliminate all forms of organizational autonomy are necessary to prevent these differences from appearing in public conflicts. One can readily imagine that a plurality of interests and organizations would mushroom if extensive liberalization were to occur in Soviet Union. Liberalization always poses a serious danger to authoritarian regimes, in some it threatens the territorial unity of the country itself" (Dahl, 1982, p.41). We have been witnesses to this phenomena after *perestroika* and *glasnost* processes in the former Soviet Union and its satellite countries. In countries which have long a democratic tradition, this kind of diversity can be handled more easily since political and decision-making processes open to different groups, and minorities can be integrated to society politically, economically, and socially. Therefore more democratization in an open society is not a threat to national unity but a cement for more integration and social peace.

## U. S. AS A MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY

Many great empires in history such as Macedonia, Roman Empire, Ottoman Empire, Austria-Hungary, etc., were multinational states. In many cases, minorities in these states were ten times more than the kernel population of the founder nation. For example, ironically the United Kingdom had the biggest Muslim population in the World when its colonies existed in the early 20th century. However, none of these multinational, giant colonizing conglomerate states can be considered legitimately as a multicultural country in terms of modern multicultural societies. In the legitimate concept of modern multiculturalism probably the United States is the first multicultural country in the World. As an example "in New York City in 1920 over half the males over twenty-one were of foreign birth. By 1940, when New York City's total population was about 7.5 million, 5 million of those reported being 'of foreign stock' in that year's census. Two million of New York's residents at that time were Jews." (Kahn, 1995, p.106) Rollin L. Hartt in his article named 'More Irish than Ireland' in *The Independent* magazine, May, 1921, describes New York City as follows: "The largest Negro city, the largest Jewish city, the largest Italian city, the largest Irish city, the third largest German city in the world." Three years later Romanian Konrad Berkovici wrote that New York City "offers the best study of the nations of the world, samples of each being centered in different sections within easy reach of another" (Kahn, 1995, p.108). Those and other

many ethnic groups have created a new culture that the world never experienced before. This was the creation of a modern city and the city of the future for the 1920's.

More than a half century later in 1993, another author describes another multicultural American city: "Los Angeles, like all cities, is unique, but in one way it may typify the world city of the future: there are only minorities. No single ethnic group, nor way of life, nor industrial sector dominates the scene. Pluralism has gone further here than in any other city in the world and for this reason it may well characterize the global megalopolis of the future."(Jencks, 1993, p.7) According to Kahn (1995, p.102) only Houston and Miami also represent somewhat the future postmodern global cities but not London, Paris, New York or Chicago.

The characteristic of these postmodern cities of the future, unlike older modern cities, are the preservation of ethnic identities in these cities. The new Pilgrims coming to these cities lives their own lives, compare their own values with their new host societies, and try to preserve their national or ethnic identities in every way from architecture to living style. However, the Los Angeles riots raised many questions about the future of postmodern cities. According to Jencks, the problem is not a problem of disorder, chaos or even violence. The problem is the dilemma of multiculturalism at its most acute that is posed by Los Angeles. Therefore this dilemma is a possibility for any future postmodern multicultural city. The circumstance demands that all voices be heard, that all identities

be affirmed. The problem theoretically is that this was absent in earlier American liberal ideas about assimilation and the attempt to create a living melting pot.

In early America, immigrants were welcomed, but not to create various micro-national identities instead to create a new nation by re-forming these immigrants in this giant melting pot. According to nationalists, dual heritage was a romantic prose and “ideal model of the cultural pluralist society”, but it never existed in reality anywhere. Therefore, even the term “ethnicity” did not appear in two major dictionaries, *Random House* and *American Heritage*, until the 1970’s. The term appeared in 1973 in the *American Heritage Dictionary of the English Dictionary* as “a condition of belonging to a particular ethnic group.” However, this definition was not enough, since ethnic groups are behaving like an interest group, demanding better education, more job opportunities and more political power over internal and foreign policy. (Roucek and Eisenberg, 1982, p.4)

Now, the United States, Canada and Australia are modern multiethnic and multicultural countries. South Africa is becoming a modern multicultural country after a long history of apartheid. The continent of Europe, step by step creating a new kind of federalism and multicultural-supranational concept of state. Although European Union is based on common European cultural heritage, it has already witnessed a tremendous amount of workers and immigrants from noneuropean and nonchristian countries. At the same time, in this last decade the world has experienced many ethnic clashes from Bosnia

to Rwanda, to Chechnia. In many other parts of the World, there are many other potential ethnic wars. One of the most preeminent scientists of this century, Samuel Huntington described the next century as 'the century of the clash of civilizations'; unfortunately Huntington's theory of 'war of cultures' is not only the small regional ethnic conflicts, but according to him there will be major conflicts between main cultures and between big subcultures such as Western culture, eastern culture, African culture or subcultures inside the these cultures such as India as a subculture or Russia in Orthodox Christian culture.

Despite today's ethnic conflicts and horrors throughout the world, the real trend in world history is moving toward much more globalization and more multicultural cities and societies across the world. However, the growing immigration from the outside world to America is viewed as a serious threat to America's future by some right wing politicians and authors. The main reason for this is that the extension of democratic and political representation to minorities is interpreted as a serious threat to the dominant configuration of power and control. Samuel Lipman, Frank Kermode and Patrick Buchanan are a few of the intellectuals and columnists to oppose cultural pluralist democracy. Buchanan, a candidate for presidential nomination in the last presidential election, sees cultural democracy as a threat to the "American way of life." According to him, plurality of languages, experiences and histories poses a serious threat for national unity and Christian values. As long as Americans can 'take back their country' plurality, political representation is fine, but American public life and values deteriorated since

1965, because “a flood tide of immigrants has rolled in from the Third World, legal and illegal.” This flood tide of immigration, according to Buchanan, made American institutions incapable of assimilation. In addition to this, Frank Kermode described in 1992 demands and voices for a progressive pluralist cultural democracy as “a noisy crowd of antihomophobes, antiracist and antiwhites.” (Giroux, 1993, p.94,95)

## RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND ETHNIC CONFLICT

Discrimination in general, “may be defined as differential treatment by members of a dominant social category which functions to deny or to restrict the choices of a subordinate social category... Racial discrimination involves a relationship between dominant and subordinate social categories called races-human beings set apart by a few perceived physical variations, particularly skin color. Racial discrimination functions to maintain the disproportionate distribution of races within a society’s stratification system (classes or estates), creating different life chances and life styles for members of these races.” (Burkey, 1971, p.97)

Racial discrimination was experienced all over the world throughout the history. Since all races have a better vision about their own race, in some cases this reasonable idea has turned to a claim of their superiority to other races. Even after the world experienced Nazism, fascism and the terrible consequences of these ideologies in World War II, we have continued to see brutal racism and racial conflict in many countries. These examples are only two of many more examples: “It was in England, not America, that Enoch Powell, the Conservative Party former Cabinet Minister, urged Britons to ‘keep Britain white’ during the mid-1960,s. It was in South Africa, not America, that the body of the black man who was the donor of the heart which went into Dr. Philip Blaiberg’s body was carted off, minus his heart, to a segregated black cemetery during the mid-1960’s.” (Steinfeld, 1973, p.3)

According to Steinfield, Americans are far from alone in facing race problems, because it is all over the world, but he concludes that "Nowhere else ( in the world ) is to be found concern to match that shown by the United States in its efforts to bring about full racial equality to achieve workable integration in all levels of life." (Steinfield, 1973, p.4)

Racism and racial discrimination, like any other kind of discrimination, potentially includes the danger of ethnic conflict in the near or far future in a multicultural society. Because any discrimination will stimulate the ethnic consciousness of a person who is subject to this discrimination, this ethnic consciousness most probably will be a negative one. For example, "for many African-Americans who came of age in the 1960's, the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. in 1968 was a defining moment in the development of their personal racial consciousness. For a slightly older group, the 1955 lynching of the fourteen-year-old Chicagoan Emmett Till in Mississippi had been a similar awakening.... The aftermath of the Rodney King verdict ( in Los Angeles, 1992) unlike any other recent racial violence, will be seared into the memories of Americans of all colors, changing the way they see each other and their society." (Blauner, 1994).

