
THE RACE RELATIONS “PROBLEMATIC” IN AMERICAN SOCIOLOGY: REVISITING NIEMONEN’S CASE STUDY AND CRITIQUE*

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Using articles drawn from the years 1996-1999, this paper updates and expands Jack Niemonen's 1997 *TAS* analysis of the articles dealing with race and ethnicity in the four core sociology journals. We found a greater rate of publication and several new substantive areas incorporating race and ethnicity, but many of the patterns Niemonen identified remain in place. These articles are highly quantitative, rely heavily on U.S. Census categories, tend to explain racial and ethnic phenomenon as by-products of broader social forces (such as class-based stratification), and subsume these analyses under the headings of alternative subfields. Niemonen used these findings to offer a powerful critique of the status of race and ethnicity in sociology, the underdevelopment of the racial and ethnic relations "problematic," and its marginalization within the discipline as a whole. To reassess these interpretations and conclusions, we examined the relationships between methodology and substance, and compared the main sample with a subset of more specialized articles focused on race and ethnicity. We found a close connection between quantitative methods and the use of Census definitions of race and ethnicity, but surprisingly few differences between the race and ethnic subset and the more inclusive main sample appeared. These findings allow us to offer support and some important qualifications to Niemonen's original conclusions.

Racial and ethnic relations have long been a core concern for sociologists, especially in the United States. The last twenty-five years witnessed prolific production of works in this area. Many of the most publicly prominent sociological publications in the last decade or so have focused specifically on racial issues, including Wilson's trilogy on race and class (1978; 1987; 1996), Oliver and Shapiro's *Black Wealth, White Wealth* (1995), and Massey and Denton's *American Apartheid* (1993). Yet in spite of such high-profile publications and the *de facto* inclusion of race and ethnicity as variables in much sociological research, questions about the theoretical premises underlying the subfield of race and ethnic relations, as well as its status in the discipline as a whole, abound. Some have suggested that sociological investigations that address the topic are concerned primarily with documenting the existence of racial inequality rather than exploring its causes. Joe Feagin, for ex-

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ample, has noted that social science research is characterized by “a strong tendency to develop interpretations that do not deal centrally with racism” (1999:208), while Nazil Kibria (2000) has observed that American sociology’s heavy reliance on a black-white understanding of race has ignored other racial and ethnic groups. Jack Niemonen (1997) summarized these and other critiques: “The sociological work on race and ethnicity employs concepts of dubious value (including minority group); is ethnocentric, one-dimensional and ahistorical; places a disproportionate emphasis on the sociocultural characteristics of minorities and does not abandon the language of pathologies; is rooted in unexamined assumptions that fetter theory construction; and should devote more attention to structural processes” (p. 31).

Motivated by such concerns and criticisms, Niemonen undertook a systematic investigation of all articles that dealt in some way with race and ethnicity published in the four major American sociological journals: *The American Journal of Sociology* (AJS), *The American Sociological Review* (ASR), *Social Problems* (SP), and *Social Forces* (SF) between 1969 and 1995 (N=677).

In this study, published in 1997 in *The American Sociologist*, Niemonen looked at four specific criteria: major *methodological orientation*; the *operationalization* of concepts of race, ethnicity and racial and ethnic relations; the *substantive content* of these articles; and the *primary theoretical context* within which the research was framed and oriented. Niemonen’s analysis led to several conclusions. First, he found that all four journals disproportionately publish racial and ethnic relations research that is quantitative rather than theoretical, conceptual, or socio-historical. Second, published research reified dichotomous definitions of race and ethnicity, like those used by the United States Bureau of Census prior to 2000, with little critical evaluation. Third, racial and ethnic relations were most frequently addressed in the context of other, ostensibly broader social phenomena such as social psychology or stratification processes. Finally, the four major American journals generally subsumed the racial and ethnic relations problematic under the rubrics of subdisciplines other than the sociology of racial and ethnic relations.¹

Based upon these findings, Niemonen offered a thorough critique of both the marginalization and the underdevelopment of work dealing in one way or another with race and ethnicity in the discipline of sociology. Specifically, Niemonen concluded that “the sociology of racial and ethnic relations has no claim to a status as a relatively autonomous, substantive specialization in sociology generally” (p. 17) and “is fragmented at best and lacking a distinctive identity of its own” (p. 35). Even the best work published in these journals, according to Niemonen, “recognizes but does not confront the race relations problematic” (p. 30). To the extent that a broader theoretical context for studies addressing race and ethnicity could be found, Niemonen described it as “an eclectic borrowing from assimilation, social psychology, demography and human ecology, social stratification and political economy.” Ultimately, Niemonen argued that this work failed to “address the epistemological implications of how sociologists study racial and ethnic relations, and to evaluate the ontological standing of the concepts they employ” (p. 35; see also Niemonen 1999).

This study is intended to update and expand Niemonen’s analysis. We examine all articles addressing issues of race and ethnicity published in the same four major American sociology journals from 1996 to 1999. Our study has two primary objectives. The first is simply to update Niemonen’s findings. Comparing the 1996-1999

data with Niemonen's data for 1967-1995 should elucidate any shifts and changes that have emerged in recent years and also highlight those elements that have remained constant. Temporality is particularly important because Niemonen's original study encompassed almost thirty years with no breakdown by decade or smaller temporal unit.

Our second objective is to bring additional empirical information to bear on Niemonen's conclusions and interpretations. Part of this involves an examination of the relationships between some of the various characteristics by which he distinguished and coded articles. For example, Niemonen is highly critical of what he calls the "abstracted empiricism" of quantitative work implicating race and ethnicity. This characterization, however, relies upon an untested assumption that quantitative methodologies are not sufficiently critical of how they operationalize race and ethnicity. More important, we examine a subset of articles that devotes special attention to race and ethnic phenomena, as distinct from those which merely include race and ethnicity in a broader analysis (as captured by Niemonen's broad, inclusive sampling strategy). We break these apart in order to assess whether significant differences exist between how articles published by race and ethnic specialists compare with those of generalists simply using racial and ethnic categories and variables.

Data and Methods

We began by collecting all articles published between 1996 and 1999 (inclusive) in *AJS*, *ASR*, *SP*, and *SF* that dealt in any way with race and/or ethnicity. We followed Niemonen's original design in using a broad and inclusive criteria, selecting "any article or research note that dealt with any aspect of racial and ethnic relations, or introduced race and ethnicity as (potentially) significant variables in other analyses" (p. 16). These articles (N=293) were then coded for each of the four elements addressed by Niemonen: methodological orientation; operationalization of terms; substantive content; and primary context. (Substantive *content* identifies the core empirical concerns of the article, as demonstrated in the title, abstract, and conclusion; primary *context* pinpoints the subdisciplinary framework of the article as determined by the author(s)' use of paradigmatic frames, theories and citations).

We developed our coding criteria to replicate Niemonen's original categories and criteria as closely as possible. As in Niemonen's original coding schema, categories within each field were considered mutually exclusive, such that no one article could be placed in two categories for one element. For example, when coding for major methodological orientation, a published study that utilized both qualitative and quantitative research strategies was placed in the category "Both qualitative and quantitative," but would not appear in the categories for publications with exclusively qualitative or quantitative methodologies.

We used two levels of quality control to ensure the accuracy and consistency of our coding. First, we contacted the author of the original study and asked Niemonen himself to code a handful of the articles from our new sample. The articles sent to Niemonen were chosen to represent all of the major issues we confronted in our original rounds of coding. Niemonen's codes were compared against the coding we had done, confirming that the coding from 1996-1999 was comparable to the

coding done originally from 1969-1995. Second, after we completed our initial coding of the updated sample, a random selection of articles was coded a second time by a separate research assistant using our coding guidebook, and then compared against the original coding. Any questions or discrepancies that arose during this comparison were discussed, addressed, and resolved accordingly.

Data analysis involved two main stages. In the first, we simply followed Niemonen in compiling descriptive tables for each of the four coded elements and compared our findings with the earlier ones. We also wanted to reconsider some of the interpretations and conclusions Niemonen drew out of these tables. So the second stage of our analysis consisted of two main sets of procedures. To begin, we ran a series of cross-tabulations among the four coded elements to check for possible relationships between particular elements. Because of Niemonen's conclusions about the limitations of quantitative methods, we focused special attention on relationships between the methodological issues and the more substantive, topical concerns. In order to address some of Niemonen's assumptions about the composition and content of ethnicity and race as a subfield, we then selected a subset of articles from the total population which were focused more self-consciously and explicitly on race and ethnic phenomena. The subset ($N=106$) was then coded on the same four elements as the main sample and compared accordingly. We also coded this subset for several additional characteristics (citation patterns, language use, attention to social policy) intended to create a clearer picture of the characteristics of the sociology of racial and ethnic relations as represented in mainstream American sociology.

Findings: Replication and Initial Comparisons

Many of the patterns that Niemonen identified in his original study remain essentially in place in our updated sample. Perhaps the most notable and most important change is that the rate of publication of articles that address race and ethnicity has increased dramatically. Between 1967 and 1995, the major journals published an average of about two articles per month that included race and ethnicity in some fashion. For the 1996-1999 period, in contrast, approximately six such articles were published each month. The degree of this shift may be less sudden than appears here, due to the fact that Niemonen conducted no trend analyses. Nevertheless, the increase in attention to race and ethnicity is clear, and provides us with an important perspective on some of Niemonen's claims about the place of race and ethnicity in the discipline.

