THE EVOLUTION OF THE CONCEPT OF
THE MARGINAL MAN

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The concept of the "marginal man" was inspired by Dr. Robert E. Park\(^1\) and collaborated with Professor Everett V. Stonequist.\(^2\) They spoke mostly not of the concept of marginality, but of the marginal man. That is, they focused on the psychological consequences of marginality. As Stonequist describes the marginal man, he is a more or less frustrated individual, poised uncertainly between two or more social worlds, reflecting in his soul the tension and discords of his distracting incertitude. Stonequist selects for his examples such conspicuous racial and cultural hybrids as the American Negro, the Jew, and the Eurasian, who are torn between two cultures and required to accommodate themselves to both. His emphasis is upon individuals who by virtue of this ambivalence, are without firm rooting in either culture.\(^3\) He does not quite "belong" or feel at home in either group.

Dr. Park interprets the marginal type not only as one in process of acculturation, but as one emancipated from the binding traditions and provincialisms of a single culture. He may thus become, "relatively to his


culture milieu the individual with the wider horizon, the keener intelligence, the more detached and rational viewpoint." "The marginal man," he says "is always, relatively, the more civilized human being." Park speaks of the marginal man as "a cultural hybrid."

The marginal man in an uncomfortable predicament may, according to Stonequist, make adjustment in several ways. He may become nationalistic, or intermediary, because he lacks sufficient solidarity, or he may become assimilated. The maladjustment of the marginal man may range from mere malaise to insanity. The most difficult situations are those in which neither assimilation nor nationalism is feasible. In such cases Stonequist suggests "equality of public rights, and loyalty to the state, combined with cultural freedom." Such a course, he thinks, will accomplish political unity and economic co-operation while leaving each group free to follow its distinctive cultural life. This, however, seems merely an attempt at a political solution of familiar race problems. It is not suggested how two groups in contact can freely pursue their own cultural lives while co-operating economically and politically, without producing marginal men in the very nature of Stonequist's definition of cultural marginality.

Critiques of the Marginal Man Theory

A decade after the initial formulations by Park and Stonequist, Goldberg and others, relying on substantially better data, proposed


that the previous authors had overestimated the universality of the psychological impact of marginal situations on personality; that is, both Park and Stonequist assumed that individuals subjected to marginal situations would manifest the symptoms of ambiguity, double consciousness, moodiness, instability, and anxiety which represent the syndrome of anomie and marginality. Although Stonequist acknowledged that psychopathologies might not result from all situations of marginality, he felt that at least minimal symptoms similar to a malaise were characteristic of marginals.¹

Milton M. Goldberg was concerned with an alternative response pattern found among marginal groups. He introduced the concept of a "marginal culture." His thesis, in contradistinction to Stonequist's, was that the marginal man is not the inevitable product of a marginal situation. The typical marginal man, he held, was the adult immigrant who, coming to a new society, is forced to adapt to it but is too old to develop and internalize new definitions of his social situation. If, as may happen with the children of immigrants, four conditions are fulfilled, an individual will live within a marginal culture which, for him, is "... a normal, complete and unitary culture poised between two other cultures." These four conditions are:

1. "early indoctrination and habituation as to status,
2. intimate sharing of status with members of primary groups,
3. participation in major institutional activities provided, ordered, and arranged by individuals of like status, and
4. reasonable satisfaction of learned wishes and desires."

The members of a marginal culture will not, Goldberg implies, manifest the

characteristic feelings and attitudes of the marginal man: insecurity; ambivalence; excessive self-consciousness; and chronic nervous strain.

Goldberg explicitly points out that a marginal culture, as he uses the term, can develop within a significant proportion of a marginal group. He does not, however, indicate what happens to the rest of the population. He leaves us with the implication that they are marginal men, in limbo, in the Park-Stonequist sense.

Soon after Goldberg, Green specified the necessary and sufficient requisite conditions for the emergence of the psychological condition of marginality. As summarized briefly by Dickie-Clark, the elements were as follows: Psychological marginality occurs when (a) there are major cultural (racial) differences between the population involved; (b) the person in the marginal situation attempts to identify with both his own and the dominant group (and any minority group in his heritage); (c) the individual strives to leave or "pass" from the marginal to the dominant population; and (d) when such passage is blocked by any number of social barriers.

Some investigators have debated whether the concept of marginality is too restrictive or too inclusive. Lewin and Hughes each argue that the concept should be expanded beyond the boundaries of mixed race and ethnicity. Lewin states that when a barrier is created that prevents the attainment of a desired goal, then a marginal situation evolves.

1Arnold W. Green, "A Re-examination of the Marginal Man Concept," Social Forces, XXVI (December, 1947), 167-171.


Hughes's conception of status dilemmas represents one attempt to expand the concept. In such instances the configurations of a person's defining status characteristics are inconsistent with one another and with the normally acceptable prerequisites for his social role.\(^1\) Since race or ethnicity is an ascribed status characteristic, Hughes reasoned that certain status characteristics could, if dissonant with other status characteristics possessed by the individual, produce marginal situations. Thus the black doctor, the career woman, or the adolescent might be expected to be as much of a misfit as the individual of mixed race. Although there are universally prescribed prerequisites for certain careers, such as educational training, there are also prerequisites generally agreed on but rarely specified formally—"doctors ought to be men," "airline pilots should be white males," etc. When individuals meet the formal requirements, but not the unspecified ones, their legitimate claim to a status is often questioned. Black doctors are sometimes prohibited from practicing in certain hospitals; women professors are not always promoted and paid according to their academic merits. Such individuals, Hughes argues, suffer the effects of marginality.

In contradistinction to the attempts to expand the dimension of psychological marginality to status dilemmas, Golovensky\(^2\) restricted the Park and Stonequist formulation to inter-racial or interethnic situations involving attempts to "pass." Thus he accepts Green's requirement that

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\(^1\) Everett C. Hughes, "Dilemmas and Contradictions of Status," *American Journal of Sociology*, L (March, 1945), 353-359.

the marginal individual must strive to leave the marginal group. He does contend that the United States is a nation of many minority groups and that it is not possible to speak of a homogeneous dominant culture and a homogeneous but different minority culture. True psychological marginality, in this view, is not a group phenomenon but rather an individual experience of being torn between fragmented groups, often because of conflicting familial loyalties to them.¹

In a study conducted in 1953 of Jews in New Haven Antonovsky² proposed that individual adaptations to the marginal situation are not uniform. Thus Antonovsky and Golovensky support one another. Antonovsky suggests that the traditional conceptions of persons in marginal situations are those of people who demonstrate instability, conflict, and uncertainty. In contradistinction, his own subjects demonstrated a variable range of responses, not all of which differed from individuals not exposed to marginal situations.³

Finally, investigators including Mann⁴ and Kerckhoff,⁵ have attempted to measure the psychological dimension of marginality. The major conclusion to be drawn from their work is that until the social psychological perspective is quantifiable we can do little but speculate, as Park and Stonequist

¹Gist and Dworkin, op. cit., p. 12.
²Aaron Antonovsky, "Toward a Refinement of the 'Marginal Man' Concept," Social Forces, XXXV (October, 1956), 57-62.
³Ibid.
essentially did, about the effects of the marginal situation on some
individuals as opposed to others.

Purpose of the Study

The movement and migrations of the Europeans have invaded every
part of the world and have brought into being an interpenetration of
peoples and a fusion of cultures. The circumstances have created, at a
certain time and under certain conditions, a personality type. A type
that is new to the characteristic of the new world. It is a type to which
Robert E. Park has given the title "The Marginal Man."