According to Susan Olzak who analyzed 262 historical events about ethnic, racial conflicts, and protests in the 77 largest cities from 1877 through 1914 suggests that "intensification of ethnic competition generates collective actions by dominant ethnic

groups that intensifies the salience of ethnic boundaries and promotes spontaneous forms of ethnic collective action designed to maintain their dominance and control. The key argument is that *competition intensifies the salience of ethnic boundaries and promotes spontaneous forms of ethnic collective action.*" (1992).

In the United States, racism generally was not commonly used in social science until the 1960's. Before that, racism referred to an ideology and it was associated with slavery. This was just a part of history, it was basically practiced in the Deep South in United States and there were some rationales for this in that time. Another type of ideological racism were contained in the theories of biological white supremacy over other races and was a part of Nazism. This version of ideological racism lost most of its legitimacy after World War II. Therefore racism no longer existed in modern America except a few small isolated groups like Ku Klux Klan and White Aryan Brotherhood.

Despite these optimistic views especially by nonminority groups, and the attempts to eliminate of institutional racism, racism has taken on a more complex meaning and definition in recent decades. Moreover the language of race and the perception of racism differs for whites, blacks, Hispanics and other minorities. For most whites, racism has a narrow meaning and it refers to institutional racism. Most whites saw racism largely eliminated and it a thing of the past. For blacks, even after important contributions by civil right laws and dramatic changes in the South, racism and racial discrimination still exist in America at a very high level. The perception of race and racism among black

people and other ethnic communities are different than whites. For blacks, racism must not be interpreted in the narrow meaning. In their view, despite elimination of *de jure* racism an organization or an environment can be racist or can be used as a device of racism because of its unconscious structure. In today's America there is no *de jure* racism, but there is a new concept of "racism as result." In this sense, an institution or an occupation is racist simply because racial minorities are underrepresented in numbers or in positions of prestige and authority." (Blauner,1994).

Whether racism still exist or not in American society today, there is still a great necessity to improve positive relations not only between minorities and nonminorities but also among different minorities.

In addition to white and minority conflict, inter-ethnic minority conflicts are no stranger to urban America from colonial time to today. Despite a great will to eliminate racial discrimination from society especially major changes in economic life and increasing competition for scarce resources among these ethnic groups and especially new immigrants the potential of more ethnic conflict in the future is growing. A recent statewide survey in California shows that 75.5 % of white population and 66.9 % of black population were worried about the changing racial makeup of California's population. They underlined that the immigration of people of Asian and Hispanic background will make it hard to maintain American traditions and American lifestyle. And a majority of white and black respondents thought that the place of English as our common language

was being endangered and the quality of education declining because of recent immigrations especially the influx of Hispanics. However, same survey suggests that Hispanics and Asians expressed less concerns about the societal impacts of new immigrants. (Johnson and Oliver).

For example, in the aftermath of the riot in the Liberty City part of Miami in 1980, one black was cited as saying: "We can't get a job because they give them to the Cubans who keep coming over here, so the only thing we can do is steal and sell dope."(Sheppard, 1980) Another survey shows that 66 % of blacks in California thinks new immigrants have important effects on their situation of being unemployed, because "undocumented Mexicans living in the U. S. take jobs away from American citizens." (Muller and Espenshade, 1985)."

In many places, blacks see new immigrants as a threat to their prosperity. In many major cities, especially in California, the ethnic economy is dominated by the Koreans, Chinese, Cambodians, Arabs, Iranians and Cubans, who specialize in a number of restaurant, retail or personal services. A number of places like Los Angeles, San Francisco, Harlem, Washington, D.C. and Miami these new immigrants have proliferated in black communities. These rapidly growing numbers of new immigrants and their domination in business or their entrance to the job markets as rival employees, were perceived as an insult to the black neighborhoods and territory by black population. This ethnic conflict, according to Johnson and Oliver (1994), is similar to Black-Jewish

antipathy of the past that developed as a result of the latter's dominance of ghetto businesses.

It seems that in association with demographic and economic changes in urban America, ethnic antipathy and conflict will continue in housing, job, business and other valued but scarce resources.

## ELECTIONS AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY

Elections and other types of political participation constitute key issues for minorities. Although high level of residential segregation of whites and minorities and economic disadvantages of them, minorities, especially blacks are highly urban concentrated population. Therefore, in addition to national elections, local elections and mayoral politics are very important for minority participation.

Political participation is very important to decrease the alienation of minorities and bring them into the political system. However, political participation of minorities, at the same time, contains the danger of racial politics and racial polarization.

We can say that racist politics in American political life largely disappeared, but racial politics still an important subject in mayoral and other local elections, especially in cities with a large diverse black population. Sometimes mayoral candidates can racialize the whole election and in other cases they racialize a specific issue such as crime.

It is not the case that every candidate follows a racial politics in accordance with their own racial origin. For example in 1990, two Democratic gubernatorial candidates in Georgia made contradictory statements about racism. One of them said: "Racism in this country was once like a cancer, it is now like acne." The second candidate said: "Racism and its dangers are increasing." Ironically, the first statement belongs to Andrew Young, a former black mayor of Atlanta, and second was made by Zell Miller, a white candidate.

The reason for Miller, of course, was to attract black supporters in a state with a large black population, and this statement clearly indicates that candidate believes that most of the black population still feels there is a racial discrimination in America. In turn, Andrew Young was trying to attract white voters; in fact, however, there were more important other reasons. Former Atlanta mayor in his eight year mayoral term quickly recognized that to govern a community based on racial politics is almost impossible. Just the day after he was elected as mayor he immediately met with downtown business leaders and said: "I didn't get elected with your help, but I can't govern without you." (Stone, 1989). Therefore in his eight year term he has been one of the best friends for business elites and gave less attention to critical social issues and lower class' economic problems. When he left the mayoralty for his gubernatorial campaign, he successfully deracialized his campaign attempting to attract support from all racial groups across the state with his economic development candidacy image, which can be attractive to all. (Hutchesen, 1991).

Although there is a continuing deracialization in city politics and voting, there is still a tendency among white and black voters to support candidates of their own race.

In the 24 congressional districts represented by blacks in 1990, only two of them had more than 50 % of the white population in 1980. In 1990, the 33 medium-to-large cities with black mayors had 48.2 % black and 45.4 % white population (Henig, 1993, p.544-570).

A national survey by the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies has found that voters have a high instinct to vote according to a candidate's race. This survey has found that 66 % of whites expected that most blacks vote for a black candidate in mayoral elections regardless of candidate's qualification. For blacks, 55 % of blacks have responded that they believe most of white voters vote for a white candidate rather than the most qualified candidate.

The tendency of racial and ethnic groups to vote for their own race is a frequently observed phenomena. If it is only a result of a pragmatic assumption that candidates of one's own race or ethnicity are more likely promote values similar to his or her own, it is somewhat reasonable. But, if racial voting is a result of deep-seated biases or secret racism this will create more problems in terms of social and political integration especially for black community.

**Table - 1**

**Voting and Registering Percentage, by Race and Gender, in November Elections  
(for any office or issue on ballot): 1964-1994**

Election	Total	White	Black	Hispanic	Male	Female
<b>VOTING</b>						
1994	45.0	47.3	37.1	20.2	44.7	45.3
1992	61.3	63.6	54.0	28.9	60.2	62.3
1990	45.0	46.7	39.2	21.0	44.6	45.4
1986	46.0	47.0	43.2	24.2	48.8	46.1
1980	59.2	60.9	50.5	29.9	59.1	59.4
1974	44.7	46.3	33.8	22.9	46.2	43.4
1970	54.6	56.0	43.5	NA	56.8	52.7
1966	55.4	57.0	41.7	NA	58.2	53.0
1964	69.3	70.7	58.5	NA	71.9	67.0
<b>REGISTERING</b>						
1994	62.5	64.6	58.5	31.3	61.2	63.2
1992	68.2	64.6	58.5	31.3	61.2	63.7
1990	62.2	63.8	58.8	32.3	61.2	63.1
1986	63.3	65.3	64.0	35.9	63.4	65.0
1980	66.9	68.4	60.0	36.3	66.6	67.1
1974	62.2	63.5	54.9	34.9	62.8	61.7
1970	68.1	69.1	60.8	NA	69.6	66.8
1966	70.3	71.6	60.2	NA	72.2	68.6
1964	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

*Source:* U. S. Bureau of the Census, released in August 1996.