Methods

The four core sociology journals continue to be oriented mainly toward publishing quantitative research, although slightly less definitively than in Niemonen's original data (see Table 1). All four journals continue to publish disproportionately higher numbers of quantitative articles than qualitative articles dealing with race and ethnicity, although the proportion of publications employing primarily quantitative methods has declined, from 81.5 percent in the 1967-1995 time period to 70.6 percent during the 1996-1999 time period. *SP* continues to publish fewer purely quantitative articles (50.0 percent) than any of the other journals and, as a

Table 1

Major Methodological Orientation

	AJS		ASR		SP		SP		TOTAL		1969-1995	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	Rank	Rank
Quantitative	23	60.5%	60	80.0%	94	78.3%	30	50.0%	207	70.6%	1	1
Qualitative	5	13.2%	4	5.3%	11	9.2%	16	26.7%	36	12.3%	2	4
Both Quantitative and Theoretical	3	7.9%	3	4.0%	3	2.5%	1	1.7%	10	3.4%	3	5
Socio-historical or Comparative	2	5.3%	0	0.0%	2	1.7%	4	6.7%	8	2.7%	4	2
Both Qualitative and Quantitative	1	2.6%	3	4.0%	1	0.8%	3	5.0%	8	2.7%	5	6
Both Quantitative and Socio-historical/Comparative	1	2.6%	1	1.3%	5	4.2%	0	0.0%	7	2.4%	6	N/A
Critique (theoretical or conceptual)	0	0.0%	1	1.3%	2	1.7%	2	3.3%	5	1.7%	7	3
Both Qualitative and Theoretical	0	0.0%	2	2.7%	0	0.0%	1	1.7%	3	1.0%	8	N/A
Both Qualitative and Socio-historical/Comparative	1	2.6%	0	0.0%	1	0.8%	1	1.7%	3	1.0%	9	N/A
More than two orientations	0	0.0%	1	1.3%	1	0.8%	1	1.7%	3	1.0%	10	N/A
Theoretical	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	1.7%	1	0.3%	11	2
Speculative or Non-technical	1	2.6%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	0.3%	12	8
Documentary	1	2.6%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	0.3%	13	11
Other combination of two orientations	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	14	N/A
Other	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	15	N/A
TOTAL	38	100.0%	75	100.0%	120	100.0%	60	100.0%	293	100.0%		

logical corollary, publishes more articles utilizing qualitative methods than any of the other three journals (26.7 percent). However, *AJS* now follows closely with 60.5 percent of its articles on race and ethnicity utilizing primarily quantitative methods, while 13.2 percent of publications in *AJS* utilize only qualitative methods. *ASR* and *SF* continue to publish primarily quantitative research; almost 90.0 percent of articles dealing with race and ethnicity published in *ASR* employ quantitative methods as one of the major strategies, as do 86.7 percent of articles published in *SF*.²

Operationalization of Race and Ethnicity

Our data reveal that sociological journal articles continue to rely on traditional, categorical definitions of race and ethnicity. Three-quarters (75.1 percent) of published work between 1996 and 1999 utilized categorical (dichotomous or multichotomous) operationalizations of race and ethnicity such as those employed in the U.S. Census, without evaluating or critiquing these operationalizations and without attempting to justify their use (see Table 2). Our data, in fact, indicate a slight increase in this tendency, as Niemonen found that 66 percent used such definitions. On the other hand, the current data reveal that a much higher percentage (15.4) of articles justified, challenged, critiqued, or qualified the use of these categories in some respect, as compared with Niemonen's original study (4 percent). This is a significant shift which suggests that a growing number of researchers, perhaps along with reviewers and editors, are at least recognizing the implications of using dichotomous and multichotomous categories to define race and ethnicity. However, it should be noted that, expanding from Niemonen, we added a code for articles that simply justified the use of categorical definitions of race without challenging or critiquing them, and included them in this grouping. Niemonen's coding scheme did not allow for this possibility. If we had put these "justification" articles in the first category, then only 3.1 percent of the articles could be counted as challenging or critiquing categorical definitions of race/ethnicity.

It is also important to note that a vast amount of variance in Niemonen's original study resulted from the fact that some 30 percent of articles in his analysis were deemed "not applicable for various reasons" (p. 21). In the present investigation, only 9.6 percent of articles fell into this category. This was generally because race and ethnic phenomena were operationalized in different ways—for example, as a process, discourse, or practice, or because the study design did not operationalize race and/or ethnicity at all. The large proportion of articles in Niemonen's study that were categorized as "not applicable" seems to be better accounted for in the updated coding scheme. The key point is that, in spite of all of this, the use of categorical operationalizations of race continues to dominate and has even expanded its domination, reflecting the strength of this tendency in American sociology.³

Primary Context and Substantive Content

Perhaps the most significant differences between Niemonen's coded categories and ours have to do with the substantive content and primary context of articles. Studies on crime, deviance, social control, and studies on the family and the

Table 2

Operationalization of Race & Ethnicity Concepts

	AJS		ASR		SF		SP		TOTAL		1969-1995	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Takes for granted or does not evaluate dichotomous definition of race/ethnicity	25	65.8%	38	50.7%	62	51.7%	16	26.7%	141	48.1%		
Takes for granted or does not evaluate multichotomous definition of race/ethnicity	6	15.8%	19	25.3%	37	30.8%	17	28.3%	79	27.0%		
Subtotal: Takes for granted, accepts, or does not evaluate dichotomous or multichotomous definitions of race and ethnicity	35	92.1%	57	76.0%	99	82.5%	33	55.0%	220	75.1%	447	66.0%
Uses dichotomous definition of race/ethnicity and justifies operational choice	2	5.3%	10	13.3%	5	4.2%	3	5.0%	20	6.8%		
Uses multichotomous definition of race/ethnicity and justifies operational choice	2	5.3%	4	5.3%	7	5.8%	3	5.0%	16	5.5%		
Severely qualifies, but uses, dichotomous categories of race/ethnicity	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	0.8%	1	1.7%	2	0.7%		
Severely qualifies, but uses, multichotomous categories of race/ethnicity	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	1.7%	1	1.7%	3	1.0%		
Challenges or critiques dichotomous categories of race/ethnicity	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	0.8%	1	1.7%	2	0.7%		
Challenges or critiques multichotomous categories of race/ethnicity	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	0.8%	1	1.7%	2	0.7%		
Subtotal: Justifies, challenges, critiques, or severely qualifies dichotomous or multichotomous definitions of race and ethnicity	4	10.5%	14	18.7%	17	14.2%	10	16.7%	45	15.4%	27	4.0%
Race/ethnicity operationalized in a different way than classification categories (as a process, discourse, practice, etc.)	1	2.6%	4	5.3%	2	1.7%	11	18.3%	18	6.1%		
Not Applicable for various reasons	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	1.7%	2	3.3%	4	1.4%		
Other	2	5.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	6.7%	6	2.0%		
Subtotal: Not applicable for various reasons	3	7.9%	4	5.3%	4	3.3%	17	28.3%	28	9.6%	203	30.0%
TOTAL	38	100.0%	75	100.0%	120	100.0%	60	100.0%	293	100.0%	677	100.0%

lifecourse now have joined social stratification processes as areas that most frequently touch upon issues of race, ethnicity, and racial and ethnic relations (see Table 3). Likewise, race and ethnic phenomena are most frequently subsumed under the theoretical rubrics of criminology, sociology of family, and processes of stratification, and are significantly less likely to be identified as having a primary context of the sociology of racial and ethnic relations (Table 4).

In the four journals, the most common substantive contents (Table 3) for articles dealing with racial and ethnic relations are stratification processes (14.3 percent), crime (13.0 percent), and family and the lifecourse (13.0 percent). Social psychology and demography, which were identified as two of the most common substantive contents (17.6 percent and 8.4 percent, respectively) and primary contexts (13.9 percent and 13.4 percent, respectively) of articles addressing race and ethnicity in Niemonen's study, are now less well represented. Articles whose substantive content is demography account for only 7.5 percent of all articles dealing with race and ethnicity, and those whose primary context is demography comprised a mere 2.7 percent of such publications between 1996 and 1999. For social psychology, these figures from the new data are 5.5 percent and 4.8 percent respectively.

In spite of these shifts, the vacancy left behind by the relative decline of demography and social psychology has not been filled by a burgeoning of the sociology of racial and ethnic relations as primary context. Instead, like the substantive content, the primary contexts of articles on race and ethnicity are most often criminology, deviance, and social control (13.7 percent), sociology of family (10.9 percent), and social stratification (9.2 percent). This is a significant shift from Niemonen's findings, wherein criminology, deviance, and social control accounted for only 7.4 percent of published articles on race and ethnicity, and articles from the sociology of family comprised a mere 3.2 percent of the total articles published about racial and ethnic issues. Although the total percentage of articles whose primary context is social stratification dropped from 12 percent in the 1967-1995 sample to 9.2 percent in the 1996-1999 sample, stratification remains one of the top three primary contexts for work on racial and ethnic relations.

The shift toward criminology and family as major areas of interest in sociology may be explained by broader public interest in crime, the perceived increase of nuclear family decay in the United States, and the possible relationship between crime and family background. The incorporation of feminist scholarship into mainstream sociology may also explain the increased representation of the sociology of family and the lifecourse. Although both of these trends originated during the time span covered by Niemonen, their effects on his data during the period 1967-1995 were likely diluted by the dominance of social psychology and demography in the 1960s and 1970s. In most of these articles, of course, it appears that racial and ethnic phenomenon are still relatively minor components of the research problem.

The new data also indicate that the proportion of articles whose sole primary context is the sociology of racial and ethnic relations (and assimilation) has remained static, from 8.1 percent in Niemonen's study to 8.2 percent in the present investigation. When including those articles with multiple contexts from which the sociology of racial and ethnic relations cannot be disentangled, representation of the sociology of racial and ethnic relations in the current data jumps to only 13.9 percent, compared to 14.0 percent for the 1967-1995 data.⁴

Table 3

Operationalization of Race & Ethnicity Concepts by Methodological Orientation

	AJS			ASR			SF			SP			TOTAL			1969-1995		
	N	%		N	%		N	%		N	%		N	%		N	%	Rank
Criminology, Deviance, and Social Control	9	23.7%		5	6.7%		13	10.8%		13	21.7%		40	13.7%		1	7.4%	5
Sociology of Family	4	10.5%		7	9.3%		20	16.7%		1	1.7%		32	10.9%		2	3.2%	10
Social Stratification	4	10.5%		12	16.0%		9	7.5%		2	3.3%		27	9.2%		3	12.0%	3
Collective Behavior and Social Movements	3	7.9%		5	6.7%		3	2.5%		10	16.7%		21	7.2%		4	4.4%	9
Sociology of Racial and Ethnic Relations	7	18.4%		4	5.3%		7	5.8%		3	5.0%		21	7.2%		5	5.9%	6
Political Sociology	3	7.9%		5	6.7%		9	7.5%		1	1.7%		18	6.1%		6	5.2%	8
Work and Organizations	1	2.6%		7	9.3%		5	4.2%		4	6.7%		17	5.8%		7	0.6%	20
Social Psychology	0	0.0%		8	10.7%		4	3.3%		2	3.3%		14	4.8%		8	13.4%	2
Multiple Contexts	0	0.0%		2	2.7%		4	3.3%		8	13.3%		14	4.8%		9	5.8%	7
Medical Sociology	0	0.0%		1	1.3%		6	5.0%		3	5.0%		10	3.4%		10	1.0%	17
Sociology of Education	0	0.0%		2	2.7%		8	6.7%		0	0.0%		10	3.4%		11	3.0%	12
Sociology of Religion	1	2.6%		1	1.3%		8	6.7%		0	0.0%		10	3.4%		12	2.4%	13
Demography and Human Ecology	1	2.6%		1	1.3%		1	4.2%		1	1.7%		8	2.7%		13	13.9%	1
Urban Sociology	3	7.9%		1	1.3%		3	2.5%		1	1.7%		8	2.7%		14	0.3%	23
Political Economy	0	0.0%		1	1.3%		2	1.7%		4	6.7%		7	2.4%		15	10.0%	4
Assimilation	1	2.6%		2	2.7%		3	2.5%		0	0.0%		6	2.0%		16	2.2%	14
Methodology	0	0.0%		0	0.0%		4	3.3%		2	3.3%		6	2.0%		17	3.1%	11
Other	0	0.0%		4	5.3%		2	1.7%		0	0.0%		6	2.0%		18	N/A	N/A
Sociology of Culture	0	0.0%		4	5.3%		1	0.8%		0	0.0%		5	1.7%		19	0.3%	22
Conflict Sociology	0	0.0%		1	1.3%		0	0.0%		2	3.3%		3	1.0%		20	1.0%	18
Macrosociology	0	2.6%		1	1.3%		0	0.0%		1	1.7%		3	1.0%		21	0.7%	19
Military Sociology	0	0.0%		0	0.0%		2	1.7%		0	0.0%		2	0.7%		22	0.2%	24
Social Problems Theory	0	0.0%		0	0.0%		1	0.8%		1	1.7%		2	0.7%		23	0.3%	21
Sociology of Knowledge and Sociology of Sociology	0	0.0%		1	1.3%		1	0.8%		0	0.0%		2	0.7%		24	1.9%	15
Environmental Sociology	0	0.0%		0	0.0%		0	0.0%		1	1.7%		1	0.3%		25	0.2%	25
Atheoretical	0	0.0%		0	0.0%		0	0.0%		0	0.0%		0	0.0%		26	1.6%	16
TOTAL	38	100.0%		75	100.0%		120	100.0%		60	100.0%		293	100.0%				