The intent of this paper is to show the formation and evolution of
the concept of the marginal man.

The marginal man will be put into a broader setting. He will be
seen as a function of the break-up and mixing of cultures attendant
upon migration and the great cultural revolution. Some problems arising
during this evolution will be brought into focus.

Type and Availability of Data

Robert E. Park planted seed enough to keep a generation of scien-
tific cultivators busy. While the phrase came with the publication of
Race and Culture, the essential idea is much older. Park refers to many
others who had sensed the problem; notably Georg Simmel, in his passage
on the "stranger" in his Soziologie and Gilbert Murray, in his Rise of
the Greek Epic.

Emile Durkheim, The Division of Labor in Society, 1893 dealt with
the same problem in his interpretation of the transition from mechanical
solidarity to organic solidarity as the basis for social order in society.
Possible only in relatively undifferentiated and unchanging society, mechanical solidarity depended upon the universal internalization of a common moral code in order to regulate all social interaction. There is no question except that Park was seriously influenced by Durkheim. Both were aware of the precariousness of organic solidarity.

In the early Chicago years Park collaborated with Ernest W. Burgess, which produced the *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1921). This book, which the author looked upon as a prolegomenon to further research and theory, is especially known for its development of a scheme of four basic processes of social interaction: competition, conflict, accommodation and assimilation. These concepts have been widely applied in the study of the contacts of peoples perhaps more so by others than by Park, himself.

There is external and internal evidence that William I. Thomas had an influence on Park's *Old World Traits*, in relation to the processes of adjustment to a strange land and culture in a more general way. Thomas had been influential in bringing Park to Chicago.

After Park had spent several years of association with Booker T. Washington, he learned more about human nature and society than he had learned elsewhere in all his previous studies. He spent seven winters, partly at Tuskegee but partly roaming about the South, getting acquainted with the life, the customs, and the condition of the Negro people.

Park's travels took him to many countries, first as a newspaper reporter and later as a distinguished teacher of Sociology.

In 1928, Everett V. Stonequist met Professor Park of the University of Chicago and learned of his concept of the "marginal man." With Park's
encouragement and counsel, and the useful suggestions of other members of the University of Chicago Department of Sociology, Stonequist undertook to analyze further the validity of this hypothesis, presenting the preliminary results of the study in 1930. Since then, Stonequist pursued the subject by travel in Europe, in Hawaii, and in the Caribbean.
CHAPTER II

THE MARGINAL MAN

Culture, which is a character we ordinarily attribute to communities and peoples, is a term not unlike personality, which is a character we attribute to individuals. Personality has sometimes been described as the individual and subjective aspect of culture. In that sense we may say that culture consists of those habits in individuals that have become customary, conventionalized, and accepted in the community. Culture includes, therefore, not merely all that Sumner has described as the folkways but it includes, also, art, science, philosophy and formal law, all the technical and rational devices, in fact, by which men have at all times sought to control not only their environment but themselves. It is because what is customary in the community becomes habit in succeeding generations that the fund of tradition which we call culture persists and accumulates. Once habits formed by individuals have become conventionalized, sanctioned, and transmitted they become a communal possession.\(^1\)

When we come to analyze race and culture contacts from the standpoint of the social organization which is created to accommodate peoples with different racial and cultural backgrounds we come to the heart of

the problem. Where race relations have advanced beyond the system of slavery, caste system has been characteristic of agricultural societies. Under the impact urbanism and modern industrialism caste tends to break down. In the modern industrialism societies the type of social organization which has evolved to accommodate peoples of different racial and cultural origins has been a type of biracialism in which the principle of caste is interwoven with class distinctions.

Contacts between Europeans and non-Europeans have resulted in the diffusion of many traits of European culture. The extent to which this has occurred has depended upon a number of factors. For example, the American Negroes, who have been immersed for more than three centuries in a community with European culture, have lost almost completely their African cultural heritage. On the other hand, in Asia and most of the areas of Africa the diffusion of European culture has been limited to certain areas and to certain classes of the native population. The diffusion of European culture has generally resulted in the adoption of some of the techniques of European civilization and in changes in habits and overt behavior. Consequently, this type of acculturation has not affected the deeper layers of the personalities of native peoples or changed their fundamental values and outlooks on life.

The relatively small number of individuals who have acquired the values and sentiments of Europeans have often become "marginal man" or cultural hybrids. It has been the marginal men who have become the leaders of the nationalistic movements. Although the concept of the marginal man is very broad, it does not include all aspects of the problem of culture and personality arising as the result of race and culture contacts.
The core of traits which characterizes the marginal personality springs from the conflict of cultures, and not from the specific content of any culture. It is the conflict of groups possessing different cultures, which is the determining influence in creating the marginal man, and the typical traits are social-psychological, rather than cultural, in nature. Membership within a social group is more vital to the individual than sharing any particular culture; the first is a prerequisite to the second. Accordingly, when his social status is endangered the psychological consequences are fundamental. It is because the marginal individual has an uncertain status in two or more groups that he becomes a distinct type of personality irrespective of the particular content of the cultures.¹

The contact of two races so dissimilar in character, in culture and in institutions as the English and the Indian raises the problem of the contact of cultures in its most acute form. Mutual influence is easiest when two cultures are basically the same; radical difference tends either to mutual repulsion, or to absorption of one by the other.

Migrations, with all the incidental collision, conflicts, and fusions of peoples and of cultures which they occasion, have been accounted among the decisive forces in history. Every advance in culture, it has been said, commences with a new period of migration and movement of populations. Present tendencies indicate that while the mobility of individuals has increased, the migration of peoples has relatively decreased. The consequences, however, of migration mobility seem, on the whole, to be the

¹Stonequist, op. cit., p. 214.
same. In both cases the "cake of customs" is broken and the individual is freed for new enterprises and for new associations. One of the consequences of migration is to create a situation in which the same individual—who may or may not be mixed blood—finds himself striving to live in two diverse cultural groups. The effect is to produce an unstable character—a personality type with characteristic forms of behavior. This is the "marginal man." It is in the mind of the marginal man that the conflicting cultures meet and fuse. It is, therefore, in the mind of the marginal man that the process of civilization may best be studied.¹

The sociological conception of personality may be said to take its departure from the observation of Thomas and Znaniecki,² that "personality is the subjective aspect of culture." The individual comes to share the aims and purposes that find expression in social institutions, becomes conscious of his rights and duties, achieves a status, conceives a role for himself, and thus acquires a personality. As a conscious personality, an individual is always under the necessity of conforming to group expectations on the one hand, and leading a consistent life on the other. When one has to take different roles at the same time, the result is mental conflicts. Mental conflicts often have their sources in cultural conflicts. Cultural conflicts when they do not provoke mass movements are likely to manifest themselves in family disorganization, in delinquency, and in


²W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America (Boston, 1919), p. 29.
functional derangement of the individual psyche. Studies in clinical psychology may be of importance to the understanding of social and cultural changes; the investigation of cultural conflicts may throw some light upon the functional disorders of the individual psyche.¹

The marginal man arises in a bi-cultural or multi-cultural situation. The natural desire of the mixed-blood is to advance toward the group occupying the higher status. He may be forced to accept the status of the lower group, possibly becoming their leader. He may be rejected by both groups. Where accommodation, rather than conflict, prevails, the mixed blood may constitute a middle class. With intermarriage the mixed-blood approximates more nearly to the status of the dominant race. The marginal individual experiences what DuBois has analyzed as "double consciousness." It is as if he regarded himself through two looking glasses presenting clashing images. The marginal individual passes through a life-cycle--introduction to the two cultures, crisis and adjustment. The natural history involves an initial phase with a small group of marginal individuals who are ahead of the minority. This group increases, and a movement develops having as a goal some kind of equality and independence. The final outcome may be a new social framework. If assimilation is facilitated, the minority may be incorporated into the dominant group, or become the dominant group, and the cycle ends.²