In the case of black political power, almost all of the majority-black districts and jurisdictions have already elected black public officials, and political empowerment of the blacks is continuing. One of the most possible barriers in front of this black political empowerment is the increase of the racist or highly racially motivated voting in both black, Hispanic or white voters. If black and Hispanic political empowerment will continue in coming years and decades, this will most likely come from blacks and Hispanics getting elected in majority-white districts and jurisdictions. In other case,

purely racially motivated will create issueless elections and it will reinforce the ethnic separation especially in major cities in which there are heavily concentrated and cohesive racial and ethnic groups.

Despite these dangers of racial and racist voting, both black and white, especially black voters have a very high racial voting patterns. A research about race and voting behavior in Washington D. C. by Henig (1993, p.544-570) shows that when possible proportion of the blacks and white votes are accounted both race and class motivate the voting behavior. However, the racial correlation is higher than the income correlation in voting. Strong racial patterns in voting persist in spite of intrarace differences in economic circumstance. Black precincts often vote in similar ways. Their voting patterns are similar even though both candidates are black. Generally, blacks support Democrats over black Republicans, but in most case in Democratic primaries, they do not support white candidates with whom they are familiar and who have racially progressive records, even over black democrats. Despite this general patterns in black voters' behavior middle-income black precincts vote somewhat differently than low-income black precincts, in this way they align themselves somewhat more closely with white-middle class. However, in broader sense the voting behavior of middle-income blacks still resembles that of lower-income black precincts more than that of white precincts.

In year 1973 there were 47 African-American mayors in across the United States, at the beginning of 1992 the number of African-American mayors reached to 316. In

1973 there was only one black mayor holding office a large city, at the end of the 1991 almost half of the largest 25 American cities had African American Mayors, including 3 of the 5 largest cities and 15 of the top 55 cities ranked by population (Perry, 1991, p.181-191). This impressive accomplishment of African-Americans mainly was a result of successful deracialized campaigns by black candidates.

The future of the black political empowerment lies on their deracialized election strategy. A former Virginia Governor Douglas Wilder pointed out blacks "can not wait until there is a majority in a district or region to dream of running for office, and cannot isolate themselves in enclaves and retreat, leaving vast areas totally untapped and unchallenged." (Kilson, 1989) And therefore as Marable (1990) added, blacks and black political leaderships must develop constructive relations with Hispanics, Native Americans, Asian-Americans, other ethnic minorities and white Americans as well. In fact, this constructive relations with other minority or non-minority groups are essential for all or any of them. This is because the most populous cities and states in the country have large numbers of Asians, Hispanics and other racial and ethnic groups. Moreover, in addition to tactical necessity of constructive relations and coalitions, the politics of the large urban centers in the country are much more complex than just the concerns and interests of black, Hispanics or whites, and the a highly complex urban community can not be governed by this premature racial politics. Of course, as Perry aptly pointed out, this "does not mean that black politicians should discount the importance of building a

base of black electoral support as a condition for electoral success. The point is that strong black electoral support is a necessary but not the sufficient condition for the black politics of the future. The new black politics must be broader in its appeal, both deracial and transethnic, if it is to be successful.” Indeed what Perry says for black politics is necessary for any kind of political success by any ethnic or racial minority.

There are many examples that when a black politician follow a deracialized campaign and focusing on issues that appealing across the racial lines other ethnic groups and white voters are responsive. Sidney Barthelemy sought and received white voter support and he was elected as mayor of New Orleans with winning 85 % of the white vote in same way. (Perry, 1991, p.181-191). The election of Richard Arrinton, Jr. as mayor of Birmingham, 1989 mayoral election campaign in Seattle by Norman Rice, mayoral election campaign by David Dinkins in New York City, and gubernatorial election campaign in Virginia by Douglas Wilder in same year just a few other examples of deracialized election campaigns by black candidates who run in majority-white districts and jurisdictions.

## EDUCATION

Education includes a large range of issues both ideologically and practically. Therefore, government policies about education, especially for minority education, are effected by ideological perception and practicality. In the United States minority education had a changing history from racial segregation to bilingual education. Segregation of schools by race was common in many states and cities for blacks, Hispanics and Indians. Although one of the main missions of schools was perceived to assimilate the minorities, separation of schools was theoretically accepted as a way to induce assimilation without these children mixing with Anglo students.

Education is a main determinant for economic and social up-ward mobility for individuals. Therefore personal income, social status, opportunity for political participation and life standard increase or decrease with education level. In a highly industrialized society like the United States, steadily more and more education is a demand and indispensable. However in addition to educational problems for the overall population, problems of education for minorities are more serious and for some minority groups such as the Hispanic population are much more acute.

After the Civil Right movements in 1960's and especially in the 1970's, blacks, Hispanics and other minorities have gained important improvements in education. However, the gap between white and minorities has not closed. In 1980, the median

number of school years, for 25 year-old age, completed was 12.5 for Anglo Americans. At the same time blacks had completed a median 11.9 years of school, less than one year behind whites. The median school years for Hispanics, however, even worse than blacks with a median completion of 10.3 years which was over 1 1/2 years behind blacks and over two years behind whites. However, school completion years of the Hispanic population vary among all Hispanic groups. Cuban-Americans have an even higher school completion level than blacks with a median of 12.1 years; Mexican-Americans have the lowest completion with a median of 9.9 years. (Moore and Pachon, 1985, p.66)



**Table - 3**

**Percentage of High school graduates enrolled in college, by age and race/ethnicity:  
October 1973-1994**

October	Aged 18-24				Aged 25-34			
	Total	White	Black	Hispanic	Total	White	Black	Hispanic
1973	29.7	30.2	23.8	29.1	8.2	8.1	7.7	10.7
1975	32.5	32.3	31.5	35.5	9.9	9.6	11.5	11.3
1977	32.5	32.3	31.3	31.5	10.3	9.8	13.9	12.4
1979	31.2	31.3	29.4	30.2	9.1	8.9	9.2	11.6
1981	32.4	32.7	28.0	29.9	9.0	8.5	10.2	10.8
1983	32.5	33.0	27.0	31.5	9.1	8.7	8.8	9.8
1985	33.7	34.9	26.0	26.8	8.7	8.6	7.5	9.7
1987	36.0	37.2	29.1	28.2	8.1	7.9	7.9	8.9
1989	38.0	39.7	30.5	28.3	8.2	8.3	6.2	7.1
1991	40.8	42.3	30.8	33.9	9.0	8.7	8.1	8.6
1992	41.6	42.5	33.4	36.1	8.6	8.5	6.7	8.5
1993	41.0	42.0	32.2	34.9	8.5	8.2	8.1	9.5
1994	42.2	43.6	35.5	32.9	9.5	9.1	9.7	10.1

*Source:* Department of Education *The Condition of Education 1996, Indicator 8.*

According to data above between 1992 and 1994 white students were more likely to be enrolled in a college than their black and white counterparts. However, college enrollment rates of older generations are similar for whites, blacks and Hispanics.