Table 4

Substantive Content

	AJS		ASR		SF		SP		TOTAL		1969-1995	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	%	Rank
Processes of stratification	5	13.2%	14	18.7%	13	10.8%	10	16.7%	42	14.3%	20.4%	1
Crime	8	21.1%	5	6.7%	13	10.8%	12	20.0%	38	13.0%	7.8%	4
Family & Lifecourse	5	13.2%	10	13.3%	23	19.2%	0	0.0%	38	13.0%	5.5%	6
Group Membership	2	5.3%	4	5.3%	13	10.8%	3	5.0%	22	7.5%	5.6%	5
Spatial Issues	4	10.5%	6	8.0%	10	8.3%	2	3.3%	22	7.5%	8.4%	3
Education	0	0.0%	5	6.7%	10	8.3%	2	3.3%	17	5.8%	1.3%	15
Psychological Measures	1	2.6%	4	5.3%	7	5.8%	4	6.7%	16	5.5%	17.6%	2
Other	2	5.3%	3	4.0%	8	6.7%	2	3.3%	15	5.1%	N/A	N/A
Social Movements	2	5.3%	2	2.7%	3	2.5%	7	11.7%	14	4.8%	1.3%	16
Political Processes & Civil Disobedience	2	5.3%	7	9.3%	2	1.7%	2	3.3%	13	4.4%	3.0%	12
Misc studies	2	5.3%	4	5.3%	1	0.8%	4	6.7%	11	3.8%	3.5%	18
Boundaries & Categories	1	2.6%	2	2.7%	3	2.5%	3	5.0%	9	3.1%	4.9%	7
Migration	1	2.6%	3	4.0%	4	3.3%	1	1.7%	9	3.1%	2.7%	13
Ethnic Enclaves & Marginal Underclass	2	5.3%	2	2.7%	0	0.0%	3	5.0%	7	2.4%	4.9%	8
Critical Studies	0	0.0%	2	2.7%	0	0.0%	3	5.0%	5	1.7%	2.2%	14
Medical & Health	0	0.0%	1	1.3%	2	1.7%	2	3.3%	5	1.7%	1.0%	17
Assimilation	1	2.6%	0	0.0%	3	2.5%	0	0.0%	4	1.4%	3.1%	10
Fertility & Mortality	0	0.0%	1	1.3%	3	2.5%	0	0.0%	4	1.4%	3.1%	11
Refining mathematical models	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	1.7%	0	0.0%	2	0.7%	3.7%	9
TOTAL	38	100.0%	75	100.0%	120	100.0%	60	100.0%	293	100.0%		

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Trends in the primary context of articles are mirrored in shifts in the substantive content of recent publications addressing issues of race and ethnicity (see Table 4). Processes of stratification, crime, and family and the lifecourse dominate in this code, as they do for primary context. Issues of group membership and identity, which ranked second in Niemonen's study (17.6 percent), now rank fourth at only 7.5 percent. The less well-represented categories from Niemonen's study, including work on ethnic enclaves, migration, health issues, and assimilation, remain at similarly low levels of representation.

The relatively low ranking of the sociology of racial and ethnic relations across the four journals suggests that issues of race and ethnicity are most often conceived of as parts of other sociological questions, rather than as questions in and of themselves. Niemonen concluded that while studies of stratification pose numerous analytical, conceptual, and methodological complexities, these studies shared the underlying assumption that "the concepts of race and ethnicity must be introduced in any attempt to understand and interpret allocative social processes" (p. 29). Likewise, studies of crime, deviance, and social control share a similar assumption that crime and criminal justice cannot be understood without acknowledging racial differences, even if the variation in outcome by race and/or ethnicity is not adequately explained. Studies of the lifecourse, and to a somewhat lesser degree of the family, also assume that racial differences will exist, but again do not reveal the processes through which these differences are created and maintained. Thus, by subsuming the race relations problematic under the rubric of subfields other than the sociology of racial and ethnic relations, the specific mechanisms that account for racial differences are not elucidated.

Elaboration and Extensions

Our results so far replicate and reproduce many of Niemonen's primary findings: these articles are highly quantitative, rely heavily on U.S. Census categories, tend to explain racial and ethnic phenomenon as by-products of broader social forces (such as class-based stratification), and subsume these analyses under the headings of alternative subfields. Based upon these patterns, as we noted in the introduction, Niemonen developed a strong critique of how race and ethnicity are understood and analyzed in sociology. Specifically, he argued that these findings indicated the marginalization of race and ethnicity within the discipline, and the conceptual underdevelopment of the subfield itself. While we find these ideas provocative and compelling, it is imperative to note that they extend well beyond the limits of his empirical data. Niemonen, for example, was highly critical of what he called the "abstracted empiricism" of work implicating race and ethnicity. This characterization, however, relies upon an untested assumption that quantitative methodologies are not sufficiently critical of how they operationalize race and ethnicity. More importantly, key aspects of his analysis rely upon the assumption that a distinctive race/ethnicity subfield exists, one with distinct concepts and methods, but is not captured in the mainstream journal publishing. While this may be the case, Niemonen's data did not allow him to test these assumptions. Indeed, his broad, inclusive selection criteria almost seem designed to produce this result. Comparing a subset of articles focused explicitly on race and ethnicity with the population of those that merely include race and ethnicity in an analysis in some way

would clearly provide a firmer empirical base from which to evaluate this set of conclusions.

Relationships between Analytic Categories

We begin by addressing Niemonen's conclusion that quantitative work tends to be more problematic with respect to race and ethnicity. We use cross-tabulations that examine the relationship between methodological approach and operationalizations of race and ethnicity to assess how methods and categories may be connected.

That quantitative work should be over-represented in the four major journals came as no surprise either to us or to Niemonen; these methods have long been the hallmark of the discipline. Indeed, we believe that such analyses of race and ethnicity have contributed significantly to our recognition of the social power and problems associated with race and ethnicity, and tend to be seen as sociology's primary contribution to the field of racial and ethnic studies as it is conceived in an interdisciplinary context (see, for a discussion, Hartmann 1999).

There are, however, drawbacks to this emphasis. One drawback Niemonen noted was that articles with a quantitative orientation read as if methodology were the substantial issue and racial and ethnic relations were merely secondary. Niemonen wrote that "despite its methodological sophistication, we cannot assume a priori that experimental research [read: quantitative] is more compelling than other forms of research" (p. 20). He went on to imply that quantitative methods may be more problematic precisely because of their uncritical acceptance of categories. Niemonen described these pieces as a form of "abstract empiricism" (p. 18), wherein the construction of race and ethnicity remains unquestioned and the causal mechanisms underlying differences across racial or ethnic groups remain unexamined, or explained by other ostensibly more fundamental forces or factors. Here also we might note that operationalizing race and ethnicity as variables in a quantitative analysis makes it difficult to address the relationships between different racial and ethnic groups—race relations, properly conceived—in genuinely empirical fashion. Such procedures, in other words, can yield important evidence of differences and inequalities between groups, but they leave open the question of the mechanisms, social processes and intergroup relations that actually account for these patterns. With such issues in mind, Niemonen suggested that qualitative work may be oriented much more toward establishing and addressing the complexities and nuances associated with racial and ethnic issues.

Niemonen's claims about the close relationship between quantitative methods and the use of rigid if not reified definitions of race and ethnicity must be taken seriously. It does appear that quantitative pieces generally devote significant attention to critiquing and improving measures and models; to justifying the inclusion of new variables or reworking existing variables; to developing mathematical representations of various hypothesized relationships between variables; and to identifying and solving problems associated with statistical assumptions in models (see Heiss 1996; Jacobs and Helms 1996; Martinez Jr. 1996; and Rosenbaum 1996, as just a few examples). However, these conclusions are based primarily on inference and impression rather than on data. Fortunately, it is possible to address the relationship between methods and operationalizations more carefully by using our data