CHAPTER III

RACIAL HYBRID

Racial "purity" is a myth accepted by mankind in many civilizations. The converse of a belief in racial purity is race "mixture" about which have clustered various notions concerning the consequences of biological blending. A formidable body of evidence exists that all peoples represent an admixture of hereditary traits in varying degrees and forms but in which the fusion is more visible in some groups than in others. What is lacking is evidence that racial blending is biologically harmful, that the hereditary capacity of racially mixed persons is damaged by the fusion of racial traits, or that such persons are necessarily inferior or superior in potential learning ability.¹

There is, of course, abundant evidence that race, in its biological aspects, has important social, cultural, and psychological ramifications, not because of race per se but because of the positive or negative values placed on certain racial characteristics. These values so permeate many societies that minority peoples, racially distinct from the majority, often suffer serious handicaps as they become subjected to prejudice and

¹Gist and Dworkin, op. cit., p. 1.
discrimination and are objects of hostility or indifference. Often this is true of minority peoples of dual or multiple racial heritage.

The events and situations that have produced racial blending reach far back into the misty and unrecorded annals of history. Whenever and wherever peoples move about, coming into contact with others different in race and culture, amalgamation and acculturation are possibilities.

Large-scale colonialism and military conquest were for centuries a feature of Western imperialist expansion in which European powers sent troops and civil personnel to the "backward" countries whose people usually differed racially and culturally from the Western conquerors. As the Europeans became entrenched militarily, politically, and economically, it was almost inevitable that contacts with local people would lead to sexual unions, either in conventional marriage or in unconventional relations. These unions were mainly between European males and darker women of the subjugated lands. Their offspring thus exhibited visible genetic traits, including color, inherited from both ancestral lines. Usually the offspring of such unions, or their own descendants, were distinguishable racially from either line of ancestors.

It is these people of dual or multiple racial heritage who are the subject of this thesis. As racial minorities, they may be found in countries widely separated geographically and culturally. Of particular interest in this discussion are the Coloureds of South Africa, the Eurasians of India, the Mulattoes of the United States, the Coloured People of Jamaica, the Indo-Europeans of Java, the Part Hawaiians, and the Metis of Brazil. Each of these groups is unique in various respects: in the historical circumstances of its origin and development, in the
status accorded it by the society of which it is a part, and in its relations with other peoples, but one thing they have in common is an awareness of their own racial heritage and the way in which racial blending has affected them individually and collectively.

The Cape Coloured of South Africa*

The economic, political and social position of the Coloured people makes them a marginal group.

The Coloured people share the culture of Afrikaans--speaking Whites and are socially rejected by them simulanteously. Towards the Coloureds the Whites are hostile, rejecting and yet often paternal. The origins of the Coloureds are as much African as white, yet in the present social system they cannot place their loyalties unreservedly in the African or the white camp. Their dilemma has been sympathetically posed by Chief Albert J. Luthuli:

The Coloured people as a whole are...divided in their attitude to white supremacy. Some of them reject it because it is an immoral creed, but many of them resent it because they are not included in it. These seek identification with the whites, and find only rejection. At the same time they avoid identification with Africans. Their dilemma is pitiable, they cannot make up their minds which world to live in.¹

More precisely, they are living within a social system that prevents them from making up their minds, and that has grown increasingly uncompromising on this issue during the three hundred years of its existence.

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*This study was taken from L. Bloom, "The Coloured People of South Africa," Phylon, XXVIII (March, 1967), 139-150.

The first Dutch settlement in the Cape was founded in 1652, when van Riebeeck landed. During the first few decades there were some marriages between Dutchmen and Hottentot women and many non-marital liaisons between masters and their female slaves. By the 1670's it is estimated that about three quarters of the children of female slaves had white fathers. This was the origin of the present Cape Coloured people, and the early miscegenation persisted in the form of concubinage in a manner similar to that of the Deep South of the United States. So well accepted was the practice of miscegenation at this early date that Simon van der Stel, a governor of the Cape, would have been classified as Coloured in South Africa today.

The first of a series of laws that attempted to govern relations between Coloured and White people was passed in 1685. It forbade marriage between white men and slave women, but miscegenation continued despite increasingly fierce laws against it and despite the growing condemnation of the Calvinist Dutch Church.

Attitudes toward the Coloured and in response, the attitudes of the Coloured people towards themselves and their white co-South Africans, are strangely ambivalent. On the one hand there is the intimate genetic and psychological relationship between Coloureds and Whites; on the other hand there is the growing of White official antipathy to miscegenation.

In the early days of the settlement of the Cape, the Dutch were engaged in an intense struggle with nature and with the Hottentot and African people who were settled or settling on the same land. There was an atmosphere of war, of uncertainty, and of growing isolation from the Europe whence the Dutch immigrants had come. The settlers found themselves
among indigenous peoples who were alien in race, in religion, in culture
and who were prepared to offer as effective a resistance as they could
technically manage.

A community of the elect was gradually formed in the midst of a
hostile Africa. Whites formed the upper caste and a menial population was
drawn from the Coloured people, Hottentots and Africans, of alien languages,
other religions, other colors and other cultures. Despite the initial
period of widespread intermarriage between the settlers and the slaves,
the caste situation along color lines crystallized.

The economic situation of the Coloured people is similar to the
relationship between Negro and white Americans during the time of slavery,
and is responsible for the origin of the present highly ambivalent rela¬
tionship between the two groups, Coloured and White.

In the House of Assembly on May 4, 1959, Dr. Verwoerd defined the
status of the Coloured people as follows:

The Coloureds represent a minority group of the popula¬
tion and they do not, therefore, constitute the same
danger to the numerically superior White (as the Afri¬
cans). ...With regard to the Coloureds we must apply the
principle of apartheid ... We definitely do not accept,
however, that there will be integration or intermingling
of the political structure for the Coloured and the White
man, neither in the municipal sphere nor in any higher
sphere.  

It is often impossible to distinguish a nominally Coloured person
from one who is nominally White, particularly among the more isolated

1H. F. Verwoerd, Positive Rehabilitation Programme of the Govern¬
ment Concerning the Coloured People (Cape Town, Department of Coloured
Affairs, 1960).
rural areas of the Cape, the Free State and the Transvaal. There is so much ambiguity that, according to reports in the Cape Times, at the end of 1961 there were at least 20,000 people in the Cape Peninsula alone who were uncertain whether they were officially Coloured or White. Up to mid-March, 1964, there were 3,940 objections to the official classification, of which nearly 1,000 were by people who wished to change from Coloured to White and the majority of the rest from African to Coloured.

The Immorality Act, 1957, defines a Coloured person as any person other than a White, and therefore includes Asiatics and Chinese South Africans.

In reality, "the Coloureds are not on the margin of white and African cultures; their culture is essentially the same as the whites". ...The Coloureds can be said to be in a marginal situation. They are dominated by a privileged white group which distributes privileges largely along colour lines." Essentially the Coloured people are Afrikaan-speaking people, some of them darker, others lighter than some nominally white Afrikaaners; some looking like Africans, some like Indians, some like Chinese, most of them with features that do not exclusively follow those of any group. There is no more a Coloured culture than there is a distinct Coloured type. In culture, as in physical mingling, there is an almost complete fusion between the Afrikaans and the other groups which contribute to the Coloured people.