**Table - 4**

**Associate degrees conferred by institutions of higher education, by racial/ethnic group and sex of student: 1976-77 to 1992-93**

Year and sex of student	Total	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/Pacific Islander	American Indian
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Number of degrees conferred						
<b>1976-77, total</b>	404,956	342,290	33,159	16,636	7,044	2,498
Men	209,672	178,236	15,330	9,105	3,630	1,216
Women	195,284	164,054	17,824	7,531	3,414	1,282
<b>1986-87, total</b>	436,304	361,861	35,447	19,334	11,779	3,195
Men	190,839	158,132	13,959	8,760	6,169	1,263
Women	245,465	203,729	21,488	10,574	5,610	1,932
<b>1989-90, total</b>	450,263	369,580	35,327	22,195	13,482	3,530
Men	188,631	154,748	13,147	9,859	6,477	1,433
Women	261,632	214,832	22,180	12,336	7,005	2,097
<b>1992-93, total</b>	508,154	405,883	42,340	29,991	16,632	4,379
Men	209,051	167,312	15,497	12,924	7,877	1,663
Women	299,103	238,571	26,843	17,067	8,755	2,716
Percentage distribution of degrees conferred						
<b>1976-77, total</b>	100.0	84.5	8.2	4.1	1.7	0.7
Men	100.0	85.0	7.3	4.3	1.7	0.6
Women	100.0	84.0	9.1	3.9	1.7	0.7
<b>1986-87, total</b>	100.0	82.9	8.1	4.4	2.7	0.7
Men	100.0	82.9	7.3	4.6	3.2	0.7
Women	100.0	83.0	8.8	4.3	2.3	0.8
<b>1989-90, total</b>	100.0	82.1	7.8	4.9	3.0	0.8
Men	100.0	82.0	7.0	5.2	3.4	0.8
Women	100.0	82.1	8.5	4.7	2.7	0.8
<b>1992-93, total</b>	100.0	79.9	8.3	5.9	3.3	0.9
Men	100.0	80.0	7.4	6.2	3.8	0.8
Women	100.0	79.8	9.0	5.7	2.9	0.9

*Source:* Department of Education *the 1995 Digest of Education Statistics.*

Table above shows similar results for associate degrees conferred by higher education institutions. However, although black and Hispanic population receive less associate degrees than whites, compared to their population percentage both black and whites together with Asians-Pacific Islanders and Indians continuously increased their share from 1976-77 to 1992-93 while percentage of whites who received associate degrees decreased.

All indicators above show that from early 1970' to 1994-95 society put increasing emphasis on education, graduating from high school and college. However, the between education level of white and minorities is not going to be closed in the near future. This educational gap between white and minorities will continue to effect their income level and competitiveness in the job market.

Education is one of the most important determinants for individual achievements in the life. Therefore education can serve as an equalizing or leveling institution, or it can be a selection mechanism to create a social stratification or to secure an existing stratification system dependent on an educational system and its objectives. The objectives of education have been a controversial subject for a long time in American political life. For a long time, the education system has operated as an inequalizer through a separated school system. In 1896 a Supreme Court decision legitimized this 'separate but equal' education system through establishment of a dual education system in the South based on race. But this segregated education system was not 'equal' either

in physical facilities or in the quality of education. This 'separate but equal' education doctrine was not rejected until 1954 and it was not until the early 1960's that equalizing educational opportunities for all Americans became a policy priority. (Cochran, 1996, p.302,303)

Despite increasing emphasis in federal and local levels to increase the overall education level and quality of education both for the minority and nonminority population, financial structure of education, community participation on educational decision-making and *de facto* segregation of communities do not bring a complete end to inequality in an education system. While consolidation of school districts has been cost effective for education services, at the same time it made community participation more difficult within a larger population. Moreover, since school districts are heavily dependent on local property taxes, the resulting unequal distribution of educational resources put minority dominated school districts in disadvantaged financial situations.

The high school dropout rate was 11 percent as a national average. However, this was overshadowed by 14 percent rate for African American and the 22 percent for Hispanic students. (Cochran,1996,p.327) Some suggest that the figures for Hispanics doubles if one includes pre-high school dropouts, also.

Increasing the education level will help to solve many problems both for minorities and the overall population. First, it will reduce the crime level which is higher among minorities. Second it will increase the productivity level of the population.

Therefore, in the long term, the competitiveness and security of the American economy depend on the level of success in education.

## EMPLOYMENT, POVERTY AND MULTICULTURALISM

Employment policies and distribution of the jobs to the minorities are one of the most important devices for redistribution of the national wealth and for the elimination of the inequalities among social classes.

Traditionally, the primary labor force was made up of white males in the United States and the secondary labor force was made up of white ethnic immigrants, women, youth and nonwhite ethnic minorities. In the last thirty years, however, white ethnic immigrants were largely assimilated into the mainstream culture and society. The women have entered into the many occupations which were dominated by white males previously. The baby bust after the baby boom decreased the number of youth available for the work force. These demographic and social changes gave new opportunities for Hispanic and black minorities to enter to the occupations which were open to the whites previously. According to research by the Commission on the Year 2000 (1987), for example, in New York City "whites will account for only 40 % of the population by the turn of the century and for only one-third of new entrants to the labor force." Another research by Ehrenhalt (1989) shows that the population in New York City within the ages of 15 to 24 year-old will fall by 20 % from 1980 to 2000.

These demographic changes indicate that finally the long history of labor segmentation can be closed by the demographic dynamic, employers will inevitably open

previously white occupations to the black and Hispanic minorities. This will not only change the overall employment distribution among the demographic groups but also will provide vertical mobility opportunities in social, economic and professional life for minorities.

Theoretically those trends indicate a bright future for elimination of labor segmentation and separation for minorities. However, there are many obstacles to be very optimistic about this.

First of all, in many cases, employment segregation is economically rational for employers. Minority employees have less political clout than white employees have, and minority employees also have little alternatives to low-wage employment. Therefore, minority employees are more exploitable compared to white employees. In taking advantage of this fact, in many cases employers reproduce the labor segmentation consciously. Employers in some cases transfer capital to third world countries as multinational corporations, and they can easily exploit the comparative advantage of cheap labor in those countries. But one result of this practice is to reduce the labor demand in the home country, and this limits the already limited bargaining power for minority employees. Secondly, as the nonwhite labor force increase in the U. S. cities there are important incentives for employers to produce more secondary jobs and restructure the labor segmentation, and therefore exploitation.

In this sense, it may seem surprising why some minority people are hired in top positions. However, as Lafer (1992, p.206-235) points out, employers “have done so not in ways that open the door to upward mobility for all blacks but, rather, constructing new social distinctions that keep the majority of blacks locked into secondary employment even while allowing a few to reach managerial status. In this case, a small number of blacks, set apart as assimilated, may be able to move into primary positions without threatening the system of segmentation as a whole; the really ‘back blacks’ remain stigmatized, with few decently paying opportunities, and therefore readily exploited.”

**Table - 5**  
**Occupational Distribution of Employed Males and Females Aged 16 and Over,**  
**by Ethnic Groups, 1980**

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	ANGLO %	SPANISH ORIGIN %	BLACK %
	<i>Male - Female</i>	<i>M. - F.</i>	<i>M. - F.</i>
Executive, administrative	12.4 - 7.5	5.7 - 4.4	4.7 - 4.2
Professional Specialist	10.6 - 14.0	4.6 - 6.9	4.9 - 10.6
Technical, sales, and support	18.0 - 45.9	13.0 - 35.9	12.8 - 33.2
Service	7.7 - 16.0	11.9 - 19.5	14.9 - 27.7
Craft and repair	20.4 - 2.2	18.5 - 3.7	13.5 - 2.2
Operators, fabricator, laborer	21.0 - 10.7	29.9 - 21.8	33.5 - 16.2
Handler, helpers, eqmpt. cleaner	5.7 - 2.0	9.5 - 4.0	10.8 - 3.0
Farm laborer	0.9 - 0.4	3.8 - 1.6	1.2 - 0.3
Other farming, forestry, fishing	3.0 - 0.6	2.3 - 0.6	2.1 - 0.2

*Source:* Calculated from U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Detailed Occupation and Years of School Completed by Age, for the Civilian Labor Force by Sex, Race and Spanish Origin, 1980* PC80-S1-8, Table 1. (Adapted from Moore and Pachon, 1985).

Secondly, how white people look at minorities is still an obstacle to entering the primary sector for minorities. This is not only coming from white employers, but also from white employees. As Fainstein (1987) and Lafer (1992, p.206-235) reported, "even when blacks succeed in entering the primary sector there is extraordinary employer and

worker prejudice against allowing black man to supervise whites.” In this case many white people are reluctant to work under a black person’s supervision as a result of what “being” white means historically and culturally for a white person. At the time an employer hires a black person into a supervisory position, they mostly seek minority employee not literacy but discipline. This can be understood that the main virtue for black employees is a clear commitment to hard work at low pay jobs.