Table 5

Primary Context

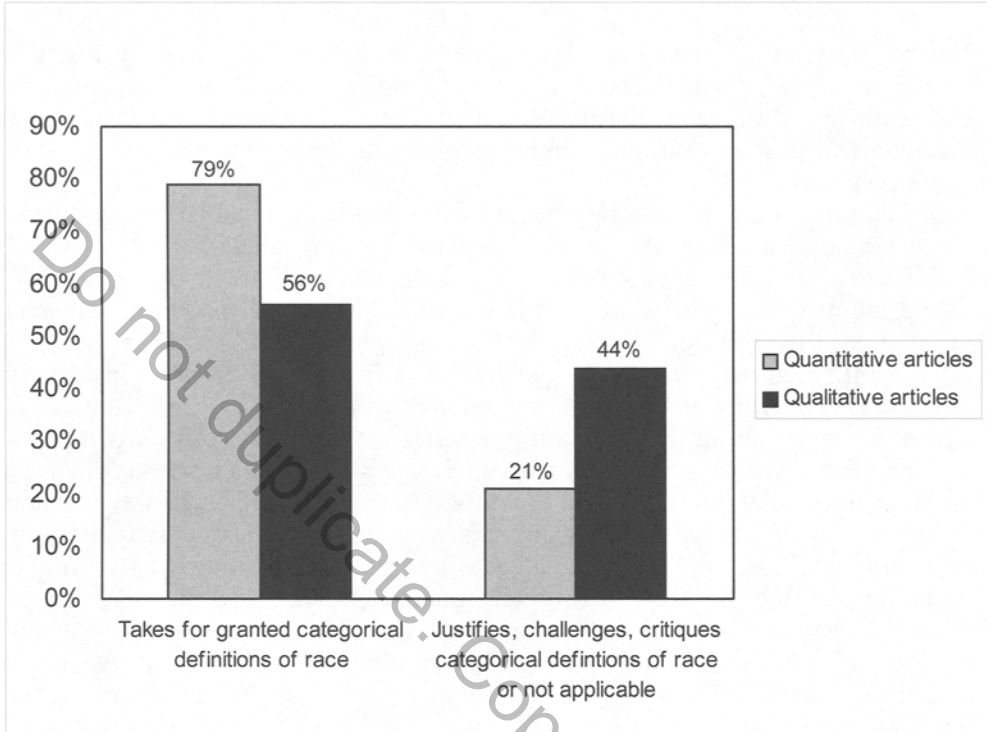


Table 6

Quantitative Articles by Substantive Content and Primary Context

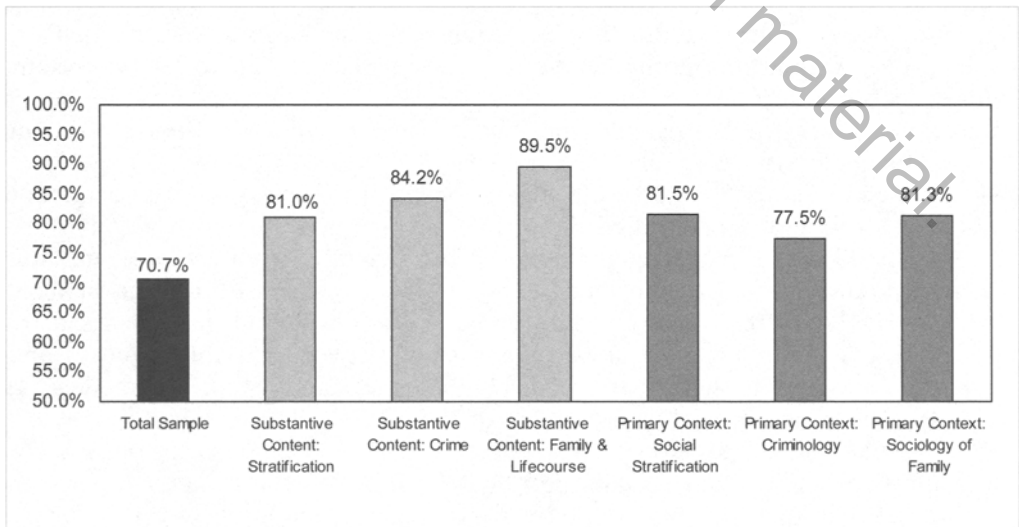
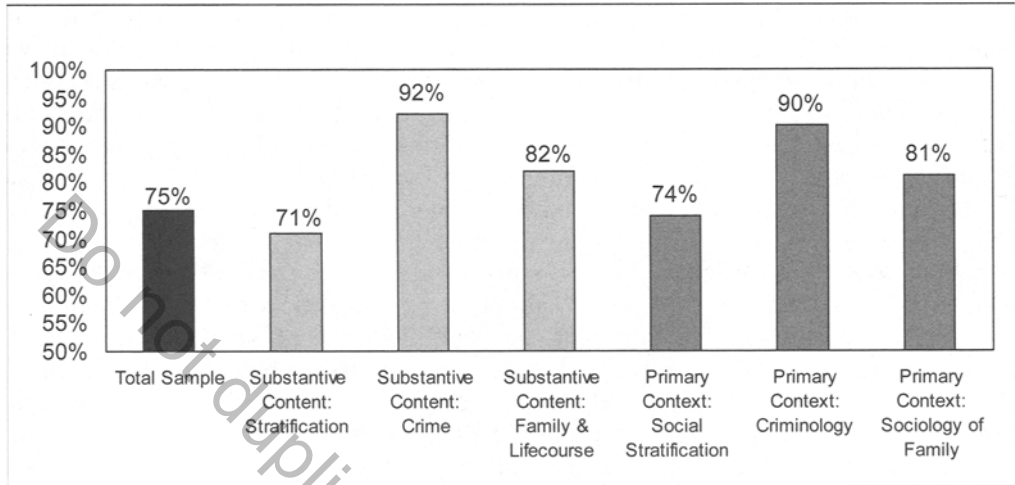


Table 7

**Articles that take for granted or justify categorical definitions of race by
Substantive Content and Primary Context**



to establish the correlation between these the codes for methods and operationalizations.

And indeed, basic cross-tabulations between method and operationalization (Tables 1 and 2) confirm that quantitative methods tend to be associated with the uncritical use of dichotomous and multichotomous operationalizations of race and ethnicity, while published research employing qualitative tools is much more likely to challenge dichotomous or multichotomous definitions of race and ethnicity (see Table 5). The majority (79 percent) of quantitative pieces take for granted dichotomous or multichotomous operationalizations of race and ethnicity, compared to only 56 percent of qualitative pieces. On the other hand, while 44 percent of qualitative pieces challenge or critique such categorical understandings of race and ethnicity, or are coded as “not applicable” because they employ completely different understandings of race and ethnicity, most often by focusing on discourse, only 21 percent of quantitative articles meet these criteria. Quantitative research, in other words, accepts U.S. Census-type categorical understandings of race without comment or reservation more often than qualitative work does. Thus, Niemonen’s claim that the domination of quantitative methods is tied to a certain kind of uncritical, abstracted empiricism is substantiated.⁵

This finding takes on additional significance when we consider the most represented areas of substantive content and primary context in this study. These areas—again, family and lifecourse, crime, and social stratification—are all heavily quantitative and most likely to use census-type categories without qualification, critique, or even justification. Almost 90 percent of articles whose substantive content is family and the lifecourse, as well as 84.2 percent of articles identifiable as focusing on crime and 81 percent of articles that are substantively situated in the sociology of stratification, utilize quantitative methods. The figures for primary context are slightly lower but almost identical, at 81.3 percent for the sociology of

the family, 81.5 percent for social stratification, and 77.5 percent for criminology. These figures are all higher than that for the overall sample, where 70.7 percent of articles rely on quantitative methods.

Similarly, the uncritical operationalization of race appears at a high rate in the three largest substantive-content and primary-context areas. In the overall sample, 75 percent of articles take for granted dichotomous and multichotomous definitions of race and ethnicity. These figures are significantly higher for articles in two of the top three represented substantive content and primary context categories, and the figures are comparable to the overall sample in the third top category. For those articles whose substantive content is family and the lifecourse and whose primary context is the sociology of family, between 81 percent and 82 percent take for granted dichotomous or multichotomous definitions of race and ethnicity. Ninety-two percent of articles whose substantive content falls under crime and 90 percent of publications whose primary context is criminology do the same. However, among articles whose substantive content is processes of stratification, only 71 percent take for granted dichotomous or multichotomous definitions of race and ethnicity, as do 74 percent of articles identified as having a primary context in the sociology of social stratification. Note that these percentages are just slightly lower than the percentage of articles in the total sample (75 percent). These findings not only substantiate indications from the previously presented data that quantitative research disproportionately relies on reified definitions of race and ethnicity, but alert us to the potentially problematic situation that the most visible and published areas examining racial and ethnic relations are also extremely likely to operationalize race and ethnicity as dichotomous or multichotomous variables with little if any explanation for this choice. Niemonen, in short, was clearly onto something important and potentially problematic.

Indeed, those articles that are classified as part of the sociology of racial and ethnic relations do not seem to be substantially different from the overall sample in regard to their operationalization of race and ethnicity. One of Niemonen's major critiques of the core journals was that they did not treat the sociology of racial and ethnic relations as a distinctive, autonomous subfield; clearly, this claim relies on the belief that such an autonomous body of work actually exists and has not simply made its way into mainstream, general-topic articles. In order to explore whether or not this assumption is correct, we examined a subset of articles explicitly focused on race and ethnicity in greater detail, highlighting the ways in which the sociology of race and ethnicity is or is not markedly different from articles that simply address issues of race and ethnicity.

Subsample Comparison: Articles Focused on Race and Ethnicity

Niemonen's research looked at all articles in the core journals that incorporated race and ethnicity in any way. This inclusive population of articles cast a very wide net, and articles on diverse topics were captured by this definition. Many articles included in the original sample simply used race and/or ethnicity as control variables in much larger research projects. These broad selection criteria corresponded directly to Niemonen's main objective, which was to assess how race and ethnicity was conceptualized and operationalized in the discipline as a whole. However, this research design did not afford Niemonen a firm empirical base from which to

speak to his other key analytic objectives—namely, to speak about the underdevelopment of what he called the “race relations problematic.”

To test Niemonen’s assumptions about the unique ways in which specialists view race and ethnicity, we selected a subset of the articles that focus on race and ethnicity and conducted a comparative analysis of these articles. Following the logic of a similar project that emphasized gender and feminist perspectives in patterns of sociological publishing (Waller, Dunn and Watson, 1998; Dunn and Watson, 2000), the subset was selected through a visual examination of the title, abstract, and key words. Articles were included if race and/or ethnicity were mentioned in the key words, specific racial and/or ethnic groups were identified in the title, and/or if the words race, ethnicity, prejudice, racism, or discrimination appeared in the title or abstract. From the total sample, 106 articles were selected as part of the subsample. We then compiled tables for this subset for each of the four categories discussed above and compared the two sets of tables.

What is significant about the comparisons between the main sample and the subsample is *not* how they are different from the main sample, but rather how little difference between the two can be found. In terms of methodological orientation, for example, our subset is actually more quantitatively oriented than that of the total, general sample—75.5 percent for the subsample compared to 70.7 percent for the main sample (see Table 8). The main sample also appears to be *more* methodologically diverse: while theoretical, speculative, and documentary pieces are represented in the main sample, they are not in the subsample, and socio-historical and comparative pieces, critiques, and articles utilizing either both qualitative and theoretical approaches, or both qualitative and socio-historical approaches, are better represented in the main sample than in the subsample. (This may be partially a function of the relative size of each sample).