The dominant religion of the Coloured people is some denomination of Christianity.

What James Baldwin asserts of Negro Americans is probably as true of the majority of the Coloured people of South Africa, who are in a similar
position socially. The Coloured man or woman, like the Negro "risks having the gates of paranoia close on him. In a society that is entirely hostile, and, by its nature, seems determined to cut you down...." It begins to be almost impossible to distinguish a real from a fancied injury.

It is naive to think of the Coloured people merely as appendages of the white community. Their three centuries of history have steadily compelled them to realize that they are a group apart from the dominant Whites, and that it is an illusion that one day they might become equal to, though separate from, the Whites. The realization by the Coloured people that they must make common cause with Africa can be their psychological as well as their political salvation.

Eurasians (Anglo-Indians) of India*

Whenever intermingling has occurred among peoples of diverse cultural and racial backgrounds, the consequences have often been acculturation and amalgamation—the blending of cultures and blood. This section is concerned with the Anglo-Indians, a minority "community" in India representing a racial blending of Europeans and indigenous peoples. The sexual contacts were mainly between European men and Indian women. Some of the relationships were unconventional and doubtless casual; others culminated in marriage. The progeny of these unions, whether licit or

*This study was initiated by Noel P. Gist, University of Missouri in 1963-64 when he was a Fulbright visiting professor at the University of Calcutta. Additional field work was done in South India in 1967.
illicit, represented a genetic merger in which physical traits were inherited from both racial stocks. As the numbers of racial hybrids increased, it was virtually inevitable that their associations and intimate relations would be mainly with others of similar genetic composition and social position. For the last two centuries or so the vast majority of marriages have occurred between Anglo-Indian men and women.

It seems probable that numbers of hybrid children, especially those born out of wedlock, were reared by their mothers and socialized into Indian society without close or continuous contacts with European cultures or people. To the extent that this occurred, these children, or subsequently their own offspring, were enveloped by the culture and social system of their mothers and thus disappeared as identifiable racial hybrids. However, this may be, the majority of Anglo-Indians now constitute a self-conscious community whose members are socialized into a system and way of life characteristically European. Their mother tongue is English, their religion Christianity; their family organization and home life are patterned after that of Europeans, mainly British, and their schools resemble the British model.

The origins of the Anglo-Indian minority go back to the early arrivals of the Europeans in India—first the Portuguese and later the British, Dutch, and French. The Portuguese settled mainly in Southern India, and from that colonial beachhead became active in spreading the Portuguese language and culture and converting the local people to Catholicism. They viewed intermarriage with a tolerant eye, and the offspring of such unions were generally treated with generosity.

It was a different story in the regions of India dominated by the
British as a colonial power. In the early years of British control the East India Company did not discriminate against persons of mixed racial heritage; in fact, intermarriage was tolerated, even encouraged, because many administrators believed that the racially mixed people would represent a "bridge" between British and India and would probably support the British in their imperial ambitions.

By the end of the eighteenth century the official policies of the East India Company had changed; the people of dual racial ancestry came to be regarded with distrust as a potential threat to the Empire. Job discrimination practiced against them worked severe hardships on many of the families. Although members of the minority were culturally oriented to the Europeans, and most of them probably felt a loyalty to their kinsmen the British, they continued to be objects of social and occupational discrimination until the middle of the nineteenth century.

A clear perspective of the status of the community and the relations of its members to other peoples in India, either the British when they were a dominant power or other Indians representing different "communities," is obtained by viewing them as a marginal group. This concept in no sense implies an invidious comparison but rather indicates the nature and extent of their relations with other peoples and their integration into the social fabric of India.

The psychological traits of the Anglo-Indian reflect his social position; he is placed between two societies with each of which he has ties of kinship but neither of which accepts him. His actual subservience—economic, political, and social—gives him an attitude of subservience and inferiority.
Colour prejudices exist within the group, the lighter individuals scorning the darker and striving for inclusion in the white race.

Economically the status of the Anglo-Indian is low. There is much poverty, and in the cities where most of them live, considerable population congestion. Occupationaly they belong to the lower-white-collar class, many being employed by the government in clerical positions and in the telegraph and railway services. Anglo-Indian women are employed largely as nurses and teachers. The community has not developed an independent basis of livelihood.

Coloured People of Jamaica*

Jamaica has long attracted the interest of American sociologists. Here a British colony, close to our shores, experienced color slavery and arrived at a kind of "race relations" different from that developed in the United States. Jamaica, passing through a brief stage termed "apprenticeship," achieved emancipation of her slaves a third of a century earlier than did the United States, and without Civil War. Her whites constitute a small minority.

The basic racial pattern of Jamaica was laid down in the eighteenth century. At the end of the seventeenth century there were an estimated ten thousand whites and forty thousand slaves, principally blacks. Less than a century later the whites numbered about eighteen thousand, but there were a quarter of a million slaves—an increase of over two hundred

thousand. An additional increment of whites in the first quarter of
the nineteenth century was followed by a decline after the Apprentice¬
ship period. By 1844 there were less than sixteen thousand whites in
the Island, and their number has since fluctuated little. The census of
1943 reported 13,400, hardly more than the white population of 1775.
Meanwhile the colored (mixed bloods) increased from 68,500 in 1844 to
216,000 in 1943, and the black population increased from 293,000 in 1844
to nearly a million in 1943. The whites, barely maintaining their num-
bers, have steadily declined in proportion from about four per cent of
the population in 1844 to one per cent a century later.

Historians of the British Caribbean have amply documented the drain
of white population out of the area. The high sugar prices in the latter
half of the eighteenth century accelerated the movement, for the planters
could live luxuriously in England on the returns from their holdings.
According to Ragats,

"When the permanent decline in revenues from tropical
American holdings...set in, overseas owners as a class
failed to return, take personal possession and salvage
what they might, but instead, after exhausting credit,
they transferred their estates to holders of their paper,
while planters actually in the West Indies, becoming
hopelessly entangled in debt...forsook the colonies."

The practice of sending the planters' children to England for their educa-
tion, whence they often failed to return or returned miseducated to
colonial life, reinforced this tendency. The consequence was a heavy
drain of the trained talent out of the Island and an abdication of
insular responsibilities to multiple office holders, agents, and mort-
gages. In their turn the agents often departed. "Social stability
was...far to seek; how far must be clear to anyone who cares to search
among the names of the chief men in Jamaica in the eighteen-thirties... for the names of men who held...offices a hundred years before." The reasons for this discontinuity are to be found in vital as well as migratory causes. The sex ratio was heavily masculine, the life expectancy of the poorer immigrants, the clerks and overseers was exceedingly low, and the practice of concubinage reduced legitimate fertility.

Throughout Jamaican history the whites were thus drained off as fast as they arrived, and a vacuum was created in positions of intermediate responsibility. One segment of the population, the manumitted or free born colored, was always present to enter the vacuum. Many of these were children of the planters and their concubines. Some had European education, and even those less trained compared favorably enough with the impoverished, forgotten men of the plantation, the English clerks and indentured whites. The precondition for the differentiation of the black and colored populations was then established, just as it was in South Africa, Brazil, and the United States. But in Jamaica the lack of an adequate population of qualified whites, or indeed of unqualified whites, afforded the coloreds a greater opportunity to differentiate themselves from the blacks.