Third, statistically, minority employees have lower educational background and less previous job experiences than their white counterparts. This makes minority employees disadvantaged against white employees. However, even when an employer meets with equally unskilled white and black job applicants, they are not equally compatible in the view of employer. This is “not simply because black workers may be statistically more likely to have a checkered employment record but because there is a different social meaning attached to black workers than to white and because employers’ own identities are tied up in this same system of meanings” (Lafer, 1992, p.206-235).

Another reason for labor segmentation and separation between whites and minorities is constant and conscious redefinition and reclassification of positions by employers. For example, in 1950’s and 1960’s a bank teller’s position was considered as a white occupation and filled mostly by whites. In late 1980’s most of these positions were filled by minorities. However, at the same time employers shifted this position, like some others, from primary occupation to secondary occupation, and this position was cut

off from any possible upward mobility for employees. For example loan officers and other financial positions which provide possible upward mobility were beginning to be chosen from a different pool of applicants, but tellers were neither encouraged nor trained to apply to apply or to fill these positions.

### Table -6

#### Male Labor Force Participation and Unemployment Rates

(1940 to 1990)

Year	Labor Force Part. Rate		Unemployment Rate		
	White	Black	White	Black	Black-White Ratio
1940	82.5	83.7	14.6	18.0	1.23
1950	81.8	79.5	4.6	7.8	1.70
1960	80.9	75.7	4.6	8.7	1.89
1970	77.4	69.8	3.6	6.3	1.75
1980	76.1	66.7	5.9	12.3	2.8
1990	78.1	71.5	4.4	11.5	2.61

*Source:* U. S. PC80-1-C1 1940-1989, 4 Employment and Earnings, July 1990, Table A4. (Adapted from Galster and Hill, 1992)

**Table - 7**  
**The Employment Situation: 1996 1997**

<b>Category</b>	Labor force status (Numbers in thousands)		
	1996	1997(January)	1997(March)
Civilian labor force	134,830	135,848	136,319
Employment.....	127,705	128,728	129,175
Unemployment.....	7,124	7,268	7,144
Not in labor force..	66,627	66,437	66,194
	Unemployment rates (%)		
All workers	5.3	5.4	5.2
Adult men	4.4	4.4	4.4
Adult women	4.8	4.6	4.7
Teenagers	16.6	17.0	16.4
White	4.6	4.6	4.5
Blacks	10.6	10.8	10.7
Hispanic	8.0	8.3	8.6

*Source:* STAT-USA, Household data, released April 4,1997.

All those disadvantages for minorities in work marked are main barriers to eliminate or at least minimize labor segmentation and separation. Job training program is one popular tool to achieve this goal, and this is in favor of everybody both for employers who need skilled labor force and for unemployed people who need good-paying jobs. However, it seems that job training programs can not help more than a small fraction of the problems in the present situation. Because job training is not a priority for employers.

If we look at back, in all of the 1980's and 1990's, the U. S. has had probusiness administrations. In that period business environments have achieved many legislative victories like tax reform, industrial deregulation and virtually freezing the minimum wage until last the 1996. However, employers never made job training a high priority in congressional lobbying efforts and were never genuinely willing to pay the price for job training.

Although we do not have the exact results of job training programs, "as of 1985, New York City's adult literacy training programs served 5 % of eligible population, JTPA served 2 %, and the dislocated worker training program served less than 1 %" (Lafer, 1992, p.206-235). In 1986, it was reported that the average wage for JTPA trainees placed into jobs was insufficient to raise a family of four members above the poverty line ( New York City Office for Economic Development, Policy Analysis Division , 1986). In 1989 there was another report that 60 % of job training contracts were wasted, and almost one-third of participants in these programs received no training and officials do not know how many of graduates from these programs are still in unemployment line (Senate Labor Committee's amendments to the Job Training Partnership Act, 1989).

Lafer argues that job training programs cannot solve the problem at all. According to him, if any positive change comes it will come from the opposite side which is partly affirmative action and mainly from popular protest. The promise of job

training is just an illusion. (1992). However, I believe that job training will be increasingly supported by employers and government in coming years. The new economy is increasingly becoming more and more competitive not only domestically but also internationally. The globalization of the economy increasingly requires better training and skill in every aspect and phase of the production process. Recent reawakening of the U. S. automotive industry after a defeat by import cars shows that employers are becoming more and more aware of total quality management and job training is a main part of it.

**Table - 8**  
**Share of Aggregate Income Received by Each Fifth and Top 5 Percent of**  
**1967 to 1995**

Year/race	Number (1,000)	Upper limit of each fifth				
		Lowest	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth
<b>ALL RACES</b>						
1995	99,627	\$14,400	\$26,914	\$42,002	\$ 65,124	\$113,000
1992	96,426	13,687	26,222	41,169	63,010	107,560
1989	93,347	14,866	28,268	43,446	66,011	112,764
1986	89,479	14,403	27,508	42,487	64,130	108,774
1982	83,918	13,582	25,522	39,152	58,457	97,413
1978	77,330	14,414	27,093	40,970	59,662	96,118
1975	72,867	13,627	25,626	38,632	55,580	88,623
1970	64,374	13,605	26,067	37,919	54,100	85,529
1967	60,446	12,595	24,560	34,871	49,713	79,769
<b>WHITE</b>						
1995	84,511	15,480	28,456	43,900	67,135	116,894
1992	81,795	15,207	27,915	43,113	65,175	110,059
1989	80,163	16,251	29,981	45,474	67,851	115,579
1986	77,284	15,896	29,160	44,446	66,287	111,589
1982	73,182	14,985	27,140	40,676	60,558	100,115
1978	68,028	15,750	28,448	42,875	61,073	99,116
1975	64,392	14,763	27,117	40,134	57,161	91,020
1970	57,575	14,753	27,676	39,141	55,351	87,477
1967	54,188	13,535	25,610	36,186	50,464	81,448
<b>BLACK</b>						
1995	11,577	8,400	16,900	28,689	46,296	79,831
1992	11,269	7,115	14,955	26,385	43,765	76,463
1989	10,486	7,750	16,322	28,286	46,703	80,624
1986	9,922	7,359	15,679	27,166	45,155	77,481
1982	8,916	7,446	14,754	24,843	40,005	65,015
1978	8,066	8,372	16,030	27,093	42,898	71,450
1975	7,489	8,214	15,186	25,572	39,987	63,577
1970	6,180	7,841	15,794	25,056	38,753	62,908
1967	5,728	7,456	13,855	22,041	33,902	56,552
<b>HISPANIC ORIGIN</b>						
1995	7,939	10,000	18,060	28,900	46,300	80,300
1992	7,153	10,428	19,335	30,201	47,491	80,545
1989	5933	11,518	21,511	33,528	52,411	87,261
1986	5,418	10,846	20,023	31,982	50,125	83,317
1982	4,085	10,400	19,130	29,853	45,473	74,086
1978	3,291	12,192	21,900	32,288	47,592	74,446
1975	2,948	11,105	19,229	28,923	42,317	66,495
1972	2,698	12,587	21,298	30,631	42,703	67,619

Source: U. S. Census Bureau, Income 1995, Table B-3.

As Table - 8 indicates, although there are dramatic changes in the lowest income groups both black and Hispanic, and some important increases in second, third, and fourth level income groups of blacks, in these three groups income level of Hispanic population did not increase but rather decreased from 1972 to 1995. These changes in Hispanic population put them even more disadvantages than blacks. Partly because of continuous new immigrants from Mexico and other Latin American countries their income level is decreasing on average. This is also a result of the lower education percentage of the Hispanic population and at the same time a reason for the low percentage of their educational level in high school and college degrees.

## MULTICULTURALISM AND HOUSING

Housing has two main aspects in a multicultural society: One of them is to provide adequate and sufficient dwelling to the poor, in fact to all of the population. This is a common goal for any country and government. Second, housing has special importance for multicultural societies which is not to allow poverty and ethnic ghettos, isolated from the rest of society, to create a proper blend of ethnic and cultural groups, eventually to avoid economic and social unwanted results of residential separation and social segregation.