As foreshadowed above, the differences in terms of operationalization also are not as dramatic as we might expect. While race and ethnic specialists are less likely to treat race and ethnicity as categorical variables and tend to be more cautious and critical of these applications when they do, these differences are nonetheless quite a bit smaller and less significant than we might have imagined (see Table 9). Virtually the same percentage of articles in the general sample and in the subsample—48.1 percent and 46.2 percent, respectively—take for granted dichotomous definitions of race and ethnicity, and an additional 27 percent of the articles in the general sample and 20.8 percent in the subsample use multichotomous definitions of race and ethnicity without questioning or justifying that choice. A slightly higher proportion of articles in the subsample justify their use of dichotomous or multichotomous operationalizations of race and ethnicity than in the main sample—17.9 percent in the subsample versus 12.3 percent in the general sample—but this difference is not as large as we anticipated.

Differences between the two samples are more apparent for substantive content, although some similarities remain (see Table 10). Processes of stratification dominate in both samples, and actually are better represented in the subset (19.8 percent) than in the total sample (14.3 percent). Articles dealing with spatial issues such as residential segregation are better represented in the subsample (17.9 percent) and push crime, the second most common substantive content in the total sample at 13.0 percent, into third place in the subsample, with an almost identical 12.3 percent. A composite category of substantive content areas that highlight is-

Table 8

Major Methodological Orientation

TOTAL SAMPLE, N = 293		SUBSAMPLE, N = 106	
	N %		N %
Quantitative	207 70.65%	Quantitative	80 75.47%
Qualitative	36 12.29%	Qualitative	11 10.38%
Both Quantitative and Theoretical	10 3.41%	Both Quantitative and Quantitative	4 3.77%
Socio-historical or Comparative	8 2.73%	Both Quantitative and Theoretical	3 2.83%
Both Quantitative and Quantitative	8 2.73%	Both Quantitative and Socio-historical/Comparative	3 2.83%
Both Quantitative and Socio-historical/Comparative	7 2.39%	Socio-historical or Comparative	1 0.94%
Critique (theoretical or conceptual)	5 1.71%	Critique (theoretical or conceptual)	1 0.94%
Both Qualitative and Theoretical	3 1.02%	Both Qualitative and Theoretical	1 0.94%
Both Qualitative and Socio-historical/Comparative	3 1.02%	Both Qualitative and Socio-historical/Comparative	1 0.94%
More than two orientations	3 1.02%	More than two orientations	1 0.94%
Theoretical	1 0.34%	Theoretical	0 0.00%
Speculative or Non-technical	1 0.34%	Speculative or Non-technical	0 0.00%
Documentary	1 0.34%	Documentary	0 0.00%
Other combination of two orientations	0 0.00%	Other combination of two orientations	0 0.00%
Other	0 0.00%	Other	0 0.00%
TOTAL	293 100.00%	TOTAL	106 100.00%

Table 9

Operationalization of Race & Ethnicity Concepts

TOTAL SAMPLE, N = 293			SUBSAMPLE, N = 106		
	N	%		N	%
Takes for granted or does not evaluate dichotomous definition of race/ethnicity	141	48.12%	Takes for granted or does not evaluate dichotomous definition of race/ethnicity	49	46.23%
Takes for granted or does not evaluate multichotomous definition of race/ethnicity	79	26.96%	Takes for granted or does not evaluate multichotomous definition of race/ethnicity	22	20.75%
Uses dichotomous definition of race/ethnicity and justifies operational choice	20	6.83%	Uses multichotomous definition of race/ethnicity and justifies operational choice	12	11.32%
Race/ethnicity operationalized in a different way than classification categories (as a process, discourse, practice, etc.)	18	6.14%	Race/ethnicity operationalized in a different way than classification categories (as a process, discourse, practice, etc.)	8	7.55%
Uses multichotomous definition of race/ethnicity and justifies operational choice	16	5.46%	Uses dichotomous definition of race/ethnicity and justifies operational choice	7	6.60%
Other	6	2.05%	Severely qualifies, but uses, multichotomous categories of race/ethnicity	2	1.89%
Not Applicable for various reasons	4	1.37%	Challenges or critiques dichotomous categories of race/ethnicity	2	1.89%
Severely qualifies, but uses, multichotomous categories of race/ethnicity	3	1.02%	Challenges or critiques multichotomous categories of race/ethnicity	2	1.89%
Severely qualifies, but uses, dichotomous categories of race/ethnicity	2	0.68%	Severely qualifies, but uses, dichotomous categories of race/ethnicity	1	0.94%
Challenges or critiques dichotomous categories of race/ethnicity	2	0.68%	Not Applicable for various reasons	1	0.94%
Challenges or critiques multichotomous categories of race/ethnicity	2	0.68%	Other	0	0.00%
TOTAL	293	100.00%	TOTAL	106	100.00%

Table 10

Substantive Content

TOTAL SAMPLE, N = 293			SUBSAMPLE, N = 106		
	N	%		N	%
Processes of stratification	42	14.33%	Processes of stratification	21	19.81%
Crime	38	12.97%	Spatial Issues	19	17.92%
Family & Lifecourse	38	12.97%	Crime	13	12.26%
Group Membership	22	7.51%	Boundaries & Categories	6	5.66%
Spatial Issues	22	7.51%	Education	5	4.72%
Psychological Measures	17	5.80%	Psychological Measures	5	4.72%
Other	16	5.46%	Ethnic Enclaves & Marginal Underclass	4	3.77%
Social Movements	15	5.12%	Family & Lifecourse	4	3.77%
Political Processes & Civil Disobedience	14	4.78%	Fertility & Mortality	4	3.77%
Misc studies	13	4.44%	Migration	4	3.77%
Boundaries & Categories	11	3.75%	Assimilation	3	2.83%
Migration	9	3.07%	Group Membership	3	2.83%
Ethnic Enclaves & Marginal Underclass	9	3.07%	Political Processes & Civil Disobedience	3	2.83%
Critical Studies	7	2.39%	Social Movements	3	2.83%
Medical & Health	5	1.71%	Misc studies	3	2.83%
Assimilation	5	1.71%	Critical Studies	2	1.89%
Fertility & Mortality	4	1.37%	Other	2	1.89%
Refining mathematical models	4	1.37%	Medical & Health	1	0.94%
	2	0.68%	Refining mathematical models	1	0.94%
TOTAL	293	100.00%	TOTAL	106	100.00%

sues of race and ethnicity—following what Niemonen identified as that “eclectic mix” of concepts that defined a racial paradigm such as it was (including studies whose substantive content is group membership, boundaries and categories, migration, ethnic enclaves and the marginal underclass, and assimilation)—is only slightly better represented in the subsample than in the total sample, with percentages of 18.9 and 17.4, respectively.

Not surprisingly, articles whose primary context is the sociology of racial and ethnic relations dominate in the subset with 18.9 percent, but they are closely followed by stratification with 16.0 percent (see Table 11). As we would expect, comparisons to the overall sample for primary context show some striking differences. Stratification is the primary context for only 9.2 percent of the articles in the main sample and race/ethnicity for 7.2 percent, differences of over 10 percentage points each. When taken together, race/ethnic relations, social stratification, and assimilation account for 38.7 percent of the primary context by which articles can be identified, whereas the same composite for the total sample is 18.4 percent.

Several other characteristics of this subset provide additional ideas about the status of the race relations paradigm and its place in the discipline. After coding articles in the subset for whether they discussed race, ethnicity, or both race and ethnicity, we found that almost half focus on race, roughly 10 percent focus on ethnicity, and about 15 percent focus on both race and ethnicity. An additional one-fourth of the articles have a focus that is unclear in the context of coding for race and ethnicity. Studies addressing race, either singularly or in conjunction with ethnicity, comprise approximately three-fourths of the subsample, whereas those dealing with ethnicity, either as the sole focus or in concert with an examination of race, comprise only one-fourth of the subsample. This wide difference begs questions about the relative importance of race, ethnicity, and their intersection, and highlights how even within the subfield of racial and ethnic relations, studies of ethnicity are marginalized.⁶

Connected with this, the majority of these articles primarily use language characterized by an emphasis on the ways in which various racial groups have different backgrounds, experiences, trajectories, and outcomes, without focusing on the structural inequalities that create these differences. Just over one-third of articles in the subset focus on inequality, in which inequalities are accounted for as the outcome of social stratification along racial and ethnic lines. These articles were more critical in nature, used concepts such as segregation, hierarchies, and exploitation, and examined the power structures involved in racial issues and relations. Only a few of the articles combined the languages of difference and inequality, or used language that was unclear. The fact that almost two-thirds of the articles were framed in the more neutral framework of difference, rather than inequality, is an important observation in that it suggests that the sociology of racial and ethnic relations is a less critical subfield, at least as represented in the mainstream sociology journals, than Niemonen conceptualized.

In his original 1997 study, Niemonen claimed that the sociology of racial and ethnic relations was at best “an eclectic borrowing from other core areas and concerns.” We were sympathetic to this characterization but dubious about the empirical foundation on which it rested. This was because Niemonen’s formulation seemed to be aimed at specialists working in the subfield of race and ethnicity, while his empirical data and analysis actually were based upon a broad sample that included

Table 11

Primary Context

TOTAL SAMPLE, N = 293			SUBSAMPLE, N = 106		
	N	%		N	%
Criminology, Deviance, and Social Control	40	13.65%	Sociology of Racial and Ethnic Relations	20	18.87%
Sociology of Family	32	10.92%	Social Stratification	17	16.04%
Social Stratification	27	9.22%	Criminology, Deviance, and Social Control	10	9.43%
Collective Behavior and Social Movements	21	7.17%	Multiple Contexts	10	9.43%
Sociology of Racial and Ethnic Relations	21	7.17%	Work and Organizations	7	6.60%
Political Sociology	18	6.14%	Collective Behavior and Social Movements	5	4.72%
Work and Organizations	17	5.80%	Urban Sociology	5	4.72%
Social Psychology	14	4.78%	Assimilation	4	3.77%
Multiple Contexts	14	4.78%	Demography and Human Ecology	4	3.77%
Medical Sociology	10	3.41%	Medical Sociology	4	3.77%
Sociology of Education	10	3.41%	Sociology of Family	4	3.77%
Sociology of Religion	10	3.41%	Political Economy	3	2.83%
Demography and Human Ecology	8	2.73%	Social Psychology	3	2.83%
Urban Sociology	8	2.73%	Sociology of Education	3	2.83%
Political Economy	7	2.39%	Political Sociology	3	2.83%
Assimilation	6	2.05%	Conflict Sociology	2	1.89%
Methodology	6	2.05%	Environmental Sociology	1	0.94%
Other	6	2.05%	Methodology	1	0.94%
Sociology of Culture	5	1.71%	Sociology of Culture	1	0.94%
Conflict Sociology	3	1.02%	Sociology of Knowledge and Sociology of Sociology	1	0.94%
Macrosociology	3	1.02%	Macrosociology	0	0.00%
Military Sociology	2	0.68%	Military Sociology	0	0.00%
Social Problems Theory	2	0.68%	Social Problems Theory	0	0.00%
Sociology of Knowledge and Sociology of Sociology	2	0.68%	Sociology of Religion	0	0.00%
Environmental Sociology	1	0.34%	Atheoretical	0	0.00%
Atheoretical	0	0.00%	Other	0	0.00%
TOTAL	293	100.00 %	TOTAL	106	100.00 %

specialists and generalists alike. It seemed quite possible that there could be substantial differences in how the two groups conceptualized and operationalized race and ethnicity. So we put this possibility to the test. These tests reveal that specialists who published in the core journals were as likely—if not more likely—to rely on quantitative data and the associated reified definitions of race and ethnicity. Moreover, they tended to use more generic theoretical frames such as stratification as well. Less than one-fifth of the articles in the specialized subset can be characterized as having a unique race/ethnicity frame.