Spanish definitions of color long persisted in Jamaica, and in the eighteenth century the recognized gradations were black, mulatto, terceroon, quadroon, mustee, mustee fino, and white. The child of a white and a musteefina (or mustee, or quadroon, according to various writers) was called "English, free or taint." Thus Bryan Edwards, in The History, Civil, and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies, at
the end of the eighteenth century wrote:

"The children of a white and Quinteron consider themselves as free from all taint of the Negro race. Every person is so jealous of the order of their tribe or caste, that if, thru inadvertence you call them by a degree lower than what they actually are, they are highly offended."

Lightness, valued as a promise of higher status, became valued for itself, and status became equated with lightness.

The colored population made most general progress in the urban areas where they entered the professions, administrative jobs and trades. Even before Apprenticeship they comprised the majority of the voters in Kingston and in three of the parishes. Had they voted en bloc, they could have elected at least nine of the forty-five members of the Assembly, but prior to 1837, there were only three colored members. In 1837 eight were elected.

The varieties of colored employment are worth detailing. John Bigelow, proprietor and editor of the New York Post, who visited Jamaica in 1850, reported that the pilot in Kingston harbor was a mulatto, that the revenue officers were mostly colored, that most of the eight hundred man police force were colored. In a visit to court he found two lawyers, all but one of the officers of the court, and most of the jurors were colored. At this time Edward Jordan, a colored man, was public printer, editor of the Kingston Morning Jordan, and leader of the Administration party. His is said to be the first portrait of a colored man to appear in the history gallery of the Institute of Jamaica.

Americans have been impressed with the permissiveness of Jamaican race relations for more than a century. Bigelow of the New York Post,
summarized the case as well as we could ask:

"...one accustomed to the proscribed condition of the free black in the United States, will constantly be startled at the diminished importance attached here to the matter of complexion. Intermarriages are constantly occurring between the white and colored people, their families associate together within the ranks to which by wealth and color they respectively belong, and public opinion does not recognize any social distinctions based exclusively on color."

Of course, cultivated or fashionable people will not receive colored persons of inferior culture and worldly resources, but the rule of discrimination is scarcely more rigorous against those than against whites. They are received at the 'King's House'...and they are invited to (the governor's) table with fastidious courtesy. The wife of the present mayor of Kingston is a 'brown' woman...so also is the wife of the Receiver General himself, an English gentleman, and one of the most exalted public functionaries upon the island.

One unacquainted with the extent to which the amalgamation of races has gone here, is constantly liable to drop remarks in the presence of white persons, which, in consequence of the mixture of blood that may take place in some branch of their families, are likely to be very offensive. One can only be protected from frequent contretemps of this kind, by the timely caution of a lady, who in explaining its propriety, said that unless one knows the whole collateral kindred of a family in Jamaica, he is not safe in assuming that they have not some colored connections.

The Part Hawaiians*

Several factors conspire to make the hybrid in Hawaii occupy a

position markedly different from that of the mixed-blood in other areas. The relative absence of race prejudice on the part of the Hawaiians has created an atmosphere which is favorable both to intermarriage and to persons of mixed blood. There are certain differences between the several groups. The Chinese-Hawaiian is, by consensus, a superior product and is accorded a high status. The Caucasian-Hawaiian is given a lower rating and consequently is more sensitive and self-conscious. There is a considerable group of multiple hybrids, the results of several crosses. These tend to form a group of their own since they cannot readily attached themselves to any of the pure-blood groups as do the dual hybrids. The mixed-bloods of all sorts are drawn together, and within this group there is little hesitancy with reference to intermarriage. This entire group mingles rather freely with the Hawaiians, but there is considerable social distance between them and the Nordics. The hybrids play an important role in the life of Hawaii. As a participant in two or more cultures he acts as an intermediary and interpreter. The presence of a considerable number of hybrids has been responsible for the relative absence of race prejudice. The hybrids are increasing in numbers and in importance, and it is in the minds of these persons that the conflict and fusions of culture are taking place. To understand fully the life of Hawaii, attention must be directed to this marginal group.

The Mulattoes of the United States

The mulatto, as the term is used in this section, includes all those members of the Negro race with a visible admixture of white blood. ¹

It is a general term to include all Negroes of mixed ancestry regardless of the degree of intermixture. It includes all persons who are recognized, in the communities in which they live, as being of mixed-blood. Strictly defined, the word designates the first generation of hybridization between the Negro and the Caucasian races. The hybrid may be the offspring of a white father and a Negro mother or the child of a Negro father and a white mother. Both ancestral elements, however, must be of racially pure lineage else the offspring resulting from the union will not be a first generation hybrid and hence not a mulatto in the biological sense.

The mulatto is a man of mixed-blood. When the crossing of races produces an offspring readily distinguishable from both the parent races of which it is a mixture, the situation may become the basis for class distinctions; the bi-racial ancestry of the individual may determine his status in the community.

The color, or other racial marks, of one race may come to be a symbol of its inferior culture and so come to stand, in the thinking of the culturally superior group, for poverty, disease, dirt, ignorance, and all the undesirable concomitants of a backward race. It is this that makes it impossible for individuals to escape the status of the lower group. Any group beating the physical marks of the lower group is assumed to embody the traits that are supposed to be typical of the lower race. The individual cannot pass in the opposite group on his merits as an individual, but must pass as a member of the opposite race.

The half-caste who appear in such a situation are an easily distinguishable physical variety. This characteristic physical appearance classifies them; it separates them from both groups and makes them alien
in both. It makes it impossible for them to escape the stigma which
attaches itself to a tainted ancestry. The half-caste individual cannot,
therefore, be a mere individual; he is inevitably the representative of
a type. He is not merely a biological product; he is a sociological
phenomenon.¹

Under such conditions, the half-castes tend to develop peculiar
mental traits and attitudes which are not racial but are determined by
the social situation in which they find themselves.

Psychologically, the mulatto is an unstable type. In the thinking
of the white race, the mulattoes generally are grouped with the backward
race and share with them the contempt and dislike of the dominant group.
Nowhere are they accepted as social equals.

By the native race, the mixed-blood group is generally accepted as
superior. The possession of white blood is an evidence of superiority.
The ancestral blot excites no prejudice. The mulattoes are envied because
of their color and enjoy a prestige among the darker group because of it.
The mulattoes despise the lower race with a bitterness born of their
degrading association with it, and which is all the more galling because
it needs must be concealed. They are uncertain of their own worth; con-
scious of their superiority to the native they are nowhere sure of their
equality with the superior group. They envy the white, aspire to equality
with them, and are embittered when the realization of such ambition is
denied them. They are a dissatisfied and unhappy group. Where this caste
has been more or less frankly recognized, it serves as a harmonizing group
between the population extremes. Where it has not been recognized by the
superior race, the caste seldom has been able to maintain itself and the
mixed-blood individuals tend to unite their interests with, and become an upper-class among the lower class.

The Indo-Europeans of Java

Java is one of the most densely inhabited areas in the world. The half-castes of the population of Dutch and Javanese origin call themselves Indo-Europeans and are classed as Europeans in the population statistics of the Netherlands Indies.