It is obvious that housing is a major problem for poor people who pay a high proportion of their income to rent. In this sense, black and Hispanic populations are much more effected by the housing problem since the majority of them are in the low-income group. However, the housing problem does not consist of providing dwelling for the poor or minorities. It has many other aspects such as location of housing, residential separation, integration, etc. and the housing adequacy is effected by many institutional, structural, economic, and social phenomena.

Homelessness or not having adequate dwelling may be considered a result of insufficiency in housing for population. However, it is not just a direct result of insufficient housing for poor population. Research by Ringheim (1993, p.617-640) about homelessness in Houston shows that homelessness does not result from a mismatch

between the supply of rental housing affordable to the poor and the demand for low-cost housing. In 1983, Houston had a rental vacancy rate of 18%, but also had a large and continuously growing homeless population. During the late 1970's and 1980's despite this high vacancy rate, rent increases far exceeded the rate of inflation, but renters income, who generally have fixed salary, stagnated. This situation hit severely especially the black and Hispanic population. Data from same research show that in mid-1980's 83% of black and 70% of Hispanic low-income renters were living in the central city of Houston. By the 1983, 70% of all low-income central-city renters were black or Hispanic. In Houston case discrimination is also a factor in housing. A study in 1973 by the Houston League of Women Voters found that half of all rental developments in Houston were discriminating against minorities, and that blacks were more often subject to discrimination than Hispanics. Since a great majority of whites are home owners in Houston and only 57 % of Hispanics and 53 percent of blacks are home owners, this discrimination severely effects minorities. As a result, in the 1984 a proposal for 104 units of low-income housing in a predominantly white area, and another 80 unit project were canceled by the Housing Authority after protests and marches by whites (McCummings and Tynan, 1984). And since then little effort has been made in Houston to use housing programs for further neighborhood integration.

As explained previously, because of the economic disadvantages of minorities in general and specifically of black and Hispanic minorities, they are locked in central cities

in the better case, and in worse scenario they are living in very poor housing conditions or simply they can not afford to rent or to buy a house. This is mostly a result of the present economic situation of minorities or a shortage of affordable dwellings. This can be changed as a result economic improvement of minorities. The more important housing problems for minorities are suburbanization, relocation of economic activities from central-city to suburb and racial separation of residential areas. It seems that unlike economic condition of minorities this will be more durable problem in housing.

Although suburbanization is an indication of better life and prosperity for American urban population after World War II, this demographic change did not help the urban poor and minorities who were locked in to central-cities. Increased transportation cost and relocation of jobs deteriorated the economic situation of inner cities and towns minorities. However, it is one good improvement in suburbanization that during the last two decades the suburban black population has begun to grow faster than its central city counterparts. The statistics indicate that the rate of suburban black population growth has been almost twice faster than that in the central cities during the 1980's. In the 1970's, the absolute number of whites living in central-cities fell greatly while the absolute number of blacks and other minorities continued to grow. During the 1980's even though growth of central-city black population continued their suburban counterparts grew faster. And "suburbs now house fully one-fifth of the black metropolitan population, and the

number of exclusively white suburban enclaves has been reduced dramatically" (Kain, 1985).

**Table - 9**

**Residence of School-Going Children Ages 5-17 by Race and Ethnicity in 1986**

	White %	Black %	Hispanic Origin %
Metropolitan	74.5	78.9	90.3
Central City	23.6	55.5	47.7
Suburb	50.9	23.4	40.1
Non-metropolitan	25.5	21.2	12.3

*Source:* U. S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Report, School Enrollment-Social and Economic Characteristics of Students, October 1986 (No. 249). (Borrowed from Galster and Hill, 1992).

Despite these improvements in black suburbanization, the black population still remains centralized. In absolute numbers or relative to their central-city counterparts, there is no doubt that increasingly more blacks are residing outside the central-city

municipal boundaries. However, compared to whites, blacks are still much more centralized, and in most cases for black suburban population is closer to the central city geographically than white suburban residents are. One reason for this, according to Galster (1992, p.249-274), is the remobilization of the white suburban population. For example, if job growth, better public services and high-quality education provide upward mobility opportunities, there is a tendency that in this case higher socioeconomic status white are going to move to the more distant suburbs. Newly suburbanized blacks are locked outside the central-city but far away from relocated, ever-more distant "exurbs" and minorities benefits little from their suburbanization in this case.

Generally social scientists and especially the human ecology school suggest that racial or ethnic groups become assimilated into the society when they obtain similar socioeconomic conditions with the majority, and when they are assimilated they will live in the same or similar residential patterns. However, this hypothesis is not fully true for all ethnic groups, especially African-Americans do not follow this same patterns in American social life. One reason for this is a high level of racial segregation in residential areas, housing market and social life. Research about race and mobility by St. John, et al. (1995) shows that African Americans are less likely to move to suburbs than whites. Even when they have equal socioeconomic status with their white counterparts their mobility rate to suburbs are less than whites. Because much of the suburbia is effectively off-limits to African-Americans, they face sever constraints on their locational

choices. When they move to suburbs they may find only lower levels of housing and neighborhood quality. In these conditions when they move to suburbs in most case they fail to improve their housing and neighborhood quality substantially. Therefore even when African-Americans gain better economic conditions their intra-urban mobility is less than whites. This disadvantages of blacks compared to whites makes them more immobile and they live longer than whites in their residence or neighborhood, since their expectancy to improve their residential quality is less than whites.

Housing segregation is a complex problem that is affected by many actors. Even though segregation has been a common problem across the country, historically blacks experienced higher levels of segregation than anyone else. Public Housing programs were expected to decrease the housing segregation. However, even public housing programs have experienced housing segregation. Goering's research shows that government funded elderly or family housing projects have experienced racial segregation across the country and blacks and Hispanics experienced the highest segregation in the North Central area. In public housing segregation either public houses are distributed unequally or there is a racial concentration. Although degree of segregation differs from region to region, data from Goering (1989) shows that in some cities such as Montgomery, Forth-Worth, Savannah and Waterbury, all family public housing projects are black-occupied and all elderly housing projects are White-occupied.

Black-white housing segregation was persistent in the United States from 1950 to 1970 (Roof and Willcox, 1977). There was a modest decline in segregation from 1970 to 1980 in national level (Jakubs, 1986). However in large central Midwestern cities segregation remained very high. Different researches about St. Louis from the 1980's to the 1990's by Farley (1984, 1991) shows that even though the city has an almost equal number of blacks and whites, most blacks live in areas with few whites or most whites live in areas with few blacks. This severe segregation in neighborhood is similarly valid for most of the Midwestern large cities. In terms of children population, in St. Louis, children are even more segregated than adults and this will have a negative effect on future integration.

There are two separate groups in social science community that one of them give great importance to racial discrimination for residential separation, for second group residential separation is a result of complex interaction of income, affordability, and preferation; housing discrimination plays a minimum role for residential separation. According to a survey among white, black and Hispanic population in Kansas City in the 1983 , in Milwaukee in the 1984 and in Los Angeles in the 1986 racial discrimination can not explain alone residential segregation. In this research only between 7 % and 16 % of black responded that they have experienced discrimination in their search for housing. The percentage of positive response for discrimination among other minorities even less than blacks' (Clark, 1993, p.641-649). This research indicates that

discrimination is not a significant contributor for residential separation. Relatively small decrease in the level of residential segregation even after legal solutions and antidiscrimination laws also supports this argument that residential separation have other sources and roots. Therefore in order to change the present patterns of separation there should be given more attention to those factors.

Although blacks are one of the oldest racial and ethnic group in the United States they are the least assimilated group in society. According to Massey (1985), and Portes and Stepnic (1985) Generally newly arrived immigrants generally tend to stay in their ethnic enclaves. They are reluctant to assimilate into the host society because of their poor language ability. As a result their residential proximity with host society will be low. In first stage they have to learn the ways to cope with new environment. Therefore, residential patterns and proximity are not only associated with the socioeconomic status of racial groups, but also shows the assimilation level of a racial or ethnic group. Because only after a level of assimilation to host society physical proximity of host society and minority group will be closer and closer, and host society and minority group more likely is going to share their neighborhood.

In the case of the black population in the U. S., it seems that they are the least assimilated racial group and therefore the most separated in terms of residential proximity. Even the Asian-American population have experienced more residential integration with white population and other minorities. Even other racial groups in the U.