In short, our findings stand in support of both Niemonen's general and more specific formulations: conventional conceptions and applications of race and ethnicity are as deeply engrained even among sociologists who do specialized work on race and ethnicity as they are among generalists that are the focus of Niemonen's own empirical investigations. If we are interested in the more critical, reflective perspective that informs Niemonen's critique, we have to look for it elsewhere—in specialty journals or in books, or perhaps outside of sociology altogether.

Discussion/Conclusion

In examining journal articles published from 1996 to 1999, we have found that many of the patterns that Jack Niemonen identified in his 1997 *TAS* study remain in place: race and ethnicity continue to be operationalized in uncritical ways, and are often subsumed under the rubrics of other subdisciplines or explained as the byproducts of other, seemingly more fundamental social forces or factors in the main sociological journals. Expanding upon Niemonen's original study, we conducted additional tests of interactions across these coded categories, and an analysis of a subset of articles focused explicitly on race and ethnicity. These expanded data and analyses indicate that specialists published in the core journals exhibit these same basic characteristics. Thus, Niemonen's characterization of publishing patterns in sociology is not only confirmed but significantly expanded and extended.

These important if not entirely unexpected results raise once again some practical and epistemological issues that all sociologists, generalists and race specialists alike, should be aware of and reflect upon. For Niemonen, such findings were cast in an extremely negative light; indeed, they served as the basis for a rather thorough critique of all work on race and ethnicity published in mainstream sociology (see also: Niemonen 2002). Our reading and interpretation is somewhat more circumspect.

There are several reasons for this. One is that we think it is important to consider that the journals may serve a unique role and purpose in the discipline, especially among area specialists, and thus reveal only a partial picture of contemporary sociological theory and practice with respect to race and ethnicity. Another point, perhaps more basic, has to do with one finding in our analysis that is easy to overlook: the much higher rate of publication of articles incorporating race and ethnicity during the 1996-1999 period as compared against the 1967-1995 period on which Niemonen focused. In our view, this finding demonstrates a broad diffusion of race and ethnicity into the discipline, a recognition of their power and importance in social life. Indeed, it does not seem too much to suggest that race and ethnicity stand at the center of the mainstream of sociological practice today.

Of course, this may be precisely what troubled Jack Niemonen. His primary concern, after all, was not *whether* race and ethnicity were incorporated into sociological practice and publication, but rather *how* they were so incorporated. For Niemonen, in fact, the use of static and ahistorical conceptions of race and ethnicity can serve to obscure the ways in which processes of racialization occur every day at both micro and macro levels, or even that they are processes. Likewise, the failure to fully account for race and ethnic phenomena on their own theoretical terms underestimates or even conceals their independent power and consequence. Niemonen was especially concerned about the use of U.S. Census categories which, he implied, contribute to the reification of racial difference itself.

We share these concerns. In contrast with Niemonen, however, we see them in a more cautionary fashion, as tendencies to be avoided rather than outcomes that are inevitable. The source of our less pessimistic reading of these findings probably is best captured and explained by contrasting our understanding of U.S. Census categories and the problems of reification with Niemonen's. Niemonen, as we just mentioned, seems to believe that the use of U.S. Census categories necessarily means that sociologists are participants in reifying and thus reproducing racial distinctions in social life. Here, his (mostly implied) critique seems to follow the logic of Almaguer and Jung's (1999) criticisms of the state and social science in (re)producing social categories. In their view, social scientists who "merely ratify and reify the state's official racial categories ... become complicit in their naturalization" because such an analytic route "leads us back to treating race *as if* it were biologically tenable" (Almaguer and Jung 1999: 234).

This seems to us an unnecessary leap. Whatever we may think of race and ethnicity, they are social formations of undeniable symbolic significance and material consequence in the contemporary world. Treating these categories as such—treating them as real, in other words—is not, in our view, the same as naturalizing and essentializing these categories. To the contrary, it may be a first and necessary step toward better understanding and beginning to challenge the racial inequalities and injustices so prevalent and problematic in our society. Here we draw our inspiration not only from empirical social science but also from contemporary race-critical theorists such as David Theo Goldberg (1993) and Cornell West (1993), who insist that color-blindness, race neutrality, or simply dropping the categories of race from our lexicon will not solve persistent problems of race in the contemporary world, but may exacerbate them. Dangerous and challenging as it may be, in short, we must use the very categories and classifications we mean to contest.

More than this, it seems to us that sociologists, using standard Census categories and classifications, have been among the leaders in providing concrete, empirical data that both verify and quantify the persistence of race and ethnicity as meaningful and consequential social forces in the contemporary social world. In fact, a solid argument could be made that sociology's most significant contribution has been, and will continue to be, its transmission of the simple fact of the force and persistence of racial and ethnic phenomena to other areas of sociological knowledge. Certainly, numerous interdisciplinary studies of race and racism draw directly from conventional sociological treatments in order to verify and quantify their critical theoretical insights (see, for examples: Roediger 2002; Lipsitz 1998; Crenshaw 1988). The fact that there is so little variation in methods and theories in our two samples might be read as precisely the strength of sociological approaches

to race and ethnicity. If one were to conduct a study of how sociological studies of race and ethnicity are cited and utilized by scholars working outside of the field, we would have little doubt that this is where sociology's real impact and contribution may be. (For parallel arguments for feminist sociology, see Chafetz 1997 and Alway 1995).

None of this denies that problems are bound up with standard U.S. Census categories and conventional sociological techniques. One of the lessons of this analysis has to do with the obvious limitations of scope and method in sociological publishing on issues of race and ethnicity. However, instead of jettisoning dominant academic conventions altogether, we believe sociologists might do better to advocate for more careful, theoretically informed usage. And it is precisely on this point that both Niemonen's original results and our own replication and extensions give us pause. For these results indicate that racial and ethnic categories have been, and continue to be, used simply by default or routine, without careful consideration or reflection. A great deal could be said about this "abstracted empiricism," as Niemonen nicely characterized it, but we will mention only two points, each of which is directly related to the nuts and bolts of doing research on race and ethnicity.

The first has to do with the operationalization of variables. Our main point here has to do with the wide array of questions the researcher must answer when employing even basic Census categories of race in any sociological analysis. How many racial groups are included in the study? Who is included in the baseline, or comparison, group? If a variable is used to indicate African-Americans, are all other racial categories grouped together? If so, what is the effect of including whites and non-African-American minorities together? Might an analysis be more profitably pursued by distinguishing whites from all other racial-ethnic groups? If a Hispanic variable is included, how was it generated? Is anyone who self-identified as Hispanic included in this group, regardless of racial classification? How a researcher answers questions like these has tremendous impact on the models created and used for analysis. Yet, returning to our data, of the 261 articles (out of 293 total) in our sample that used standard racial definitions, only 41 gave any indication of having thought through these choices and their implications. Given all the various ways in which racial and ethnic variables can be configured, and the complex theoretical issues that necessarily inform and underlie these choices, we see this as simply unacceptable. If standard racial categories are used, their use should be justified and explained within the context of the research objectives.

Our second point follows directly from the first, and has to do with issues of explanation and interpretation of racial inequalities and disparities when we find them in the data. Here the problem is that the failure to adequately justify or explain the operationalizations of race and ethnicity in sociological research can result in work that is primarily descriptive, only indirectly addressing the causal mechanisms that might explain the differences between racial and ethnic groups. Such work fails to capture the real power, meaning, and significance of race and ethnicity, particularly in regards to the structures which (re)produce racialized meanings and inequalities. Even when race and ethnicity are purported to have explanatory power, the source of that power is rarely understood and elucidated. The dominance of stratification as primary context and substantive content evidences this, as this literature generally utilizes race as an explanatory variable without attempting to explain *why* race is a source of inequality. Similarly, work on crime and deviance

(an area of strength in our home department) tends to treat race, and to a lesser extent ethnicity, as an explanatory variable for understanding differences in criminal activity, recidivism, and sentencing, without examining the underlying mechanisms which create these disparities. As such, while race and ethnicity may be significant predictors of various outcomes, little is added to discussions of why this is the case. The causal mechanisms behind the race relations problematic remain largely untouched, and those works that do consider racial and ethnic *relations* often reduce the issue to individual behaviors, rather than addressing inequalities based on race and ethnicity as systemic, structural problems.

Sociologists have devoted a great deal of attention in recent years to the documentation of racial and ethnic differences and disparities in the United States and around the world. What we must now begin to do is to develop theoretical and interpretive frameworks to better understand and explain race and racialized processes in these social contexts. What is at stake is not just a better scholarly understanding of the historical and contemporary dynamics of racial oppression, domination, differentiation and stratification. What is also and perhaps more significantly at stake is the question of how sociologists can contribute to efforts to address the inequalities and injustices that so typically (if tragically) accompany racial and ethnic differences.⁷ And contributions on either front require that we go beyond the abstracted empiricism that has so dominated the sociological study of race and ethnicity in recent years. Anything less, we believe, will leave sociologists who deal with race and ethnicity vulnerable not only to misunderstanding their true nature and significance, but also to being unintentional instruments in their social reification and reproduction.