The Portuguese came to Java early in the sixteenth century. They established factories and stayed for some time. They held slaves and around the factories there grew up a mixed people. They frequently brought slave women with them. The children remained in the kampongs. The fathers first began to take care of their children by native women as far back as 1600, about the time the Dutch arrived. These children were registered as Dutch. Some of the half-breed children were sent to Holland. Some stayed. It is those who stayed who constitute the Indo-Europeans. A great majority of the half-castes became natives so that one can never be quite sure whether a person in Java is a full-blood native or half-caste. Indo-Europeans who do not get a European education constitute a separate class. They are likely to be inferior government officials. They frequently enter the minor offices.¹

¹Park, op. cit., p. 129.
status under the protection of the Governor-General, except that they may apply for, and perhaps receive, the status of a European. Their cultural assimilation actually depends upon the social conditions in which they live.¹

Rapid changes now taking place in Java among natives and Dutch are profoundly affecting the position and attitudes of the Indo-Europeans. They are being subjected to increased pressure and competition from above and below. On the one hand, improvements in communication and transportation connect the Dutch more closely with Holland and so increase the cultural and psychological distance with the Javanese-born population. The Indonesian population has burst the shell of its cultural isolation and is gaining education along Western lines. This enables them to compete more and more successfully with the Indos. One consequence of this has been the formation of a powerful organization, the Indo-European Union, to defend their interests.²

It seems evident that the mixed-bloods of Java, both European and Chinese, are destined to have a large part in the future of the Dutch East Indies. At present they are shifting their focus of identification and assuming an intermediary role in which they hold the balance of power. Unlike most of the Dutch population, they regard the Indies as their native land.

The Metis of Brazil

The triangular mixture in unknown proportions of the blood of

¹Stonequist, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
²Ibid.
Portuguese, Indian, and Negro is what produced the so-called metis, who compose somewhat about one-third of the present population of Brazil.

Biologically the metis are an unstable type.¹ Their physical traits vary with each new crossing sometimes toward one and sometimes toward the other parent though there is a general tendency toward the white type. They are not muscular, and have little power to resist disease.

Tuberculosis is common among them.² Some of the women are graceful and well proportioned, but they are in no sense a beautiful people. In color they vary from a dark yellow to a dull white. Their hair is usually dark and nearly always curly. Their eyes are chestnut, brown, or greenish. Their lips are thick. Their teeth are irregular though less protruding than the Negroes. On the whole they seem to be an improvement upon both the Negro and the Indian elements of their ancestry, though the evidence on this point is by no means uniform. As agricultural laborers, they are inferior to the blacks and they show no capacity for commercial or industrial life.

Lacerda³ asserts that they are ostentatious, unpractical, talkative, intemperate, and lacking in veracity and loyalty but admits that they are intelligent, have some literary ability and show great cleverness as politicians.

In Brazil the metis form a sort of middle-class between the white aristocracy, on the one hand, and the Negro and the Indian, on the other.

² Ibid., p. 380.
³ Ibid.
The Indians are passive and, so far as political affairs are concerned, are outside the nation. The black Negroes are inferior in education and enterprise to the Negro of the Southern States of America. They take life very easy, exerting themselves just sufficiently to provide the few necessities of life in a tropical climate. The whites are the ruling class, though for political and social purposes, the upper grade of the métis and the whites are practically one class.

In social affairs, the color line between the whites and the mixed-blood race is neither hard nor fast. Many of the so-called whites are tinged with Negro or Indian blood. Intermarriage is forbidden neither by law nor by custom, and mixed unions are not common. To the Portuguese, the idea of personal contact with an Indian or a Negro excites little feeling of physical repulsion. The aristocracy here, as elsewhere in South America, are pure white; and marriages between them and the pure Indians or Negroes do not occur. The Brazilian lower class intermarries freely with the black people; the Brazilian middle-class intermarries with the mulattoes and the quadroons.

There seems to be no race prejudice strong enough to restrain the advance of the mixed bloods. Brazilians pride themselves upon their lack of race prejudice. At the same time they have a strong belief in the possibilities of progressive "Arianization"; namely, that the mixture of races will gradually make the Brazilian people as a whole more and more

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1Eighty per cent of the total population is illiterate. The ratio among the blacks is far higher.


3Ibid., p. 404.
Aryan or white.

Each of the seven mixed-blood situations discussed in this chapter has its distinctive characteristics. The Anglo-Indians (Eurasians) are virtually in an outcast position, being ostracized by both English and Indians. The Cape Coloured are socially almost as isolated but receive legal equality and political recognition from the whites. The mulattoes of the United States are rejected by the whites but accepted as leaders by the blacks. The Jamaican coloured have a relatively independent position as a middle-class group and are accommodated but not assimilated to both whites and blacks. The Indo-Europeans of Java, more nearly assimilated by the Dutch in the past, are now becoming increasingly restive, group conscious and uncertain of their future. The part Hawaiians, although identified with a dual system of racial equality and racial inequality, are becoming the nucleus of a new and mixed race of "Hawaiians" whose culture will be largely American. The metis of Brazil are so far assimilated that they with the whites constitute the controlling class.1

Racial hybrids are one of the natural and inevitable results of migration and the consequent mingling of divergent racial stocks. The motives bringing peoples of divergent races and cultures together are, in the first instance, economic. In the long run, economic intercourse enforces more intimate personal and cultural relations, and eventually amalgamation takes place. When the peoples involve are widely different

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1Stonequist, op. cit., p. 48.
in culture and in racial characteristics, and particularly when they are distinguished by physical marks, assimilation and amalgamation take place very slowly. When the resulting hybrid peoples exhibit physical traits that mark them off and distinct caste or class occupying a position and status midway between the two races of which they are composed. The mixed bloods tend everywhere to be, as compared with the full bloods with whom they are identified, an intellectual and professional class. The most obvious and generally accepted explanation of the superiority of the mixed bloods is that the former are the products of two races, one of which is biologically inferior and the other biologically superior. In the case of the Negro-white hybrids in the United States, other and less obvious explanations have been offered. It has been pointed out, for example that the mulatto is the result of a social selection which began during the period of slavery, when the dominant whites selected for their concubines the most comely, and presumably the superior, women among the Negroes. There is, however, the fact to be considered that in a society where racial distinctions are rigidly maintained, the mixed blood tends to be keenly conscious of his position. He feels, as he frequently says, the conflict of warring ancestry in his veins. The conflict of color is embodied, so to speak, in his person. His mind is the melting pot in which the lower and the higher cultures meet and fuse.¹

CHAPTER IV

CULTURAL HYBRID

The results of migration and contact of different racial stocks brought about the rise of the "cultural hybrid." The mixed blood is therefore, also of mixed culture—a "cultural hybrid" as well as a racial hybrid.

Persons having a mixed culture may and do emerge aside from the process of race mixture. In other words, an individual may be a "cultural hybrid," but not a racial hybrid. Some cultural hybrids are a consequence of culture diffusion; that where a whole culture system moves, not merely some fragmentary traits. Others are a product of migration, especially the migration of persons or groups into a strange land where they must make a new cultural adjustment.¹

Through time, cultures are continuously changing, but they also are highly resistant to change so that changes occur, usually at a slow rate. Every individual is born into a pre-existing culture, and those with whom he is destined to associate are the carriers of that culture. In his associations, as he develops from infancy to adulthood, he acquires aspects of his culture so completely that its ways came to appear the normal, natural, and right. Thus, he too, becomes a carrier of the culture and

¹Stonequist, op. cit., p. 54.
so helps in its perpetuation.

The essential contributions of man's culture—acquiring and developing capacities—may be rated simply as those of giving him the ability to survive and gain a degree of ascendancy over his natural environment, but it would be very misleading to describe existing human cultures in such simple, functional terms.

In so far as their ways of behavior (including thought and feeling) are "human," individuals are products of their cultures, for they acquire such characteristics in association with and under the influence of other persons who are bearers of the culture. Yet no two individuals reflect their cultures in precisely the same way, and even in small, relatively homogeneous groups considerable variety is found among members in their habits of thought and action. The transmission of culture is somewhat a crude process, and every individual is to some extent an imperfect product of socializing process. No two individuals, even in a relatively "simple" culture, experience the entirety of that culture.