S. appear to avoid moving into a neighborhood with a dominant black population. However residential proximity in Canada is different than the United States. Although the United States and Canada have similar social background and similar economic pattern in Canada blacks have higher residential integration and proximity than blacks in the U. S. According to a comparative research by Fong (1994, p.285-297) about residential proximity between minorities and whites, especially between blacks and whites shows that “on average , the majority of blacks in cities are living in neighborhoods spatially isolated from whites: 75 % of blacks are segregated in neighborhoods that are less than 30 % white. Only a small percentage of whites are spatially integrated with whites. The low level of residential proximity between blacks and whites and white is even worse in U. S. cities with a high proportion of blacks. About 81 % of them are spatially clustered in neighborhoods that are less than 30 % white.”

“In contrast to U. S. blacks the majority of Canadian blacks are living in racially mixed neighborhoods. About 70 % of Canadian blacks are spatially mixed with whites in neighborhoods that are about 40 % to 70 % whites.”

In case of Asian-American residential integration with whites in the U. S. and Canada, they have similar proximity patterns. According to the same research, in the United States, Asian-Americans have similar integration pattern like blacks in Canada and over 40% of Asians in the U. S. cities are living in neighborhoods that are more than

40% white. Only few of them spatially isolated from whites even in cities with large Asian population and they were successfully integrated to society. In Canada Asian-Americans and blacks similarly successful in residential integration. Blacks are the most separated group in the U. s. compare to Asian-Americans in the U. S. or to blacks or Asians in Canada. Taken together, Massey and Denton (1989) describe blacks as "hypersegregated" from whites in the U. S. urban areas.

Differences about black and white residential proximity in the U. S. and Canada can be result of two reasons. First blacks in the U. S. are highly concentrated in major cities. According to Lieberman (1980) high proportion of a minority group in the city will raise the racial awareness among majorities and other population. Therefore the high proportion of black population in major cities could make the threatening to majority. In Canadian cities blacks do not live in cities with high proportion and this make them less visible and therefore less threatening to majority, more immune to potential discrimination.

Secondly, almost all blacks descendants come from slavery and from a long history of discrimination in the U. S. In contrast to U. S., over 60 % of blacks in Canada are immigrants. This demographic and historical differences in these two countries may cause blacks to have a different perception of the host society. At the same time host societies in these two countries can have different attitudes toward their black population

as a result of different demographic compositions and social background of their black population.

**Table - 10**  
**Projected Number of Households by Type, Race and Hispanic Origin: 1995 to 2010**

Year, race, and Hispanic origin	Family households				
	All households	Total	Married couple	F. Householder	M.householder
<b>Total</b>					
<b>1995</b>	97,574,189	68,872,603	54,064,426	11,336,429	3,471,748
<b>2000</b>	102,734,349	72,637,651	56,904,364	11,952,311	3,780,976
<b>2005</b>	107,892,079	76,227,200	59,642,441	12,522,567	4,062,192
<b>2010</b>	113,425,776	79,957,976	62,494,303	3,117,622	4,346,051
<b>White</b>					
<b>1995</b>	83,126,521	58,479,769	48,220,803	7,565,962	2,693,004
<b>2000</b>	86,675,553	61,076,096	50,320,749	7,850,453	2,904,894
<b>2005</b>	90,204,246	63,525,190	52,335,592	8,099,845	3,089,753
<b>2010</b>	94,010,462	66,078,448	54,447,373	8,360,230	3,270,845
<b>Black</b>					
<b>1995</b>	11,152,480	7,840,987	3,866,625	3,377,297	601,066
<b>2000</b>	12,149,243	8,533,897	4,226,890	3,640,548	666,459
<b>2005</b>	13,136,816	9,186,541	4,569,036	3,889,260	728,245
<b>2010</b>	14,185,450	9,856,032	4,914,444	4,148,909	792,679
<b>Amer. Indian Eskimo, Aleut</b>					
<b>1995</b>	686,847	513,374	332,015	136,800	44,559
<b>2000</b>	754,180	560,006	362,590	148,044	49,372
<b>2005</b>	827,029	609,936	394,757	160,746	54,433
<b>2010</b>	906,036	664,325	429,667	174,682	59,976
<b>Asian and Pacific Islander</b>					
<b>1995</b>	2,608,341	2,034,473	1,644,983	256,371	133,119
<b>2000</b>	3,155,373	2,467,652	1,994,135	313,266	160,251
<b>2005</b>	3,723,988	2,905,533	2,343,056	372,716	189,761
<b>2010</b>	4,323,828	3,359,171	2,702,819	433,801	222,551
<b>Hispanic Origin</b>					
<b>1995</b>	7,368,163	5,884,537	4,067,342	1,295,701	521,494
<b>2000</b>	8,760,637	6,981,640	4,825,118	1,538,882	617,640
<b>2005</b>	10,236,089	8,120,035	5,605,445	1,794,674	719,916
<b>2010</b>	11,866,338	9,355,801	6,448,945	2,072,234	834,622

*Source:* U. S. Bureau of the Census, Table 4, Release date: May, 1996.

As the above table shows in addition to overall household increase, minority household increase is higher than average. Another thing is rapid increase of male and female single householders. All these groups, minorities and single headed households are more likely in low-income groups and more likely living in poor housing conditions. Therefore, these developments in demography indicate that in coming years and decades society will face more acute housing problem.

## CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

As the world enters into the third millennium and the United States into its third century, we see every day a story of ethnic conflict somewhere in the world. However, global mobilization of capital, jobs, technology and labor force are increasing very fast. Tomorrow, we will see more diverse countries in a more diverse world. Although the modern symbol of a diverse and multicultural society, the United States will become an even more diverse country tomorrow - - ethnically, culturally, socially and politically. The question is: How to succeed to be a more peaceful, wealthier, better country and stronger democracy while continuing to be a diverse society and satisfying economic, political and cultural needs of these groups?

First of all, we should accept the reality of being a diverse society. This is the nature of the United States from the beginning and this trend will continue world wide including the U. S. as a result of modern technology and new world's economic restructuring and globalization. For example, in the years 1970 to 1990, the population of the Koreans "increased 70,000 to 820,000. Since 1980, about 33,000 Koreans have entered the United States each year. According to the 1990 census, the Asian American and Pacific Islander population in the United States now exceeds 7.3 million." (Jennings,1994, p.39) The increase of these populations is continuing. Hispanic population exceeded 20 million mark in 1990, matching up 8.9 percent of the U. S.

population, and the increase of the Spanish-speaking population is continuing dramatically. We saw similar fast increase for many other smaller ethnic groups across the country or some cities and regions. In addition to immigration, a higher birth rate of these minorities is continuing. Many researchers suggest that 50 percent of U. S. population will be "minorities" in mid 21st century. Therefore, society should not be afraid of being culturally and ethnically a diverse society. Diversity should not be considered as a problem, but a richness. The vast majority of people moving to America as a new homeland search for a better life, better future and more freedom and are willing to pay the price for it which has been the main and common value of America for centuries. Therefore, minorities must not be considered as a weight on the shoulders of Americans, but contributors to American society and culture in different ways.

The United States has begun its journey to establish the ideal of democracy. However, within time it was concluded that American democracy is not close to its ideals like any other democracy in the world. As America enters its third century a new political revolution must take place. This new revolution must target the provision of full equality, full freedom, and full political participation of any minority without considering their numbers in order to close the gap between the ideals of American democracy and its current imperfection. Fortunately, we can say that this sort of political revolution is already underway, first driven by white ethnics and later by African-American political empowerment. This minority political empowerment most likely will not take place

without social conflict like any other power shift from the status quo. However, this must be considered as a necessary step for America's democracy and future. First of all, this will be beneficial not only for minorities but also for all population in the long term. The cultural consciousness of ethnic and racial minorities is not a threat to society. Moreover, the essence of democracy and modern society is to provide an equal place and equal access to different identities. This is not supposed to cause chaos, polarization or ethnic conflict; contrary they will taste the freedom of being themselves and they will feel more thankful and faithful to their society.