Notes

- * We would like to thank Jordan Bartlett for serving as our research assistant on this project, and the members of the Fall 2000 Race Theory Seminar at the University of Minnesota (Sociology 8211) who participated in and gave commentary on a preliminary version of this study. Thanks also to Professor Jack Niemonen who communicated at length with us about his coding procedures and even consented to code a number of articles for us.
- 1. Niemonen also addressed differences in trends across the four journals. For example, Niemonen found that in *AJS*, the sociology of racial and ethnic relations appeared primarily in an assimilationist context, whereas in *ASR* and to a somewhat lesser extent in *SF*, issues of race and ethnicity surfaced as part of the theoretical and empirical refinement of ethnic enclave theory. Racial and ethnic relations topics in *SP* were addressed most often as part of a broad set of conflict issues. Methodological approaches also varied across the journals, with *SP* most likely to publish articles dealing with race and ethnicity devoted to theoretical, comparative, or socio-historical issues. We found some cross-journal variations in our analysis as well, and will mention some of them, but we relegate most of the discussion to footnotes.
- 2. Niemonen found that *SP* publishes the highest percentage of socio-historical and comparative articles on race and ethnicity, with *ASR* showing a similar tendency. The new data indicate that *SP* continues to lead in publishing socio-historical and comparative work, but that *AJS* published a greater proportion of articles with this methodological approach than either *ASR* or *SF*. *SF* did, however, publish the most articles utilizing quantitative and socio-historical methods than any of the other journals (4.2 percent). Nevertheless, the majority of these quantitative and socio-historical hybrids appear more concerned with issues in quantitative methodology than in historical methodologies (See Almgren et al. 1998; Price-Spratlen 1998). As socio-historical, comparative, and theoretical work are disproportionately rooted in conflict sociology, Niemonen's assessment that *SP* is the least conventional journal and *SF* the most conventional still can be substantiated (See Niemonen, page 20).
- 3. We expanded Niemonen's coding scheme by separating categorical definitions by the number of categories used. Dichotomous operationalizations edge out multichotomous operationalizations by a slight

margin. Although in many respects dichotomous operationalizations would seem to require greater justification for use than multichotomous variables, scholars who employ multichotomous operationalizations of race and ethnicity are more than twice as likely to qualify or justify their use of multichotomous categories (36.0 percent) than those who utilize dichotomous operationalizations (13.5 percent). Dichotomous operationalizations of race and ethnicity were most frequently found in *AJS*, *ASR*, and *SF*, in which at least 50 percent of articles published on racial and ethnic issues used dichotomous operationalizations without question. In *SP*, only 26.7 percent of articles addressing issues of race and ethnicity took for granted dichotomous definitions of race and ethnicity. Correspondingly, 18.3 percent of articles in *SP* developed an operationalization of race and ethnicity that was neither di- or multichotomous, compared to 5.3 percent in *ASR*, 2.6 percent in *AJS* and 1.7 percent in *SF*.

4. These findings vary somewhat across the journals. *AJS* publishes the greatest proportion of articles whose primary context is the sociology of racial and ethnic relations, with 18.4 percent of articles falling under the context of the sociology of racial and ethnic relations, more than three times the proportion for any of the other three journals. Social psychology still ranks in the top three represented primary contexts in *ASR*, as does work and organizations. Political sociology places third in *SF*. Publications with multiple contexts from which the sociology of racial and ethnic relations cannot be disentangled is among the top three represented primary contexts in *SP*. Both *AJS* and *SP* publish much greater proportions of work whose substantive content and primary context is crime, deviance, and social control than *SF* or *ASR* (For substantive content, *AJS*=21.2 percent, *SP*=20.0 percent, *SF*=10.8 percent, *ASR*=6.7 percent; for primary context, *AJS*=23.7 percent, *SP*=21.7 percent, *SF*=10.8 percent and *ASR*=6.7 percent). While work on family and the lifecourse ranked in the top three represented substantive contents and primary contexts in total, *SP* published only one article in the four-year period whose primary context was sociology of family, and none whose substantive content was family and the lifecourse. Instead, *SP* published a greater proportion of articles whose substantive content was social movements (11.7 percent) and whose primary context was the sociology of collective behavior and social movements (16.7 percent). *AJS* had the next highest representation of collective behavior and social movements literature, but the proportions in *AJS* for these areas for substantive content (5.3 percent) and primary context (7.9 percent) were barely even half as large as the proportions found in *SP*.

In part, the emphasis on social movements and collective behavior in *SP* can be explained by a special issue on social movements in May 1998. Notably, three out of the four articles published in this issue utilized race a point of analysis (Platt and Fraser 1998; Polletta 1998, van Dyke 1998). Another interesting observation is that in November 1998, *SP* published a section entitled "Coping with Diversity." Of the three articles included in this section, only one can be identified as having the sociology of racial and ethnic relations as its primary context. Another piece in this section, "'Half the Battle': Cultural Resonance, Framing Processes and Ethnic Affectations in Contemporary White Separatist Rhetoric" did not even address race as a construct (Berbier 1998).

The prevalence of articles whose substantive content is crime, family, and stratification varies somewhat across the four journals. In *AJS*, over one-fifth of articles addressing some aspect of the race relations problematic focus primarily on crime; in *ASR*, only 6.7 percent of articles dealing with the racial and ethnic relations had crime as a substantive content. *SP* did not publish a single article that addresses racial and ethnic relations under the rubric of family and the lifecourse, but was the only journal wherein social movements ranked in the top three most represented substantive areas. *SF* published a higher proportion of articles on family and the lifecourse than any of the other three journals (19.2 percent), but also published the lowest proportion of articles whose substantive context is processes of stratification (10.8 percent).

5. The broad differentiation between *SP* and the other three journals with respect to the operationalization of race and ethnicity is likely a reflection of *SP*'s higher rates of publication of non-quantitative research. In fact, among articles whose major methodological orientation was a quantitative approach, 94 percent took for granted or justified categorical definitions of race and ethnicity. By comparison, 64 percent of qualitative articles did so. A mere 6 percent of quantitative articles challenged or critiqued the use of such definitions, or were otherwise coded for nonapplicability, whereas 36 percent of qualitative articles fell into these categories (see Table 3).
6. The majority of the articles coded as "unclear" were about a specific group or population, rather than about issues of race and ethnicity at a larger level. The high proportion of articles coded as "unclear" is in itself potentially problematic because these articles do tend to focus on one racial or ethnic group without employing any language of race and ethnicity, an omission that in most cases results in a complete lack of acknowledgement of how racial formations shape the individual and group experiences of raced actors.

7. Here it is worth noting that only a slight majority of the articles in our subset of articles focused explicitly on race and ethnicity advocated for any type of specific social action, policy reform, or development (and this using an extremely generous measure). The lack of a greater emphasis on policy transformations implies that the sociology of racial and ethnic relations is reluctant to approach the causes of structural inequalities between racial groups, let alone to suggest how we might transform these structures.

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Appendix A

Abbreviated Citations for all Racial and Ethnic Relations Articles Published in *The American Journal of Sociology* from January 1996 through December 1999

Author	Journal	Pages	Year
Chavez	AJS	840-873	1996
Davis, Robinson	AJS	756-787	1996
DiMaggio, Evans, Bryson	AJS	690-755	1996
Erickson	AJS	217-251	1996
Jacobs	AJS	1238-1272	1996
Jacobs, Helms	AJS	323-357	1996
Pagnini	AJS	1694-1718	1996
Quillan	AJS	816-860	1996
Robnett	AJS	1661-1693	1996
Sigelman, et al	AJS	1306-1332	1996
Tolany, Deane, Beck	AJS	788-815	1996
Dedriana, Stryker	AJS	633-691	1997
Hao, Brinton	AJS	1305-1344	1997
Jacobs, O'Brien	AJS	867-862	1997
Lichter, McLaughlin, Ribors	AJS	112-143	1997
Massey, Espinosa	AJS	939-999	1997
Soule, Zylan	AJS	733-762	1997
South, Crowdes	AJS	1040-1084	1997
Tam	AJS	1652-1692	1997
Ventakesh	AJS	82-111	1997
Clark	AJS	1267-1308	1998
Feld, Carter	AJS	1165-1186	1998
Grannis	AJS	1530	1998
Green, Strolovitch, Wong	AJS	372-403	1998
Biblarz, Raftery	AJS	321-365	1999
Blair-Loy	AJS	1346-1397	1999
Dunier, Molotch	AJS	1263-1295	1999
Freese, Powell	AJS	1704-1743	1999
Jacobs, Wood	AJS	157-190	1999
Kaufman	AJS	1296-1345	1999
Liska, et al	AJS	1744-1775	1999
Minkoff	AJS	1666-1703	1999
O'Brien, et al	AJS	1061-1095	1999
Oliver, Meyers	AJS	38-87	1999
Quillan	AJS	1-37	1999
Sampson, Raudenbush	AJS	603-651	1999
Western, Beckett	AJS	1030-1060	1999
Yabiku, et al	AJS	1494-1524	1999

Appendix B

Abbreviated Citations for all Racial and Ethnic Relations Articles Published in *The American Sociological Review* from January 1996 through December 1999

Author	Journal	Pages	Year
Arum	ASR	29-46	1996
Bobo, Hutchings	ASR	951-972	1996
Bryson	ASR	884-899	1996
Cancio, Evans, Maume	ASR	541-556	1996
Cautheu, Amenta	ASR	427-448	1996
Ferree, Hall	ASR	929-950	1996
Haney	ASR	759-778	1996
Jargowsky	ASR	984-998	1996
Kalleberg, VanBuren	ASR	47-66	1996
LaFree, Drass	ASR	614-634	1996
McEneaney, Olzak, Shannon	ASR	590-613	1996
Meyer	ASR	449-465	1996
Mullan-Harris	ASR	407-426	1996
Myers	ASR	858-866	1996
Peterson, Kern	ASR	900-907	1996
Portes, Zhou	ASR	219-240	1996
Raley	ASR	973-983	1996
Sanders, Nee	ASR	231-249	1996
Tomaskovic, Devey, Roscigno	ASR	565-	1996
Umberson, Chen, House, Hopkins, Slaten	ASR	837-857	1996
VanAusdale, Feagin	ASR	774-793	1996
Wu	ASR	386-406	1996
Andrews	ASR	800-819	1997
Aschaffenburg, Maas	ASR	573-587	1997
Bonilla-Silva	ASR	465-480	1997
Brooks, Manza	ASR	191-208	1997
Brooks, Manza	ASR	937-946	1997
Brown	ASR	236-252	1997
Browning, Laumann	ASR	540-560	1997
Cotter, et al	ASR	714-734	1997
Darnell, Skerkat	ASR	306-305	1997
DiPrete, Nonnemaker	ASR	386-404	1997
Ishida, Spilermann, Su	ASR	866-882	1997
Marini, Fan	ASR	588-604	1997
Minkoff	ASR	779-799	1997
Myers	ASR	94-112	1997

Appendix B (cont.)