The complexities which arise out of the great variety of cultures, the intricacies of the cultural conditioning of individuals, and the existence within cultures of subcultures present baffling problems for the people involved. Every aspect of the race problem, as it exists in the United States, or elsewhere in the world, is primarily and foremost a cultural problem. In times and places and among various cultural groups, it is of the highest cultural significance and may present numerous problems of inter- and intracultural adjustment which are of the gravest concern to the entire culture group.
A map of the world showing ethnic groups in colors and shades of color would resemble a huge kaleidoscope, for not only are ethnic groups numerous, but their relative positions are constantly changing. At any time some are in process of merging with others, and some are beginning to take on distinctive form.

During the nineteenth century in the United States, numerous ethnic groups and fragments of ethnic groups were being absorbed into the larger and dominant body to the extent that they lost their cultural identities. Also, during that period, Chinese and Japanese immigrants arrived, not to be completely absorbed but to retain their ethnic characteristics and thus add to the variety of group distinctions within the area.

The territorial expansions of groups, and the migrations of peoples from one place to another, have been factors in the changing ethnic patterns of the world in some periods more importantly than in others, but constantly in process. Through time, the development of easy, cheap, and rapid modes of transportation have accelerated such processes. They have made more frequent and insistent the contacts among various peoples and thus have intensified the problems of ethnic relations. Continuous development of modes of communications of ideas has played a less tangible, but probably equally significant, role in intergroup relations. It has made possible the rapid and widespread dissemination of such modern ideologies as those of democracy and of nationality, which have had a telling impact upon intergroup relations in many places.

The impact of culture change has had an effect on many minorities, but due to the lack of space, my discussion will only be limited to the Jews and the American Negro.
The Jews and the American Negroes were the classic unassimilated, and possibly unassimilable, minorities in America.

The visible barrier to the absorption of the Jews was quite clearly religion, their own or that of the Gentiles; while the Negroes were kept apart by the visible barrier of color.

Why Negroes could not be assimilated was as obvious as it was discreditable. Race prejudice in America kept them in their place, segregated and subordinate. The ineradicable taint of color marked them off with brutal finality for special, unequal treatment.

These crude descriptions of the classic Negro and Jewish minority situations are true to this day, but even in regard to Old America they imply strikingly anachronistic attitudes. Since the Civil War at least, Americans have had no right to "keep niggers in their place." In a liberal America, the emancipation from slavery should mean equal opportunity in everything, not only before the law. As for the Jews, there was never a time since the colonies became states when the federal constitution countenanced restrictions on their freedom or opportunities on grounds of religion.

What happened in America, as Stanley Elkins¹ notes, was that those social institutions which primarily form human values, above all the church, were not, as in other cases, involved in forming the master-slave relationship. It was left solely to the political and economic sides of social structures in the Old South to shape that peculiar

institution. No ceremonies of homage or pledges of paternal care had any impact on the relationship between master and man. All that counted were the considerations of profitable and effective management which the owner applied to his property. And the governing legal and other defining institutions were largely concerned with supporting the free exercise of owners' rights.

This as everyone knows, meant--apart from marginal cases of Negro freedom and some privileged house servants--the total destruction of the Negro family, the loss of all roles that could uphold self-respect and implant a proud identity, and the general exclusion of blacks from all developed culture, whether their own African tradition or that of civilized, literate, white Christian America. It was an unparalleled degradation, deeper and more thorough than that of other slaves; for, in other societies, master and servant were bound to each other by conventions that in principle required emotional and expressive, and not merely rational and calculation, relations between them.

The history of the Negroes in the United States offers a clue to the greater achievements of the mulatto. Edward B. Reuter, of Iowa University, in his book on *The Mulatto In The United States* and in his more recent book on *Population Problems*, admits that the mulattoes are superior to the pure Negroes, but he inclines to the view that the superiority of the mulattoes is due to more favorable opportunities and not to their mental inheritance from the white race.

Cultural marginality exists when a people who are in interaction with a dominant (and sometimes a subordinate indigenous people) population of a society and who are members of that society do not fully share the
"complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired" (including the language and religion) of that dominant society. It should be noted that one need not be estranged from all these components in order to be culturally marginal but that the more elements not shared, the greater the psychological intensity of cultural marginality.
CHAPTER V

ASSIMILATION AND PASSING

The race problem has sometimes been described as a problem in assimilation. It is not always clear, however, what assimilation means. Historically the word has had two distinct significations. According to earlier usage it meant "to compare" or "to make like." According to later usage it signifies "to take up and incorporate."¹

There is a process by which individuals spontaneously acquire one another's language, characteristic attitudes, habits, and modes of behavior. There is also a process by which individuals and groups of individuals are taken over and incorporated into larger groups. Both processes have been concerned in the formation of modern nationalities. The modern Italian, Frenchman, and German is a composite of the broken fragments of several different racial groups. Interbreeding has broken up the ancient stocks, and interaction and imitation have created new national types which exhibit definite uniformities in language, manners, and formal behavior.²

It is the process of assimilation that has caused the Negro and other groups of the like many obstacles. It is not the Negro or Oriental


²Ibid., p. 66.
mental but physical traits that present problems of becoming so called full-fledged Americans.

They have not been given the opportunity to assimilate into the white man's culture. The difficulty with the conception of assimilation is the race problem. An example of a group of people who have been rejected and the speed of their assimilation retarded is the domestic slave. Acceptance into the primary group makes assimilation comparatively easy, and almost inevitable, but it is definitely a problem when one tries to assimilate completely into the secondary group. Because of the hardships that assimilating completely into the secondary group present, some of the minorities whom racial traits weren't as obvious "passed."

Because of the American caste rule of classifying all hybrids as Negroes, it might be thought that no Negro blood would ever get into the white population. However, some extremely light Negroes—usually having more white ancestry than Negro—leave the Negro caste and become "white." "Passing" is the backwash of miscegenation, and one of its surest results. Passing must have been going on in America ever since the time when mulattoes first appeared. Passing may occur only for segmented areas of life—such as the occupational or recreational—or it may be complete; it may be temporary or permanent; it may be voluntary or involuntary; it may be with knowledge on the part of the passer or without his knowledge; it may be individual or collective. Usually the only kind that is important for the genetic composition of both the white and the Negro population is that kind which is complete and permanent.¹

Whenever a minority group is oppressed or is the subject of discrimination, some individual members attempt to escape by losing their identity with the minority and becoming absorbed into the majority. In the United States the Negro is such a minority group. In many cases a foreigner may become indistinguishable in a country by adopting the language, customs, and dress of that country. This technique, of course, avails the Negro little because of his high visibility.
CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY

The concept of the marginal man has been defined and redefined by various authors since the original formation by Robert E. Park and Everett V. Stonequist. Some have even gone as far as trying to clarify, criticize and elongate the need to re-evaluate the marginal man concept. I have given many other investigations of other authors in Chapter I, "Critiques of the Marginal Man Theory," pages 2-7.

This paper does not attempt to give my personal views of the conceptual problems of the marginal man theory, but to trace from the beginning of the original concept by Park and Stonequist and other evaluations as to how this concept needs to be re-evaluated in other areas other than those brought into focus by Park and Stonequist. I have also focused on other areas that are beneficial in describing the marginal man.

Roy and Susan Wright in their essay, "A Plea for a Further Refinement of the Marginal Man" (Phylon, Winter, 1972, pp. 361-368), state that little has been done since the initial writings of Park and Stonequist that would add clarification to the concept of marginality and the marginal man. The most obvious means of arriving at initial clarity appears to be a return of the original systematic avenues of approach. This would mean an almost complete rejection of what has been accomplished since that time, thereby allowing for an organization of data that could eventually
be used to build a comprehensive theory. Certainly this approach cannot be totally exclusive. Therefore, adequate research of more recent years can be included or excluded—where applicable.