To succeed in these goals, education will certainly play an important role. Desegregation of schools had important achievement to get blacks and whites closer, and to learn how to live together. Even some community education efforts and meetings by community leaders in Miami after the Liberty City riots made important contributions for mutual understanding between black and Hispanic communities. However, the success of educational efforts can be limited if other necessary steps are not taken place. As a result, in addition to educational efforts by every person, group, institution, legal efforts should be continued in every level of society. Efforts for community and neighborhood racial desegregation programs must continue. Every necessary improvement must be provided to increase full political participation. However, all these conscious efforts will stay as outside and artificial efforts if we do not change the structural reasons which are the main cause for ethnic unrest and inequality. Therefore the economic and social

structure of urban areas must be changed to stimulate to create a more equal, less polarized and more productive multi-ethnic society.

The key issues, therefore, the key policies and incentives must be concentrated in areas of education, poverty, neighborhood integration and political participation. Since all these issues have close interrelationships with each other, policies addressing these issues must be comprehensive and simultaneous. In order to solve these problems, government intervention and legal efforts must continue in all areas to make up the results of a long history of discrimination and separation. In addition to government efforts, minorities, business circles and support of other parts of societies and institutions will play important roles.

**First**, poverty is the main issue which has important adverse effects on other aspects of problems. The main causes of poverty result from lower education levels, low skills for business demand, overall job shortages, and discrimination. Therefore:

**I-** Affirmative action and other anti-discrimination laws must continue while other long term structural changes are being implemented.

**II-** Financial resources gradually must be shifted from welfare programs to new job creation. Welfare programs are inflationary in the long term and inflation decreases the real income level of low-income groups, who have generally a fixed income, without any contribution to the national production. The recent Clinton welfare reform plan moves in the right direction.

**III-** Credits and government subsidy to create small and family businesses for low-income families can be helpful to increase their income in addition to their contribution to production.

**IV-** Job training programs for unemployed people, low-skill employees, and other training programs for higher productivity must be supported by government both by technical support and financial support through tax deductions.

**V-** Creation of labor-intensive jobs must be supported for very low-skill and unemployed people. Labor-intensive jobs can be established with less capital while these jobs provide the use of low-skill labor force. Otherwise these groups will be unable to get hired and to contribute to society.

**VI-** Capital and business migration to developing countries must be prevented by increasing the productivity of labor force and tax deductions for domestic investments. With similar taxation policies, foreign investments should be attracted in order to increase the job market.

**VII-** School education programs and distribution of students must be directed according to projected future economic, employment and skill demands. This policy will provide the necessary labor force and professional pool to accommodate economic demand in the future, at the same time these people will be able to find jobs accordingly for their skill and interest.

**Second**, separation of minorities and de facto segregation of their locations in urban areas are other important issues both effected by other issues such as education, poverty, discrimination, and economic structure. It effects the future of minorities in the same areas by putting them in locations where they are unable to reach new job areas easily or efficiently, therein isolating them from the rest of the society. The following policies and incentives can be useful in this issue:

**I-** Racially mixed neighborhoods must be increased through legal and financial support. In addition to public housing projects, some legal arrangements can be made for private housing projects. A mandatory quota for minorities or a certain percentage of racial integration can help. If society considers racial integration as essential for the future of the country, compulsory legal arrangements can be considered as logical and necessary measures.

**II-** Affirmative marketing programs can be implemented to create more racially mixed neighborhoods. On this issue, subsidizing new minority home customers and tax reductions for home sellers can stimulate more racially integrated neighborhoods.

**III-** Land development programs must be encouraged in the inner-city and other dominantly minority urban areas through urban renovation programs, construction of in fill housing, public subsidies and tax exemptions. However, these kinds of projects will increase rapidly the home and rent prices in these areas. These increases in prices can force minorities out of these areas, and, as a consequence, racial segregation of minorities

can be a continuous vicious circle. Therefore, these kinds of land development programs subsidizing low income minorities must be continued for a period of time.

**IV-** In order to attract people to live in racially mixed neighborhoods and apartments government subsidy must be provided to both white and minority residents for a certain time period. This is necessary especially for people who will go for the first time to an extremely black or white area, because in most cases both white and black people do not want to be the first person going to live in these neighborhoods.

**Third,** education of minorities is also important to increase integration to society and to decrease poverty. This requires both legal and economic incentives:

**I-** Both for high school degrees and college degrees minorities have lower education levels compared to whites. Racial concentration of neighborhoods and schools has an effect on the high level of high school drop-out rates for minority students. Higher racial integration of neighborhoods and schools will have positive effect for decreasing school drop outs. Because minority students' constructive relationships with better socio-economic families and students in addition to more positive social environment will effect the students thinking way in right direction.

**II-** Higher income level of families will make it possible to provide better education for their children. Therefore, parent education programs, adult job training programs will be beneficial for better family control over children, more constructive parent-child relationship, parental guidance and positive effect on education.

**III-** In the current situation with the high school drop-out rate of minorities, publicly funded practical and technical education programs for these students should be more commonly used in order to provide basic job skills and keep them out of gangs and further isolation from society. This will have *long term* benefits.

**IV-** Although common language is one of the main means to get integrated into the main stream of society, bilingual education will be beneficial in some minority concentrated areas. This will provide prevention of cultural identities of some minorities, and in many cases because of their inefficiency in English, bilingual education will be practical for teaching.

**Fourth,** political participation and empowerment of minorities at national level, local level and other areas of the policy and decision-making process are necessary for their integration into the society, improvement of their socio-economic status and to find better solution and support for problems of minorities. Related to political participation of minorities, the following policies can be practical:

**I-** In addition to overall low voting participation in the United States, currently the black and Hispanic political participation level is dramatically lower than that of the white population. Improvements in education and income level of minorities will give them higher participation opportunities and this will stimulate their participation level in political processes. The higher political participation of minorities, resulted from higher education and income, will decrease the danger of high level negative political

participation of minorities which can be common in highly polarized societies with highly disadvantaged minorities.

**II-** Another incentive will come from minority political leadership. Especially in local politics minority political leadership must develop more comprehensive approaches in politics which include strengthened social relationships with other minority groups and whites, political coalitions with other minority groups, and administration policies attractive and beneficial for every ethnic group, both minority and majority. Since different social groups have different interests and viewpoints it seems that it is not possible to establish such a common policy. However, there is a minimum common interest in every society in which they can agree. Moreover, sometimes common interest, or future interest of ethnic or social groups requires them to make some sacrifice today. To persuade society and find a common ground on these kinds of problems are the job and essence of political leadership.

**III-** Although minority political empowerment in mayoral politics has been beneficial to minorities by hiring more blacks, Hispanics and other minority members into the public service jobs, this can not be helpful in the long term to increase the income level of minorities in large scale. Therefore minority political leaders in mayoral and other city politics must give more attention for creating more real jobs, changing economic structure of urban areas and increasing the productivity for overall population.

**Finally**, for all these and other policies about improvement of minorities' socio-economic status must not target only minorities, but all disadvantaged groups in same conditions across the population. Otherwise these policies can't find support from the majority and it can increase the discrimination tendency among whites against minorities.

Hence, the policies need to be race neutral, although the effect will disproportionately advantage minorities because they are disproportionately represented among the under class, unemployed, poor, under-educated, and ill housed.

The most important thing in implementation of these policies is to construct these programs in integrity and simultaneously. Racial integration of schools and neighborhoods cannot survive a long time without economic support. Unless important improvements are made in the education level of minorities, they will not become fully integrated into the society and they will not sustain an improved economic status. If minorities do not have equal skills for equal competition in job market, legal arrangements to provide them advantages in job market cannot be successful, and, long term, these policies can deteriorate the overall economy and life standard across races. Therefore, all policies must target not to nourish minorities by artificial tools and somebody else, but to provide them adequate equipment, skill and knowledge to empower them to maintain self-sufficiency and remain contributors to national wealth and well-being. Otherwise an important part of minorities will have to stay in 'intensive care' for forever.

In summary, poverty, unemployment, racial integration of neighborhoods and minorities, under-representation and political participation of minorities are so highly interrelated with each other that all government policies and public administrators must consider all these interrelationships and effects in order to be successful.

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