Nielsen, Alderson	ASR	12-33	1997
Pescosolido	ASR	443-464	1997
Petterson	ASR	605-613	1997
Podolny, Baron	ASR	673-693	1997
Waldfoegel	ASR	209-217	1997
Walters, James, McCommon	ASR	34-52	1997
Whittier	ASR	760-778	1997
Wilson, Musick	ASR	694-713	1997
Bergeson, Herman	ASR	39-54	1998
Bridges, Steen	ASR	554-569	1998
Darnell, Downey	ASR	536-551	1998
Grattet, Curry, et al	ASR	286-307	1998
Hagan	ASR	55-67	1998
Hughes, Thomas	ASR	785-795	1998
Jang, Thornberry	ASR	586-598	1998
Liska, Logan, et al	ASR	27-38	1998
Morgan	ASR	479-494	1998
Myers, Crawford	ASR	68-93	1998
Nork	ASR	250-263	1998
Pathillo, McCoy	ASR	767-783	1998
South, Crowder	ASR	17-26	1998
Suoff, Upchurch	ASR	571-583	1998
Taylor	ASR	512-534	1998
Alba, Stults, Logan, Marzan	ASR	446-460	1999
Bielby, Bielby	ASR	64-85	1999
Brines, Joyner	ASR		1999
Chaves	ASR	836-846	1999
Ferraro, Farmer	ASR	303-315	1999
Freese, Powell, Steelman	ASR	207-231	1999
Guo, VanWey	ASR	169-187	1999
Harris	ASR	461-479	1999
Mouw, Xie	ASR	232-252	1999
Morgan, Sorenson	ASR	661-681	1999
Sampson, Morenoff, Earls	ASR	633-660	1999
Schuman, Krysan	ASR	847-855	1999
Smock, Manning	ASR	794-812	1999
South, Crowder	ASR	113-132	1999
Stewart, Crowder	ASR		1999
Uzzi	ASR	481-505	1999

Appendix C

Abbreviated Citations for all Racial and Ethnic Relations Articles Published in *Social Forces* from January 1996 through December 1999

Author	Journal	Pages	Year
Bankston, Culas	SF	535-555	1996
Bartusch, Matsueden	SF	145-177	1996
Bean, Berg, VanHock	SF	593-617	1996
Beggs, Haines, Hurlbert	SF	201-222	1996
Betancur	SF	1299-1324	1996
Bobo, Zubrinsky	SF	883-909	1996
Burr, Massalli, et al	SF	963-982	1996
Cohn, Fossett	SF	557-572	1996
DeMaris, Longmore	SF	1043-1071	1996
Ellison, Bartkowski, Segal	SF	1003-1028	1996
Ferraro	SF	667-690	1996
Gimbel, Booth	SF	1138-1157	1996
Greenstein	SF	1029-1042	1996
Hao	SF	269-292	1996
Hullinan	SF	983-1002	1996
Hunt	SF	293-322	1996
Kalmijn	SF	911-930	1996
Krivo, Peterson	SF	619-650	1996
Kulis, Shaw	SF	575-591	1996
Lloyd, South	SF	1097-1119	1996
Logan, Alba, Levins	SF	851-881	1996
Lucas	SF	511-533	1996
Mirowsky, Nongzhuvangltu	SF	1073-1096	1996
Model, Ladipu	SF	485-510	1996
Moland	SF	403-421	1996
Mortimer, et al	SF	1405-1418	1996
Mueller, Mazur	SF	823-850	1996
Olzak, Shunahan	SF	931-961	1996
Owens, Mortimer, Finch	SF	1377-1404	1996
Rogers, Hummer, Nam, Peters	SF	1419-1438	1996
Ross, Mirowsky	SF	223-246	1996
Shihadeh, Flynn	SF	1325	1996
Shihadeh, Ousey	SF	649-666	1996
Stepan-Norris, Zeitlin	SF	1-32	1996
Alba, Logan, Crowder	SF	883-909	1997
Alexander	SF	1-30	1997
Balser	SF	199-228	1997
Beggs, Villemez, Arnold	SF	65-91	1997

Appendix C (cont.)

Biblarz, Raftrey, Bucur	SF	1319-1339	1997
Brooks, Manza	SF	379-408	1997
Clydesdale	SF	605-635	1997
Cooksey, Menaghan, Jekielek	SF	637-667	1997
Crutchfield, Pitchford	SF	93-118	1997
Davies, Guppy	SF	1417-1438	1997
Dodoo	SF	527-546	1997
Ellison, Burr, McCall	SF	273-299	1997
Farkas, England, Vicknair, Kilbourne	SF	913-940	1997
Grant, Martinez	SF	769-799	1997
Heimer	SF	799-833	1997
Hill, Preston, Elo, Rosenwaike	SF	1007-1030	1997
Jacobs, Helms	SF	1361-1392	1997
LaFree, Drass	SF	835-853	1997
LeClere, Rogers, Peters	SF	169-198	1997
Morenoff, Sampson	SF	31-64	1997
Myers	SF	1271-1289	1997
Orbuch, Eyster	SF	301-332	1997
Rogers, Amato	SF	1089-1100	1997
Sherkat, Ellison	SF	957-982	1997
Soule	SF	855-883	1997
Teachman, Paasch, Carver	SF	1343-1359	1997
Tolnay	SF	1213-1238	1997
Useem	SF	357-377	1997
Weakliem	SF	939-956	1997
Xie, Goyette	SF	547-570	1997
Almgren, et al	SF	1465-1495	1998
Cohen	SF	207-229	1998
Egan, Anderton, Weber	SF	1115-1121	1998
Farkas, O'Rand	SF	1007-1032	1998
Guo	SF	257-288	1998
Hwang, Murdock	SF	541-566	1998
Jekielek	SF	905-935	1998
Massey, Denton	SF	1123-1132	1998
Mazur, Michalek	SF	315-330	1998
McCarthy, et al	SF	155-176	1998
McKeever	SF	1209-1241	1998
Miles-Doan	SF	623-645	1998
Pattillo	SF	747-774	1998
Price-Spratlen	SF	515-539	1998
Regnerus, Smith	SF	1347-1372	1998

Appendix C (cont.)

Roscigno	SF	1033-1060	1998
Sandejur, Cook	SF	763-786	1998
Schwartz	SF	63-103	1998
Sehoenhals, et al	SF	723-762	1998
Settresten	SF	1373-1400	1998
Sherkat	SF	1087-1115	1998
Shiheideh, Ousey	SF	185-206	1998
South, et al	SF	667-693	1998
Tolnay	SF	487-514	1998
Ward, Spitze	SF	647-666	1998
Wilhelm	SF	289-310	1998
Albonetti	SF	303-330	1999
Bankston, Henry	SF	1317-1338	1999
Brooks, Brady	SF	1339-1374	1999
Burr, et al	SF	1049-1082	1999
Clarkberg	SF	945-968	1999
Cotter, et al	SF	433-460	1999
Ebaugh, Chafetz	SF	585-612	1999
Ellison, Sherkat	SF	793-802	1999
Goldschieder, et al	SF	695-720	1999
Hanson	SF	1283-1316	1999
Hummer, et al	SF	1083-1140	1999
Hunt	SF	1601-1624	1999
Hunt, Hunt	SF	779-792	1999
Jacobs, Helms	SF	1497-1524	1999
Landale, et al	SF	613-642	1999
Lewis, et al	SF	1573-1600	1999
Manning, Smock	SF	87-116	1999
McNeal	SF	117-144	1999
McVeigh	SF	1461-1496	1999
Miller, Hoffman	SF	721-746	1999
Pavalko, Smith	SF	1141-1162	1999
Regenerus, et al	SF	1375-1402	1999
Santaro	SF	887-910	1999
Sikkink	SF	51-86	1999
Spener	SF	1021-1048	1999
Steffensmeier	SF	1163-1196	1999
Uggen, Janikula	SF	331-362	1999
Weakliem, Biggert	SF	863-886	1999
Werum	SF	145-186	1999
Winders	SF	833-862	1999

Appendix D

**Abbreviated Citations for all Racial and Ethnic Relations Articles Published in *Social Problems*
from January 1996 through December 1999**

Author	Journal	Pages	Year
Aponte	SP	268-283	1996
Butler	SP	94-113	1996
Calavita	SP	284-301	1996
Fox	SP	363-380	1996
Heiss	SP	246-267	1996
Kaplan	SP	427-443	1996
Kasinitz, Rosenberg	SP	180-194	1996
Martinez	SP	131-146	1996
Nam	SP	327-338	1996
Orcuh	SP	235-244	1996
Rosenbaum	SP	403-426	1996
Smith	SP	166-178	1996
Tienda, Havastier	SP	147-163	1996
Valocctii	SP	116-127	1996
Albonetti, Hepburn	SP	124-138	1997
Bourgois, Lettiere, Quesada	SP	155-173	1997
Chiricos, Escholz, Gertz	SP	342-357	1997
Collins	SP	55-67	1997
Conrad	SP	139-154	1997
Galliher, Galliher	SP	369-385	1997
Heckathorn	SP	174-199	1997
Hochstetler, Shover	SP	358-368	1997
Mileti, Darlington	SP	89-103	1997
Model	SP	445-463	1997
Rosenfeld	SP	483-502	1997
Santoro, McGuire	SP	503-519	1997
Smith	SP	19-37	1997
Stomblor, Padavic	SP	257-275	1997
Warner, Rountree	SP	520-536	1997
Wilson	SP	38-54	1997
Wong, Piliavin	SP	408-423	1997
Becker	SP	451-472	1998
Berbrier	SP	431-450	1998

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Bickham, Mendez	SP	114-135	1998
Byng	SP	473-487	1998
Emerson, Ferns, Gardner	SP	289-314	1998
Hanna, Defranto	SP	383-392	1998
Hogan, Perucci	SP	528-549	1998
Jacobs, Miller	SP	550-569	1998
Krivo, Peterson, Rizzo, Reynolds	SP	61-80	1998
Longshare	SP	101-113	1998
Markowitz	SP	356-382	1998
Platt, Fraser	SP	160-179	1998
Poletta	SP	137-159	1998
Reynolds, Ross	SP	221-247	1998
Schulz	SP	336-352	1998
Stretesky, Hogan	SP	268-287	1998
Broadhead et al	SP	48-67	1999
Eliasoph	SP	479-502	1999
Emerson, et al	SP	398-417	1999
Fine	SP	225-249	1999
Gotnam	SP	332-354	1999
Hagan, Pallori	SP	617-632	1999
Jenness	SP	548-571	1999
Kleck, Hogan	SP	275-293	1999
Saporito, Lareau	SP	418-439	1999
Tanner, et al	SP	250-274	1999
Uggen	SP	127-151	1999
Valocchi	SP	207-224	1999
Williams, et al	SP	503-527	1999