Everett C. Hughes in "Anomalies and Projections,"¹ makes an indirect contrast with Park's marginal man theory. In his essay he makes a prediction concerning the future of American society with respect to race. Hughes makes many references to the cultural hybrid—the American Negro. Some of the interacting variables that he considered are the development of the population, economy, ecology, and institutions; the distribution of goods and services among the population, the institutional systems in regards to various roles and offices attached to race; and the part of social doctrines, movements, and law in maintaining or changing the place of Negroes in the American society and economy.

There has been a great migration of the Negroes from the plantation and small towns of the South to the manufacturing cities and metropolitan centers of the North. This migration has brought about a great change in the condition and in the outlook of the Negro people in America. The Negroes moving northward settled in the slums to avoid paying high rent or social prejudice.

The black life and culture in America have developed within the context of a subordinate status whose leading institutional manifestations have been the plantation and the ghetto. Within these two environments, created by a dominant majority, Negroes have both assimilated the culture

¹Everett C. Hughes, "Anomalies and Projections," *Daedalus*, XCIV (Fall, 1965), 1133-1147.
of the whites and developed what is widely regarded as a distinct, though loosely defined, subculture. On the one hand, Negroes adopted the belief in human equality values of the American democratic creed and the middle-class values regarding wealth and upward mobility; on the other hand, their ideologies and institutions differed from those of the whites because blacks had to cope with the reality that democracy, economic opportunity, and social acceptance were not extended to them.

The average Negro without much education found it difficult to obtain a decent job; without adequate work and something for his children to aspire to, it was not likely that they would have the motivation to seek an adequate education even if it were available. Time moved on and some black people were given the opportunity to expand their education, not equal but better.

The number of middle-class blacks has been growing as economic opportunities in business and government open up for those fortunate enough to have obtained an adequate educational background.

The white man's conception of the black man has lagged behind the latter's cultural advance. The black man who is affected by this attitude is in a marginal situation. He is not accommodated to the conventional white stereotype of the Negro; his conception of himself is in conflict with the white man's conception of him. Thus has arisen a sense of frustration, of injustice, and a consciousness of prejudice.

The problems of the American Negro are problems of America. The Negro need not yearn to be assimilated into American culture—he is and determines American culture. In the face of rapid and at times frightening historical, economic, political, technological, social and intellectual
changes, the Negro remains the constant, and at times irritating reality that is America. He remains the essential psychological reality with which America must continuously seek to come to terms—and in so doing is formed by.

A basic dilemma of America is whether the Negro should be accepted and taken seriously as a human being and permitted the rights and privileges accorded other human beings in our political system.

The backwardness of peoples seems to be, on the whole, a historical and not a biological phenomenon. When racism disappears, the nature of the American politico-economic system—the way power and jobs and the chances for the good life are distributed—will change.

In the United States the most important line of demarcation is a color line. American whites tend to look at the color of the person's skin, instead of the content of his character. Everett V. Stonequist tells us that "white people feel that the Negro should remain a Negro, he should stay in his place." And we ask the white man what is our place? Isn't it the same as any of God's human creations.

"They asked me what it is that I want of America." "Must you always raise an issue or present a problem?" they asked. "What is it you want?" "What do I want? It is such a little thing—a child could ask no less. Perchance just to feel that I, too, may sit at the table of America and share its bounty as another member of the human family." What American Negroes want was well said by Nellie Wilder Hamm "Meditation of the Minorities."

When Jews intermarry with Christians, their children become, either Jews or Christians. Under ordinary circumstances the large proportion
become Christians. On the other hand, when Negroes interbreed with other races, the offspring of such unions do not have the same freedom of choice.

Hughes states that if one could project the rates of marriage, including intermarriage, rates of reproduction properly corrected in the many ways required in such a society as ours, and rates and directions of migration, one could possibly foretell the future of American race problem.
APPENDICES

Robert E. Park's concept of the "marginal man" was formulated during the time that he made a voyage to Cape Town, South Africa aboard the OSK, Line (Osaka Shoen Kaisha).

This is the translation of his original notes.

THE MARGINAL MAN—PERSONALITY OF THE MULATTO

Some years ago—observation and study of the Negro in America—led toward an interest in personality of the mulatto and mixed blood. I'm going to tell you why or define the personality of the mulatto.

Saying—wide currency that mixed blood invariably has the vices of both races virtues of neither. Some truth in their saying—no doubt—curious that it should have such wide currency—in view of the fact it is notorious that we are all mixed bloods—No pure race.

If there were they might have all the moral virtues—but be "dumb" the least intelligent of human creatures.

Morals good or bad those we regard them as individual—largely convenience produce.

Society in which ordinary virtues flourish is usually small and isolated. Primitive village—religion isolated. Civilization is an urban produce. Civilization product place—where different peoples and divergent races meet exchange goods and ideas.

Frederick Teggart theory of Progress Migration—breakdown of culture and release of individual in Europe.
It is a place where divergent peoples meet that micegenation take place-mixed blood is produced.

It is in this mixed blood group that the old culture go

- the old moral order -out the old "superstition"- breakdown.

The mixed blood family is the real racial and culture melting pot.

It is not strange, therefore if the mixed blood should have vices of both and virtues of neither.

Like all adages it is only partly true.

What is certainly not true is the reference that which even the character and personality of the mixed blood is - it is due to the truth of the fact that he is biological mixture.

In the main it is due to the circumstances under which the mixed blood is condemned to live.

What are these circumstance. Well, he is in two cultures and not wholly in any one and he is a MARGINAL MAN.

--- The superiority of the mulatto

--- the superiority of the Jew

--- the international Jew lives in the largest land - other live in the city.
The Marginal Man

Personality of the Melée

There exists a saying which I have heard: 'The man is the sum of his predecessors.' To some extent this is true; to some extent it is not. The marginals man is the product of two alien and unequal races — invariable has the traits of both races, neither of either.

9. Some truth in this saying — no doubt. Certain that it the have such wide currency — instead of the fact, — it is notorious that we are mix bloods — no pure races.

10. If there were not pure races they might have all the virtues — but as it is, to be called "dumb" — the least intelligent of human creation — a product of isolation.

11. He is a sort of a hybrid, even of co-residential head.
Murals quote a bad for society. The way we regard items as individual hurts. Largely, less science.

Society is what combines, merger. Feminism is usually woman. Primarily, village - isolate.

Cultivation is an urban product. People prototype.

Cultivation product place - where different peoples' diverse needs meet. Exchange goods/ideas.


2. This is a place where diverse peoples meet that misestimate take place. Much contact is produced.

4. It is (not mentioned in this work) loss group that the trust and culture go into secular. The old, newer order. No old 'superstructure' - break down.
4. The mixed blood family in the
national and national cultures
melting pot.

5. It is not strange therefore
if the mixed blood had been
unfit for the race, or if he
were of both and neither.

6. The mixed blood is certainly not like us
(area reference that whatever the character
and personality of the mixed blood is
it is due to the fact of
the fact that he is biologically a hybrid.

7. In the main it is due to the
circumstances under which the mixed
blood is condemned to live.

8. What are these circumstances
well, he is in two cultures and not
wholly in any one. He is a marginal
man.
The emperor of the middle
Supremacy of the Jews
Jews in the largest houses
Here in the city

II days (Lev p. 300)
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